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The affiliations of *Glands* to other Hippocratic treatises

The author of *Articulations* declares his intention to write treatises on many subjects, including glands: 'In another work there will be an account of glands in general, what they are and what sort of things they signify and can effect in what parts of the body' (*Artic.* 11 [4. 108 L.]). The identical phrase 'on glands in general' occurs twice in the short Hippocratic work *On Glands* (*Gland.* 1 and 7 [8. 556 and 560 L.]). Galen, commenting on *Articulations*, is disparaging and dismissive of *On Glands* with regard to both language and thought (*Hippocratis de articulis liber ... commentarii*, 18A. 379 K.). Although the grounds of Galen's criticism are dubious, the putative close connection between the two works does not stand up to scrutiny. It is here argued that, though there are points of similarity with *Articulations*, the essential connections of *On Glands* are entirely different.

Comparison of the language and thought of *On Glands* with the language and thought of certain other treatises generally viewed as 'early', authentic or in some way canonical reveals a wide range of coincident elements. The author is clearly familiar with, and possibly quarrying from, seminal texts which seem to come from quite different strands of the tradition: *Ancient Medicine* and *The Art* on the one hand and *Places in Man* on the other. At the same time, *On Glands* can be still more closely aligned with a group of works covering topics in sex difference, reproduction and obstetrics: *On Generation*, *On the Nature of the Child* and *Diseases 4*; these treatises in turn contain material which is found also in the gynaecological works (especially in *Diseases of Women 1* and *Nature of Woman*). Physiological ideas merely adumbrated in *On Glands* appear, given more extended treatment, in these other Hippocratic texts, especially in *On the Nature of the Child*. Certain highly idiosyncratic features of syntax and style are cumulatively suggestive of common authorship. From these findings it appears that, contrary to general belief, *Glands* is 'early'; and further that it belongs to a particular (sub)stratum of the Hippocratic Corpus marked by relatively sophisticated anatomical and physiological understanding.

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The Treatise *Affections* in the Context of the Hippocratic Collection

Galen once refers to the Hippocratic treatise *Affections*, as not being worth of Hippocrates¹, even though it clearly circulated under Hippocrates' name at that time. When and why this treatise was included to make part of the *Hippocratic Collection* remains unclear, but it was certainly among the last ones to be incorporated into it, as Erotian did not use it in his *Hippocratic Glossary*. Nevertheless, the treatise must have already appeared in the early editions of the *Corpus* produced by Dioscorides or Artemidorus Capito in the 2nd Century A.D. for it is present in two of the three oldest manuscripts transmitting the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

Scholars have already pointed out the similarities between the aetiological theories of the treatises *Affections* and *Diseases I* and those attributed to Dexippos of Cos and Hippocrates himself in the *Anonymous Londinensis*². Even though the content of *Affections* presents some similarities with other nosological writings, its greatest peculiarity is the fact that it is intended for laymen and not for practitioners. The writing also consists of a catalogue of foods and its properties, the second longest of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* after *On Regimen*. The mixture of these two main topics has no parallel in the rest of the Collection and everything seems to indicate that its inclusion of in the *Hippocratic Collection* was even more accidental than that of other writings.

Another distinguishing feature of the treatise that has to be examined is the frequent reference to other existing or to-be-written books. In fact, instead of detailing the preparation of remedies to be use in each disease, the author refers many times to a recipe collection called *On Remedies*. He also mentions in three different passages his intention of writing separately on eye diseases, internal suppuration, and gynaecological diseases. In another fragment he justifies the absence of an extensive explanation of tertian and quartan fevers, saying that he has already dealt with this topic elsewhere. To identify these references with mentions of other extant Hippocratic writings such as *On Sight*, the gynaecological treatises, or *Diseases I*, where a thorough description of internal suppuration is made, is a tempting hypothesis that can unfortunately neither be confirmed nor refuted. Anyway, given the vast amount of medical literature that has been lost, it would be very surprising if the writings mentioned by the author of *Affections* were extant.

The aim of this paper is to shed some light into the purpose of *Affections* and the audience for which it was intended. This aim of extending medical knowledge to

¹ Gal. In Hp. Acut. comm. 2.38 (Helmreich CMG V 9,1 198, 3-5; 15.587.4 K.) ὡς σύγγραμμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιον τῆς Ἱπποκράτους δυνάμεως. Passage quoted by A. Anastassiou & D. Irmer (1997: 51).

² See H. Grensemann, (1975: 213) and more recently A. Anastassiou- D. Irmer (2006: 318).

the general public is unique in the context of the writings attributed to Hippocrates and may explain to some point why *Affections* was almost ignored by commentators and medical authors.

We will also look for references to other medical treatises in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (among others *Nat. Hom.*, *Artic.*, *Prorrh. II*) so as to give a panoramic of some of the Greek medical literature of the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. that must have circulated together with the works later attributed to Hippocrates, but that for various reasons might have not been included in the *Hippocratic Collection*.

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Autómatos y su familia léxica en el *Corpus hippocraticum*.

1. El trabajo tendrá una introducción en que se vean los escasos precedentes del adjetivo desde Homero y Hesíodo hasta los tratados hipocráticos. Con los datos de que disponemos puede decirse que es el *CH* donde por primera vez se establecen las coordenadas generales sobre los valores de dicho adjetivo.

2. Examinaré con atención las innovaciones léxicas del *CH*: *automatismós* (1), *automatízo* (1), *automátōs*(5), siguiéndoles la pista en autores posteriores.

3. Con respecto a *autómatos*(98 secuencias) me detendré en el reparto numérico por tratados: *Epid.* - *Mul.* (9), *Prorrh.* II - *Int.* (8), *Aph.* (6), *Morb.* IV(5), *Alim.-Ulc.* (4), *VM-Prog.*- *Flat.-Acut.* (*Sp.*)-*de art.* (3), etc.

También distribuiré las formas en orden decreciente: *autómaton* (23), *-ou* (21), *-a* (19), *-ē* (15), *-oi* (14), etc., interpretándolas de acuerdo con los tratados respectivos donde aparecen y la cronología relativa de los mismos.

4. Nos llama la atención la aparición del adjetivo en tratados antiguos: los de primera hora, es decir, últimos decenios del V a. C. (*VM*); los de fines del V o comienzos del IV a. C. (*Acut.*, *Aph.*, *Art.*, *Nat. hom.*, *Prog.*); los del siglo IV (*Epid.* (II, V, VII), *Flat.*, *Hum.*, *Morb.* IV, *VC*).

5. Dentro de los usos sintácticos del adjetivo *autómatos* me detengo, esencialmente, en los innovadores, de los que ahora señalo algunos:

a. En singular, como acompañante de un sujeto femenino: la mujer (en general), alguna parte interna (vientre-intestino-cavidad inferior), un tratamiento (purga: *kátharsis*), la bilis, la *phýsis*, etc.; o masculino: un elemento natural (el aire), una parte del cuerpo (el pie).

b. En plural, masculino generalizador, calificativo del sujeto, “los hombres”, “los enfermos”, omitido. Pongo un ejemplo ilustrador tomado de uno de los tratados más antiguos del *CH*. Me refiero a *VM*, donde en el capítulo 19, el médico, tan observador, pasa revista a las enfermedades causadas por las cualidades (frío, calor), y, a ese respecto, se refiere a la bilis amarilla: “Cuando se liberan de eso, a veces purgados (*kathairómenoï*), o espontáneamente (*autómatoï*), o por efecto de un fármaco (*hypò pharmákou*), si es que alguna de esas cosas tiene lugar en momento oportuno (*en kairôï*), se librárá manifiestamente tanto de las molestias como del calor”. Es decir, hay un momento oportuno para esas tres realidades terapéuticas: purga (variada en su preparación y aplicación), fármaco (evidentemente distinto de la actuación purgativa) y, en el centro, la actuación espontánea (podríamos decir de la naturaleza), muy respetada por el médico.

c. En plural, neutro, sujeto: niños, articulaciones, tumores, hinchazones, huesos, etc.

d. Entre los usos preposicionales hay que destacar el genitivo de singular: *apò tautomátou* (12) o *apò toû automátou* (7), giro conocido desde Heródoto, y el raro *hypò toû automátou* (2. El *TLG* sólo lo registra una vez más en la literatura griega).

6. Subrayaré los ejemplos en que *autómatos* es subrayado o reforzado con *anáγκē*, o aparece contrapuesto a *próphasis*; también, donde surge una oposición entre el hecho espontáneo y la casualidad (*týchē*) o respecto a las actividades propias del arte médica (*téchnēisi*). Son textos indicadores de la capacidad de observación del hipocrático.

7. Sustantivo *automatismós* (1) vemos *Acut. (Sp.)* 25: “Las (*sc.* afecciones) que se resuelven (*lyómena*) en la cavidad inferior por medio de orinas y sudores, si se cae enfermo con moderación; las pequeñas se resuelven por obra de una acción espontánea (*hypò automatismoû lýtai tà smikrá*)”. Insistiré en la sintaxis (el genitivo agente).

8. Para el verbo *automatízo* (1), hay que leer *Acut. (Sp.)* 11, donde, a propósito de unos sudores que son malignos si no sale mucha y densa orina y llegan esputos blandos, se nos dice: “cualquier cosa de éstas que se presente espontáneamente (*automatísēi*) soluciona la enfermedad”. Diré lo esencial sobre la teoría médica según la cual se habla de la función activa de ciertos mecanismos físicos del cuerpo humano y su influencia decisiva en el proceso morboso.

9. Del adverbio *automátōs* (5) señalo el ejemplo de *Fract.* 43: “Y si te presentas casualmente al momento, es necesario forzar el codo extendiéndolo; y entra en su sitio de modo espontáneo (*automátōs empíptei*)”. Donde debemos fijarnos en la función activa del codo, que, mediante la ayuda del médico, es el que se pone en su sitio de forma automática.

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Autómatos and its lexical family in the Corpus hippocraticum. (trans.)

1. My paper will have an introduction indicating the scarce precedents of the adjective, from Homer and Hesiod to the Hippocratic treatises. It is in the *CH* where we find for first time the different meanings of our adjective.

2. I will pay attention to the lexical innovations inside the *CH*: *automatismós* (1), *automatízo* (1), *automátōs* (5), and observe its evolution in later authors.

3. In relation to *autématos* (98 appearances) I will examine the numerical distribution by treatises: *Epid.* - *Mul.* (9), *Prorrh.* II - *Int.* (8), *Aph.* (6), *Morb.* IV (5), *Alim.-Ulc.* (4), *VM- Prog.- Flat.-Acut. (Sp.)- de art.* (3), etc.

I will also consider the different forms in a decreasing order of frequency: *autématon* (23), *-ou* (21), *-a* (19), *-ē* (15), *-oi* (14), etc., studying them inside the treatises where they appear and arguing that this gives us an indication of the relative chronology of the treatises.

4. The appearance of the adjective in the treatise commonly considered older is striking, i.e., in the last decades of 5th. century B.C. (*VM*); the last years of the 5th. or beginning of the 4th B. C. (*Acut.*, *Aph.*, *Art.*, *Nat. hom.*, *Prog.*); and those written in the 4th. B.C. (*Epid.* (II, V, VII), *Flat.*, *Hum.*, *Morb.* IV, *VC*).

5. Observing the syntactical uses of *autématos* I emphasize the innovatives ones. Among these are:

a. In the singular, qualifying a feminine subject: the woman herself, some internal part, a treatment (purge: *kátharsis*), bile, *phýsis*, etc.; or masculine: a natural element (air), a body part (the foot).

b. In the plural, general masculine, qualifying the subject, “men”, “ill people”, omitted. I select an example taken from one of the oldest treatises of the *CH*, that is to say, *VM*, where in chapter 19, the physician, so observant, reviews illnesses caused by qualities (cold, heat), and mentions with regard to yellow bile that, “When patients get rid of it, sometimes by purgation (*kathairómenoi*) either spontaneous (*autématoi*) or by medicine (*hypò pharmákou*), if any of these is seasonable, they manifestly get rid both of the pains and of the heat”. That is to say, there is an appropriate moment for these three therapeutical realities: purges (diverse in preparation and application), medicine (different from the purgative action) and, between the two, spontaneous action (nature, we could say), very respected by the Hippocratics.

c. In the plural, neuter, as subject: children, joints, tumors, swellings, bones, etc.

d. Among the prepositional uses, the genitive of the singular is important: *apò tautomátou* (12) or *apò toû automátou* (7), an expression known from Herodotus, and the rare *hypò toû automátou* (2. *TLG* only cites it once more in Greek literature).

6. I will emphasize the passages where *autématos* is underlined or reinforced by *anánkē*, or is opposed to *próphasis*. I will focus on passages where there is an opposition between a spontaneous fact and events caused by chance (*týchē*) or medical activities (*téchnēisi*). These passages are very important in assessing the observational capacity of Hippocratic authors.

7. The noun *automatismós* (1) appears in *Acut. (Sp.)* 25: “The (sc. affections) are solved (*lyómena*) in the inferior cavity through urines and sweats, if one falls moderately ill; the little ones are solved by a spontaneous action (*hypò automatismoû lýetai tà smikrá*)”. Syntax (the genitive agent) is very important here.

8. As for the verb *automatízo* (1), one must read *Acut. (Sp.)* 11, where, when talking about malignant sweats, the author states that if a urine abundant and dense and smooth spits are not produced, “any of these things which is produced spontaneously (*automatísēi*) solves the illness”. I will outline the essentials about the medical theory which explains the active function of some physical mechanisms of the human body and their decisive influence in the morbid process.

9. Concerning the adverb *automátōs* (5) I emphasize *Fract.* 43: “If you happen to be quickly on the spot, you ought to extend the elbow forcibly, and it goes in of its own accord (*automátōs empíptēi*)” (Withington, translation). We should note the active function of the elbow, which, with the help of the physician, put itself in its place spontaneously.