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Notes

Introduction

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- 25 Anon., review of M.S. Houdart, *Études historiques et critiques sur la vie et la doctrine d'Hippocrate, et sur l'état de la médecine avant lui*, *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* 51 (1839), 495.
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- 40 Maya Dusenbery, *Doing Harm: The truth about how bad medicine and lazy science leave women dismissed, misdiagnosed, and sick* (New York and London: HarperCollins, 2018).
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Chapter 2

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- 11 Denying his existence 'was done in an inaugural dissertation published some years since at Paris, to the no small annoyance of the medical dignitaries of the day, who were outraged by so great a heresy': Anon., 'Review of Houdart'. In Houdart's book (Paris: Baillière, 1836), 3 this is 'une espèce de sacrilège'. In 1930, Edith Bruce Paterson, 'Hippocrates', *Medical Life*, 37.6 (1930), 304 and 306 also referred to 'those who deny that Hippocrates wrote anything'.
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- 15 Edelstein, 'Genuine works', 143.
- 16 Jaap Mansfeld, 'Plato and the method of Hippocrates,' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 21 (1980), 342.
- 17 W.H.S. Jones, 'General introduction' in Loeb, *Hippocrates I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann, 1923), xxxv.
- 18 Jacques Jouanna, *Hippocrates* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; Fr. original *Hippocrate*, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1992), xii.
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- 20 Rocca, 'Present at the creation', 285.
- 21 Paul Potter, 'Why we go back to Hippocrates,' Thirteenth John P. McGovern Award Lecture, 6 May 1998 (Wellcome Collection), 9–10.
- 22 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 8.
- 23 Ann E. Hanson, 'Hippocrates: the "Greek miracle" in medicine', https://www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucgajpd/medicina%20antiqua/sa_hippint.html accessed 20 February 2019. I shall return to the contributions of Plato and Aristotle below.
- 24 G.E.R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science: Selected papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 194.
- 25 G.E.R. Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease. Studies in the Greek imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 41.
- 26 See now Aileen R. Das, 'New material from Galen's *On the Authentic and Spurious Works of Hippocrates*,' *Classical Philology*, 113.3 (2018).
- 27 Jacques Jouanna, 'Galen's reading of the Hippocratic treatise *The Nature of Man*: The foundations of Hippocratism in Galen' in Philip van der Eijk (ed.), *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected papers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 321 discusses in detail Galen's changing views on this treatise.

- 28 Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease*, 42; Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 62; on the ancient views on the authorship of this Hippocratic treatise, see Volker Langholf, 'Structure and genesis of some Hippocratic texts' in Manfred Horstmanshoff and Marten Stol (eds), *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 244–7. Mansfeld, 'Plato and the method of Hippocrates', 344 notes that this section is now 'safely attributed' to Polybus.
- 29 Eric Nelson, 'Tracking the Hippocratic Woozle: Pseudepigrapha and the formation of the Corpus' in Lesley Dean-Jones and Ralph Rosen (eds), *Ancient Concepts of the Hippocratic. Papers Presented at the XIIIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, Austin, Texas, August 2008*, *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 46 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 117. This important collection will hereafter be referred to as DJR.
- 30 Véronique Boudon-Millot, 'Ce qu' "hippocratique" (ἱπποκράτειος) veut dire: la réponse de Galien' in DJR, 378–98.
- 31 In particular, see Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*.
- 32 Plato, *Phaedrus* 270c1–5; Lloyd, *Methods and Problems*, 195, summarizing Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 47–8; Boudon-Millot, 'Ce qu' "hippocratique" (ἱπποκράτειος) veut dire'; Jordi C. Saumell, 'New lights on the *Anonymus Londiniensis* papyrus', *Journal of Ancient Philosophy*, 11.2 (2017), 130–1 and n.57.
- 33 Ann E. Hanson, 'Hippocrates: the "Greek miracle" in medicine'; Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 62.
- 34 Rebecca Flemming, 'The pathology of pregnancy in Galen's commentaries on the *Epidemics*' in Vivian Nutton (ed.), *The Unknown Galen, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 45 (2002), 101.
- 35 Jouanna, 'Galen's reading of the Hippocratic treatise *The Nature of Man*', 331.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 336.
- 37 *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, episode 'First Do No Harm': extract on <http://www.ign.com/videos/2018/08/08/assassins-creed-odyssey-12-minutes-of-exclusive-mission-gameplay> accessed 20 February 2019. See also <http://assassinscreed.wikia.com/wiki/Hippokrates> accessed 20 February 2019; at present this suggests that some areas were so 'conservative' that Hippocrates needed to treat patients there in secret.
- 38 Owsei Temkin, *Galenism. Rise and decline of a medical philosophy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973).
- 39 R.J. Hankinson, 'Galen on Hippocratic Physics' in DJR, 432.
- 40 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 11.
- 41 Boudon-Millot, 'Ce qu' "hippocratique" veut dire', 397: 'dans quelle mesure Galien croyait-il lui-même à l'Hippocrate qu'il avait ainsi forgé?'; Hankinson, 'Galen on Hippocratic Physics', 441.

- 42 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 11.
- 43 Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 29–30.
- 44 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 8, on Dioscorides and Capiton; Jouanna, ‘Galen’s reading of the Hippocratic treatise *The Nature of Man*’, 320.
- 45 Craik, ‘*Hippocratic*’ *Corpus*, xxiv; Ernst Nachmanson, *Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio cum fragmentis* (Upsala, 1918), online at <https://archive.org/stream/erotianivocumhip00erotuoft#page/n5/mode/2up> (accessed 20 February 2019); Renate Wittern, ‘Zum Hippokratesglossar des Erotian κατάληποι im Corpus Hippocraticum’, *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 55.1 (1971).
- 46 Pilar Pérez Cañizares, ‘The treatise *Affections* in the context of the Hippocratic Corpus’ in DJR.
- 47 Iain M. Lonie, ‘The “Paris Hippocratics”: teaching and research in Paris in the second half of the sixteenth century’ in Andrew Wear, Roger K. French and Iain M. Lonie (eds), *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 162.
- 48 Jole Shackelford, ‘The chemical Hippocrates: Paracelsian and Hippocratic theory in Petrus Severinus’ medical philosophy’ in Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates*, 63 and 69.
- 49 Andrew Cunningham, ‘The transformation of Hippocrates in seventeenth-century Britain’ in Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates*, 103.
- 50 Houdart, *Etudes historiques et critiques sur la vie et la doctrine d’Hippocrate*, 183, quoted in Finlayson, ‘Hippocrates: A bibliographical demonstration’, 11–12; Craik, *The ‘Hippocratic’ Corpus*, 50–1 summarizes the scholarship on the relationship between these three treatises, with *Coan Prognoses* now being seen as based on *Prognostic* rather than the other way around.
- 51 Mansfeld, ‘Plato and the method of Hippocrates’, 356–8; Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*.
- 52 On the earliest computer analyses based on sentence length and vocabulary, see William C. Wake, ‘Who was Hippocrates?’, *The Listener*, 29 December 1966, 966–7. His conclusion (based on his 1951 PhD) was that *Prognostics*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, *Fractures* and *Joints* ‘could all have been written by one author’ but that *Epidemics I* and 3 (traditionally seen as by Hippocrates) could not be by that one author.
- 53 Mansfeld, ‘Plato and the method of Hippocrates’, 344.
- 54 The first quotation is from Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 59–61; the second from Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 56; the third from Mansfeld, ‘Plato and the method of Hippocrates’, 344. On the papyrus, see now the Teubner edition by Daniela Manetti, *Anonymus Londiniensis. De medicina* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

- 55 David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors doing harm since Hippocrates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 edition with postscript), 29, 7–8. Criticisms from reviewers focused on Wootton's use of hindsight: see *Bad Medicine*, 189–97 for his response.
- 56 Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 125–6. Some ancient authors thought it was by a different 'Hippocrates', the grandfather of the famous one; Langholf, 'Structure and genesis of some Hippocratic texts', 248.
- 57 Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 32.
- 58 Francis Adams, *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates* (London, Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1849), 2 vols, Vol. 1, v and 3.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 60 Wootton, *Bad Medicine*, 7–8; Adams, *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, vol. 1, 20–1.
- 61 Elizabeth M. Craik, 'The teaching of surgery' in Manfred Horstmannshoff (ed.), *Hippocrates and Medical Education: Selected papers presented at the XIIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, Universiteit Leiden, 24–26 August 2005* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 232.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 233.
- 63 Anon., 'Review of Houdart', 493.
- 64 Or, less likely, that the way to understand the whole is by understanding all the parts. Plato, *Protagoras* 311b–d; *Phaedrus* 270c. See Mansfeld, 'Plato and the method of Hippocrates', in the context of challenging Smith's attribution of the treatise *On Regimen* to Hippocrates. On the 'very generality of the alleged Hippocratic statement' in *Phaedrus*, see Rocca, 'Present at the creation', 289. I shall return to these passages in Chapter 7, where I discuss holism.
- 65 Volker Langholf, *Medical Theories in Hippocrates: Early texts and the 'Epidemics'* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1990), 197.
- 66 Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 6 on Aristotle, *Politics* 1326a15–17. See further below, p. 37, on the use of this in an early biography of Hippocrates. The site <https://notednames.com/Medical-Doctors/Physician/Hippocrates-Birthday-Real-Name-Age-Weight-Height/> misses an opportunity here, leaving Hippocrates' height blank. However, <https://hippocrates.carrrd.co/> accessed 20 February 2019 puts him at 5 foot 6 inches; its Hippocrates is 'not a healer. He's like a human version of biological warfare.'
- 67 On the meaning of 'Asclepiad', see the discussion in Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 9–17, concluding that it could be a generic term for physician and that some – not all – physicians also claimed descent from Asclepius himself.
- 68 Iain M. Lonie, 'Literacy and the development of Hippocratic medicine', in François Lasserre and Philippe Mudry (eds), *Formes de pensée dans la collection*

- hippocratique: Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Lausanne 1981* (Geneva: Droz, 1983), 145–61; Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease*, 41.
- 69 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 7.
- 70 Lesley Dean-Jones, 'Identifying the Hippocratic' in DJR, 14; Pérez Cañizares, 'The treatise *Affections*', 93.
- 71 Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, xii. On the now-unfashionable attempt to divide up the Corpus into Coan/Cnidian texts, see Antoine Thivel, *Cnide et Cos? Essai sur les doctrines médicales dans la collection hippocratique* (Paris: Eds Belles Lettres, 1981) and Iain M. Lonie, 'Cos versus Cnidus and the historians: Part I', *History of Science*, 16 (1978).
- 72 Aristaeas, *Letter to Philocrates*, 9; R.J.H. Shutt, 'Letter of Aristaeas: a new translation and introduction' in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2: *Expansions of the 'Old Testament' and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), 12. Roger S. Bagnall, 'Alexandria: Library of dreams', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 146.4 (2002), 356 points out that 200,000 volumes is the number held in the British Library in 1830. Bearing in mind that the papyrus rolls which would have been used in the second-century BCE took up far more space than a nineteenth-century book, the figures are simply impossible. I owe my knowledge of the reception history of this library to Joanna Paul's discussion of it for The Open University's Classical Studies MA.
- 73 Bagnall, 'Alexandria: Library of dreams', 348; 356 (noting not least the point that – even if something of this size really existed – it would be impossible to catalogue it with the pre-index card technology available); Susan Stephens, 'The new Alexandrian library' in Susan Stephens and Phiroze Vasunia (eds) *Classics and National Cultures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 272.
- 74 Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 38, citing Max Wellmann, 'Hippokrates des Herakleides Sohn', *Hermes*, 64 (1929), 16–21.
- 75 Ibid., 34.
- 76 Ibid., 39. Ilberg's theory was accepted by W.H.S. Jones, when he began to translate the Corpus for the Loeb edition (Jones, 'General introduction', xxix–xxx), and was popularized by such works as Blaxland Stubbs and E.W. Bligh, *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1931), 54.
- 77 Jones, 'General introduction', xxix; copied almost verbatim by Paterson, 'Hippocrates'.
- 78 Also in Pliny, *Natural History*, 29.2, citing Varro; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 7 (quotation from p. 12). See Marie-Helene Marganne, *L'ophthamologie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) on evidence for a medical library in Antinoopolis.

- 79 Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 18; 26–7; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 11.
- 80 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 9.
- 81 Rocca, 'Present at the creation', 291.
- 82 Page DuBois, *Sappho is Burning* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 31 and 63.
- 83 Philip van der Eijk, 'On "Hippocratic" and "non-Hippocratic" medical writings' in DJR, 43.
- 84 Ibid., 26 rejects as too revisionist the claim that the texts of the Corpus 'had little else in common except that they were concerned with medicine and written in the Ionic dialect'; Ann Ellis Hanson, 'The Hippocratic *Aphorisms* in Ptolemaic and Roman times' in DJR, 48 notes that 'Hippocratic papyri display Attic forms at least as frequently as Ionic ones', showing that the matter of dialect was less clear in antiquity; compare Paul Demont, 'Remarques sur le tableau de la médecine et d'Hippocrate chez Platon' in DJR.
- 85 Hanson, 'Hippocratic *Aphorisms*', 51. I shall address the modern authority of Hippocrates further in Chapter 6.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Van der Eijk, 'On "Hippocratic" and "non-Hippocratic" medical writings'; George Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism in interwar France' in Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates*, 260. On Littré's edition of the Hippocratic Corpus, see Jacques Jouanna, 'Littré, éditeur et traducteur d'Hippocrate' in *Actes du Colloque Emile Littré, 1801–1881. Paris, 1–9 octobre 1981* (Paris: Eds Albin Michel, 1983), 285–301.
- 88 Craik, 'Hippocratic' Corpus; Lloyd, *In the Grip of Disease*, 41; Kenneth Walker, *The Story of Medicine* (Tiptree: Arrow Books, 1959), 44.
- 89 Gerhard Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum: Verzeichnis der hippokratischen und pseudohippokratischen Schriften* (Tübingen: Institut für Geschichte der Medizin, 1995).
- 90 On the first three treatises and their connections, see Iain M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises 'On Generation', 'On the Nature of the Child', 'Diseases IV'* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1981). Elizabeth M. Craik, *The Hippocratic Treatise On Glands, edited and translated with introduction and commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) extends the argument to a further treatise and possibly also to two of the gynaecological works, and proposed that these are all by a significant thinker of the early fourth century BCE.
- 91 On *Fractures/Joints*, see Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 125–6. Craik, *The 'Hippocratic' Corpus* describes the combined treatise as 'magisterial' (287); she regards the case for them being by Hippocrates as 'strong' and lists a number of other treatises for which she regards Hippocrates' authorship as likely (289).

- 92 Littré (VIII, 532–4) regarded the main gynaecological texts, with *Diseases of Young Girls*, as one ‘ouvrage entier’ going from virginity to infertility, which had the merit of explaining those sweeping introductory remarks; Rebecca Flemming and Ann E. Hanson, ‘Hippocrates’ *Peri Parthenion* (*Diseases of Young Girls*): text and translation’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 3 (1998). In the 2010 Loeb English translation, Paul Potter called it simply ‘Girls’, glossing as ‘Literally the title means “On Girlish Matters”’ (Loeb, *Hippocrates* IX, 359).
- 93 Elizabeth M. Craik, *Two Hippocratic Treatises On Sight and On Anatomy* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 15 (also preferring ‘compiler’ to ‘composer’); Langholf, ‘Structure and genesis of some Hippocratic texts’, 257.
- 94 Elizabeth M. Craik, *The Hippocratic Treatise On Glands*, 1.
- 95 Paul Potter, *Hippocrates* IX, 11: Galen referred to its contents fourteen times, but under different titles. *Excision* features twice in one of the early manuscripts of the Corpus (M, Marcianus graecus 269) under two titles.
- 96 In Chapter 3 I shall discuss a treatise that is often named today, but which never existed.
- 97 Pérez Cañizares, ‘The treatise *Affections*’, 89–90; Craik, *On Sight and On Anatomy*, 17–18.
- 98 Craik, ‘*Hippocratic*’ *Corpus*, 291.
- 99 Ann Hanson, ‘Diseases of women in the *Epidemics*’ in Gerhaad Baader and Rolf Winau (eds), *Die hippokratischen Epidemien: Theorie-Praxis-Tradition*, *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 27 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 38–51.
- 100 Craik, ‘*Hippocratic*’ *Corpus*, 196 puts the three together as ‘consecutive components in a loosely connected compilation’; Potter in Loeb, *Hippocrates* X, 331.
- 101 Hermann Grensemann, *Knidische Medizin Teil I: Die Testimonien zur ältesten knidischen Lehre und Analysen knidischer Schriften im Corpus Hippocraticum* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1975) and *Hippokratische Gynäkologie: die gynäkologischen Texte des Autors C nach den pseudohippokratischen Schriften De Muliebribus I, II und De Sterilibus* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982). The presentation of layer ‘C’ as a lost text has been challenged; e.g. the review by Vivian Nutton, *Classical Review*, 34 (1984), 55.
- 102 Craik, *The ‘Hippocratic’ Corpus*, 290–1.
- 103 Pérez Cañizares, ‘The treatise *Affections*’, 93; Craik, ‘*Hippocratic*’ *Corpus*, 291: ‘The writers and compilers [of the Hippocratic Corpus] are generally assertive, confident of their own place in an advancing scientific tradition. The convention that they claim authority, originality and superiority without stating their origins and identity may be due to medical collegiality, but still seems strangely restrictive.’

- 104 Van der Eijk, 'On "Hippocratic" and "non-Hippocratic" medical writings', 24.
- 105 *Diseases of Women* 1.63 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 133); 1.17 (61).
- 106 Langholf, 'Structure and genesis of some Hippocratic texts', 254–6.
- 107 Aline Rousselle, 'Images médicales du corps. Observation féminine et idéologie masculine: le corps de la femme d'après les médecins grecs', *Annales E.S.C.*, 35 (1980), 1094; *Porneia* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), 39 (tr. Felicia Pheasant, *Porneia: On desire and the body in antiquity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)).
- 108 Paola Manuli, 'Fisiologia e patologia del femminile negli scritti ippocratici dell'antica ginecologia greca' in Mirko D. Grmek (ed.), *Hippocratica. Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Paris 1978* (Paris: Eds de CNRS, 1980), 402 and 'Donne mascholine, femmine sterili, vergini perpetue. La ginecologia greca tra Ippocrate e Sorano' in Silvia Campese, Paola Manuli and Giulia Sissa, *Madre Materia. Sociologia e biologia della donna greca* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1983).
- 109 Nancy Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), xvi; Lesley Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 27.
- 110 Gian A. Ferrari and Mario Vegetti, 'Science, technology and medicine in the classical tradition' in Pietro Corsi and Paul Weindling (eds), *Information Sources in the History of Science and Medicine* (London and Boston: Butterworth Scientific, 1983), 202.
- 111 *Diseases of Women*, 1.62 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 131); Helen King, 'From *parthenos* to *gynê*: the dynamics of category, PhD thesis, University of London, 1985; on the 'woman of experience', see Ann Hanson, 'The medical writers' woman' in David Halperin et al., *Before Sexuality: The construction of erotic experience in the ancient Greek world* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 309.
- 112 *Diseases of Women*, 1.62 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 131).
- 113 Helen King, 'Medical texts as a source for women's history' in Anton Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- 114 Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 1; Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 30, 'an analytical scheme dressed up as a narrative of events'.
- 115 Heinrich von Staden, '"In a pure and holy way": personal and professional conduct in the Hippocratic Oath?', *JHM*, 51.4 (1966): translation p. 406. On the use of the family to account for differences between treatises, see Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 8.
- 116 Adams, *Genuine Works*, 9.

- 117 Nelson, 'Tracking the Hippocratic Woozle', 131 and *ibid.*, 'Hippocrates, Heraclids, and the "Kings of the Heracleidai": Adaptations of Asclepiad history by the author of the *Presbeutikos*', *Phoenix*, 61.3/4 (2007), 235. See also Nelson's argument that the *Probomios* is a fragment of a lost history of Cos: 'Coan promotions and the authorship of the *Presbeutikos*', in Philip van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context. Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 27–31 August 2002* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). On the dating of the pseudepigrapha, various proposals have been made ranging from the mid-fourth to the early third century BCE, and I am following here the argument made by Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 6–7.
- 118 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 5.
- 119 Nelson, 'Tracking the Hippocratic Woozle'.
- 120 Adams, *Genuine Works*, 9; Edelstein, 'Genuine works', 138–9; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*; Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 30, 'an etiological myth'.
- 121 Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 8–9.
- 122 In 1849, Adams challenged the traditional birth year, on the grounds that Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 17.21) – who wrote that Hippocrates was an older contemporary of Socrates – was more reliable than Soranus, on whose authority the date of 460 depends; *Genuine Works*, 9–10.
- 123 <https://www.panaynews.net/money-or-life/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 124 Johannes Ilberg (ed.), *Vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum* (CMG IV; Berlin: Teubner, 1927). Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 49; 51 n.2; 53 n.3 on how this was not by the Soranus who wrote *Gynaecology* and *Lives of the Physicians*.
- 125 Ada Adler (ed.), *Suidae Lexicon*, 5 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–38).
- 126 Tzetzes, *Historiae* 7.155.936–50; Petrus Aloisius Leone (ed.), *Ioannis Tzetzes Historiae* (Naples: Libreria Scientifica, 1968).
- 127 Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, 242; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 19.
- 128 Tzetzes 7.155.970; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 22.
- 129 Brussels ms. 1342–1350; Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 25 and 131 on the Brussels 'Life'.
- 130 Thomas Rütten, 'Hippocrates', in Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most and Salvatore Settis (eds), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 438–9, building on Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*. The projection image recalls James Davidson's comments on ancient Greek sexuality, when he challenged the modern view that it was all about who was penetrated and who did the penetration: 'The Greeks did not award points for penetration . . . they

- certainly did not structure the whole of society let alone the entire world according to a coital schema. The whole theory is simply a projection of our own gender nightmares on to the screen of a very different culture' (*Courtesans and Fishcakes: The consuming passions of classical Athens* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 176).
- 131 <https://asthma.net/living/how-did-hippocrates-diagnose-asthma/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 132 F.N.L. Poynter and K.D. Keele, *Short History of Medicine* (London: The Scientific Book Club, 1961), 21; Guthrie, *History of Medicine*, 76 and 74.
- 133 *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, episode 'First Do No Harm'. This is an imaginary treatise and it will be interesting to see if its creation is taken up by others. I explore imaginary treatises in Chapter 3.
- 134 Warner, 'Making history in American medical culture', 203, quoting Victor J. Fourgeaud, 'An introductory lecture on the history of medicine, delivered on the 23rd December, 1845, before the Medico-Chirurgical [sic] Society of St Louis, Mo.', *Saint Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*, 4 (1847), 482.
- 135 Roger J. Bulger and Anthony L. Barbato, 'On the Hippocratic sources of Western medical practice', *The Hastings Center Report*, 30.4 (July–Aug 2000), 4.
- 136 Poynter and Keele, *Short History of Medicine*, 17.
- 137 Stubbs and Bligh, *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick*, 60–1.
- 138 *Ibid.*, 67.
- 139 Vivien Longhi, 'Hippocrate a-t-il inventé la médecine d'observation?', *Cahiers Mondes Anciens*, 11 (2018), 9: 'L'image d'un Hippocrate inventeur et maître de l'observation clinique, forgée par une certaine histoire moderne de la médecine voulant trouver son origine chez les Grecs, est trompeuse.'
- 140 William Osler, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine: A series of lectures delivered at Yale University on the Silliman Foundation in April, 1913* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1921), 62–3. Petersen, *Hippocratic Wisdom*, xvii uses 'sharp-minded'.
- 141 Fielding Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (second edition, Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders, 1917), 83: originally 1913, 66. Fourth edition, 1929, 94.
- 142 Loeb, *Hippocrates* VII, 256; Winfried Schleiner, *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1995), 9 in a discussion of the comments made by Rodrigo a Castro (1546–1627) on this passage. I reached a similar conclusion in *Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the female body in ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 1988), 46–7.
- 143 Amneris Roselli, "'According to both Hippocrates and the truth": Hippocrates as witness to the truth, from Apollonius of Citium to Galen', in DJR.

- 144 Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics* 6.5.13, 17B.266–269 K; Jacques Jouanna, 'Galen's reading of Hippocratic ethics' in Philip van der Eijk (ed.), *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected papers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 272.
- 145 Daniela Manetti and Amneris Roselli, *Ippocrate, Epidemie, libro sesto. Introduzione, testo critico, commento e traduzione*, Biblioteca di studi superiori, 66 (Florence: La nuova Italia editrice, 1982), 111–13.
- 146 Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 79–94 explores the interaction between these texts.
- 147 Ibid., 88.
- 148 Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais, and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 140–4.
- 149 Lloyd, *Methods and Problems*, 194.
- 150 Cantor, 'Introduction', 3.
- 151 Helen King, 'The power of paternity: The Father of Medicine meets the Prince of Physicians' in Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates*, 23.
- 152 Rosalind Coward, *The Whole Truth: The myth of alternative health* (London: Faber & Faber, 1989), 2.
- 153 Benjamin Rush, 'Lecture 12', 292.
- 154 Thomas Rütten, 'Hippocrates and the construction of "progress" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medicine' in Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates*, 46–7.

Chapter 3

- 1 An earlier version of this chapter appears as 'Hippocratic Whispers: Telling the story of the life of Hippocrates on the internet' in Laurence Totelin and Rebecca Flemming (eds), *Medicines and Markets: Essays on Ancient Medicine in Honour of Vivian Nutton* (London and New York: Classical Press of Wales/Bloomsbury, 2019).
- 2 Warner, 'Making history', 201–2.
- 3 <http://www.rethinkingcancer.org/resources/articles/who-was-hippocrates.php> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 4 Sandra Cabot, *The Juice Fasting Bible: Discover the power of an all-juice diet to restore good health, lose weight and increase vitality* (Berkeley CA: Ulysses Press, 2007), 107.
- 5 John S. Haller, *American Medicine in Transition 1840–1910* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 272; Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism', 261.

- 6 Cabot, *Juice Fasting Bible*.
- 7 Alan Levinovitz, *The Gluten Lie: And other myths about what you eat* (New York: Regan Arts, 2015) includes a chapter on ‘The Sin of Salt’; <https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/05/08/477057872/what-is-natural-food-a-riddle-wrapped-in-notions-of-good-and-evil>, 8 May 2016, accessed 20 February 2019; <https://mag.uchicago.edu/law-policy-society/eating-habits>, July–August 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 8 Here I have in mind Max Weber’s concept of ‘charismatic authority’ outlined in ‘The three types of legitimate rule’ (1922, translated into English by Hans Gerth in 1958, Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions, 4.1, 1–11). The other two were traditional authority and rational-legal authority. Some users of the name of Hippocrates are clearly leaders in the charismatic mode: most importantly, Brian Clement, founder of the Hippocrates Institute, who will be discussed further in Chapter 7.
- 9 ‘The Greek Physician Hippocrates, said in his scriptures . . .’: <http://www.digitaljournal.com/pr/3864905#ixzz5N0Ch04jI> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 10 Armour, *It All Started with Hippocrates*, 28.
- 11 <http://www.wpsdlocal6.com/2018/06/18/equine-assisted-therapy-may-help-autism-ptsd-and-pain/> 18 June 2018 referencing <https://americanhippotherapyassociation.org/about-aha-inc/> where it is a ‘chapter’ rather than ‘a thesis’, accessed 20 February 2019. Whatever its origin, *Natural Exercise* is widely mentioned online, but more commonly as a ‘chapter’. Sometimes it is instead that ‘Hippocrates called riding “Natural Exercise”’; <http://www.mentalhealthnewsradionetwork.com/right-from-the-horses-mouth-equine-assisted-therapy-with-mental-health-patients-works1/>.
- 12 AWP 21 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* I, 125): ‘the constant jolting on their horses unfits them for intercourse’. The confusion possibly derives from two other writers called Hippocrates, who in the fifth or sixth century CE – not BCE – wrote on veterinary medicine for horses and who are referenced in Arabic medicine: Anne McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine: The sources, compilation and transmission of the Hippitrica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 245–58. The name ‘Hippocrates’ combines the ancient Greek for ‘horse’ and ‘rule’.
- 13 *Fistulas* 1 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* VIII, 391).
- 14 For a short guide to how Wikipedia works, and a discussion of whether or not it provides ‘real history’, see Petros Apostolopoulos, ‘Producing historical knowledge on Wikipedia’, *Madison Historical Review*, 16 (2019): <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/mhr/vol16/iss1/4> accessed 30 April 2019.
- 15 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3AHippocrates>.
- 16 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Featured_articles, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 17 Contributor using IP address 69.87.199.175, writing in 2008, on https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk:Hippocrates/Archive_2#Fever_benefits accessed 20 February 2019.
- 18 E.g. ‘In general, the Hippocratic medicine was very kind to the patient.’
- 19 For the statistics on the page, see <https://xtools.wmflabs.org/articleinfo/en.wikipedia.org/Hippocrates> and <https://tools.wmflabs.org/pageviews/?project=en.wikipedia.org&platform=all-access&agent=user&range=latest-20&pages=Hippocrates> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 20 <http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/saoj/v10n4/v10n4a03.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 21 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=602126560>.
- 22 Jon Solomon, ‘The Apician sauce: *ius apicianum*’ in Wilkins et al. (eds), *Food in Antiquity*, 122. <http://www.historicfood.com/Hippocras%20Recipes.htm> accessed 20 February 2019; ‘Peppermongers’ Hippocras recipe’, *The Telegraph*, 17 October 2013: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/foodanddrink/recipes/10383032/Peppermongers-Hippocras-recipe.html>.
- 23 Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet, and, The Sign of the Four* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1904), 197. On this feature in Raymond Chandler’s novels, see Glenn W. Most, ‘The Hippocratic Smile: John le Carré and the traditions of the detective novel’ in Glenn W. Most and William W. Stowe (eds), *The Poetics of Murder* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 347.
- 24 *Prognostics* 2 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 9–11). Both the *facies Hippocratica* and the *risus sardonicus* are often described alongside each other in medical texts, e.g. John Elliotson, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* (Philadelphia, PA: Carey and Hart, 1844), 57: on the *facies Hippocratica*, ‘Hippocrates gave a most accurate description of it’. For a modern take on the *facies* in relation to the masks of Greek tragedy, see Chiara Thumiger, ‘The tragic *prosopon* and the Hippocratic *facies*: face and individuality in classical Greece’, *Maia*, 68 (2016), 637–64.
- 25 *Prognostics* 2 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 11).
- 26 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=406595060> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 27 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippocrates>.
- 28 Ben Witherington, *A Week in the Life of Corinth* (Downer’s Grove IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 81. Aimed at a Christian readership, this book was welcomed as ‘historically accurate . . . a beach read for the lay person’, <http://www.jeremybouma.com/saturday-book-review-a-week-in-the-life-of-corinth-by-ben-witherington/>. The Wikipedia section reads ‘Hippocratic medicine was humble and passive. The

- therapeutic approach was based on “the healing power of nature” (“*vis medicatrix naturae*” in Latin), <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippocrates>.
- 29 Garrison, *Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 98.
- 30 Elizabeth MacLeod and Frieda Wishinsky, *A History of Just About Everything: 180 events, people and inventions that changed the world* (Toronto, ON: Kids Can Press, 2013), 22; Steve Parker, *Kill or Cure. An Illustrated History of Medicine* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2013), 36.
- 31 For the original wording proposed by this editor, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=599952657>.
- 32 Added from IP address 76.217.165.168.
- 33 E.g. the 25 May 2018 revision by Randykitty, reverted as possible vandalism on 5 July 2018: <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&type=revision&diff=848954117&oldid=842864513> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 34 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Vinegar&type=revision&diff=599951433&oldid=599904327>.
- 35 E.g. Carol S. Johnston and Cindy A. Gaas, ‘Vinegar: medicinal uses and antiglycemic effect,’ *Medscape General Medicine*, 8.2 (2006), 61 mention Hippocrates using vinegar in general ‘to manage wounds’ and ‘to fight infections’.
- 36 <http://pothos.org/forum/viewtopic.php?t=3825> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 37 Responses included two on the lines of ‘Does it matter?’, from supporters of the benefits of fermented foods who did not see why the type of vinegar was important. I would respond that, for the manufacturers of ACV, it most certainly does matter.
- 38 <https://bragg.com/products/bragg-organic-apple-cider-vinegar-drink-honey.html> and https://bragg.com/zencart/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=8&products_id=22&zenid=acaa1tt6s75495dcdecb52l014 accessed 20 February 2019.
- 39 ‘Vinegar: An ancient medicine and popular home remedy,’ *Connections Quarterly* <https://www.pitt.edu/~cjm6/s98vinegar.html> accessed 20 February 2019. The editor added at the end of the short article, ‘We will print it on colored paper and place copies of it on our literature rack in the Self-Care Center for our students to enjoy. I invite you all to do the same.’
- 40 Thacker’s work features, for example, on the site of the industry’s Vinegar Institute: <https://versatilevinegar.org/reference-library/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 41 <http://naturalmentor.com/why-apple-cider-vinegar-should-be-in-your-medicine-cabinet/>, 21 October 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 42 http://www.preventionandhealing.com/articles/Apple_Cider_Vinegar.pdf by ‘Simon Yu MD’, no date, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 43 Edwin LeFevre, 'Making vinegar in the home and on the farm', *Farmers' Bulletin*, 1424, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1924.
- 44 J.J. Schommer, *Manufacture of Pure Cider Vinegar in the United States* (B.Sc. thesis in Chemical Engineering, Armour Institute of Technology, 1912), 1.
- 45 At the time of writing, this has been amended to 'Historians agree that Hippocrates was born around the year 460 BC on the Greek island of Kos; other biographical information, however, is likely to be untrue [6]'. The note still takes the reader to Sherwin B. Nuland, *Doctors: The biography of medicine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988); the first chapter, 'The Totem of Medicine: Hippocrates', includes a largely balanced account of the myths about Hippocrates, apart from too much weight being put on the alleged Cos/Cnidos division (17–18).
- 46 Das, 'New material', 305.
- 47 Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, 70 (treatise 79 of 170).
- 48 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:FAQ/Schools#What_prevents_someone_from_contributing_false_or_misleading_information.^{3F} describes how the 'content control mechanisms' work. It mentions that, in rare cases, errors may survive for 'months after the fact'; four years is exceptional.
- 49 For example, the change of 'figures' to 'willy models' by user 2.127.65.47 on 26 June 2015, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&type=reversion&diff=668812115&oldid=668810961> or, on the same day, altering the same word to 'cat rapists' by IP address 151.231.50.60. On 25 October 2014 user 173.69.46.128 was unable to resist the urge to insert ""HEY GUYS CALIA MARSO WAS HERE. I WAS ON THIS PAGE BECAUSE IM WRITING A REPORT ON THIS STUFF SO YEAH, THATS ALL"". This was immediately picked up by a bot and reverted. 'was infact [sic] gay' was added on 25 March 2011 by Jamielee111, who was immediately blocked from Wikipedia 'with an expiry time of indefinite'; <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=420070590> and <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:Jamielee111>; the reversion was made by a bot. 'I love you joslyn' briefly featured at the start of the article in November 2011; <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=461194932>. On ClueBots see for example <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-18892510>.
- 50 The suspect was using IP address 91.124.144.90; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk:Hippocrates>.
- 51 David Crystal, *Language and the Internet*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 16.
- 52 P.D. Magnus, 'Early response to false claims in *Wikipedia*', *First Monday* 13.9 (2008); <https://firstmonday.org/article/view/2115/2027> accessed 20 February 2019.

- 53 See for example the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, which has to date saved over 341 billion web pages.
- 54 <http://alex.halavais.net/the-isuzu-experiment>, 29 August 2004, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 55 <http://alex.halavais.net/please-dont-do-this>, 5 September 2004, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 56 José van Dijck, *The Culture of Connectivity: A critical history of social media* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 201–2, n.21.
- 57 P.D. Magnus, 'Early response to false claims' and 'Fibs in the Wikipedia (Supplemental Data)', *Philosophy Faculty Scholarship* (University of Albany, SUNY) 9 (2008) http://scholarsarchive.library.albany.edu/cas_philosophy_scholar/9.
- 58 For a valuable account of a student editing a page, see <https://dynamicecology.wordpress.com/2014/05/05/using-wikipedia-in-the-classroom-a-cautionary-tale/>. On 6 October 2015, Karl Steel, a medievalist at Brooklyn College of CUNY, tweeted 'Nobody touch the wikipedia plot summary for Oroonoko because we are going to tear that shit apart in class tomorrow' (<https://twitter.com/KarlSteel/status/651554604916834304>). On 7 October, he tweeted 'Much praise to my English 4113 students; Oroonoko wikipedia page is so much better. keep at it', <https://twitter.com/KarlSteel/status/651787201563508736>. See also the article on student contributions to Wikipedia on <https://wikiedu.org/blog/2018/10/16/student-says-more-universities-need-to-participate-in-editing-wikipedia/>, 16 October 2018, accessed 20 February 2019, which stresses 'the robust digital literacy skills' students need to develop.
- 59 <https://blog.wikimedia.org.uk/2018/05/wikipedia-in-the-history-classroom/>
- 60 Quotation from Barry Robson and O.K. Baek's *The Engines of Hippocrates: From the dawn of medicine to medical and pharmaceutical informatics* (Hoboken NJ: Wiley, 2009), 57. NB this is not the most reliable of pages; for example, it has 'Celsus' for Celsus. See the discussions of Quentin J. Schultze and Randall L. Bytwerk, 'Plausible quotations and reverse credibility in online vernacular communities', *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 69.2 (2012), 224; René König, 'Wikipedia. Between lay participation and elite knowledge representation', *Information, Communication & Society*, 16.2 (2013), 162.
- 61 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:Yunshui/About> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 62 Personal communication, Yun Shui, 7 October 2014.
- 63 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk:Hippocrates>.
- 64 http://oer2go.org/mods/en-wikipedia_for_schools-static/wp/h/Hippocrates.htm accessed 20 February 2019; this site is run by SOS Children's Villages 'to make Wikipedia content more accessible.' Their versions contain no references.

- 65 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippocrates> 12 April 2017 was running with ‘Modern Medicine’; currently ‘Father of Medicine’ with a weak citation (a page of the Encarta online encyclopaedia); ‘Father of Clinical Medicine’ made a brief appearance on 14 September 2011, but was reverted three hours later; <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=450528365>. ‘Western’ has come and gone several times.
- 66 E.g. Patricia Davis, *Aromatherapy. An A–Z* (Saffron Walden: C.W. Daniel, 1988), 158; Vicki Pitman, *The Nature of the Whole: Holism in ancient Greek and Indian medicine* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2005), 1. See Chapter 7 below.
- 67 Warner, ‘Making history’, 201.
- 68 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_people_considered_father_or_mother_of_a_scientific_field#Medicine_and_physiology accessed 20 February 2019. On local ‘fatherhood’, e.g. Dumitru Bagdasar, ‘father of Romanian neurosurgery, see King, ‘The power of paternity’, 26. I shall return to Imhotep in Chapter 4.
- 69 <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Who%27s%20the%20daddy%3F> and <https://www.whozthedaddy.com/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 70 King, ‘The power of paternity’, 25.
- 71 Jan Sapp, ‘The nine lives of Gregor Mendel’ in Homer E. Le Grand, *Experimental Inquiries* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1990), 137–66; <http://www.mendelweb.org/MWsapp.html>.
- 72 Jan Sapp, *Where the Truth Lies: Franz Moewus and the origins of molecular biology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28–9. On science as the rape of Nature, see Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of gender in science and medicine between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).
- 73 Helen King, ‘Women and doctors in ancient Greece’ in Rebecca Flemming, Nick Hopwood and Lauren Kassell (eds), *From Generation to Reproduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 39–52.
- 74 *On Generation/Nature of the Child* 10 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* X, 58). In earlier editions of these texts, such as that of Littré, this chapter is no. 21.
- 75 Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the human body in Renaissance culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 41: ‘a doubly fathered masculine western knowledge of Greek medicine married to the passive, eastern tradition of transmission’.
- 76 On the uterine mole, see Helen King and Cathy McClive, ‘When is a foetus not a foetus? Diagnosing false conceptions in early modern France’ in V. Dasen (ed.), *L’Embryon humain à travers l’histoire: Images, savoirs et rites*, Actes du colloque international de Fribourg, 27–29 octobre 2004 (Gollion: Infolio, 2008).

- 77 Macfie, *Romance of Medicine*, 15; Withington, *Medical History*, 48; Stubbs and Bligh, *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick*, 52.
- 78 Douglas Guthrie, *A History of Medicine* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1945), 39. The claims of Imhotep to the title are discussed but dismissed on 21–2 and 29, at least ‘as far as mortals are concerned’.
- 79 Poynter and Keele, *Short History of Medicine*, 17–18.
- 80 Marco Fabio Calvi, *Hippocratis Coi medicorum omnium longe principis, Octoginta volumina . . .* (Rome: Franciscus Minitius, 1525); Janus Cornarius, *Hippocratis Coi medicorum omnium longe principis, opera quae ad nos extant omnia* (Basel: Froben, 1546); King, ‘The power of paternity’, 28–9.
- 81 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=401937923&oldid=399915431>. Inserted from IP address 217.43.247.50 at 11:27 with the spelling ‘embassador’ (<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=401937923>). The spelling was altered on 15 December 2010 from IP address 90.216.252.197. For ‘The Complicated boy’, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=455206770>. Among other changes made over a few hours, someone using the same IP address, 97.67.180.74, also changed the title to ‘The Odyssey’ [sic]. The insertion of ‘bullying’ went with changing Hippocrates’ date of birth to 1993 and Cos with Kuss; <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=479316104>. The attempt to insert ‘don’t’ was made by IP address 50.128.191.40 on 9 February 2012 but rejected as ‘possible vandalism’, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=475864207>. A further act of vandalism occurred on 13 May 2012 when the opening of this paragraph became instead ‘Historians agree sex is fun’, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=492382799>. ‘Hippocrates liked to race turtles’ was inserted briefly after the reference to *The Complicated Body* in September 2013, as was ‘he is the first person to advocate people for harm reduction’, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=574203450>.
- 82 Change made on 8 October 2012. Paige Durkin is named online from 2013–17 as a player in girls’ softball teams; <http://www.senatorblake.com/blake-farina-applaud-aaa-girls-state-softball-champs-valley-view-hs/> and http://www.lackawannafalcons.com/sports/sball/2016-17/bios/durkin_paige_20ga accessed 20 February 2019. That does not of course mean that she was involved in the attempted change to the page.
- 83 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=523085847>.
- 84 Attempt made by 98.155.17.93, who appears to have been using the Sandbox feature to experiment with editing, on 16 December 2013: reverted by a bot within

seconds. A few minutes later, this editor also changed Hippocrates' designation as 'physician' to 'fast food restaurant owner'.

- 85 Roshen Dalal, *The Puffin History of the World*, vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 2013); MacLeod and Wishinsky, *A History of Just About Everything*, 22; the reference to 'soothing balms' also exposes its origin in Wikipedia. It remains possible that the person who inserted the prison story into the page found it in a print source which has not yet been digitized, and I remain open to finding this.
- 86 Taylor, *Hippocrates Cried*, xiii.
- 87 <http://totallyhistory.com/hippocrates/> published in 2014, accessed 20 February 2019. See also 'However, the years of incarceration were not wasted because it was during that time that he wrote his best know [sic] work "The complicated body"', <http://www.actforlibraries.org/hippocrates-lived-in-460bc-and-is-still-considered-today-the-greek-father-of-the-of-western-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 88 Ian Mueller, 'Greek arithmetic, geometry and harmonics: Thales to Plato' in C.C.W. Taylor (ed.), *Routledge History of Philosophy, Vol. I: From the Beginning to Plato* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 280; Plutarch, *On Exile* 17 (*Moralia* 607f).
- 89 Taylor, *Hippocrates Cried*, xiii.
- 90 Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades*, 30.1.
- 91 Killis Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1907), lines 1101–1270: 'Master Hypocras' slew his nephew, in one manuscript (H) named as Galen: Karla Mallette, 'The Seven Sages of Rome: narration and silence' in Marion Vuagnoux-Uhlig and Yasmina Foehr-Janssens (eds), *D'Orient en Occident: Les Recueils de fables enchâssées avant les 'Milles et une nuits' de Galland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).
- 92 As of 20 February 2019.
- 93 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=prev&oldid=407709694> accessed 20 February 2019. On the site infoplease.com, <http://www.infoplease.com/biography/var/hippocrates.html> gives 377 while <http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/people/hippocrates.html> gives c. 370.
- 94 From IP address 72.199.67.48; <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hippocrates&diff=next&oldid=449186664>.
- 95 Schultze and Bytwerk, 'Plausible quotations and reverse credibility', 228.
- 96 <http://www.answers.com/Q/FAQ/8893> and http://www.answers.com/Q/Did_Hippocrates_get_put_in_prison accessed 20 February 2019.
- 97 <http://www.geni.com/people/Hippocrates/6000000011410012323>, page updated 21 November, 2016; accessed 20 February 2019.

- 98 http://www.answers.com/Q/How_important_was_the_influence_of_Hippocrates_on_Roman_and_medieval_medicine accessed 20 February 2019.
- 99 There is an attempt to link Hippocrates to the Bible on <http://www.bethelcog.org/church/church-of-god-articles/understanding-divine-healing>, where Hippocrates is credited with spreading the belief in a ‘life force’ formerly revealed by God to Moses, but this wording is not used. The ‘Right to Life’ movement often emphasizes alleged similarities between the Bible and Hippocratic medicine, for example linking the serpent of Asclepius and the snake on Moses’ staff in *Numbers* 21, as on <http://americanrtl.org/Hippocratic-Oath-Serpent-Staff>.
- 100 Vivian Nutton, ‘What’s in an oath?’, *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 29.6 (1995), 521.
- 101 <http://classicalwisdom.com/hippocrates-the-father-of-medicine/> Classical Wisdom Weekly, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 102 <http://totallyhistory.com/hippocrates/> accessed 20 February 2019; my request in the Comment feature for the source of the story remains unanswered.
- 103 <http://eeever.com/en/hippocrates> accessed 20 February 2019: according to this site, ‘he performed the first known endoscopy’, another claim deriving from the Wikipedia Hippocrates page and presumably based on the description of examining the rectum with a speculum, as referenced in the Wikipedia Hippocrates citations: J. Shah, ‘Endoscopy through the ages’, *BJU International*, 89.7 (2002), ‘464–10’: these page numbers are incorrect, and should be 645–52, with the Hippocratic reference on p.645. On the instrument (the *katopter*), described in the treatises *Haemorrhoids* 5 and *Fistulas* 3, and which may have been simply two large spoons, see Lawrence J. Bliquez, *The Tools of Asclepius. Surgical instruments in Greek and Roman times* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 48–9.
- 104 King, ‘The power of paternity’, 24; Philip van der Eijk, ‘“Airs, Waters, Places” and “On the Sacred Disease”: two different religiosities?’, *Hermes*, 119 (1991), 168.
- 105 Isabelle C. Torrance, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’ in Alan H. Sommerstein and Isabelle C. Torrance, *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece* (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2014), 373.
- 106 Nuland, *Doctors*, 10. ‘Theurgy’ also currently features in the Wikipedia ‘Hippocrates’ article: ‘This intellectual school revolutionized medicine in ancient Greece, establishing it as a discipline distinct from other fields with which it had traditionally been associated (theurgy and philosophy), thus establishing medicine as a profession’, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippocrates>.
- 107 E.g. Pliny, *Natural History*, 29.2; Strabo, *Geography*, 14.2.19. The earlier tradition, that Hippocrates was ‘really a priest physician’ who wrote *Prognostics* by using the notes compiled by the priests, survives: Precope, *Hippocrates on Diet and Hygiene*, 13 and 16; Eleni Tsiompanou and Spyros G. Marketos, ‘Hippocrates:

- timeless still', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 106 (2013), 288. On burning libraries, see above, p. 30.
- 108 Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, 54.
- 109 <http://weeksmid.com/2012/10/hippocrates-did-20-years-in-prison/> written on October 23, 2012, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 110 On some receptions of this story, see Cantor, 'Western medicine since the Renaissance', 380–1.
- 111 https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pC11fC7Pi60C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=hippocrates&f=false.
- 112 Online version; no page numbers.
- 113 <http://www.sciography.com/hippocrates.htm> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 114 <http://www.rethinkingcancer.org/resources/articles/who-was-hippocrates.php> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 115 <https://historiarex.com/e/en/121-hippocrates-ca-460-370-b-c> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 116 <http://en.infoglobe.cz/traveller-guide/greece-kos-following-the-steps-of-hippocrates-i/> accessed 20 February 2019; perhaps this information was given by a tour guide who had read the Wikipedia page?
- 117 <http://weeksmid.com/2012/10/hippocrates-did-20-years-in-prison/> published 23 October 2012, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 118 <http://bookstore.dorrancepublishing.com/dr-william-hobbys-the-promiscuous-kings-promiscuous-doctor/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 119 *Dr William Hobbys*, 197. 'Drumstick fingers' (clubbed fingers), linked to empyema, are indeed known as 'Hippocratic fingers'. *Prognostic* 17 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 35) says that in empyema 'the finger-nails are bent and the fingers grow hot, especially at the tips'.
- 120 <http://thehealthmoderator.com/the-great-hippocrates-father-of-modern-medicine/> posted 14 January 2014, accessed 20 February 2019. This is an American site with a focus on the pharmaceutical industry's 'destructive influence on the U.S. medical system', <http://thehealthmoderator.com/about-us/> accessed 20 February 2019. Unlike most sites copying the story, The Health Moderator names its sources, here 'Wikipedia, Encyclopedia Britannica, International Hippocratic Foundation, infoplease.com, Encyclopedia of World Biographies, discoveriesinmedicine.com, bbc.co.uk/dna, complete-herbal.com/history, Britannica Great Books, Vol. 10, Hippocrates/Galen'.
- 121 <http://totallyhistory.com/hippocrates/> written 2014, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 122 <http://chloe-chambers.blogspot.co.uk/2012/07/the-egyptians-greeks-and-hippocrates.html> 'Global health education' blog, written 26 July 2012, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 123 Nuland, *Doctors*, 15. I shall return to the role of nature in Chapter 7.
- 124 <http://www.mixbook.com/photo-books/interests/hippocrates-pursuit-to-the-truth-7035001>.
- 125 <http://www.notablebiographies.com/He-Ho/Hippocrates.html>. The date of composition of the article is not given, but it includes a reference to a book published in 2002.
- 126 Paraphrasing Wikipedia's 'Medicine at the time of Hippocrates knew almost nothing of human anatomy and physiology because of the Greek taboo forbidding the dissection of humans.'
- 127 <http://www.882m.com/questions/asthma/201512110531360-0-Did-Hippocrates-discover-asthma.html>; <http://ezinearticles.com/?Who-Discovered-Asthma-Hippocrates-Or-Galen?&id=1381520>; <http://hardluckasthma.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/360-460-bc-what-did-hippocrates-think.html>; <https://asthma.net/living/how-did-hippocrates-diagnose-asthma/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 128 <https://monq.com/eo/herbs-spices/what-difference-between-herb-spice/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 129 Nikolaos Angelou, *Cures of the Body and Cures of the Soul: From Hippocrates to the Early Eastern Christian Fathers* (Trinity St David, University of Wales, 2012), 10, <http://repository.uwtsd.ac.uk/438/1/NIKOLAOS%20ANGELOU.pdf>.
- 130 <http://www.sciography.com/hippocrates.htm> published 13 August 2014, 20 February 2019. It is a feature of Lepton's site that the final section of each biography is the '*rumor has it*' part and there is a particularly bad joke at the end about Hippocrates' younger brother Ted, the 'Hippocratic Oaf'; the majority of the biography simply plods through familiar material. Cantor draws our attention to an episode of a children's cartoon series, *Baby Huey*, also called 'The Hippocratic Oaf'; Cantor, 'Western medicine since the Renaissance', 303.
- 131 Pers. comm.
- 132 https://www.ultralingua.com/onlinedictionary/dictionary#src_lang=Latin&dest_lang=English&query=corpus accessed 20 February 2019.
- 133 Armour, *It All Started with Hippocrates*, 31.
- 134 Episode 'First Do No Harm'. See also the wiki, <http://assassinscreed.wikia.com/wiki/Hippokrates> accessed 20 February 2019; which currently suggests that Hippocrates had to treat some patients in secret due to local resistance to his methods.
- 135 <http://thehealthmoderator.com/about-us/>.
- 136 <http://thehealthmoderator.com/the-great-hippocrates-father-of-modern-medicine/>.

- 137 Warner, 'Making history', 200.
- 138 Dale C. Smith, 'The Hippocratic Oath and modern medicine', *JHM*, 51 (1996), 493.
- 139 Wesley J. Smith, 'Defending the Hippocratic Oath; the importance of conscience in health care', *Human Life Review*, 35.1/2 (2009), 64.
- 140 Smith, 'Defending the Hippocratic Oath', 65.
- 141 <https://web.archive.org/web/20130925081055/http://www.reversingvaccineinduceddiseases.com/services> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 142 <http://gomerblog.com/2014/04/hippocratic-oath/>.
- 143 <https://www.panaynews.net/money-or-life/> 28 October 2018, accessed 20 February 2019. On the Act, see <http://apps.who.int/medicinedocs/en/d/Jh2943e/9.13.html#Jh2943e.9.13> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 144 <http://www.rethinkingcancer.org/resources/articles/who-was-hippocrates.php> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 145 <http://weeksmid.com/2012/10/hippocrates-did-20-years-in-prison/> accessed 20 February 2019.

Chapter 4

- 1 Whoever untied the knot would rule Asia: Alexander either cut it with his sword or took out the pin which kept the knot together so that he could remove the yoke from the pole; sources discussed in N.G.L. Hammond, *Sources for Alexander the Great: An analysis of Plutarch's Life and Arrian's Anabasis Alexandrou* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 217–8, on Arrian 2.3.7.
- 2 J.C. McKeown and Joshua M. Smith, *The Hippocrates Code: Unravelling the ancient mysteries of modern medical terminology* (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2016), ix. At other points, the book is more willing to accept the myths of Hippocrates as truth (e.g. 22: the myth that Hippocrates picked up his cures from the temple of Asclepius).
- 3 The Loeb Classical Library, which continues to expand its coverage of Hippocratic treatises, is behind a paywall, but open access online texts include: the Perseus Project, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman;Corpus_Medicorum_Graecorum, although few of the translations are into English, <http://galen.bbaw.de/epubl/online/editionen.html>; extracts from texts concerning women and medicine on Diotima, <http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/wlgr/wlgr-medicine.shtml>; Internet Classics Archive, Francis Adams' translations of selected Hippocratic treatises, <http://classics.mit.edu/Browse/index.html>, all accessed 20 February 2019.

- 4 Medline is one component of PubMed, which currently contains ‘more than 28 million citations for biomedical literature’, many of these full-text; it includes the Brill monograph series ‘Studies in Ancient Medicine’. Scopus, founded in 2004, claims to have a wider range in terms of subjects. Since 2013, it has been expanding its coverage of monographs and of edited volumes other than those published in a series. Simply checking on my own publications, Scopus will take the user only to a letter and a short piece I wrote for *The Lancet* and a review essay for *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*. PubMed includes, in addition to these, several very short pieces I published in *The Practising Midwife* and a letter to which I contributed in *Isis* in 2004. With Monica Green, I have discussed this phenomenon in ‘On the misuses of medical history’.
- 5 Schultze and Bytwerk, ‘Plausible quotations’, 226.
- 6 <https://www.ref.ac.uk/2014/panels/assessmentcriteriaandleveldefinitions/> accessed 20 February 2019. Impact is defined as ‘an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia’; <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/rsrch/REFImpact/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 7 For Gaea Products’ claim, see <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/172122016978930465/?lp=true> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 8 ‘Help the world discover dear leader’s accomplishments!’, 15 May 2012, <http://thepeoplescube.com/peoples-blog/barack-obama-history-s-party-crasher-t9000.html> accessed 20 February 2019; <http://thepeoplescube.com/> presents itself as ‘America through the eyes of a former Soviet agitprop artist’.
- 9 Jodi Owen (@JodiOwen16) on twitter, 2 October 2018. Operation Hypocritical Oath, explained as ‘a play on the Hippocratic oath taken by doctors’, was reported in <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-doctors-opioid-arrests-20190221-story.html> accessed 25 February 2019.
- 10 Carlo Giansanti, @carloccopper, believes that ‘Breathing copper clears lungs from any bacteria that enters the body’, <https://twitter.com/carloccopper>, and he regularly repeats variations on this tweet. On rectal examination, Dave Steele, @hullodave. Since April 2018 someone has tweeted as ‘Hippocrates’, @FirstlyDoNoHarm.
- 11 Asked by @stuartwilks. All tweets from 31 May 2012.
- 12 Stubbs and Bligh, *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick*, 53; Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times*, 46.
- 13 Steven H. Miles, *The Hippocratic Oath and the Ethics of Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2. The *Oath* is now invoked far more frequently than, for example, in 2004, when Nutton was still able to write that ‘Its provisions, however, are usually invoked only in debates about abortion and euthanasia’ (*Ancient Medicine*, 333 n.2).

- 14 Smith, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, 10–11, n.28. The best recent article on the *Oath* by a historian of ancient medicine remains von Staden, “‘In a pure and holy way’”.
- 15 I owe this reference to Cantor, ‘Introduction,’ 4; the script for ‘Round Springfield’ and discussion of the episode is now at <https://www.simpsonsarchive.com/episodes/2F32.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 16 <https://forensicoutreach.com/library/the-deadly-doctor-the-poisonous-pattern-that-gave-harold-shipman-away/> 13 June 2016, accessed 20 February 2019; David Ward and Helen Carter, ‘The doctor Jekyll of Hyde,’ *The Guardian*, 1 February 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/feb/01/shipman.health16> accessed on 20 February 2019. The *Panorama* programme, ‘The Man Who Played God,’ first broadcast on 31 January 2000, is currently available on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jHbWGmXcQE> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 17 E.g. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/body/hippocratic-oath-today.html#modern> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 18 Miles, *Hippocratic Oath*, 2.
- 19 Nutton, ‘What’s in an oath?’, 518; see also *ibid.*, ‘Hippocratic morality and modern medicine’ in Helmut Flashar and Jacques Jouanna (eds.), *Médecine et morale dans l’Antiquité: dix exposés suivis de discussions*, Genève, Vandoeuvres 1996 (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, Entretiens, 43, 1997).
- 20 ‘Hippocratic oath’ (2015). *The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia with Atlas and Weather Guide* (Abington, United Kingdom: Helicon, 2015), online version accessed 20 February 2019.
- 21 <http://www.aegeanislands.gr/islands/kos/KostheHippocraticOath.html>; <https://prezi.com/ykuf5o7atuz8/hippocrates/>; <http://www.actforlibraries.org/hippocrates-lived-in-460bc-and-is-still-considered-today-the-greek-father-of-the-of-western-medicine/> all accessed 20 February 2019.
- 22 Nutton, ‘What’s in an oath?’, 518–19 showed in 1995 that a formal ceremony involving the *Oath* ‘is a feature largely of this century’; <http://www.amednews.com/article/20060220/profession/302209962/6/> accessed 20 February 2019. The encyclopaedia published under the auspices of the Royal Society of Medicine has it right: ‘Although by no means universally used in graduation ceremonies, it is still taken by the graduates of many medical schools’ (Robert Youngson, *The Royal Society of Medicine Health Encyclopedia* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), s.v. ‘Hippocratic oath’).
- 23 Wootton, *Bad Medicine*, 2–3.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 7–8, 11, 34.
- 26 Nigel Cameron, ‘A future for medicine?’ (first published in 1991), in Guinan, *Hippocrates is Not Dead*, 65.

- 27 Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 241.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 251–6.
- 29 On ‘first do no harm’ and *primum non nocere*, see Cedric Smith, ‘Origin and uses of *primum non nocere* – above all, do no harm!’, *Journal of Clinical Pharmacology*, 45.4 (2005) and Daniel K. Sokol, ‘“First do no harm” revisited’, *BMJ*, 347 (6426) (2013). Diana Cardenas, ‘Let not thy food be confused with thy medicine: The Hippocratic misquotation’, *e-SPEN Journal* 8 (2013), cites Gerald de Lacey, Carol Record and Jenny Wade, ‘How accurate are quotations and references in medical journals?’, *BMJ (Clinical Research Ed.)*, 291 (6499) (1985), whose work on a sample of these journals found that ‘the original author was misquoted in 15% of all references, and most of the errors would have misled readers’ (de Lacey et al., ‘How accurate are quotations?’, 884).
- 30 De Lacey et al. ‘How accurate are quotations?’, 885.
- 31 Nutton, ‘What’s in an oath?’, 522.
- 32 Howard Markel, ‘I swear by Apollo’ – On taking the Hippocratic Oath’, *New England Journal of Medicine*, 350.20 (2004), 2026. He further writes (2028), ‘as I rise to take the oath with my peers, my heart grows full with reverence for the profession I have chosen’.
- 33 J. Aaron Johnson, ‘The vanishing oath’, *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, 61 (1964); also cited by Dale C. Smith, ‘The Hippocratic Oath and modern medicine’, *JHM*, 51 (1996), 497.
- 34 Justin Morgenstern, ‘The medical oath: honorable tradition or ancient ritual?’, *University of Western Ontario Medical Journal*, 78.1 (2008), 27; rather than abandon all oaths, he suggested that a new one be drawn up to focus on ‘the physician’s altruistic dedication to his patients’ (29).
- 35 D.C. Smith, ‘The Hippocratic Oath and modern medicine’, 484–5.
- 36 Johnson, ‘The vanishing oath’, 514. On the different versions of the Hippocratic Oath currently in use, see <http://www.amednews.com/article/20060220/profession/302209962/6/> accessed 20 February 2019; in addition to the 1964 Lasagna version this has one produced in 2005 by the Weill Cornell Medical College. A number of these oaths are collected on <http://www.aapsonline.org/ethics/oaths.htm> accessed 20 February 2019. Further variants feature in Erich H. Loewy, ‘Oaths for physicians: necessary protection or elaborate hoax?’, *Medscape General Medicine*, 9.1 (2000), 7. Many studies of regional variation in taking the Oath exist; for example, Robert D. Orr, Norman Pang, Edmund D. Pellegrino, D. and Mark Siegler, ‘Use of the Hippocratic Oath: A review of twentieth century practice and a content analysis of oaths administered in medical schools in the U.S. and Canada in 1993’, *Journal of Clinical Ethics*, 8 (1997).

- 37 At the time of writing, Imhotep does not feature in the article, but on 12 October 2011 the article included the line ‘There are also claims that point to Imhotep of ancient Egypt as history’s first physician’.
- 38 The Astrochologist presents his form of astrology as ‘classic astrology . . . a glorious form of astrology that steps away from many of the lousy principles of modern astrology and uses the proven wisdom of the ancients’, <https://astrochologist.com/store-2/road-space-find-21st-century-ebook/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 39 E.g. Marco Rossi, ‘Homer and Herodotus to Egyptian medicine’, *Vesalius Congress Supplement* (2010); <http://www.vesalius.org.uk/images/issues/specialdic2010.PDF> accessed 20 February 2019. Rossi was then in a department of anaesthesia, intensive care and pain medicine.
- 40 Jacques Jouanna, ‘Egyptian medicine and Greek medicine’ in Philip van der Eijk (ed.), *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected papers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 11 and 18–19; he traces this misguided notion to G. Lefebvre and J.F. Porge, ‘La médecine égyptienne’ in René Taton (ed.), *La science antique et médiévale. Des origines à 1450* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966).
- 41 18 January 2019, using the hashtags #colonhealthisimportant and #getclean.
- 42 <https://www.ancient.eu/timeline/imhotep/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 43 James H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical papyrus (facsimile and hieroglyphic transliteration with translation and commentary, in two volumes)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930) repeated for example (without attribution) on <https://www.pastmedicalhistory.co.uk/imhotep-the-first-physician/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 44 https://www.journeytothesource.info/black_athena.html accessed 20 February 2019. This site’s purpose is to show that ‘Black Africans were the creators of the entire world’s major ancient civilisations’, <https://www.journeytothesource.info/about.html> accessed 4 October 2018.
- 45 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imhotep> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 46 James P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 69; László Kákosy, ‘Some problems of the magical healing statues’, in Alessandro Roccati and Alberto Siliotti (eds.), *La Magia in Egitto ai tempi dei Faraoni* (Milan: Rassegna Internazionale di Cinematografia Archeologica Arte e Natura Libri, 1987); Campbell Price, ‘On the function of “healing” statues’ in Campbell Price, Roger Forshaw, Andrew Chamberlain, and Paul Nicholson (eds), *Mummies, Magic and Medicine in Ancient Egypt: Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

- 47 Friedhelm Hoffman, 'Ancient Egypt' in David J. Collins (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West: From antiquity to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 64.
- 48 Stubbs and Bligh, *Sixty Centuries of Health and Physick*, 67. Stubbs and Bligh had access to the English translations of the Corpus from the then-unpublished early volumes of the Loeb Classical Library (see Preface, x).
- 49 Edward T. Withington, *Medical history from the Earliest Times: A popular history of the healing art* (London: The Scientific Press, 1894), 22–3.
- 50 Garrison, *Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 41.
- 51 From the title of George G.M. James, *Stolen Legacy: The Egyptian origins of western philosophy* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954), described by Mary Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 125 as a nationalistic myth offering 'an explanation for past suffering' and 'a source of ethnic pride'.
- 52 <http://www.blackathena.com/outline.php> accessed 20 February 2019. The response of the academy can be summarized in Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*; Mary R. Lefkowitz and Guy Maclean Rogers (eds), *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Jacques Berlinerblau, *Heresy in the University: The Black Athena controversy and the responsibilities of American intellectuals* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999).
- 53 'Imhotep: the true Father of Medicine', posted 12 July 2015: <http://www.afrikanheritage.com/imhotep-the-true-father-of-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019. The story has been much copied. The source given is 'oakwood.edu' and the Wayback Machine provides evidence of its use up to the end of 2016: <http://www.oakwood.edu/historyportal/Research/otherside/imhotep.htm> accessed 20 February 2019. A respondent on Quora on 11 October, 2015, referencing the Oakwood piece, states 'Even Hippocrates considered Imhotep to be his mentor' <https://www.quora.com/What-are-some-things-invented-by-Africans> accessed 20 February 2019. This idea that Hippocrates knew the work of Imhotep is widely shared, for example Jide Uwechia's 'Even Hippocrates so called Greek Father of modern medicine was a devotee of Imhotep the Prince of Peace', <https://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/medical-science-africas-gift-to-the-world/> written 8 June 2007, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 54 Osler, *Evolution of Modern Medicine*, 10.
- 55 James H. Brien, 'Imhotep: The real father of medicine? An iconoclastic view', <https://www.healio.com/pediatrics/news/blogs/%7B475f0fed-3f4c-4767-9cd7-0725a4e1034d%7D/james-h-brien-do/imhotep-the-real-father-of-medicine-an-iconoclastic-view> published 6 October 2014; accessed 20 February 2019. Osler

- calls Hippocrates ‘Father of Medicine’ in *Evolution of Modern Medicine*, 60 and 66. I have found no evidence of him applying the title to Imhotep. Possibly this comes via a casual reading of Ruthie Johnson, *An Abridged History: Africa and her history* (Bloomington IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2014), 96: ‘[Imhotep] was the real Father of Medicine. He is, says Sir William Osler, “The first figure of a Physician to stand out clearly from the mists of antiquity”’. ‘Imhotep the first physician’, <https://www.pastmedicalhistory.co.uk/imhotep-the-first-physician/> 28 May 2016, accessed 20 February 2019, clearly depends on the same source.
- 56 <http://www.acwbinc.org/icm.html> accessed 20 February 2019; a link takes the reader direct to a translation of the Hippocratic Oath.
- 57 Anthony C. Pickett, ‘The oath of Imhotep: in recognition of African contributions to Western medicine’, *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 84.7 (1992); <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2571702/?page=2> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 58 The 2005 announcement of £180k in funding and Rosalie David’s January 2009 report, ‘Pharmacy in ancient Egypt’ in ‘Awards in focus’, are currently not on the Leverhulme Trust site, but the intention is to put up pdf versions in due course. My thanks to Bahia Dawatly for supplying me with the relevant documents.
- 59 This is an award-winning sustainability project working with the Bedouin community, focused on the 102 medicinal plants grown in the area: a full description following a 2012 award from a United Nations fund can be found on file://userdata/documents5/hk2455/Downloads/ST.%20CATHERINE%20MEDICINAL%20PLANTS%20ASSOCIATION.pdf accessed 20 February 2019. It does not mention the Manchester link.
- 60 <https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/egyptians-not-greeks-were-true-fathers-of-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019. There was also a Radio 4 programme on the ‘discovery’, http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/science/thematerialworld_20070503.shtml accessed 20 February 2019.
- 61 <https://web.archive.org/web/20180611171455/http://www.knhcentre.manchester.ac.uk/research/previousandcompletedresearch/pharmacyproject/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 62 For my response to similar claims for medieval European medicine, see ‘Why I wasn’t excited about the medieval remedy that works against MRSA’, <https://theconversation.com/why-i-wasnt-excited-about-the-medieval-remedy-that-works-against-mrsa-39719>, 9 April 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 63 Roger Highfield, ‘How Imhotep gave us medicine’, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/science/science-news/3293164/How-Imhotep-gave-us-medicine.html>, 10 May 2007, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 64 Ibid. The first phrase here is new; the second two are from the Manchester press release, <https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/egyptians-not-greeks-were-true-fathers-of-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019: 'Classical scholars have always considered the ancient Greeks, particularly Hippocrates, as being the fathers of medicine but our findings suggest that the ancient Egyptians were practising a credible form of pharmacy and medicine much earlier.'
- 65 Above, n.58.
- 66 Highfield, 'How Imhotep gave us medicine'.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 <http://www.colourfulradio.com/about> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 69 <https://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/medical-science-africas-gift-to-the-world/>, 8 June 2007, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 70 <http://deborahgabriel.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/ancient-egyptians-were-fathers-of-medicine15may2007.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019. This was written for the Black Britain site, launched in 1998 but no longer operational: <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/web-sites-light-and-darkness-underground-and-out-of-the-window-1172339.html>.
- 71 <http://deborahgabriel.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/ancient-egyptians-were-fathers-of-medicine15may2007.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 72 Evilena Anastasiou, Anastasia Papathanasiou, Lynne A. Scheparz and Piers D. Mitchell, 'Infectious disease in the ancient Aegean: Intestinal parasitic worms in the Neolithic to Roman Period inhabitants of Kea, Greece', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 17 (2018); online version published 14 December 2017.
- 73 Anastasiou et al., 'Infectious disease in the ancient Aegean', 864.
- 74 Ibid., 861.
- 75 Ibid., 860, 861.
- 76 This reference is Totelin, 'Old recipes, new practices?', which mentions neither humoral medicine, nor the humours. On the humours, see my 'Female fluids in the Hippocratic corpus: how solid was the humoral body?' in Peregrine Horden and Elisabeth Hsu (eds), *The Body in Balance* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).
- 77 Anastasiou et al., 'Infectious disease in the ancient Aegean', 860. The researchers (862) note that pig roundworm and human roundworm are difficult to distinguish; so it has to be possible that pig dung was present at the sites. The oddly late dating for 'Hippocrates' is on p. 864.
- 78 Constantinos Trompoukis, Vasilios German and Matthew E. Falagas, 'From the roots of parasitology: Hippocrates' first scientific observations in helminthology', *Journal of Parasitology*, 93.4 (2007).

- 79 Ibid., 971.
- 80 <https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/ancient-faeces-reveal-parasites-described-in-earliest-greek-medical-texts> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 81 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/2017/12/15/archaeologists-find-intestinal-worms-in-burials-from-the-time-of-hippocrates/#ea6ebda6c4e6>, 15 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019; tweet from @greekhistorypod, 16 December 2017.
- 82 @MicrobesInfect and @clasicasIEDA, both tweeted 16 December 2017.
- 83 Crystal, *Language and the Internet*, 144.
- 84 <https://www.livescience.com/61198-hippocrates-poop-parasites-proof.html>, 14 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 85 <https://www.newsweek.com/parasitic-worms-described-hippocrates-2500-years-ago-identified-ancient-poop-748949>, 15 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 86 <https://www.sciencealert.com/hippocrates-worms-confirmed-ancient-greek-faeces>, 18 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 87 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-5179559/Scientists-discover-parasites-described-Hippocrates.html>, 15 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 88 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kristinakillgrove/2017/12/15/archaeologists-find-intestinal-worms-in-burials-from-the-time-of-hippocrates/#39b9e9996c4e>, 15 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 89 <https://www.newhistorian.com/faeces-reveals-hippocrates-parasites-history-news-week/8427/>, 19 December 2018, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 90 <http://mentalfloss.com/article/521052/ancient-poop-contains-first-evidence-parasites-described-hippocrates>, 14 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 91 <https://www.livescience.com/61198-hippocrates-poop-parasites-proof.html>, 14 December 2017, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 92 Loeb, *Hippocrates* X, 165.
- 93 Loeb, *Hippocrates* VIII, 277; Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 23.
- 94 Rush, *Sixteen introductory lectures*, 292; above, p. 40.
- 95 Cecilia Tasca, Mariangela Rapetti, Mauro Giovanni Carta and Bianca Fadda, 'Women and hysteria in the history of mental health', *Clinical Practice and Epidemiology in Mental Health*, 8 (2012), 111: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3480686/>; blog post by Nadine Ducca, <http://www.nadineducca.cat/2016/04/why-women-are-hysterical-etymology.html>, 11 April 2016, accessed 20 February 2019 and using as a source Marquette University student Vanessa Traniello's undated report <https://academic.mu.edu/meissnerd/hysteria.html> accessed 20 February 2019; Robert A. Woodruff, 'Hysteria: an

- evaluation of objective diagnostic criteria by the study of women with chronic medical illnesses', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 114 (1974), 118. I have written elsewhere, on <https://mistakinghistories.wordpress.com/2018/08/25/quote-unquote-basic-errors-in-using-the-internet-for-doing-history/>, 25 August 2018, accessed 20 February 2019, about the way in which the internet gives authority to simple errors in a student essay.
- 96 As acknowledged for example by Jean-Philippe Catonné, 'Femmes et hystérie au XIXe siècle', *Annales médico-psychologiques*, 150.10 (1992).
- 97 King, *Hippocrates' Woman*, 34.
- 98 The title of a piece for Listverse by Mark Oliver, 3 January 2017, <https://listverse.com/2017/01/03/10-disgusting-facts-about-ancient-greek-life/> accessed 20 February 2019, which makes explicit the contrast between the 'fathers of democracy, men of a more civilized time who lived lives of meaning in the pursuit of truth' and the 'difficult, dirty, and often truly disgusting' realities of those lives.
- 99 Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: The invention of a medical category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 13.
- 100 Jean-Pierre Luauté, Olivier Saladini, Olivier Walusinski, 'L'arc de cercle des hystériques. Histoire, interprétations', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, 173 (2015), 391. The authors discussed their work with an expert on ancient medicine, Danielle Gourevitch. The arc shape, present in a second-century CE description, did not move to the foreground until the medieval period, when it was linked with demonic possession. For a review of the historiography of hysteria, see Mark Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and its interpretations* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- 101 Jeffrey M.N. Boss, 'The seventeenth-century transformation of the hysteric affection, and Sydenham's Baconian medicine', *Psychological Medicine*, 9 (1979), 232.
- 102 Arnaud, *On Hysteria*, 1 and 29.
- 103 Ibid., 30.
- 104 Edward Shorter, 'Paralysis – the rise and fall of a "hysterical" symptom', *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1986), 549.
- 105 Natalie L. Dinsdale and Bernard J. Crespi, 'Revisiting the wandering womb: oxytocin in endometriosis and bipolar disorder', *Hormones and Behavior*, 96.11 (2017), 69.
- 106 Micale, *Approaching Hysteria*, 220.
- 107 See my 'Once upon a text: the Hippocratic origins of hysteria' in Sander Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, George S. Rousseau and Elaine Showalter, *Hysteria Beyond Freud* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1993), 14–25. On later references to female desire in the history of hysteria, see Arnaud, *On Hysteria*, 73–6.

- 108 Rachel Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm: “Hysteria”, the vibrator and women’s sexual satisfaction* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Felicity Jones quoted in ‘Felicity Jones and the buzz about hysteria.’ *The Guardian*, 10 September 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2012/sep/10/felicity-jones-hysteria-interview> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 109 Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and illness in pre-Enlightenment art and medicine* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 240; see my review in *Medical History*, 40 (1996).
- 110 Discussed in more detail in Helen King, ‘Galen and the widow. Towards a history of therapeutic masturbation in ancient gynaecology’, *EuGeStA: Journal on Gender Studies in Antiquity*, 1 (2011), 206 citing <http://www.austinchronicle.com/books/1999-09-10/73756/>, 10 September 1999, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 111 Lesley Hall, (n.d.). ‘Doctors masturbating women as a cure for hysteria/“Victorian vibrators”, <http://www.lesleyahall.net/factoids.htm#hysteria> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 112 Hallie Lieberman and Eric Schatzberg, ‘A failure of academic quality control: *The Technology of Orgasm*’, *Journal of Positive Sexuality*, 4.2 (2018), <http://journalofpositivesexuality.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Failure-of-Academic-Quality-Control-Technology-of-Orgasm-Lieberman-Schatzberg.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 113 Discussed in detail in King, ‘Galen and the widow’.
- 114 Charles Daremberg, *Oeuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales de Galien* vol. 2 (Paris: Baillière, 1856); Henri Cesbron, *Histoire critique de l’hystérie* (Paris: Asselin et Houzeau, 1909); Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The history of a disease* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 38; Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The disturbing history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 211 on Veith as merely ‘a charming relic of an earlier age’ on account of the narrowly Freudian approach and ‘anachronistic lens’.
- 115 Vern L. Bullough, ‘Masturbation: a historical overview’ in Walter O. Bockting and Eli Coleman (eds), *Masturbation as a Means of Achieving Sexual Health* (New York: Haworth Press, 2003), 22.
- 116 King, ‘Galen and the widow’, 232.
- 117 Ibid., 222.
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Chapter 5

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- 40 Schultze and Bytwerk, ‘Plausible quotations’, 220.
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- 42 Morson, *Words of Others*, 130–1.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 94.
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- 45 *Ibid.*, 79 and 91.
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- 47 <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/may/16/ammon-obamacare-versus-the-hippocratic-oath/>, 16 May 2014, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 48 Quotation from Tony Briffa, ‘Intersex variations: Western medicine and the Hippocratic Oath’, 28 September 2018, <http://archermagazine.com.au/2018/09/intersex-variations-western-medicine-and-the-hippocratic-oath/> accessed 20 February 2019. The problem is acknowledged by Miles, *Hippocratic Oath*, 143.
- 49 http://www.answers.com/Q/what_did_the_hippocrates_do accessed 20 February 2019.

- 50 This is from Michael North's 2002 translation on https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/greek/greek_oath.html accessed 20 February 2019.
- 51 Almost correctly attributed at <https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Hippocrates> accessed 20 February 2019 although it gives Chapter 2 not Chapter 11 which links to the Adams translation on Wikisource, here given as 'have two special objects in view with regard to disease, namely, to do good or to do no harm', https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Of_the_Epidemics#Section_Two accessed 20 February 2019.
- 52 Parsons, *Doing Harm*, 39.
- 53 Ibid., 40.
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- 55 <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt8490842/> accessed 20 February 2019: the 'trivia' for the episode on IMdb read 'The episode title, "Primum Non Nocere", is Latin for "First, do no harm", an important ethical rule in the medical profession, meaning "even if you can't make the patient any better, at least make sure you don't make him any worse". *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, episode 'First Do No Harm': extract on <http://www.ign.com/videos/2018/08/08/assassins-creed-odyssey-12-minutes-of-exclusive-mission-gameplay>, accessed 20 February 2019.
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- 60 Ibid., 376.
- 61 Richards is a retired editor who worked with a medical journal. Reprinted on <https://piedtype.com/2011/08/15/first-do-no-harm-is-not-in-the-hippocratic-oath/>, 15 August 2011, accessed 20 February 2019.
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- 63 Sokol, '“First do no harm” revisited', 347. Smith is not listed in the references but they are the ones used by him. See pp. 103 and 120 for the hazards of doing this sort of survey work, as applied to Google Books.

- 64 Reviewed on <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/mar/19/do-no-harm-brain-surgery-henry-marsh-review> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 65 Miles, *Hippocratic Oath*, 144; <https://www.health.harvard.edu/blog/first-do-no-harm-201510138421>, 13 October 2015, accessed 20 February 2019. Similar points are made in Parsons, *Doing Harm*, 40–1.
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- 68 On how the diet works see for example Jong M. Rho, ‘How does the ketogenic diet induce anti-seizure effects?’, *Neuroscience Letters*, 637.1 (2017).
- 69 Reviewer ryanlupin, 10 December 2004, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0118526/reviews?ref_=tt_ov_rt accessed 20 February 2019. Another reviewer also talks about how the story encourages ‘people who need to take back responsibility for their families’ health’.
- 70 Von Staden, “‘In a pure and holy way’”; compare Nutton, ‘What’s in an oath?’, 519 on early variants on the *Oath* which omitted the references so that ‘The doctor no longer has any obligations, financial or otherwise, to his [sic] colleagues’.
- 71 Full movie currently available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HyeC9liFKpw> accessed 20 February 2019. For a collection of versions of the *Oath* which could lie behind this creation, see <http://www.aapsonline.org/ethics/oaths.htm> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 72 Discussed by Lederer, ‘Hippocrates American style’, 252–3; the film was based on the best-selling novel of 1935, by Lloyd C. Douglas.
- 73 Julia Hubbel, ‘How doctors manage to make us even sicker: the problem with being female and needing healthcare’, <https://medium.com/@jhubbel/how-doctors-manage-to-make-us-even-sicker-a3c83d1d3d96>, 31 July 2018 accessed 20 February 2019.
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- 77 <https://www.naturalnews.com/Quote-Walking-Best-Medicine-Hippocrates.html#> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 78 <https://www.psychologytoday.com/gb/blog/the-athletes-way/201506/hippocrates-was-right-walking-is-the-best-medicine>, posted 12 June 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.

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- 80 https://every48.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/9_05_14_hippocrates-meme.gif accessed 20 February 2019. The ellipsis is not in the original; there are no words omitted here. On the relationship between food and exercise in the Hippocratic Corpus, see Hyněk Bartoš, *Philosophy and Dietetics in the Hippocratic On Regimen: A delicate balance of health* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).
- 81 Galen, *Alim. Fac.* 1.1 (Helmreich 213.6–8), trans. Grant.
- 82 Tipton, ‘The history of “Exercise Is Medicine” in ancient civilizations’, *Advances in Physiology Education*, 38.2 (2014); <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4056176/> accessed 20 February 2019. On the EIM initiative, see https://www.exerciseismedicine.org/support_page.php/about-eim5/ and the 2017 conference site of the European version of the scheme, <http://exerciseismedicine.eu/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 83 Jack W. Berryman, ‘Exercise is Medicine: A historical perspective’, *Current Sports Medicine Reports*, 9.4, July–August 2010; <https://depts.washington.edu/bhdept/facres/CurrSports%20Med%20Reports.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 84 Tipton, ‘Exercise Is Medicine’, 109.
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- 86 Adams, *Genuine Works* Vol. 1, 285 (*Regimen in Acute Diseases*, part 3); <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/acutedis.3.3.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 87 *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, 9 (the division of sections is entirely different to that used by Littré and then by Adams); Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 71.
- 88 *Diseases* 2, 48 and 49 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* V, 281).
- 89 *Internal Affections*, 10 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* VI, 105).
- 90 *Internal Affections*, 12 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* VI, 111). One stade is 185 metres.
- 91 Nikitas Nomikos, C. Trompoukis, Chris Lamprou, and G. Nomikos, ‘The role of exercise in Hippocratic medicine’, *American Journal of Sports Science and Medicine*, 4 (2016); <http://pubs.sciepub.com/ajssm/4/4/6/> accessed 20 February 2019. The standard of English in this article is poor, and cries out for the intervention of an editor.
- 92 There is also ‘*Regimen* VII’ which does not exist; this confusion arises because here the VII is a chapter number rather than a treatise identifier. The authors appear to think that all the Hippocratic texts with ‘*Regimen*’ in the title are part of one treatise.
- 93 Nomikos et al., ‘The role of exercise’, 115 and 117.
- 94 *Regimen* 2, 63 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 353–5). See also the advice on ‘plenty of natural exercises and long runs with the cloak worn’ in *Regimen* 4, 69 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 431).

- 95 Lesley Dean-Jones, 'Too much of a good thing: the health of Olympic athletes in ancient Greece', in Susan E. Brownell (ed.), *From Athens to Beijing: West Meets East in the Olympic Games*, Vol. I: *Sport, the Body and Humanism in Ancient Greece and China* (New York: Greekworks, 2013).
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- 97 Nomikos et al., 'The role of exercise', 116; *Regimen* 2, 62 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 351).
- 98 *Regimen* 2, 61 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 349).
- 99 Bernard Jensen, *Foods That Heal: A guide to understanding and using the healing powers of natural foods* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), xii and 3.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 4.

Chapter 6

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- 2 Merchandise offered on <https://www.zazzle.co.uk/let+food+be+thy+medicine+gifts> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 3 <http://www.digitaljournal.com/pr/3864905#ixzz5N0Ch04jI> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 4 http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Did_Hippocrates_say_let_food_by_thy_medicine_and_medicine_by_thy_food accessed 20 February 2019.
- 5 Adidas Wilson, *The Alkaline Diet CookBook: The alkaline meal plan to balance your pH, reduce body acid, lose weight and have amazing health* (self-published, 2013), 1.
- 6 <https://hermeticahealth.me/2012/09/06/the-doctor-aka-my-dad/> 6 September 2012 accessed 20 February 2019. The spelling error also appears on, *inter alia*, <https://www.sacredsparklez.com/nutrition-and-food/> and <https://holmanhealthconnections.com/let-food-be-thy-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019 but this page is not dated, so it is unclear who is copying whom or whether this is just a common mistake.
- 7 <https://agnostic.com/post/173278/i-am-into-the-hippocrates-maxim-make-food-your-medicine-and-make-medicine-your-food-if-you-can> accessed 25 October 2018.
- 8 Juliana Adelman and Lisa Haushoffer, 'Introduction: Food as medicine, medicine as food', *JHM*, 73.2 (2018).
- 9 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 10 Richard Caton, 'Hippocrates and the newly-discovered health temple of Cos', *BMJ*, 10 March (1906), 572.

- 11 Jacques Jouanna, 'Regimen in the Hippocratic corpus: *diata* and its problems', in DJR, 214.
- 12 Bartoš, *Philosophy and Dietetics*, 34; Manetti, *Anonymus Londinensis*. For *On Ancient Medicine*, see most recently Ralph Rosen, 'Towards a Hippocratic anthropology: *On Ancient Medicine* and the origins of humans', in DJR. On the range of meanings of the Greek *diata*, see Jouanna, 'Regimen in the Hippocratic corpus', 211–16.
- 13 Celsus, *On Medicine*, preface 9; discussed by Totelin, 'When foods become remedies in ancient Greece: The curious case of garlic and other substances', *Journal of Ethnopharmacology*, 167 (2015), 34 as 'not quite present in the Hippocratic treatises themselves'.
- 14 Saumell, 'New lights on the *Anonymus Londinensis*', 133–4, n.68; Jouanna, 'Regimen in the Hippocratic corpus', 224.
- 15 Anon. Lond. 7.15–24. See Manetti, *Anonymus Londinensis* and, for an English translation, W.H.S. Jones, *The Medical Writings of Anonymus Londinensis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947).
- 16 Bartoš, *Philosophy and Dietetics in the Hippocratic On Regimen*, 16.
- 17 Totelin, 'When foods become remedies', 32 citing the ps-Aristotelian *Problems* 842b.
- 18 Use of 'our'; e.g. an academic site for an Institute of Nutrition Science, <https://www.nyas.org/media/14916/sackler-institute-brochure.pdf> but also on fitness quotes sites such as <http://www.theiflife.com/top-health-fitness-quotes/>; 'Eat your food like your medicines or else you will eat your medicines like food', <https://www.practo.com/healthfeed/eat-your-food-like-medicine-27500/post>; <https://nhchaltonoakville.wordpress.com/>, 1 October 2017; also on <https://www.amazingdietsolutions.com/just-one-tablespoon-of-extra-virgin-olive-oil-every-morning-is-super-healthy-for-you-here-is-why/>, 20 February 2018, all accessed 20 February 2019.
- 19 Lindsay M. Jaacks and Alexandra L. Bellows, 'Let food be thy medicine: linking local food and health systems to address the full spectrum of malnutrition in low-income and middle-income countries', *BMJ Global Health*, 2.4 (2017); <http://gh.bmj.com/content/2/4/e000564> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 20 <http://healthyhomecafe.com/let-food-be-thy-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019. The 'let food by thy medicine' version is also that used by Brian Clement, *Supplements Exposed: The truth they don't want you to know about vitamins, minerals, and their effects on your health* (Franklin Lakes NJ: The Career Press, 2010), 88; is the typo a clue to who copied whom?
- 21 Curry soup: <https://bestwinterhavencoffeehouse.wordpress.com/2017/01/17/curry-soup-and-glaucoma-let-food-by-thy-medicine-and-medicine-thy-food-hippocrates/> accessed 20 February 2019. Celery: "Let food be thy medicine and

- medicine be thy food.” So goes the well-known quote attributed to Hippocrates, the ancient Greek physician who is sometimes referred to as the father of Western medicine. Whenever we include celery in our meals, we are doing just what Hippocrates advised’, <http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/75933-celery-the-balancer/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 22 <https://sciencebasedmedicine.org/let-food-be-thy-medicine-and-medicine-be-thy-food-the-fetishism-of-medicinal-foods/> accessed 20 February 2019. The article is introduced by: ‘Let food be thy medicine and medicine be thy food – attributed to Hippocrates. Who said anything about medicine? Let’s eat! – attributed to one of Hippocrates forgotten (and skeptical) students’.
- 23 *Vegetarian Times*, January 1988, 19.
- 24 Martin Luther Holbrook, *Eating for Strength, or, Food and Diet in Their Relation to Health and Work* (New York: M.L. Holbrook and Co, 1888), Preface and 34.
- 25 <https://christyharrison.com/foodpsych/4/how-to-leave-the-religion-of-dieting-with-alan-levinovitz> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 26 Louis Rosenfeld, ‘Vitamine—vitamin. The early years of discovery’, *Clinical Chemistry*, 43.4 (1997).
- 27 <https://draxe.com/food-is-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 28 See for example <https://www.practo.com/healthfeed/eat-your-food-like-medicine-27500/post> accessed 20 February 2019. In a recent online article, ‘Hippocrates would have wanted you to eat cake’, 15 February 2019, Sarah Scullin examined ‘appeals to antiquity in fad dieting’: <https://eidolon.pub/hippocrates-would-have-wanted-you-to-eat-cake-d5127ca40e09> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 29 Jouanna, ‘Regimen in the Hippocratic corpus’, 225–6.
- 30 <http://www.answers.com/Q/FAQ/8893> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 31 ‘A note from Steven Gundry’ on https://goop.com/wellness/health/uncensored-a-word-from-our-doctors/?utm_source=impactradius&utm_medium=affiliate&utm_campaign=10079_OnlineTrackingLink&irgwc=1 accessed 20 February 2019.
- 32 Rob Kutch, ‘A weight loss idea on the edge . . . Part One’, 6 February 2013, <https://renovatingyourmind.com/2013/02/06/a-weight-loss-ideas-on-the-edge-part-one/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 33 Rob Kutch, ‘Imagine doctors writing out a prescription for healthy foods to prevent disease’, 11 April 2004, <https://renovatingyourmind.com/2014/04/11/imagine-doctors-writing-out-a-prescriptions-for-healthy-foods-to-prevent-disease/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 34 ‘Dr Hip Pocrates’ was the nickname of Eugene Schoenfeld, a 1960s advice columnist, and there is a song entitled ‘Dr Hip’ by Country Joe McDonald; Cantor, ‘Western medicine since the Renaissance’, 383. Kutch also chats with Shakespeare

- and Einstein: <https://renovatingyourmind.com/2017/02/21/love-on-a-quantum-entanglement-scale-featuring-alcoholic-hallucinations-with-shakespeare-and-einstein/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 35 Kutch, 'Imagine doctors writing out a prescription.'
- 36 'Let food be thy medicine: Nutrition for inflammation', <http://www.fitnessnetwork.com.au/resources-library/let-food-be-thy-medicine-nutrition-for-inflammation> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 37 ἐν τροφῇ φαρμακεῖη ἄριστον, ἐν τροφῇ φαρμακεῖη φλαῦρον, φλαῦρον καὶ ἄριστον πρὸς τι.
- 38 W.H.S. Jones, 'Introduction' to *On Nutriment* in Loeb, *Hippocrates I*, 338–9.
- 39 Heinrich von Staden, *Herophilus: the Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria: Edition, Translation and Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77.
- 40 Totelin, 'When foods become remedies', 31.
- 41 Jones, 'Introduction', 337 and 340.
- 42 Adams, *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, 117.
- 43 John Chadwick and William Mann, *The Medical Works of Hippocrates* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1950), 2; currently online in the Penguin version in full at https://storage.googleapis.com/global-help-publications/books/help_hippocraticwritings.pdf accessed 20 February 2019.
- 44 Menahem Luz, 'The philosophical background of Hippocrates' *On Nutriment*' in Konstantine J. Boudouris (ed.), *Philosophy and Medicine Vol. I* (Alimos: Ionia Publications, 1998), 117–18.
- 45 Above, Chapter 2; Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 13.
- 46 Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 73.
- 47 Mark Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.
- 48 Galen, *On the Powers of Foods* (K VI 467.14–468.4); Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet*, 73.
- 49 Ibid., 74.
- 50 Ibid., 73.
- 51 Diana Cardenas, 'Let Not Thy Food Be Confused with Thy Medicine: The Hippocratic misquotation', *E-SPEN, The European e-Journal of Clinical Nutrition and Metabolism*, 8 (6) (December 1, 2013), 260; currently available as a free download from Researchgate.
- 52 Ibid., 261.
- 53 <https://honey-guide.com/2017/10/31/hippocratic-misquotations-let-thy-quotations-not-be-by-hippocrates/> accessed 20 February 2019. The methodological problems of using Ngram in this way are addressed by Eitan Adam Pechenick, Christopher M. Danforth and Peter Sheridan Dodd, 'Characterizing the Google Books Corpus: Strong limits to inferences of socio-cultural and linguistic

- evolution,' *PLOS One*, 7 October 2015; <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0137041> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 54 *Public Opinion*, 130 (1921), 562.
- 55 Pers. comm.
- 56 Anon., 'To Correspondents,' *The People's Medical Journal, and Family Physician*, 8.1 (1850), 64.
- 57 Other references given by Popik include a story in the 22 July 1913 *Kansas City, MO Star*, without the name of Hippocrates: https://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/let_food_be_your_medicine_and_medicine_be_your_food, 26 March 2013, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 58 Keating n.d. Chiropractors often use a Hippocratic 'quote' to lend authority to their theories: 'Oddly enough it was Hippocrates, widely regarded as the Father of (Western) Medicine who said, "First and foremost, look to the spine for the cause of disease". It seems that Hippocrates used to manipulate the joints of the spine while tractioning the spine to correct low back and leg pain. Does that make the Father of Medicine the Father of Chiropractic?' (<https://drwells.net/history-development-of-chiropractic/> accessed 20 February 2019). This comes from *On Joints*, 45 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* III, 289; Jones's translation: 'One should first get a knowledge of the structure of the spine; for this is also requisite for many diseases').
- 59 Gustave Haas, *Health Through Sunshine and Diet* (Los Angeles: Gem Publishing Company, 1926), 1. Brian Clement of the Hippocrates Health Institute, discussed in Chapter 7 below, also has strong views about food ripened in the sun's rays.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 5. This is one year earlier than Dalby's finding of the quote being 'first attributed to Hippocrates'.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 161. The ten Normalettes are described in full in *Health Secrets of the Desert* (Long Beach CA: Health Laboratories, 1925), 24, which advertises Haas's book: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31822035082866;view=1up;seq=2> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 63 Haas, *Health Through Sunshine*, 162.
- 64 Gayelord Hauser, *Gayelord Hauser's Dictionary of Foods* (1932), New York: Benedict Lust Publications 1970), vii.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 66 Max Gerson, *A Cancer Therapy: Results of fifty cases* (New York: Dura Books, 1958), 79. On Gerson see American Cancer Society, 'Unproven Methods of Cancer Management: Gerson Method,' *CA: A Cancer Journal for Clinicians*, 40.4 (1990).
- 67 <http://www.treating-cancer-alternatively.com/Hippocrates-Soup.html> and <https://juicing-for-health.com/hippocrates-soup> accessed 20 February 2019.

- 68 <https://topnaturalremedies.net/home-remedies/hippocrates-miraculous-soup-detoxification-cancer-chronic-diseases-weight-loss/> accessed 20 February 2019. The site dates Hippocrates to 550 BCE. Max Gerson, 'The cure of advanced cancer by diet therapy: a summary of 30 years of clinical experimentation,' *Physiological Chemistry and Physics*, 10.5 (1978); recipe (often specifying unpeeled vegetables and/or distilled water, e.g. on <http://gerson-research.org/hippocrates-soup/> accessed 20 February 2019); see also <https://topnaturalremedies.net/home-remedies/hippocrates-miraculous-soup-detoxification-cancer-chronic-diseases-weight-loss/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 69 *Vegetarian Times*, 49 (September 1981), 82.
- 70 <https://www.motherearthliving.com/food-and-recipes/vegetarian-recipes/hippocrates-famous-green-juice-recipe-zerz1506zdeb> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 71 Further examples are discussed by Sarah Scullin, <https://eidolon.pub/hippocrates-would-have-wanted-you-to-eat-cake-d5127ca40e09> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 72 http://www.answers.com/Q/Why_may_Hippocrates_be_called_the_father_of_western_medicine accessed 20 February 2019.
- 73 Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 332–6.
- 74 Galen, *On the properties of foodstuffs*, 21; Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet*, 126; Owen Powell, *Galen On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87.
- 75 Von Staden, *Herophilus*, 425.
- 76 U. Satyanarayana and U. Chakrapani, *Biochemistry*, 4th edition (New Delhi: Elsevier, 2014), 118; also found in many online sites.
- 77 H.A. Hajar Al Binali, 'Night blindness and ancient remedy', *Heart Views*, 15.4 (2014). This picks up a similar observation that, in Java, the liver is often fed to the patient even though the description of the therapy omits any mention of this, made in a letter to the editor of *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 31.9 (1978), 1489. For more references to ancient sources, see D. Brouzas, A. Charokidas, M. Vasilakis, *et al.*, 'Nyctalopia in antiquity: a review of the ancient Greek, Latin, and Byzantine literature', *Ophthalmology*, 108 (2001) and Gerald A. Fishman, 'A historical perspective on the early treatment of night blindness and the use of dubious and unproven treatment strategies for patients with retinitis pigmentosa', *Journal of Ophthalmology*, 58 (2013), 653, but citing Brouzas *et al.* as its only Hippocratic evidence.
- 78 This treatise appears to be an excerpt from a surgical manual; Elizabeth Craik, 'The Hippocratic treatise *Peri opsios* (*De videndi acie*, *On the origin of sight*)' in Philip J. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context: Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27–31 August 2002)* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 197 notes that squirting cucumber is more closely associated

- with the gynaecological treatises, and there are several other linguistic links to those texts. On the remedy, see also Danielle Gourevitch, 'Le dossier philologique de nyctalope' in Mirko D. Grmek (ed.). *Hippocratica: Actes du colloque hippocratique de Paris (4–9 septembre 1978)* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1980).
- 79 Craik, 'Peri opsios', 200.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Von Staden, *Herophilus*, 425–6.
- 82 Anon. *Garlic* (Pomeroy WA: Health Research Books, 1983), 7.
- 83 Ibid., 14.
- 84 C. Gary Hullquist, *Garlic: Nature's Perfect Prescription* (Brushton NY: TEACH Services, Inc., 1996), 7; first published in 1983.
- 85 Series 4, broadcast 18 August 2014.
- 86 'Watercress – *Nasturtium officinale*', April 2009; <https://gardenofeaden.blogspot.com/2009/04/watercress-nasturtium-officinale.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 87 <https://www.bwqualitygrowers.com/watercress/history-and-facts/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 88 <https://www.healwithfood.org/articles/watercress-oldest-healing-food.php> accessed 20 February 2019. See also <https://lizearlewellbeing.com/top-5-health-benefits-of-watercress/> accessed 20 February 2019, which repeats 'cure of cures' but adds a little doubt with regard to the hospital: 'even went so far as to reputedly build his first hospital in Kos near a river so he could grow it specifically for his patients'. The 'cure of cures' is repeated in Jennifer Thompson, *Green Smoothies for Dummies* (Hoboken NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 49.
- 89 'Clean your body with watercress', 4 April 2014; <http://www.headpositivemom.com/clean-your-body-with-watercress/> accessed 20 February 2019. Hoerner is an integrative nutritionist, aromatherapist and life coach; <https://www.headpositivemom.com/work-with-me/recover-your-positiveness/> accessed 20 February 2019. 'Blood disorders' are mentioned in other discussions of Hippocrates and watercress, for example a growers' site, <https://www.bwqualitygrowers.com/watercress/history-and-facts/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 90 <http://allaboutthekale.blogspot.com/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 91 E.g. <https://www.bwqualitygrowers.com/watercress/history-and-facts/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 92 <http://kitchenherbwife.blogspot.com/2009/06/summer-weeds-watercress-and-sorrel.html>, 30 June 2009 accessed 20 February 2019. Either or both of these sentences are repeated on other sites e.g. <https://www.britishleafysalads.co.uk/know/leaf-guide.shtml> accessed 20 February 2009.
- 93 *Diseases of Women* 1, 44 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 106); 1, 88 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 226).

- 94 *Diseases of Women* 2, 24 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* XI, 330).
- 95 *Superfetation* 31 (Loeb, *Hippocrates* X, 344).
- 96 <https://altnature.com/gallery/watercress.htm> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 97 <https://www.bwqualitygrowers.com/watercress/history-and-facts/>; <https://herbsarespecial.com.au/plant-information/herb-information/watercress/> both accessed 20 February 2019.
- 98 James C. Whorton, *Inner Hygiene: Constipation and the pursuit of health in modern society* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 253: see Barry's syndicated column which appeared, *inter alia*, in the *Chicago Tribune*, 21 March 1993, 59 (http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-03-21/features/9303200357_1_middle-class-middle-class-tax-relief; this site is currently not available in Europe).
- 99 Whorton, *Inner Hygiene*, 22–7.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 246–57.
- 101 K.W. Heaton, 'Regular review: Dietary fibre', *BMJ*, 300 (6738) (1990), 1479–80. He noted that feeding people small bits of plastic increased intestinal transit speed in the same way as wheat bran, suggesting that stimulating the lining of the colon was the reason for relieving constipation. On the role of Denis Burkitt – 'Fibre Man' – in the creation of the fibre hypothesis, see John H. Cummings and Amanda Engineer, 'Denis Burkitt and the origins of the dietary fibre hypothesis', *Nutrition Research Reviews*, 31.1 (2018).
- 102 Louisa Lyon, "All disease begins in the gut": was Hippocrates right? *Brain*, 141.3 (2018), 4; <https://neoskosmos.com/en/43228/hippocrates-was-right-let-food-be-bthy-medicine-mind-gut-connection/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 <http://positivemed.com/2016/03/15/colon-cleanse/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 105 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tJieeGxQO38> accessed 20 February 2019; <http://www.drfrances.co.nz/probiotics.html> accessed 20 February 2019; on Mechnikov, see https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1908/mechnikov-bio.html accessed 20 February 2019.
- 106 Gary R. Lichtenstein, 'Letter from the editor', *Gastroenterology & Hepatology*, 9.9 (2013), 552: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3983972/>.
- 107 Rolf Stuhmer, *The Big Book of Health* (Zurich: PSM Publishing, 2000), 143.
- 108 https://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/death_begins_in_the_colon, 12 September 2011, accessed 23 November 2017.
- 109 Whorton, *Inner Hygiene*, 182.
- 110 John Harvey Kellogg, 'The rise of bran', *Good Health* 63.5 (1928), 36–7, summarized in William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi, *History of Seventh-Day Adventist Work with Soyfoods, Vegetarianism, Meat Alternatives, Wheat Gluten*,

- Dietary Fiber and Peanut Butter (1863–2013)* (Lafayette, CA: Soyinfo Center, 2014), 179.
- 111 Sylvester Graham, *A Treatise on Bread, and Breadmaking* (Boston, MA: Light and Stearns, 1837), 59. On Graham, see James C. Whorton, 'Patient, heal thyself: popular health reform movements as unorthodox medicine' in Norman Gevitz (ed.), *Other Healers: Unorthodox medicine in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 60–7 and Levinovitz, *The Gluten Lie*, 79. Both Graham and Kellogg believed that sweet foods and spices led to masturbation; Levinovitz, *The Gluten Lie*, 110. Recipes for the Graham cracker are still available online, made with Graham flour (wholewheat, unbleached, unrefined: <https://www.hodgsonmill.com/products/homemade-graham-crackers> accessed 20 February 2019).
 - 112 The phrase turns up in the 1970s in the work of Peter G. Lindner, with a feature in various local newspapers in 1978 citing an editorial by him in the journal *Obesity/Bariatric Medicine*; e.g. <https://newspaperarchive.com/ottumwa-courier-aug-12-1978-p-5/> accessed 20 February 2019.
 - 113 Hugh Trowell, 'The development of the concept of dietary fiber in human nutrition', *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 31.10 (1974).
 - 114 Denis P. Burkitt and Gene A. Spiller, 'Dietary fiber: from early hunter-gatherers to the 1980s' in Gene A. Spiller (ed.), *CRC Handbook of Dietary Fiber in Human Nutrition* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 3rd edition, 2001: first edition 1986), 3; see in the same volume Hans Englyst and Geoffrey Hudson, 'Dietary fiber analysis as non-starch polysaccharides (NSPS)', 69.
 - 115 Joanne L. Slavin and Beate Lloyd, 'Health benefits of fruit and vegetables', *Advances in Nutrition* 3.4 (2012) (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3649719/>); <https://wholegrainscouncil.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/SlavinArticle0504.pdf> both accessed 20 February 2019.
 - 116 Maurice H. Lessof, *Food Intolerance* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1992), 11 citing Royal College of Physicians, 'Medical aspects of dietary fibre' (London: Pitman Medical, 1980).
 - 117 Loeb, *Hippocrates* IV, 307–9. This is not *On Regimen in Acute Diseases* II, XL, 1 (which does not exist) as is claimed by Hara Procopiou, 'Barley meal processing in the ancient world: a look at diversity' in Annelou van Gijn, John Whittaker, Patricia C. Anderson (eds), *Exploring and Explaining Diversity in Agricultural Technology* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 245, although Procopiou correctly has barley rather than wheat as the context of the *Regimen* passage.
 - 118 K.D. White, 'Cereals, bread and milling in the Roman world' in John Wilkins, David Harvey and Mike Dobson (eds), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), 43 n.7.

- 119 Petronius, *Satyricon* 66.1; *et cum mea re [causa] facio, non ploro*; in the 1913 Loeb translation by Michael Heseltine, ‘it puts strength into you, and is good for the bowels’.
- 120 Athenaeus 3, 110e: Alexis mentions the bread in his play *The Man from Cyprus*.
- 121 Celsus, *On Medicine* 2.18.4.
- 122 Galen, *Method of Medicine to Glaucon* 2.
- 123 Loeb, *Hippocrates* VI, 139.
- 124 Loeb *Hippocrates* VI, 145. The term translated here as ‘cavity’ is *koiliê*, intestines.
- 125 Loeb, *Hippocrates* VI, 177.
- 126 <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/herbal-tea-experience-store-opens-in-nyc-offering-ancient-remedies-for-modern-living-300723375.html>, 3 October 2018, accessed 20 February 2019. Also found on quotes sites, e.g. <https://quote fancy.com/quote/829265/Hippocrates-Foolish-the-doctor-who-despises-the-knowledge-acquired-by-the-ancients>; <https://www.azquotes.com/quote/949377> accessed 20 February 2019; Greek Medicine (a site I will discuss more in Chapter 7), http://www.greekmedicine.net/therapies/Herbal_Medicine.html accessed 20 February 2019; and a letter to the *BMJ* by Kevin Ong, listing ten medical quotes, on 5 February 2018: <https://www.bmj.com/rapid-response/2011/10/29/10-quotes-being-good-doctor> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 127 Peter McDonald, *Oxford Dictionary of Medical Quotations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 47 gives as his source Michel Odent’s *Entering the World: The way to gentle, loving birth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 6 (first published 1976), and this attribution is repeated on <https://www.azquotes.com/quote/949377>. It is used as one of Odent’s four opening quotations, but without further attribution.
- 128 <http://historum.com/general-history/32642-sourcing-hippocratic-quote.html> accessed 20 February 2019. It is not only found on such websites; it also features, for example, in Kathie Madonna Swift and Gerard E. Mullin, *The Inside Tract: Your good gut guide to great digestive health* (New York: Rodale, 2011), 16.
- 129 <http://www.southbaytotalhealth.com/Nutrition.htm> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 130 http://theshineonhealth.com/index.php?p=1_16 accessed 21 November 2017; account now suspended.
- 131 E. Shyong Tai and Peter J. Gillies (eds), *Nutrigenomics: Opportunities in Asia* (2007), 67; this book opens with a chapter mentioning LFBTM (p. 1).
- 132 Gunther B. Paulien, *The Divine Prescription and Science of Health and Healing* (Fort Oglethorpe, GA: TEACH Services Inc, 1995). Paulien comes from a prominent SDA family and worked at their Canadian Union College, now Burman University.

- 133 Edward Hopper, *The Dutch Pilgrim Fathers, and other poems, humorous and not humorous* (New York, Hurd and Houghton; Boston, E.P. Dutton and company, 1865), 42; <https://archive.org/details/dutchpilgrimfath00hopp> accessed 20 February 2019. A possible correlation is with the Louis Lasagna version of the *Oath*, in which the doctor is asked to ‘remember that . . . warmth, sympathy and understanding may outweigh the surgeon’s knife or the chemist’s drug,’ <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/article/hippocratic-oath-today/> accessed 20 February 2019.

Chapter 7

- 1 Quotation from Vanessa Heggie, ‘Specialization without the hospital: the case of British Sports Medicine,’ *Medical History*, 54.4 (2010), 458.
- 2 Above, p. 37.
- 3 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 3 and 6.
- 4 See for an overview Max Neuburger, ‘An historical survey of the concept of Nature from a medical viewpoint,’ *Isis*, 35.1 (1944); see also John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical practice, knowledge, and identity in America, 1820–1885* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 21 on the reluctance of some physicians to give Nature a ‘personality’, and John Harley Warner, “‘The nature-trusting heresy’: American physicians and the concept of the healing power of nature in the 1850’s and 1860’s,” *Perspectives in American History*, 11 (1977–8). For the *mediatrix* variant, within alternative medicine journals see for example Robert B. Jackson, ‘Vis mediatrix naturae, vital force to innate intelligence and concepts for 2000,’ *Journal of Chiropractic Humanities*, 10 (2001), 41 or Mike Money, ‘Shamanism as a healing paradigm for complementary therapy,’ *Complementary Therapies in Nursing & Midwifery*, 7 (2001), 126. Naturopathic sites often just repeat the (correct) phrase as if we all knew what it meant; e.g. ‘Hippocrates, 460BC–370 BC, who is considered to be the father of medicine, introduced Vis Medicatrix Naturae — the concept of the healing power of nature,’ <https://eatbreaththegarden.com/horticulture-and-health-according-to-three-wise-men/>, 6 January 2016, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 5 G. Munro Smith, ‘Vis Medicatrix Naturae: Inaugural Address at the Annual Meeting of the Bath and Bristol Branch of the British Medical Association,’ *Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal*, 27 (106) (1909), 321 attributes (‘as far as I can discover’) the Latin phrase to William Cullen.
- 6 Pamela Snider and Roger Newman Turner, ‘Nature cure in Europe: the transatlantic journey from pragmatism to principles,’ *Naturopathic Doctor News*

- and Reviews, October 2010, 8–9, <http://wwwFOUNDATIONSproject.com/documents/NDNR-reprint%20oct2010%20Turner-Snider.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019. The mistaken claims about *nature* probably derive from the Wikipedia article which states that *vis medicatrix naturae* is ‘also known as *natura medica*’ accessed 20 February 2019.
- 7 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vis_medicatrix_naturae accessed 20 February 2019.
 - 8 Hosimi Hiroshi, ‘On Vis medicatrix naturae and Hippocratic idea of physis,’ *Memoirs of School of Health Sciences, Faculty of Medicine, Kanazawa University*, 22 (1998) is often cited as evidence that ‘The power, called vis medicatrix naturae, has been traditionally associated [sic] with Hippocrates in spite of the fact that he did never mention it anywhere clearly in his writings,’ <https://web.archive.org/web/20080610160955/http://sciencelinks.jp/j-east/article/199907/000019990799A0162403.php> accessed 20 February 2019. For once, I think there is more Hippocratic justification for the phrase than has been acknowledged.
 - 9 *Epidemics* 6.5.1; Loeb, *Hippocrates* VII, 255 note a.
 - 10 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 6–7.
 - 11 <http://www.naturalwellbeing.com/blog/the-history-of-holistic-medicine-the-ancient-greeks-and-holistic-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.
 - 12 Coward, *The Whole Truth*, 15.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, 35.
 - 14 Gevitz, ‘Osteopathic medicine,’ 125.
 - 15 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 4.
 - 16 Coward, *Whole Truth*, 28.
 - 17 Jessica Hughes, ‘Fragmentation as metaphor in the classical healing sanctuary,’ *Social History of Medicine*, 21.2 (2008).
 - 18 270c1–4, suggesting that both for the soul and for the body one cannot know their nature unless one learns ‘the nature of the whole’. Damianos Tsekourakis, ‘Plato’s *Phaedrus* and the holistic viewpoint in Hippocrates’ therapeutics,’ *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 38 (1991–3), 164 suggests that any attempt to tie this passage to a single Hippocratic treatise is doomed, as Plato was referring instead to Hippocratic medicine in general.
 - 19 Robson and Baek, *The Engines of Hippocrates*, 57.
 - 20 Tsekourakis, ‘Plato’s *Phaedrus*’.
 - 21 Wellmann, ‘Hippocrates des Herakleides Sohn’, 16–21, cited in W.D. Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 38 n.40.
 - 22 W.D. Smith, *Hippocratic Tradition*, 46; see also 48, ‘Plato left “the whole” ambiguous because both “man as a whole” and “cosmos” are comprehended in the Hippocratic science.’
 - 23 *On Ancient Medicine* 7; Jouanna, ‘Regimen in the Hippocratic corpus’, 228–9.

- 24 Rosen, 'Towards a Hippocratic anthropology,' 253.
- 25 Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism,' 264.
- 26 <http://www.hippocrate.net/en/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 27 <https://greekcitytimes.com/2018/07/22/greeces-leading-natural-cosmetics-brand-taking-the-world-by-storm/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 28 W.C. Sellars and R.J. Yeatman, *1066 And All That: A Memorable History of England, comprising all the parts you can remember, including 103 Good Things, 5 Bad Kings and 2 Genuine Dates* (London: Methuen, 1930) used the capitalized phrase 'A Good Thing' to describe historical events universally accepted in schoolbook history as positive. So, for example, the Magna Carta was A Good Thing.
- 29 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 247.
- 30 Mike Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine. Politics, professionalization and health care* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 107–8; Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 246; Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, 114–5.
- 31 Coward, *Whole Truth*, 181–2.
- 32 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 271–2.
- 33 http://www.greekmedicine.net/whos_who/Hippocrates.html accessed 20 February 2019; <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/history/a-brief-history-into-greek-medicine-history-essay.php>, 5 December 2016, accessed 20 February 2019; presented as an essay by a student rather than 'our professional academic writers,' this does quote its source here.
- 34 <http://www.greekmedicine.net/blog/events/celebrating-ten-great-years.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 35 <http://www.discovergreece.com/en/greek-islands/dodecanese/kos/hippocrates-asclepeion-a-holistic-healing-centre> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 36 Fritz Graf, 'Heiligtum und Ritual: Das Beispiel der griechisch-römischen Asklepieia', in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le sanctuaire grec* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1992), 199; Ido Israelowich, *Patients and Healers in the High Roman Empire* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 111.
- 37 http://www.greekmedicine.net/whos_who/Hippocrates.html accessed 20 February 2019.
- 38 <http://www.greekmedicine.net/blog/events/celebrating-ten-great-years.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 39 Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 305. This 'strives to embody the healing wisdom and techniques of all civilizations from antiquity onward and to overcome the spiritual poverty of the biomedical model of disease'; Nomikos et al., 'Exercise in Hippocratic medicine', 115.
- 40 <http://www.greekmedicine.net/blog/events/celebrating-ten-great-years.html> accessed 20 February 2019.

- 41 Sylvie Chermet-Carroy, *L'Astrologie Médicale* (Paris: Editions Guy Trédaniel, 1998).
- 42 Ghulam M. Chishti, *The Traditional Healer's Handbook: A classic guide to the medicine of Avicenna* (Rochester, VT: Healing Arts Press, 1988), 11.
- 43 <http://doctorscrubs.blogspot.co.uk/2009/04/hatred-of-tmb-and-tma-against.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 44 <https://coltonspointtimes.blogspot.co.uk/2017/01/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 45 <https://www.testednutrients.com/en/about/>; in the author's response to a comment on <http://jamesmalloy.blogspot.co.uk/2013/07/nietzscheaphorism-120-gay-science.html>. Both accessed 20 February 2019.
- 46 Much of the page of greekmedicine.net is copied without attribution in Francesco Perono Cacciafoco, 'Food as therapy: elements of the history of nutrition in ancient Greece and Rome' (Pollenzo: Università degli Studi di Scienze Gastronomiche – University of Gastronomic Sciences, 2012), 20–2 where, bizarrely, the words 'band' and 'renegade physicians' are marked by quotation marks when the rest of the plagiarized text is not.
- 47 <http://www.unani.com/hipporcates.htm> accessed 20 February 2019; the lyrics are on <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~archery/old/hood.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 48 <http://www.redhouseaustralia.org/hippocrates> accessed 20 February 2019, the updated website of 2017, which also claims that the philosophy owes something to 'Louis Pasteur'.
- 49 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippocrates> as of 20 July 2017.
- 50 Acknowledged as the source for the 'humble and passive' on <http://www.isabellehutton.com/Hippocrates.FatherOfMedicine.html> (domain now expired).
- 51 Chishti, *The Traditional Healer's Handbook*, 12.
- 52 <https://edzardernst.com/2013/10/alternative-practitioners-treat-the-whole-person-not-the-disease/>. See also the earlier post, 'Integrated medicine makes no sense', <https://edzardernst.com/2012/12/integrated-medicine-makes-no-sense/> and the later post, <https://edzardernst.com/2014/10/the-disgraceful-abduction-of-holism/> which dates 'clinical holistic medicine' 'as far back as Hippocrates'; all accessed 20 February 2019.
- 53 Online quotes pages: e.g. <https://quotereel.com/tag/hippocrates/> accessed 20 February 2019. See <http://www.osler.org.uk/osleriana-2/oslers-aphorisms/>; claimed as the key principle of Chinese medicine on <https://www.chinesemedicineliving.com/acupuncture/cancer-chinese-medicine-part-3> or used on the website of a natural healer in several traditions on <https://www.dr LaurenPolm.com/>; all accessed 20 February 2019.
- 54 I owe this reference to Dr Mary Hague-Yearl, Head Librarian of the Osler Library at McGill University, pers. comm. 24 September 2018; the source is William Osler,

‘Address to the students of the Albany Medical College,’ *Albany Medical Annals*, 20 (1899), 307–9. Dr Hague-Yearl checked with one of the compilers of Mark E. Silverman, T. Jock Murray and Charles S. Bryan, *The Quotable Osler* (American College of Physicians, 2003), Charley Bryan, who ‘wrote that he was 99% sure that it was merely attributed to Osler, and agreed that an investigation of these attributions would be very interesting indeed’. Those attributing the words to Osler sometimes date them to 1895, but the best I have been able to find here is Edward Shorter, ‘Primary care’ in Roy Porter (ed.), *Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 144, with 381 n.45 citing the aphorism as being quoted by Clarence B. Farrar in a 1959 article. Shorter later repeated this footnote, in his ‘The history of the biopsychosocial approach in medicine: before and after Engel’ in Peter White (ed.), *Biopsychosocial Medicine: An integrated approach to understanding illness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 9–10.

55 <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/body/hippocratic-oath-today.html#modern> accessed 20 February 2019.

56 On how ‘dis-ease can become disease if left unresolved’: <https://www.amazon.com/Healing-Groovy-Realistic-Holistic-Self-Care/dp/1505613256> accessed 20 February 2019.

57 <http://windermere.sun.com/2016/03/08/natural-healing-with-sandra-sigur/> accessed 20 February 2019. Sigur supports other myths about Hippocrates, such as ‘Hippocrates said “let food be thy medicine and medicine be thy food”. So, since food is your medicine, I would say there are many deficiencies leading to illness in America.’

58 This is discussed, with other modern versions, by Hurwitz and Richardson, ‘Swearing to care’.

59 <http://www.naturalwellbeing.com/blog/the-history-of-holistic-medicine-the-ancient-greeks-and-holistic-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.

60 <https://wildrosecollege.com/>; <https://wildrosecollege.com/product/wholistic-therapist-diploma/> both accessed 20 February 2019.

61 <https://wildrosecollege.com/product/thesis-wholistic-therapist/> accessed 20 February 2019.

62 <https://wildrosecollege.com/home/wild-rose-college-about-page/> accessed 20 February 2019.

63 <http://www.naturalwellbeing.com/blog/the-history-of-holistic-medicine-the-ancient-greeks-and-holistic-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.

64 <https://medicine.llu.edu/about/our-mission> accessed 20 February 2019.

65 <https://www.redlandsdailyfacts.com/2008/01/09/wholistic-for-kids/> 9 January 2008, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 66 <http://wholistickids.com/services/wholistic-integrative-services/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 67 <https://www.adventist.org/en/vitality/health/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 68 Ellen White, *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1940: first published 1898), 824 and *The Ministry of Healing* (Mountain View CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1942: first published 1905).
- 69 White, *The Desire of Ages*, 824.
- 70 White, *The Ministry of Healing*, 127; this was based on a vision she had in June 1863, and included the use of ‘simple herbs and roots’. See Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (3rd edition) (Grand Rapids MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008), 263.
- 71 The debate is summarized on <http://dedication.www3.50megs.com/David/index.html> and <https://www.adventistsaffirm.org/previous-issues/volume-15-number-1/ellen-g-white-prophet-or-plagiarist>, both accessed 20 February 2019. On the six non-naturals, discussed most extensively in Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic *Epidemics*, Book 6, see Luis García-Ballester, ‘On the origins of the six non-natural things in Galen,’ in Jutta Kollesch and Diethard Nickel (eds), *Galen und das hellenistische Erbe*, special issue of *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 32 (1993).
- 72 <https://www.redlandsdailyfacts.com/2008/01/09/wholistic-for-kids/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 73 <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/mission-statement> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 74 <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/food-therapy> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 75 <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/food-therapy> and <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/pemf-ondamed-pmt-120> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 76 <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/food-therapy> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 77 <https://www.wholisticmedical.co.uk/breast-and-body-screening> accessed 20 February 2019. This quote is used by those promoting thermography, who cite doctors in 400 BCE using mud on the body and seeing which area dried first in order to see where the hottest regions were; <https://thermographymedicalclinic.com/the-history-of-thermography/> accessed 20 February 2019, a site which includes a well-known modern image of Hippocrates with a patient.
- 78 Weisz, ‘Hippocrates, holism and humanism’, 272.
- 79 F.G. Crookshank, ‘The new psychology and the health of the people’, *Purpose* (July–September 1932), 123 cited in David Cantor, ‘The name and the word: neo-Hippocratism and language in interwar Britain’ in David Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 280.

- 80 Britain: Cantor, 'The name and the word', 284; France: Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism', 268.
- 81 As for example on the 'History' page of the British Homeopathic Organization, <https://www.britishhomeopathic.org/homeopathy/the-history-of-homeopathy/> accessed 20 February 2019; Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism', 260.
- 82 Warner, 'Making history in American medical culture', 222–3.
- 83 <https://www.paramnaturals.com/meet-paulina/> accessed 20 February 2019. The initial consultation costs \$475, including one month's supply of the 'personalized' herbal remedy, then \$185 per follow-up.
- 84 <https://www.paramnaturals.com/services/online-consultations/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 85 Weisz, 'Hippocrates, holism and humanism', 270 and 278 n.82.
- 86 Warner, "'The nature-trusting heresy'", 301–6.
- 87 Ibid., 307.
- 88 Robson and Baek, *The Engines of Hippocrates*, 267.
- 89 Sneha Mantri, 'Holistic medicine and the Western medical tradition', *Virtual Mentor*, 10.3 (2008), <http://journalofethics.ama-assn.org/2008/03/mhst1-0803.html> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 90 Cantor, 'The name and the word', 284 and 286.
- 91 Ibid., 289.
- 92 Heggie, 'Specialization without the hospital', 457. Sports medicine, Heggie showed, was a particularly unpromising area to become a specialism due to the breadth of what it covered: it is 'a holistic practice, covering everything from gross musculo-skeletal injuries to dietary advice to genetic testing. It has virtually no unique diseases or injuries (one can get tennis elbow cleaning floors) nor any unique treatment modalities or technologies.' On medical specialization more broadly, see George Weisz, 'The emergence of medical specialization in the nineteenth century', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 77 (2003) and *Divide and Conquer: A comparative history of medical specialization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- 93 Roger Cooter, 'The meaning of fractures: orthopaedics and the reform of British hospitals in the inter-war period', *Medical History*, 31.3 (1987), 306.
- 94 Ibid., 307.
- 95 Roger Cooter, 'The evolution of orthopaedic surgery (review)', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 77.2 (2003), 467–8.
- 96 Heggie, 'Specialization without the hospital', 458.
- 97 Robert Jones, 'Lady Jones' lecture on crippling due to fractures: its prevention and remedy', *BMJ*, I: (1925), quoted in Cooter, 'The meaning of fractures', 314.

- 98 Robson and Baek, *Engines of Hippocrates*, 267. In 2009 they reported nearly 3 million hits for ‘holistic + medicine’, half a million for “holistic medicine”. In August 2018 I had around 104 million for the first search, 4 million for the second. They had 154,000 hits for holistic + “managed care” (a key term in US medicine): I had 878,000. Even taking into account the vagaries of search engines, I suspect that this means the word is moving further into the mainstream.
- 99 Ibid., 20.
- 100 Barrett, Bruce et al., ‘Themes of holism’, 940–1.
- 101 Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, 109.
- 102 <http://www.spiritofchange.org/Spring-2014/Let-Food-Heal-Your-Body--An-interview-with-Dr-Brian-Clement/>, 23 February 2014, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 103 <https://hippocratesinst.org/history> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 104 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r92355354-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 9 January 2011, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 105 <https://sciencebasedmedicine.org/brian-clement-claims-hippocrates-treatments-reverse-multiple-sclerosis/>, 26 November 2015, accessed 20 February 2019; he claims a PhD (‘a degree in biochemistry’) and an LN (Licensed Nutritionist), <https://hippocratesinst.org/our-team/brianclement> accessed 20 February 2019. https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2015/02/24/brian-clement-hippocrate_n_6741786.html, updated 24 May 2015, accessed 20 February 2019, notes that the PhD is supposed to be from the University of Science Arts and Technology (USAT), based in Montserrat; for evidence that this is a diploma mill, see the 2014 report <https://www.faimer.org/research/faimer-short-report-caribbean.pdf> accessed 20 February 2019. Alternatively the PhD may be from Lady Malina Memorial Medical College, according to a 2010 discussion site (<http://freerepublic.com/focus/news/2558811/posts?page=72> accessed 20 February 2019) referencing a website which is now dead.
- 106 <https://hippocratesinst.org/our-team/brianclement> accessed 20 February 2019, still mentions a biochemistry PhD. See the discussion on <http://www.rawfoodsupport.com/read.php?2,267730,267759> accessed 20 February 2019 and McGill University’s Office for Science and Society’s ‘Cancer quackery costs lives’, <https://www.mcgill.ca/oss/article/cancer-health-quackery/serious-nonsense>, 20 March 2017 accessed 20 February 2019.
- 107 <https://responsibleeatingandliving.com/favorites/brian-clement-8292012-interview/>, 29 August 2012 accessed 20 February 2019.
- 108 Clement, *Supplements Exposed*, 88.

- 109 Brian Clement, *Hippocrates LifeForce: Superior health and longevity* (Summertown TN: Healthy Living Publications, 2007), Chapter 2.
- 110 <https://hippocratesinst.org/history> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 111 <http://www.spiritofchange.org/Spring-2014/Let-Food-Heal-Your-Body--An-interview-with-Dr-Brian-Clement/>, 23 February 2014, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 112 <https://responsibleeatingandliving.com/favorites/brian-clement-8292012-interview/>, 29 August 2012, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 113 <https://ideamensch.com/brian-clement/>, 21 August 2018, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 114 <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2015/02/21/founder-of-hippocrates-health-institute-sued-successfully-twice.html>, 21 February 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 115 <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/brian-clement-hippocrates-health-institute-head-ordered-to-stop-practising-medicine-1.2968780>, updated 25 February 2015, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 116 <https://sciencebasedmedicine.org/florida-tells-brian-clement-to-stop-practicing-medicine/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 117 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r566995381-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 17 March 2018 by ‘tomsuemegmaur’; review subsequently removed. The HHI response was to insist that the detoxifying process was responsible for these symptoms. In alternative medicine in general, particularly in naturopathy, the sometimes serious discomfort associated with a violent change in diet and lifestyle is normalized as a ‘healing crisis’ by proponents; see Coward, *Whole Truth*, 89.
- 118 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r565346701-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, 8 March 2018, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 119 <http://weeksmid.com/2012/10/hippocrates-did-20-years-in-prison/>, written on 23 October 2012, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 120 Coward, *Whole Truth*, 64.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 122 Clement, *Hippocrates LifeForce*, Chapter 2.
- 123 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r38523258-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 23 August 2009, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 124 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r92355354-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 9 January 2011 by ‘islander’, accessed 20 February 2019.

- 125 <http://www.anticancermom.com/the-hippocrates-health-institute/> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 126 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r267304382-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 22 April 2015 by 'zeezeebranson', accessed 20 February 2019.
- 127 https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r290796443-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 20 July 2015 by 'JuicegirlSouthampton', accessed 20 February 2019. Guests are also taught 'how to read a blood test', according to 'garrinh', https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g34731-d223100-r331419859-Hippocrates_Health_Institute-West_Palm_Beach_Florida.html, reviewed 8 December 2015, accessed 20 February 2019, who also mentions Vitamin C IV therapy and Vitamin D shots.
- 128 <https://ideamensch.com/brian-clement/>, 21 August 2018, accessed 20 February 2019.
- 129 <http://www.agreenroadjournal.com/2012/05/dr-rebecca-carley-md-now-holistic.html>; on her suspension and the revoking of her licence, <https://www.quackwatch.com/11Ind/carley1.html> both accessed 20 February 2019.
- 130 <https://web.archive.org/web/20130925081055/http://www.reversingvaccineinduceddiseases.com/services>; also quoted on http://casewatch.net/board/med/carley/order_2004.shtml both accessed 20 February 2019.

Conclusion

- 1 Nutton, 'What's in an oath?' 519.
- 2 Ann F. La Berge, 'The rhetoric of Hippocrates at the Paris School' in David Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 178 and 194–5.
- 3 Full text of the book on <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505831s?rk=21459;2> accessed 20 February 2019.
- 4 I am grateful to Jacqueline Fabre-Serris for discussing this image with me.
- 5 Robert Goldberg, *Tabloid Medicine: How the Internet is being used to hijack medical science for fear and profit* (New York: Kaplan Publishing, 2010), 106.
- 6 Christopher Wanjek, *Bad Medicine: Misconceptions and Misuses Revealed, from Distance Healing to Vitamin O* (Hoboken NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2003), 157.
- 7 Goldberg, *Tabloid Medicine*, 119.
- 8 Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 126.
- 9 Miles, *Hippocratic Oath*, 1.
- 10 Levinovitz, *Gluten Lie*, 41.
- 11 Loeb, *Hippocrates* II, 67.