

A black and white photograph of a marble bust of a woman's head and shoulders. The woman has her eyes closed and a serene expression. Her hair is styled in thick, intricate braids that form a crown-like structure. The lighting is soft, highlighting the texture of the marble and the contours of her face and neck.

THE  
EMERGENCE  
OF THE  
PHYSICAL BODY  
IN ANCIENT  
GREECE

THE SYMPTOM AND THE SUBJECT

Brooke Holmes

## The Symptom and the Subject

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# The Symptom and the Subject

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THE EMERGENCE OF THE  
PHYSICAL BODY IN ANCIENT GREECE

*Brooke Holmes*

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*To my mother and my sister,  
and to the memory of my father*

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Le symptôme, ce serait le réel apparent ou l'apparent réel.

Roland Barthes

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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Some years ago I started thinking about the symptom and found I couldn't stop. I set out to write a dissertation about how literary representations of disease were affected by the shift to naturalizing interpretations of the symptom in fifth- and fourth-century medical writing. Yet the more I asked what defined those interpretations against other ways of understanding symptoms, the less satisfied I was with the answers. I got further into the medical texts, and the more I did, the stranger they seemed. What are these texts trying to see and to show? I read and reread the medical writers; I went back to the limited evidence we have for other ways of thinking about the symptom in early Greece to try to understand what was assumed about human beings and unseen threats. Eventually I came to conclude that the medical writers are seeing and showing the physical body, not as an anatomical object or a visible tableau, but as a largely hidden world of fluids, stuffs, flesh, bones, joints, and organs, loosely organized by what some of these writers call a *phusis*, "nature." As I will stress repeatedly, this body, which the Greeks call *sōma*, stands between what anyone can see or touch of a human being and a mostly submerged world created out of semiotic inference and imagination—hence, the central role of the symptom to the book.

The physical body is something new in the late archaic and classical periods. Of course, "new" is a loaded term when we talk about the Greeks. It lies at the heart of debates that go beyond questions of historical change and epistemic rupture to charged questions about whether the Greeks are like us or completely strange. The easy answer to such questions is that the Greeks are both familiar and foreign—but that answer fails to take us very far. In this book, I defend the idea that, through its emergence in the ancient Greek world as an object of investigation, the physical body comes to change how human beings can be imagined and how they can imagine themselves. I understand this transformation not in terms of a shift from superstition to sudden insight into biological reality. Rather, I see the physical body's emergence as generative because it encourages a way of thinking about people in physical terms. Much of this book explores the implications of this thinking both inside and outside medicine. These implications continue to be explored in the present, not only in the narrowly circumscribed arena of bioethics but also on the much more expansive ethical terrain that springs up around the problems posed by *having* a body to *being* human—hence, the importance of the subject to my project. I hope that this book, in its own way, contributes to these explorations.

This book belongs to a number of different disciplines or subfields, among them classical philology, history (ancient history, the history of medicine, the history of science, the history of ideas, the history of religion), literature and

literary theory, philosophy, cultural studies, and anthropology. Its various affiliations can be credited in part to the questions it asks, in part to my own training as both a classicist and a comparatist. Interdisciplinarity is often praised, but it is hard to practice. Despite sea changes in the humanities and social sciences over the past thirty years, there is a lingering sense that “we must . . . be alert lest the crossing of disciplines involve a relaxing of discipline,” as the 1975 Greene Report to the American Comparative Literature Association warned.<sup>1</sup> The anxious commitment to “standards” can still mask parochialism, a failure to recognize that the structure of the modern university does not neatly map onto historical evidence. But at the same time, disciplines, precisely because they are organized around ways of knowing, kinds of questions, and types of evidence, develop valuable strategies of inquiry and interpretation. They can thus help us find our way into distant cultures and texts, thereby making them generative for the present, without making these cultures and texts too familiar, thereby stripping them of disruptive force. In researching and writing this book, I have often crossed disciplines. But I have also tried to inhabit disciplines—some, of course, more than others—to pursue a set of questions about the physical body as a historical phenomenon, an object of conceptual and imaginative fascination, and the ground of lived experience. Even if these disciplines do not align with genres of knowing in the ancient world, working across and within them has driven home for me the truth that knowledge is, indeed, always situated.<sup>2</sup> I have also repeatedly become aware of the limits of my knowledge and my expertise. Nevertheless, this book is an attempt to tell a story that acknowledges the different ways of seeing the world that developed in classical Greece, as well as the ways we see today, without losing sight of a body whose power derives from its ambiguous position between physical object and ethical subject.

I have incurred many debts in writing this book. My debt is largest to Froma Zeitlin and Heinrich von Staden, who advised my dissertation, provided unflagging intellectual and emotional support, and have continued to be boundless sources of inspiration over the years. I also owe considerable thanks to Mark Buchan and Andrew Ford, not only for being such incisive readers but also for challenging my thinking along the way while remaining encouraging and good humored.

For years, I have benefited from correspondence and conversations with Jim Porter, who has shaped this project in countless ways. I am particularly grateful to him and to the anonymous reader for the Press for their detailed and insightful comments on an earlier version, which gave me the impetus and the tools I needed to undertake another revision to clarify my aims and ideas. Caroline Bynum not only provided enormously valuable feedback on drafts of the

<sup>1</sup> Bernheimer 1995.36.

<sup>2</sup> Haraway 1988.

introduction but also helped me see at several key points what really matters in intellectual work. Special thanks are due as well to Maud Gleason, who stepped in during the revision process and kindly convinced me to give the manuscript another go: the final product is much better as a result of her advice, though I am all too aware of how much room for improvement remains. Phiroze Vasunia generously helped the book find its way to a publisher, for which I am very grateful. And I am indebted to Joshua Katz for his careful reading of the first chapters, which saved me from many infelicities and errors. A number of other colleagues have offered valuable feedback on different chapters in the manuscript at its various stages or discussed key concepts, often graciously sharing their expertise to help me navigate new fields. I would like to thank, in particular, Hal Cook, Andrea Falcon, Chris Faraone, Barbara Kowalzig, Roy Laird, Jake Mackey, Ian Moyer, Kalliopi Nikolopoulou, Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Jutta Schicksore, and David Wolfsdorf. While I have not always succeeded in incorporating their suggestions or addressing their concerns, I have benefited enormously from these exchanges. For all the errors and omissions that remain, I take full responsibility.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to acknowledge the support of a number of institutions and foundations over the years of this project. My dissertation research was supported by the Center for Human Values at Princeton University, the Whiting Foundation, the Beinecke Scholarship Program, the Joseph E. Croft '73 Fellowship, and a Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship from Phi Beta Kappa. Two Spray-Randleigh fellowships and an Arts and Humanities Research grant from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill helped me progress beyond the dissertation. And a year as a Mellon Fellow in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study provided the ideal conditions to undertake the last round of major revisions; I gratefully acknowledge support from both the Institute and Princeton University during that year. The Magie Fund provided crucial support in the project's final stages.

Much of the support that made this book possible came from the communities of friends and colleagues of which I have had the opportunity to be a part over the years. My thinking and research were first fostered by my teachers at Columbia University, especially Nancy Worman and Gayatri Spivak. The Department of Comparative Literature at Princeton provided a thriving intellectual environment in my graduate years; I am especially grateful to April Alliston and Sandie Bermann and to Bob Fagles, whose presence is sorely missed. For friendship and discussion I thank Barry McCrea, May Mergenthaler, Masha Mimran, and especially Nick Rynearson. I continue to count on Jerry Passanante for always-inspiring conversations on all matters involving the materialist imagination. The warm welcome offered by my colleagues in the Department of Classics at UNC greatly eased my transition from student to faculty member, making it possible for me to continue expanding the project beyond the dissertation; special thanks, too, to Eric Downing, David Reeve, Patrick Miller, and Sarah Miller. My colleagues in the Department of Classics at Princeton have

been an incredible source of support during a second transition and the final stages of the book. Audiences at Columbia, UNC, UC-Santa Barbara, the University of Southern California, Princeton, the University of Chicago, Harvard University, and the University of Pennsylvania have helped me shape this material, as have audiences in the ancient medicine community; I have benefited in particular from conversations with Paul Demont, Rebecca Flemming, Jennifer Clarke Kosak, and Ralph Rosen. I am also grateful to my editor, Rob Tempio, and my production editor, Mark Bellis, for all their help with seeing this book into print. I gratefully acknowledge my copy editor, Brian MacDonald, and Marcia Glass, Henryk Jaronowski, and Monica Boyer, for their assistance with the final preparation of the text. Finally, I would like to thank Joanna Ebenstein, who writes the wonderful blog *Morbid Anatomy*, for helping me find the image for the jacket.

None of this would have been possible without the love and support of my sister, my mom, and my grandparents. Miles Nelligan has endured this omnivorous project with pitch-perfect humor and encouragement: I can never thank him enough.

## ABBREVIATIONS

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### EDITIONS, REFERENCE WORKS, AND JOURNALS

<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AncPhil</i>	<i>Ancient Philosophy</i>
Bertier	J. Bertier, ed. 1972. <i>Mnénisthée and Dieuchès</i> . Leiden.
<i>BHM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the History of Medicine</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
Buchheim	T. Buchheim, ed. and trans. 1989. <i>Gorgias von Leontini. Reden, Fragmente und Testimonien</i> . Hamburg.
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CMG</i>	<i>Corpus medicorum Graecorum</i>
<i>CML</i>	<i>Corpus medicorum Latinorum</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CUF</i>	Collection des universités de France
<i>DG</i>	H. Diels, ed. 1958. <i>Doxographi Graeci</i> . 3rd ed. Berlin.
Diels	H. Diels, ed. 1893. <i>Anonymi Londinensis ex Aristotelis Iatricis, Menoniis et aliis medicis eclogae</i> . Supplementum Aristotelicum III.1. Berlin.
DK	H. Diels, ed. 1951–52. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 6th ed., revised by W. Kranz. Berlin.
Edelstein	L. Edelstein and E. Edelstein. 1998. <i>Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies</i> . 2 vols. Baltimore. Orig. pub. 1945.
FHSG	W. W. Fortenbaugh et al., eds. and trans. 1992–. <i>Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for His Life, Writings, Thought, and Influence</i> . Leiden.
<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, ed. 1923–58. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. Berlin.
Garofalo	I. Garofalo, ed. 1988. <i>Erasistrati fragmenta</i> . Pisa.
Giannantoni	G. Giannantoni, ed. 1990. <i>Socratis et Socraticorum reliquiae</i> . 4 vols. Naples.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>G &amp; R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
Hordern	J. H. Hordern, ed. and trans. 2004. <i>Sophon's Mimes</i> . Oxford.
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–.

- JHM* *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- J.-V.L. F. Jouan and H. Van Looy, eds. and trans. 1998–2003. *Euripide, Fragments*. CUF t. 8.1–4. Paris.
- K R. Kannicht, ed. 2004. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Vol. 5: *Euripides*. 2 vols. Göttingen.
- Kannicht-Snell R. Kannicht and B. Snell, eds. 1981. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Vol. 2. Göttingen.
- Kühn C. G. Kühn, ed. and trans. 1821–33. *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*. 20 vols. Leipzig. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1964–65.
- Li E. Littré, ed. and trans. 1839–61. *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*. 10 vols. Paris.
- LIMC* J. Boardman et al., eds. 1981–. *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. Zürich.
- L-P E. Lobel and D. Page, eds. 1955. *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*. Oxford.
- Long-Sedley A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, eds. and trans. 1987. *The Hellenistic Philosophers*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Martin-Primavesi A. Martin and O. Primavesi, eds. and trans. 1999. *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg (P. Strasb. Gr. Inv. 1665–1666)*. Berlin.
- Marx F. Marx, ed. 1915. *A Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*. CML I. Leipzig.
- M-W R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds. 1967. *Fragments Hesiodae*. Oxford.
- Obbink D. Obbink, ed. and trans. 1996–. *Philodemus, On Piety*. Oxford.
- OSAP *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*
- PCG R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds. 1983. *Poetae comici graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin.
- PCPS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
- Pendrick G. J. Pendrick, ed. and trans. 2002. *Antiphon the Sophist: The Fragments*. Cambridge.
- Pfeiffer R. Pfeiffer, ed. 1949–53. *Callimachus, Works*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- PGM K. Preisendanz, ed. 1973. *Papyri Graecae magicae*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. by A. Henrichs. Stuttgart.
- PhR* *Philosophical Review*
- PMG D. L. Page, ed. 1962. *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford.
- QUCC *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*
- R S. Radt, ed. 1985–86. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Vol. 3: *Aeschylus*. Vol. 4: *Sophocles*. Göttingen.

Raeder	I. Raeder, ed. 1928–33. <i>Collectionum medicarum reliquiae Oribasii</i> . 4 vols. CMG VI.2.1–2. Leipzig.
RBPh	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
S-M	H. Maehler, ed. 1987–89. <i>Pindari carmina cum fragmentis, post B. Snell</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig.
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
van der Eijk	P. J. van der Eijk, ed. and trans. 2000–2001. <i>Diocles of Carystus</i> . 2 vols. Leiden.
von Staden	H. von Staden, ed. and trans. 1989. <i>Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria</i> . Cambridge.
Waszinck	J. H. Waszinck, ed. 1962. <i>Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus</i> . London.
W <sup>2</sup>	M. L. West, ed. 1989–92. <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci</i> . 2 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford.
West	M. L. West, ed. and trans. 2003. <i>Greek Epic Fragments</i> . Cambridge, Mass.
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

#### ANCIENT TEXTS AND AUTHORS

Abbreviations for ancient sources follow H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon* (with a Revised Supplement) (Oxford, 1996), except for the Hippocratic texts, for which abbreviations follow below, and Galen: abbreviations for Galen's texts follow R. J. Hankinson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Galen* (Cambridge, 2008), appendix 1, 391–97, which also includes information on modern editions. References to Galen also cite the volume and page number in the edition of C. G. Kühn, ed. and trans., *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 vols. (Leipzig, 1821–33; rep., Hildesheim, 1964–65).

#### *Hippocratic Texts*

For the Hippocratic writings cited in the text, I include the relevant page numbers from E. Littré, ed. and trans., *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1839–61). I also cite the page and, where applicable, line numbers from the modern edition used, together with the abbreviation for the work. Information on English translations, when available, is also included. In cases where there are other modern editions, I provide additional bibliographic information. All modern editions of Hippocratic texts also appear in the bibliography for ease of reference.



A complete list of Hippocratic texts and editions with brief information on approximate dating and contents is available in appendix 3 of J. Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Baltimore, 1999).

- Acut.* *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (Li 2.224–377).  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1972. *Hippocrate, Du régime des maladies aiguës; Appendice; De l'aliment; De l'usage des liquides*. CUF t. 6.2. Paris.  
 W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.
- Acut. Sp.* *Regimen in Acute Diseases (Appendix)*  
 (Li 2.394–529).  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1972. *Hippocrate, Du régime des maladies aiguës; Appendice; De l'aliment; De l'usage des liquides*. CUF t. 6.2. Paris.  
 P. Potter, ed. and trans. 1988. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 6. Cambridge, Mass.
- Aer.* *Airs, Waters, Places* (Li 2.12–93).  
 Jouanna J. Jouanna, ed. and trans. 1996. *Hippocrate, Airs, eaux, lieux*. CUF t. 2.2. Paris.  
 W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.  
 H. Diller, ed. and trans. 1970. *Hippokrates. Über die Umwelt. (De aere aquis locis)*. CMG I.1.2. Berlin.
- Aff.* *On Affections* (Li 6.208–71).  
 Potter P. Potter, ed. and trans. 1988. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass.
- Alim.* *Nutriments* (Li 9.98–121).  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1972. *Hippocrate, Du régime des maladies aiguës; Appendice; De l'aliment; De l'usage des liquides*. CUF t. 6.2. Paris.  
 W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.
- Aph.* *Aphorisms* (Li 4.458–609).  
 Jones W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1931. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 4. Cambridge, Mass.
- Artic.* *On Joints* (Li 4.78–327).  
 Kühlewein H. Kühlewein, ed. 1894–1902. *Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia*. 2 vols. Leipzig.  
 E. T. Withington, ed. and trans. 1928. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 3. Cambridge, Mass.
- Art.* *On the Tekhnē* (Li 6.2–27).  
 Jouanna J. Jouanna, ed. and trans. 1988. *Hippocrate, Des vents; De l'art*. CUF t. 5.1. Paris.

- W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.
- T. Gomperz, ed. and trans. 1910. *Die Apologie der Heilkunst. Eine griechische Sophistenrede des fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts*. 2nd ed. Leipzig.
- Carn.*  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1978. *Hippocrate, Des lieux dans l'homme; Du système des glandes; Des fistules-Des hémorroïdes; De la vision; Des chairs; De la dentition*. CUF t. 13. Paris.
- P. Potter, ed. and trans. 1995. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 8. Cambridge, Mass.
- K. Deichgräber, ed. 1935. *Hippokrates über Entstehung und Aufbau des menschlichen Körpers: ΠΕΠΙ ΣΑΡΚΩΝ*. Leipzig.
- Coac.*  
*Cord.*  
 Duminil Coan Prognoses (Li 5.588–733).  
 On the Heart (Li 9.80–93).
- M. P. Duminil, ed. and trans. 1998. *Hippocrate, Plaies; Nature des os; Cœur; Anatomie*. CUF t. 8. Paris.
- Dec.*  
 Heiberg *Decorum* (Li 9.226–43).  
 I. L. Heiberg, ed. 1927. *Hippocratis opera*. CMG I.1. Leipzig.
- W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.
- Dieb. iudic.*  
*Ep.*  
 Smith *Critical Days* (Li 9.298–307).  
*Letters* (Li 9.312–429).  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1990. *Hippocrates, Pseudepigraphic Writings*. Leiden.
- Epid. I*  
 Kühlewein *Epidemics I* (Li 2.598–717).  
 H. Kühlewein, ed. 1894–1902. *Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.
- Epid. II*  
 Smith *Epidemics II* (Li 5.72–139).  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1994. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Mass.
- Epid. III*  
 Kühlewein *Epidemics III* (Li 3.24–149).  
 H. Kühlewein, ed. 1894–1902. *Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.
- Epid. IV*  
 Smith *Epidemics IV* (Li 5.144–97).  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1994. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Mass.

- Epid. V* *Epidemics V* (Li 5.204–59).  
 Jouanna J. Jouanna, ed. and trans. 2000. *Hippocrate, Epidémies V et VII*. CUF t. 4.3. Paris.  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1994. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Mass.
- Epid. VI* *Epidemics VI* (Li 5.266–357).  
 Manetti-Roselli D. Manetti and A. Roselli, eds. and trans. 1982. *Hippocrate, Epidémie: libro sesto*. Florence.  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1994. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Mass.
- Epid. VII* *Epidemics VII* (Li 5.364–469).  
 Jouanna J. Jouanna, ed. and trans. 2000. *Hippocrate, Epidémies V et VII*. CUF t. 4.3. Paris.  
 W. D. Smith, ed. and trans. 1994. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Mass.
- Flat.* *On Breaths* (Li 6.90–115).  
 Jouanna J. Jouanna, ed. and trans. 1988. *Hippocrate, Des vents; De l'art*. CUF t. 5.1. Paris.  
 W.H.S. Jones, ed. and trans. 1923. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.
- Fract.* *Fractures* (Li 3.412–563).  
 Kühlewein H. Kühlewein, ed. 1894–1902. *Hippocratis opera quae feruntur omnia*. 2 vols. Leipzig.  
 E. T. Withington, ed. and trans. 1928. *Hippocrates*. Vol. 3. Cambridge, Mass.
- Genit./Nat. Puer.* *On Generation/On the Nature of the Child* (Li 7.470–543).  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1970. *Hippocrate, De la génération; De la nature de l'enfant; Des maladies IV; Du fœtus de huit mois*. CUF t. 11. Paris.  
 I. M. Lonie, trans. 1981. *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation," "On the Nature of the Child," "Diseases IV."* Berlin.
- Glan.* *Glands* (Li 8.556–75).  
 Joly R. Joly, ed. and trans. 1978. *Hippocrate, Des lieux dans l'homme; Du système des glandes; Des fistules-Des hémorroïdes; De la vision; Des chairs; De la dentition*. CUF t. 13. Paris.  
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- Haem.* *Haemorrhoids* (Li 6.436–45).  
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