

A. CORNELII CELSI DE MEDICINA

PROOEMIUM

UT alimenta sanis corporibus agricultura, sic sanitatem aegris Medicina promittit. Haec nusquam quidem non est, siquidem etiam inperitissimae gentes herbas aliaque promta in auxilium vulnerum² morborumque noverunt. Verum tamen apud Graecos aliquanto magis quam in ceteris nationibus exulta est, ac ne apud hos quidem a prima origine, sed paucis ante nos saeculis. Ut pote cum vetustissimus auctor Aesculapius celebretur, qui quoniam adhuc rudem et vulgarem hanc scientiam paulo subtilius³ excoluit, in deorum numerum receptus est. Huius deinde duo filii Podalirius et Machaon bello Troiano ducem Agamemnonem secuti, non mediocrem opem commilitonibus suis attulerunt; quos tamen Homerus non in pestilentia neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid adtulisse auxilii, sed vulneribus tantummodo ferro et medicamentis mederi solitos esse proposuit.⁴ Ex quo apparet has partes medicinae solas ab iis esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas. Eodem

^a The reference is to Celsus' preceding treatise on Agriculture, of which only fragments remain. Cf. Introduction.

^b Cf. *Il.* XI. 833. ^c For the pestilence cf. *Il.* I. 43 ff.

CELSUS ON MEDICINE

PROOEMIUM

JUST as agriculture^a promises nourishment to healthy bodies, so does the Art of Medicine promise health to the sick. Nowhere is this Art wanting, for the most uncivilized nations have had knowledge of herbs, and other things to hand for the aiding of wounds and diseases. This Art, however, has been cultivated among the Greeks much more than in other nations—not, however, even among them from their first beginnings, but only for a few generations before ours. Hence Aesculapius is celebrated as the most ancient authority, and because he cultivated this science, as yet rude and vulgar, with a little more than common refinement, he was numbered among the gods. After him his two sons, Podalirius and Machaon, who followed Agamemnon as leader to the Trojan War, gave no inconsiderable help to their comrades.^b Homer stated, however, not that they gave any aid in the pestilence^c or in the various sorts of diseases, but only that they relieved wounds by the knife and by medicaments. Hence it appears that by them those parts only of the Art were attempted, and that they were the oldest.

vero auctore disci potest morbos tum ad iram deorum immortalium relatos esse, et ab iisdem opem posci solitam verique simile est inter¹ nulla auxilia adversae valetudinis, plerumque tamen eam bonam contigisse ob bonos mores, quos neque desidia neque luxuria vitiant; siquidem haec duo corpora prius in Graecia, deinde apud nos adfixerunt ideoque multiplex ista medicina, neque olim neque apud alias gentes necessaria, vix aliquos ex nobis ad senectutis principia perducit.

Ergo etiam post eos, de quibus rettuli, nulli clari viri medicinam exercuerunt, donec maiore studio litterarum disciplina agitari coepit; quae ut animo praecipue omnium necessaria, sic corpori inimica est. Primoque medendi scientia sapientiae pars habebatur, ut et morborum curatio et rerum naturae contemplatio sub iisdem auctoribus nata sit: scilicet iis hanc maxime requirentibus, qui corporum suorum robora inquieta² cogitatione nocturnaue vigilia minuerant. Ideoque multos ex sapientiae professoribus peritos eius fuisse accipimus, clarissimos vero ex iis Pythagoran et Empedoclen et Democritum. Huius autem, ut quidam crediderunt, discipulus Hippocrates Cos, primus ex omnibus memoria dignus, a studio sapientiae disciplinam hanc separavit, vir et arte et facundia insignis. Post quem Diocles

¹ Marx notes that the text is corrupt and suggests interisse quidem tum morbis plurimos, cum fuerint nulla auxilia etc. . . . "it is probable that then most perished from their diseases, since there were no aids against bad health."

² inquieta one MS. quita Marx, following the majority.

^a For particulars about these (and other persons referred to in the course of the work), see index of proper names, Vol. III, p. 628.

From the same authority, indeed, it can be learnt that diseases were then ascribed to the anger of the immortal gods, and from them help used to be sought; and it is probable that with no aids against bad health, none the less health was generally good because of good habits, which neither indolence nor luxury had vitiated: since it is these two which have afflicted the bodies of men, first in Greece, and later amongst us; and hence this complex Art of Medicine, not needed in former times, nor among other nations even now, scarcely protracts the lives of a few of us to the verge of old age.

Therefore even after these I have mentioned, no distinguished men practised the Art of Medicine until literary studies began to be pursued with more attention, which more than anything else are a necessity for the spirit, but at the same time are bad for the body. At first the science of healing was held to be part of philosophy, so that treatment of disease and contemplation of the nature of things began through the same authorities; clearly because healing was needed especially by those whose bodily strength had been weakened by restless thinking and night-watching. Hence we find that many who professed philosophy became expert in medicine, the most celebrated being Pythagoras, Empedocles and Democritus.^a But it was, as some believe, a pupil of the last, Hippocrates of Cos, a man first and foremost worthy to be remembered, notable both for professional skill and for eloquence, who separated this branch of learning from the study of philosophy.^b After him

^a *Disciplina rationalis*, λογισμός (λόγος), Book I. Prooem. 10. *Disciplina chirurgica*, Book VII. Prooem. 1-3. Philosophy is used in the wider sense, to include natural science.

Carystius, deinde Praxagoras et Chrysippus, tum Herophilus et Erasistratus sic artem hanc exercuerunt, ut etiam in diversas curandi vias processerint.

- 9 Iisdemque temporibus in tres partes medicina diducta est, ut una esset quae victu, altera quae medicamentis, tertia quae manu mederetur. Primam *Διαιτητικήν* secundam *Φαρμακευτικήν* tertiam *Χειρουργίαν* Graeci nominarunt. Eius autem, quae victu morbos curat, longe clarissimi auctores etiam altius quaedam agitare conati, rerum quoque naturae sibi cognitionem vindicarunt, tamquam sine ea
- 10 trunca et debilis medicina esset. Post quos Serapion, primus omnium nihil hanc rationalem disciplinam pertinere ad medicinam professus, in usu tantum et experimentis eam posuit. Quem Apollonius et Glaucias et aliquanto post Heraclides Tarentinus et aliqui non mediocres viri secuti ex ipsa
- 11 professione se empiricos appellaverunt. Sic in duas partes ea quoque, quae victu curat, medicina divisa est, aliis rationalem artem, aliis usum tantum sibi vindicantibus, nullo vero quicquam post eos, qui supra comprehensi sunt, agitante, nisi quod acceperat, donec Asclepiades medendi rationem ex magna parte mutavit. Ex cuius successoribus Themison nuper ipse quoque quaedam in senectute deflexit. Et per hos quidem maxime viros salutaris ista nobis professio increvit.

- 12 Quoniam autem ex [tribus] medicinae partibus ut

Diocles of Carystus, next Praxagoras and Chrysippus, then Herophilus and Erasistratus, so practised this art that they made advances even towards various methods of treatment.

During the same times the Art of Medicine was divided into three parts: one being that which cures through diet, another through medicaments, and the third by the hand. The Greeks termed the first *Διαιτητική*, the second *Φαρμακευτική*, the third *Χειρουργία*. But of that part which cures diseases by diet those who were by far the most famous authorities, endeavouring to go more deeply into things, claimed for themselves also a knowledge of nature, without which it seemed that the Art of Medicine would be stunted and weak. After them first of all Serapion, declaring that this kind of reasoning method was in no way pertinent to Medicine, based it only upon practice and upon experience. To him followed Apollonius and Glaucias, and somewhat later Heraclides of Tarentum, and other men of no small note, who in accordance with what they professed called themselves Empirici (or Experimentalists). Thus this Art of Medicine which treats by diet was also divided into two parts, some claiming an Art based upon speculation, others on practice alone. But after those mentioned above no one troubled about anything except what tradition had handed down to him until Asclepiades changed in large measure the way of curing. Of his successors, Themison, late in life, diverged from Asclepiades in some respects. And it is through these men in particular that this health-giving profession of ours has grown up.

Since of the divisions of the Art of Medicine, the

difficillima, sic etiam clarissima est ea, quae morbis medetur, ante omnia de hac dicendum est. Et quia prima in eo dissensio est, quod alii sibi experientiorum tantummodo notitiam necessariam esse contendunt, alii nisi corporum rerumque ratione comperta non satis potentem usum esse proponunt, indicandum est, quae maxime ex utraque parte dicantur, quo facilius nostra quoque opinio interponi possit.

13 Igitur ii, qui rationalem medicinam profitentur, haec necessaria esse proponunt: abditarum et morbos continentium causarum notitiam, deinde evidentium; post haec etiam naturalium actionum, novissime partium interiorum.

14 Abditas causas vocant, in quibus requiritur, ex quibus principiis nostra corpora sint, quid secundam, quid adversam valetudinem faciat. Neque enim credunt posse eum scire, quomodo morbos curare conveniat, qui unde sint ignoret; neque esse dubium quin alia curatione opus sit, si ex quattuor principiis vel superans aliquod vel deficientem adversam valetudinem creat, ut quidam ex sapientiae professoribus
15 dixerunt: alia, si in umidis omne vitium est, ut Herophilo visum est; alia, si in spiritu, ut Hippocrati; alia, si sanguis in eas venas, quae spiritui accommodatae sunt, transfunditur et inflammationem, quam

^a The four principles or elements of Empedocles with their associations. See Plato, *Timaeus*, 82; Hippocrates, IV. p. xvii.

(a) Fire associated with: hot, rough, red blood; spring; choleric temperament.

(b) Water associated with: cold, smooth, white phlegm; winter; phlegmatic temperament.

(c) Air associated with: dry, salt, sweet, black bile; autumn; melancholic temperament.

(d) Earth associated with: moist, acid, yellow bile; summer; sanguineous temperament.

one which heals diseases, as it is the most difficult, is also the most famous, we must speak about it first. And because there is a primary difference of opinion, some holding that the sole knowledge necessary is derived from experience, others propounding that practice is not efficient enough except after acquiring a reasoned knowledge of human bodies and of nature, I must indicate which are the principal statements on either side, so that I may the more easily interpose my own opinion also.

They, then, who profess a reasoned theory of medicine propound as requisites, first, a knowledge of hidden causes involving diseases, next, of evident causes, after these of natural actions also, and lastly of the internal parts.

They term hidden, the causes concerning which inquiry is made into the principles composing our bodies, what makes for and what against health. For they believe it impossible for one who is ignorant of the origin of diseases to learn how to treat them suitably. They say that it does not admit of doubt that there is need for differences in treatment, if, as certain of the professors of philosophy have stated, some excess, or some deficiency, among the four elements,^a creates adverse health; or, if all the fault is in the humours,^b as was the view of Herophilus; or in the breath, according to Hippocrates; or if blood is transfused into those blood-vessels which are fitted for pneuma,^c and excites inflammation

^b The four humours: health was supposed to depend upon the proportions of blood, phlegm, choler, and black bile. See Hippocr. IV. pp. xvii, 63 and Index.

^c Πνεῦμα, in the Greek writers whom Celsus followed, meant breath with the addition of some vital spirit—almost the Greek equivalent to oxygen.

- Graeci φλεγμόνην nominant, excitat, eaque inflammatio talem motum efficit, qualis in febre est, ut
- 16 Erasistrato placuit; alia, si manantia corpuseula per invisibilia foramina subsistendo iter claudunt, ut Asclepiades contendit: eum vero recte curaturum, quem prima origo causae non fefellerit. Neque vero infitiantur experimenta quoque esse necessaria, sed ne ad haec quidem aditum fieri potuisse nisi ab
- 17 aliqua ratione contendunt: non enim quilibet antiquiores viros aegris inculcasse, sed cogitasse quid maxime conveniret, et id usu explorasse, ad quod ante coniectura aliqua duxisset. Neque interesse, an nunc iam pleraque explorata sint . . .¹ si a consilio tamen coeperunt. Et id quidem in multis ita se habere. Saepe vero etiam nova incidere genera morborum, in quibus nihil adhuc usus ostenderit et ideo necessarium sit animadvertere, unde ea coeperint; sine quo nemo reperiri emortalium possit, cur hoc quam illo potius utatur. Et ob haec quidem in obscuro positas causas persequuntur.
- 18 Evidentes vero has appellant, in quibus quaerunt, initium morbi calor attulerit an frigus, fames an satietas, et quae similia sunt: occurrurum enim vitio dicunt eum, qui originem non ignorarit.
- 19 Naturales vero corporis actiones appellant, per quas spiritum trahimus et emittimus, cibum

¹ Marx suggests si quotannis tamen nova remedia inveniuntur, neque dicendum esse antiquiores experimentis esse usos . . . , "if new remedies nevertheless are found every year, nor must we say that the ancients went by experience. . . ."

which the Greeks term φλεγμόνη, and that inflammation effects such a disturbance as there is in fever, which was taught by Erasistratus; or if little bodies by being brought to a standstill in passing through invisible pores block the passage, as Asclepiades contended—his will be the right way of treatment, who has not failed to see the primary origin of the cause. They do not deny that experience is also necessary; but they say it is impossible to arrive at what should be done unless through some course of reasoning. For the older men, they say, did not cram the sick anyhow, but reasoned out what might be especially suitable, and then put to the test of experience what conjecture of a sort had previously led up to. Again they say that it makes no matter whether by now most remedies have been well explored already . . . if, nevertheless, they started from a reasoned theory; and that in fact this has also been done in many instances. Frequently, too, novel classes of disease occur about which hitherto practice has disclosed nothing, and so it is necessary to consider how such have commenced, without which no one among mortals can possibly find out whether this rather than that remedy should be used; this is the reason why they investigate the occult causes.

But they call evident those causes, concerning which they inquire, as to whether heat or cold, hunger or surfeit, or such like, has brought about the commencement of the disease; for they say that he will be the one to counter the malady who is not ignorant of its origin.

Further, they term natural actions of the body, those by which we draw in and emit breath, take in

- potionemque et adsumimus et concoquimus, itemque per quas eadem haec in omnes membrorum partes digeruntur. Tum requirunt etiam, quare venae nostrae modo summittant se, modo attollant; quae ratio somni, quae vigiliae sit; sine quorum notitia neminem putant vel occurrere vel mederi morbis
- 20 inter haec nascentibus posse. Ex quibus quia maxime pertinere ad rem concoctio videtur, huic potissimum insistunt; et ducē alii Erasistrato teri cibum in ventre contendunt, alii Plistonico Praxagorae discipulo putrescere; alii credunt Hippocrati per calorem cibos concoqui; acceduntque Asclepiadis aemuli, qui omnia ista vana et supervacua esse proponunt: nihil enim concoqui, sed crudam materiam, sicut adsumpta est, in corpus omne diduci.
- 21 Et haec quidem inter eos parum constant: illud vero convenit, alium dandum cibum laborantibus, si hoc, alium, si illud verum est: nam si teritur intus, eum quaerendum esse, qui facillime teri possit; si putrescit, eum, in quo hoc expeditissimum est; si calor
- 22 concoquit, eum, qui maxime calorem movet: at nihil ex his esse quaerendum, si nihil concoquitur, ea vero sumenda, quae maxime manent, qualia adsumpta sunt. Eademque ratione, cum spiritus gravis est, cum somnus aut vigilia urguet, eum mederi posse arbitrantur, qui prius illa ipsa qualiter eveniant perceperit.
- 23 Praeter haec, cum in interioribus partibus et

* Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Acut.* i. 14, § 113, mentions a division or solution, dividing up the food into minute particles: *neque ullam digestionem in nobis esse sed solutionem ciborum in ventre fieri et per singulas particulas corporis, etc.*

and digest food and drink, as also those actions through which food and drink are distributed into every part of the members. Moreover, they also inquire why our blood-vessels now subside, now swell up; what is the explanation of sleep and wakefulness: for without knowledge of these they hold that no one can encounter or remedy the diseases which spring up in connexion with them. Among these natural actions digestion seems of most importance, so they give it their chief attention. Some following Erasistratus hold that in the belly the food is ground up; others, following Plistonicus, a pupil of Praxagoras, that it putrefies; others believe with Hippocrates, that the food is cooked up by heat. In addition there are the followers of Asclepiades, who propound that all such notions are vain and superfluous, that there is no concoction at all, but that the material is transmitted throughout the body, crude as swallowed.* And on these points there is little agreement indeed among them; but what does follow is that a different food is to be given to patients according as this or that view is true. For if it is ground up inside, that food should be selected which can be ground up the most readily; if it putrefies, that which does so most expeditiously; if heat concocts it, that which most excites heat. But none of these points need be inquired into if there be no concoction but such things be taken which persist most in the state in which they were when swallowed. In the same way, when breathing is laboured, when sleep or wakefulness disturbs, they deem him able to remedy it who has understood beforehand how these same natural actions happen.

Moreover, as pains, and also various kinds of

- dolores et morborum varia genera nascantur, neminem putant his adhibere posse remedia, qui ipsas ignoret. Ergo necessarium esse incidere corpora mortuorum, eorumque viscera atque intestina scrutari; longeque optime fecisse Herophilum et Erasistratum, qui nocentes homines a regibus ex carcere
- 24 acceptos vivos inciderint, considerarintque etiamnum spiritu remanente ea, quae natura ante clausisset, eorumque positum, colorem, figuram, magnitudinem, ordinem, duritiem, mollitiem, levorem, contactum, processus deinde singulorum et recessus, et sive quid inseritur alteri, sive quid partem alterius in se
- 25 recipit: neque enim, cum dolor intus incidit, scire quid doleat eum, qui, qua parte quodque viscus intestinumve sit, non cognoverit neque curari id, quod aegrum est, posse ab eo, qui quid sit ignoret; et cum per vulnus alicuius viscera patefacta sunt, eum, qui sanae cuiusque colorem partis ignoret,
- 26 nescire quid integrum, quid corruptum sit; ita ne succurrere quidem posse corruptis. Aptiusque extrinsecus inponi remedia conpertis interiorum et sedibus et figuris cognitaque eorum magnitudine; similesque omnia, quae posita supra¹ sunt, rationes habere. Neque esse crudele, sicut plerique proponunt, hominum nocentium et horum quoque paucorum supplicis remedia populis innocentibus saeculorum omnium quaeri.
- 27 Contra ii, qui se Empiricos ab experientia nominant, evidentes quidem causas ut necessarias

¹ supra added by Marx.

diseases, arise in the more internal parts, they hold that no one can apply remedies for these who is ignorant about the parts themselves; hence it becomes necessary to lay open the bodies of the dead and to scrutinize their viscera and intestines. They hold that Herophilus and Erasistratus did this in the best way by far, when they laid open men whilst alive—criminals received out of prison from the kings—and whilst these were still breathing, observed parts which beforehand nature had concealed, their position, colour, shape, size, arrangement, hardness, softness, smoothness, relation, processes and depressions of each, and whether any part is inserted into or is received into another. For when pain occurs internally, neither is it possible for one to learn what hurts the patient, unless he has acquainted himself with the position of each organ or intestine; nor can a diseased portion of the body be treated by one who does not know what that portion is. When a man's viscera are exposed in a wound, he who is ignorant of the colour of a part in health may be unable to recognize which part is intact, and which part damaged; thus he cannot even relieve the damaged part. External remedies too can be applied more aptly by one acquainted with the position, shape and size of the internal organs, and like reasonings hold good in all the instances mentioned above. Nor is it, as most people say, cruel that in the execution of criminals, and but a few of them, we should seek remedies for innocent people of all future ages.

On the other hand, those who are called "Empirici" because they have experience, do indeed accept evident causes as necessary; but they contend

amplectuntur: obscurarum vero causarum et naturalium actionum quaestionem ideo supervacuam esse contendunt, quoniam non comprehensibilis natura sit.

- 28 Non posse vero comprehendere patere ex eorum, qui de his disputarunt, discordia, cum de ista re neque inter sapientiae professores, neque inter ipsos medicos conveniat. Cur enim potius aliquis Hippocrati credat quam Herophilo? cur huic potius quam
29 Asclepiadi? Si rationes sequi velit, omnium posse videri non improbabiles; si curationes, ab omnibus his aegros perductos esse ad sanitatem. Ita neque disputationi neque auctoritati cuiusquam fidem derogari oportuisse. Etiam sapientiae studiosos maxime medicos esse, si ratiocinatio hoc faceret: nunc illis
30 verba superesse, deesse medendi scientiam. Differre quoque pro natura locorum genera medicinae, et aliud opus esse Romae, aliud in Aegypto, aliud in Gallia. Quod si morbos haec [causae] facerent, quae ubique eadem essent, eadem remedia quoque ubique esse debuisse. Saepe etiam causas apparere, ut puta lippitudinis, vulneris, neque ex his patere
31 medicinam. Quod si scientiam hanc non subiciat evidens causa, multo minus eam posse subicere, quae in dubio est. Cum igitur illa incerta, incomprehensibilis sit, a certis potius et exploratis petendum esse praesidium, id est is, quae experientia in ipsis curationibus docuerit, sicut in ceteris omnibus

that inquiry about obscure causes and natural actions is superfluous, because nature is not to be comprehended. That nature cannot be comprehended is in fact patent, they say, from the disagreement among those who discuss such matters; for on this question there is no agreement, either among professors of philosophy or among actual medical practitioners. Why, then, should anyone believe rather in Hippocrates than in Herophilus, why in him rather than in Asclepiades? If one wants to be guided by reasoning, they go on, the reasoning of all of them can appear not improbable; if by method of treatment, all of them have restored sick folk to health: therefore one ought not to derogate from anyone's credit, either in argument or in authority. Even philosophers would have become the greatest of medical practitioners, if reasoning from theory could have made them so; as it is, they have words in plenty, and no knowledge of healing at all. They also say that the methods of practice differ according to the nature of localities, and that one method is required in Rome, another in Egypt, another in Gaul; but that if the causes which produce diseases were everywhere the same, the same remedies should be used everywhere; that often, too, the causes are apparent, as, for example, of ophthalmia, or of wounds, yet such causes do not disclose the treatment: that if the evident cause does not supply the knowledge, much less can a cause which is in doubt yield it. Since, therefore, the cause is as uncertain as it is incomprehensible, protection is to be sought rather from the ascertained and explored, as in all the rest of the Arts, that is, from what experience has taught in the actual course of treatment: for

- 32 artibus. Nam ne agricolam quidem aut gubernatorem disputatione sed usu fieri. Ac nihil istas cogitationes ad medicinam pertinere eo quoque disci, quod qui diversa de his senserint, ad eandem tamen sanitatem homines perduxerint: id enim fecisse, quia non ab obscuris causis neque a naturalibus actionibus, quae apud eos diversae erant, sed ab experimentis, prout cuique responderant, medendi
- 33 vias traxerint. Ne inter initia quidem ab istis quaestionibus deductam esse medicinam, sed ab experimentis: aegrorum enim, qui sine medicis erant, alios propter aviditatem primis diebus protinus cibum adsumpsisse, alios propter fastidium abstinuisse; levatumque magis eorum morbum esse, qui
- 34 abstinuerant. Itemque alios in ipsa febre aliquid edisse, alios paulo ante eam, alios post remissionem eius; optime deinde iis cessisse, qui post finem febris id fecerant; eademque ratione alios inter principia protinus usos esse cibo pleniore, alios exiguo;
- 35 gravioresque eos factos, qui se implerant. Haec similiaque cum cottidie inciderent, diligentes homines notasse quae plerumque melius responderent; deinde aegrotantibus ea praecipere coepisse. Sic medicinam ortam, subinde aliorum salute, aliorum interitu perniciose discernentem a salutaribus.
- 36 Repertis deinde iam remediis, homines de rationibus eorum disserere coepisse; nec post rationem medicinam esse inventam, sed post inventam medicinam rationem esse quaesitam. Requiere etiam

even a farmer, or a pilot, is made not by disputation but by practice. That such speculations are not pertinent to the Art of Medicine may be learned from the fact that men may hold different opinions on these matters, yet conduct their patients to recovery all the same. This has happened, not because they deduced lines of healing from obscure causes, nor from the natural actions, concerning which different opinions were held, but from experiences of what had previously succeeded. Even in its beginnings, they add, the Art of Medicine was not deduced from such questionings, but from experience; for of the sick who were without doctors, some in the first days of illness, longing for food, took it forthwith; others, owing to distaste, abstained; and the illness was more alleviated in those who abstained. Again, some partook of food whilst actually under the fever, some a little before, others after its remission, and it went best with those who did so after the fever had ended; and similarly some at the beginning adopted at once a rather full diet, others a scanty one, and those were made worse who had eaten plentifully. When this and the like happened day after day, careful men noted what generally answered the better, and then began to prescribe the same for their patients. Thus sprang up the Art of Medicine, which, from the frequent recovery of some and the death of others, distinguished between the pernicious and the salutary.

It was afterwards, they proceed, when the remedies had already been discovered, that men began to discuss the reasons for them: the Art of Medicine was not a discovery following upon reasoning, but after the discovery of the remedy, the reason for it was

se, ratio idem doceat quod experientia an aliud: si idem, supervacuum esse; si aliud, etiam contrariam. Primo tamen remedia exploranda summa cura fuisse; nunc vero iam explorata esse; neque aut nova genera morborum reperiri, aut novam desiderari
 37 medicinam. Quod si iam incidat mali genus aliquod ignotum, non ideo tamen fore medico de rebus cogitandum obscuris, sed eum protinus visurum cui morbo id proximum sit, temptaturumque remedia similia illis, quae vicino malo saepe succurrerint, et
 38 per eius similitudines opem reperturum. Neque enim se dicere medicum consilio non egere et irrationale animal hanc artem posse praestare; sed has latentium rerum coniecturas ad rem non pertinere, quia non intersit, quid morbum faciat, sed quid tollat; neque ad rem pertineat, quomodo, sed quid optime digeratur, sive hac de causa concoctio incidat sive illa, et sive concoctio sit illa sive tantum
 39 digestio. Neque quaerendum esse quomodo spiremus, sed quid gravem et tardum spiritum expediat; neque quid venas moveat, sed quid quaeque motus genera significant. Haec autem cognosci experimentis. Et in omnibus eiusmodi cogitationibus in utramque partem disseri posse; itaque ingenium et facundiam vincere, morbos autem non eloquentia sed remediis curari. Quae si quis elinguis usu discreta bene norit, hunc aliquanto maiorem medicum futurum, quam si sine usu linguam suam excoluerit.

sought out. They ask, too, does reasoning teach the same as experience? If the same, it was needless; if something else, then it was even opposed to it: nevertheless, at first remedies had to be explored with the greatest care; now, however, they have been explored already; there were neither new sorts of diseases to be found out, nor was a novel remedy wanted. For even if there happened nowadays some unknown form of malady, nevertheless the practitioner had not to theorize over obscure matters, but straightway would see to which disease it came nearest; then would make trial of remedies similar to those which have succeeded often in a kindred affection, and so through its similarities find help; that was not to say that a practitioner had no need to take counsel, and that an irrational animal was capable of exhibiting this art, but that these conjectures about concealed matters are of no concern because it does not matter what produces the disease but what relieves it; nor does it matter how digestion takes place, but what is best digested, whether concoction comes about from this cause or that, and whether the process is concoction or merely distribution. We had no need to inquire in what way we breathe, but what relieves laboured breathing; not what may move the blood-vessels, but what the various kinds of movements signify. All this was to be learnt through experiences; and in all theorizing over a subject it is possible to argue on either side, and so cleverness and fluency may get the best of it; it is not, however, by eloquence but by remedies that diseases are treated. A man of few words who learns by practice to discern well, would make an altogether better practitioner than he who, unpractised, overcultivates his tongue.

- 40 Atque ea quidem, de quibus est dictum, supervacua esse tantummodo: id vero, quod restat, etiam crudele, vivorum hominum alvum atque praecordia incidi, et salutis humanae praesidem artem non solum pestem alicui, sed hanc etiam atrocissimam inferre; cum praesertim ex his, quae tanta violentia quaerantur, alia non possint omnino cognosci, alia
- 41 possint etiam sine scelere. Nam colorem, levorem, mollitiem, duritiem, similiaque omnia non esse talia inciso corpore, qualia integro fuerint, quia, cum corpora inviolata sint, haec tamen metu, dolore, inedia, cruditate, lassitudine, mille aliis mediocribus adfectibus saepe mutantur; multo magis veri simile esse interiora, quibus maior mollities, lux ipsa nova sit, sub gravissimis vulneribus et ipsa trucidatione
- 42 mutari. Neque quicquam esse stultius, quam quale quidque vivo homine est, tale existimare esse moriente, immo iam mortuo. Nam utrum quidem, qui minus ad rem pertineat, spirante homine posse diduci: simul atque vero ferrum ad praecordia accessit et discissum transversum saeptum est, quod membrana quaedam est quae¹ superiores partes ab inferioribus diducit (διάφραγμα Graeci vocant), hominem animam protinus amittere: ita mortui demum praecordia et viscus omne in conspectum latrocinantis medici dari utique necesse est
- 43 tale, quale mortui sit, non quale vivi fuit. Itaque consequi medicum, ut hominem crudeliter iugulet,

¹ est quae added by Marx.

* The strong terms of condemnation in §§ 40-43 represent the opinions of these practitioners (the Empirics), but Celsus endorses them himself in § 74.

^b For *praecordia* see note ^a on p. 100, and index, Vol. III, p. 644.

Now the matters just referred to they^a deem to be superfluous; but what remains, cruel as well, to cut into the belly and chest^b of men whilst still alive, and to impose upon the Art which presides over human safety someone's death, and that too in the most atrocious way. Especially is this true when, of things which are sought for with so much violence, some can be learnt not at all, others can be learnt even without a crime. For when the body had been laid open, colour, smoothness, softness, hardness and all similars would not be such as they were when the body was untouched; because bodies, even when uninjured, yet often change in appearance, they note, from fear, pain, want of food, indigestion, weariness and a thousand other mediocre affections; it is much more likely that the more internal parts, which are far softer, and to which the very light is something novel, should under the most severe of woundings, in fact mangling, undergo changes. Nor is anything more foolish, they say, than to suppose that whatever the condition of the part of a man's body in life, it will also be the same when he is dying, nay, when he is already dead; for the belly indeed, which is of less importance, can be laid open with the man still breathing; but as soon as the knife really penetrates to the chest, by cutting through the transverse septum, a sort of membrane which divides the upper from the lower parts (the Greeks call it διάφραγμα), the man loses his life at once: so it is only when the man is dead that the chest and any of the viscera come into the view of the medical murderer, and they are necessarily those of a dead, not of a living man. It follows, therefore, that the medical man just plays the cut-throat, not that he learns

- non ut sciat, qualia vivi viscera habeamus. Si quid tamen sit, quod adhuc spirante homine conspectu subiciatur, id saepe casum offerre curantibus. Interdum enim gladiatorem in harena vel militem in acie vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum sic vulnerari, ut eius interior aliqua pars aperitur, et in alio alia; ita sedem, positum, ordinem, figuram, similiaque alia cognoscere prudentem medicum, non caedem sed sanitatem molientem, idque per misericordiam
- 44 discere, quod alii dira crudelitate cognorint. Ob haec ne mortuorum quidem lacerationem necessariam esse (quae etsi non crudelis, tamen foeda sit), cum aliter pleraque in mortuis se habeant; quantum vero in vivis cognosci potest, ipsa curatio ostendat.
- 45 Cum haec per multa volumina perque magnas contentionis [disputationes] a medicis saepe tractata sint atque tractentur, subiciendum est, quae proxima vero videri possint. Ea neque addicta alterutri opinioni sunt, neque ab utraque nimium abhorrentia, sed¹ media quodammodo inter diversas sententias; quod in plurimis contentionibus deprehendere licet sine ambitione verum scrutantibus: ut in hac ipsa re.
- 46 Nam quae demum causae vel secundam valetudinem praestent, vel morbos excitent, quo modo spiritus aut cibus vel trahatur vel digeratur, ne sapientiae quidem professores scientia comprehendunt, sed coniectura persequuntur. Cuius autem rei non est certa notitia, eius opinio certum reperire remedium

¹ sed added by v. d. Linden.

what our viscera are like when we are alive. If, however, there be anything to be observed whilst a man is still breathing, chance often presents it to the view of those treating him. For sometimes a gladiator in the arena, or a soldier in battle, or a traveller who has been set upon by robbers, is so wounded that some or other interior part is exposed in one man or another. Thus, they say, an observant practitioner learns to recognize site, position, arrangement, shape and such like, not when slaughtering, but whilst striving for health; and he learns in the course of a work of mercy, what others would come to know by means of dire cruelty. That for these reasons, since most things are altered in the dead, some hold that even the dissection of the dead is unnecessary; although not cruel, it is none the less nasty; but all that is possible to come to know in the living, the actual treatment exhibits.

Since all these questions have been discussed often by practitioners, in many volumes and in large and contentious disputations, and the discussion continues, it remains to add such views as may seem nearest the truth. These are neither wholly in accord with one opinion or another, nor exceedingly at variance with both, but hold a sort of intermediate place between divers sentiments, a thing which may be observed in most controversies when men seek impartially for truth, as in the present case. For as regards the causes which either favour health or excite disease, how breath is drawn in or food distributed, not even philosophers attain to full knowledge, but seek it out by conjecture. But where there is no certain knowledge about a thing, mere opinion about it cannot find a certain remedy.

47 non potest. Verumque est ad ipsam curandi rationem nihil plus conferre quam experientiam. Quamquam igitur multa sint ad ipsas artes proprie non pertinentia, tamen eas adiuvant excitando artificis ingenium: itaque ista quoque naturae rerum contemplatio, quamvis non faciat medicum, aptiorem tamen medicinae reddit perfectumque. Verique simile est et Hippocraten et Erasistratum, et quicumque alii non contenti [sint] febres et ulcera agitare rerum quoque naturam aliqua parte scrutati sunt, non ideo quidem medicos fuisse, verum ideo
48 quoque maiores medicos extitisse. Ratione vero opus est ipsi medicinae, etsi non inter obscuras causas neque inter naturales actiones, tamen saepe . . .¹ est enim haec ars coniecturalis. Neque respondet ei plerumque non solum coniectura sed etiam experientia et interdum non febris, non cibus,² non somnus subsequitur, sicut adsuevit.
49 Rarius sed aliquando morbus quoque ipse novus est: quem non incidere manifeste falsum est, cum aetate nostra . . .³ quae ex naturalibus partibus carne prolapsa et arente intra paucas horas exspiraverit, sic ut nobilissimi medici neque genus mali neque
50 remedium invenerint. Quos ego nihil temptasse iudico, quia nemo in splendida persona periclitari coniectura sua voluerit, ne occidisse, nisi servasset, videretur: veri tamen simile est potuisse aliquid

¹ *Marx suggests inserting in eorum qui evidentibus causis nati sunt morborum curatione, "in treating those diseases which come from evident causes."*

² *M. suggests pus, suppuration: see IV. 11, 3; VIII. 10, 1. c.*

³ *M. suggests e.g. fuerit matrona equiti Romano nupta.*

And it is true that nothing adds more to a really rational treatment than experience. Although, therefore, many things, which are not strictly pertinent to the Arts as such, are yet helpful by stimulating the minds of those who practise them, so also this contemplation of the nature of things, although it does not make a practitioner, yet renders him more apt and perfected in the Art of Medicine. And it is probable that Hippocrates, Erasistratus and certain others, who were not content to busy themselves over fevers and ulcerations, but also to some extent searched into the nature of things, did not by this become practitioners, but by this became better practitioners. But reasoning is necessary to the Art of Medicine, not only when dealing with obscure causes, or natural actions, but often . . . for it is an art based on conjecture. However, in many cases not only does conjecture fail, but experience as well; and at times, neither fever, nor appetite, nor sleep follow their customary course. More rarely, yet now and again, a disease itself is new. That this does not happen is manifestly untrue, for in our time a lady, from whose genitals flesh had prolapsed and become gangrenous,^a died in the course of a few hours, whilst practitioners of the highest standing found out neither the class of malady nor a remedy. I conclude that they attempted nothing because no one was willing to risk a conjecture of his own in the case of a distinguished personage, for fear that he might seem to have killed, if he did not save her;

^a For this meaning of *arente*, see V. 26, 31 C. *caro arida*; VII. 12, 1, propter gingivarum arescientium vitium. Morgagni, Ep. IV., thought an inversion of the uterus to be indicated. See Hippocrates, *Prolapse of the uterus and its reduction* (Littre, VIII. 143-147).

- cogitare, detracta tali verecundia, et fortasse respon-
 51 surum fuisse id, quod aliquis esset expertus. Ad
 quod medicinae genus neque semper similitudo ali-
 quid confert, et si quando confert, tamen id ipsum
 rationale est, inter similia genera et morborum et
 remediorum cogitare, quo potissimum medicamento
 sit utendum. Cum igitur talis res incidit, medicus
 aliquid oportet inveniatur, quod non utique fortasse
 52 sed saepius tamen etiam respondeat. Petet autem
 novum quodque consilium non ab rebus latentibus
 (istae enim dubiae et incertae sunt), sed ab iis, quae
 explorari possunt, id est evidentibus causis. Interest
 enim fatigatio morbum an sitis, an frigus an calor,
 an vigilia an fames fecerit, an cibi vinique abundantia,
 53 an intemperantia libidinis. Neque ignorare hunc
 oportet, quae sit aegri natura, umidum magis an
 magis siccum corpus eius sit, validi nervi an infirmi,
 frequens adversa valetudo an rara, eaque, cum est,
 vehemens esse soleat an levis, brevis an longa; quod
 is vitae genus sit secutus, laboriosum an quietum,
 cum luxu an cum frugalitate: ex his enim similibusque
 saepe curandi nova ratio ducenda est.
 54 Quamvis ne haec quidem sic praeteriri debent,
 quasi nullam controversiam recipiant. Nam et Erasistratus
 non ex illis causis¹ fieri morbos dixit, quoniam
 et alii et idem alias post istas non febricitarent;

¹ causis added by Marx.

^a For allusions by Celsus to his own practice, see Introduction, p. xi., and IV. 23, 4, etc.

^b Considered in Books I. and II. 1-7.

yet it is probable that something might possibly have been thought of, had no such timidity prevented, and perchance this might have been successful had one but tried it.^a In this sort of practice similarity is not always of service, and when it does prove serviceable, nevertheless there has been a process of reasoning, in the theorizing over similar classes of diseases and of remedies, as to which is the best remedy to use. When, therefore, such an incident occurs, the practitioner ought to arrive at something which may answer, even if perhaps not always, yet nevertheless more often than not. He will seek, however, every novel plan, not from hidden things, for these are dubious and unascertainable, but from those which can be explored, that is, from evident causes.^b For what matters is this: whether fatigue or thirst, whether heat or cold, whether wakefulness or hunger, whether abundance in food or wine, whether intemperance in venery, has produced the disease. Nor should there be ignorance of the sick man's temperament; whether his body is rather humid or rather dry, whether his sinews are strong or weak, whether he is frequently or rarely ill; and when ill whether so severely or slightly, for a short or long while; the kind of life he has lived, laborious or quiet, accompanied by luxury or frugality. From such and similar data, one may often deduce a novel mode of treatment.

None the less the foregoing statements ought not to be passed by as if they did not admit of controversy. For Erasistratus himself has affirmed that diseases were not produced by such causes, since other persons, and even the same person at different times, were not rendered feverish by them. Further,

- et quidam medici saeculi nostri sub auctore, ut ipsi videri volunt, Themisone contendunt nullius causae notitiam quicquam ad curationes pertinere; satisque esse quaedam communia morborum intueri.
- 55 Siquidem horum tria genera esse, unum adstrictum, alterum fluens, tertium mixtum. Nam modo parum excernere aegros, modo nimium, modo alia parte parum, alia nimium: haec autem genera morborum modo acuta esse, modo longa, et modo increscere,
- 56 modo consistere, modo minui. Cognito igitur eo, quod ex his est, si corpus adstrictum est, digerendum esse; si profluvio laborat, continendum; si mixtum vitium habet, occurrendum subinde vehementiori malo. Et aliter acutis morbis medendum, aliter vetustis, aliter increscentibus, aliter subsistentibus,
- 57 aliter iam ad sanitatem inclinatis. Horum observationem medicinam esse; quam ita finiunt, ut quasi viam quandam quam μέθοδον nominant, eorumque, quae in morbis communia sunt, contemplatricem esse contendant. Ac neque rationalibus se neque experimenta tantum spectantibus adnumerari volunt, cum ab illis eo nomine dissentiant, quod in coniectura rerum latentium nolunt esse medicinam; ab his eo, quod parum artis esse in observatione experimentorum credunt.
- 58 Quod ad Erasistratum pertinet, primum ipsa

^a Hippocrates, I. 180. (Epid. I. xxiii.).

^b Commonest examples: *strictum*, constipation advancing to intestinal obstruction; *laxum*, loose stools advancing to diarrhoea and dysentery; *mixtum*, μεμυγμένον, a makeshift description for conditions not fitting into the two other categories.

^c Here *digerere* = διαφορεῖν, disperse the *materies morbi*: I. 9, 6, by a sweat; II. 14, 3, by rubbing; II. 33, 6, by topical applications; V. 23, 11 B., C., VII. 2, 3, by abscession, or gathering of matter, maturing to abscess.

certain practitioners of our time, following, as they would have it appear, the authority of Themison, contend that there is no cause whatever, the knowledge of which has any bearing on treatment: they hold that it is sufficient to observe certain general characteristics of diseases;^a that of these there are three classes, one a constriction, another a flux, the third a mixture.^b For the sick at one time excrete too little, at another time too much; again, from one part too little, from another too much; and these classes of diseases are sometimes acute, sometimes chronic, at times on the increase, at times constant, at times diminishing. Once it has been recognized, then, which it is of these, if the body is constricted, it has to be relaxed;^c if suffering from a flux, that has to be controlled; if a mixed lesion, the more severe malady must be countered first. Moreover, there must be treatment of one kind for acute diseases, another kind for chronic ones, another for increasing, stationary, or for those already tending to recovery. They hold that the Art of Medicine consists of such observations; which they define as a sort of way, which they name μέθοδος, and maintain that medicine should examine those characteristics which diseases have in common. They do not want to be classed with reasoners from theory, nor with those who look to experience only; for in so naming themselves Methodici, they dissent from the former because they are unwilling that the Art should consist in conjecture about hidden things, and from the latter because they think that in the observation of experience there is little of an Art of Medicine.

As relates to Erasistratus, in the first place the

evidentia eius opinioni repugnat¹ quia raro nisi post horum aliquid morbus venit; deinde non sequitur, ut, quod alium non adficit aut eundem alias, id ne alteri quidem aut eidem tempore alio noceat. Possunt enim quaedam subesse corpori vel ex infirmitate eius vel ex aliquo adfectu, quae vel in alio non sunt, vel in hoc alias non fuerunt eaque per se non tanta, ut² concitent morbum, tamen obnoxium
59 magis aliis iniuriis corpus efficiant. Quod si contemplationem rerum naturae, quam temere medici isti³ sibi vindicant, satis comprehendisset, etiam illud scisset, nihil omnino ob unam causam fieri, sed id pro causa adprehendi, quod contulisse plurimum videtur. Potest autem id, dum solum est, non
60 movere, quod iunctum aliis maxime moveat. Accedit ad haec, quod ne ipse quidem Erasistratus, qui transfuso in arterias sanguine febrem fieri dicit idque nimis repleto corpore incidere, repperit, cur ex duobus aequae repletis alter in morbum incideret, alter omni periculo vacaret; quod cotidie fieri apparet.
61 Ex quo disci potest, ut vera sit illa transfusio, tamen illam non per se, cum plenum corpus est, fieri, sed cum horum aliquid accesserit.
62 Themisonis vero aemuli, si perpetua quae

¹ Marx thinks there is a gap after repugnat and suggests esse enim quaedam quae morbos efficiant apparet, "for it is clear that there are certain causes which can produce diseases," etc.

² ut Constantine, vi. MSS.

³ isti added by Marx; v. d. Linden (followed by Targa and Daremberg) reads quae non temere medici sibi vindicant, "which the practitioners with very good reason claim."

actual evidence is against his opinion, because seldom does a disease occur unless following upon one of these; secondly, it does not follow that what has done no harm to one patient, or to that same patient upon one occasion, may not harm another patient, or the same one at another time. For it is possible that there are certain underlying conditions in the body, whether related to infirmity, or to an actual affection of some kind, which either are not present in another person, or were not existent in that patient on another occasion, and which of themselves are not enough to constitute a disease, yet they may render the body more liable to other injurious affections. But if Erasistratus had been sufficiently versed in the study of the nature of things, as those practitioners rashly claim themselves to be, he would have known also that nothing is due to one cause alone, but that which is taken to be the cause is that which seems to have had the most influence. Indeed it is possible that when one cause acts alone, it may not disturb, yet when acting in conjunction with other causes it may produce a very great disturbance. Moreover, even Erasistratus himself, who says that fever is produced by blood transfused into the arteries, and that this happens in an over-replete body, failed to discover why, of two equally replete persons, one should lapse into disease, and the other remain free from anything dangerous; and that clearly happens every day. Hence, however true this transfusion, one can learn that it does not occur of itself when there is bodily fullness, but when there is added something else.

But disciples of Themison, if they hold their

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promittunt habent, magis etiam quam ulli rationales sunt. Neque enim, si quis non omnia tenet, quae rationalis alius probat, protinus alio [novo] nomine artis indiget, si modo (quod primum est) non
63 memoriae soli sed rationi quoque insistit. Si, vero quod propius est, vix ulla perpetua praecepta medicinalis ars recipit, idem sunt quod ii, quos experimenta sola sustinent; eo magis quoniam, compresserit aliquem morbus an fuderit, quilibet etiam inperitissimus videt: quid autem compressum corpus resolvat, quid solutum teneat, si a ratione tractum est, rationalis est medicus; si, ut ei, qui se rationalem negat, confiteri necesse est, ab experi-
64 entia, empiricus. Ita apud eum morbi cognitio extra artem, medicina intra usum est; neque adiectum quicquam empiricorum professioni, sed demptum est, quoniam illi multa circumspeciant, hi
65 tantum facillima, et non plus quam vulgaria. Nam et ii, qui pecoribus ac iumentis medentur, cum propria cuiusque ex mutis animalibus nosse non possint, communibus tantummodo insistant; et exterarum gentes, cum subtilem medicinae rationem non noverint, communia tantum vident; et qui ampla valetudinaria nutriunt, quia singulis summa cura consulere non sustinent, ad communia ista

PROOEMIUM 62-65

precepts to be of constant validity, are reasoners even more than anybody else; for if a man does not hold all the tenets that another reasoner approves, he does not forthwith have to assume a different name for his art, if (and this is the essential point) he does rely not only on written authority, but also upon reasoning from theory. But if, which is nearer to the truth, the Art of Medicine admits of scarcely any universal precepts, reasoners are in the same position as those who depend upon experience alone, all the more because whether the disease has braced or relaxed is what the most uninstructed can see. But if a remedy which loosens a body braced up, or tightens a loosened body, has been deduced by a reasoning from theory, the practitioner is a reasoner; if (as the man who denies himself to be a reasoner must admit) he acts from experience, he is an Empiric. Thus according to Themison, knowledge of a disease is outside the Art, and medicine is confined to practice; nor has there been added anything to what Empirics profess, but something taken away; for reasoners from theory gaze about over a multiplicity of matters, Empirics look to circumstances the most simple, and nothing more than common-places. For in like manner those who treat cattle and horses, since it is impossible to learn from dumb animals particulars of their complaints, depend only upon common characteristics; so also do foreigners as they are ignorant of reasoning subtleties look rather to common characteristics of disease. Again, those who take charge of large hospitals, because they cannot pay full attention to individuals, resort to these common characteristics.

- 66 confugiunt. Neque Hercules istud antiqui medici nescierunt, sed his contenti non fuerunt. Ergo etiam vetustissimus auctor Hippocrates dixit mederi oportere et communia et propria intuentem. Ac ne isti quidem ipsi intra suam professionem consistere ullo modo possunt: siquidem et compressorum et fluentium morborum genera diversa sunt; faciliusque
- 67 id in iis, quae fluunt, inspicere potest. Aliud est enim sanguinem, aliud bilem, aliud cibum vomere; aliud deiectionibus, aliud torminibus laborare; aliud sudore digerere, aliud tabe consumi. Atque in partes quoque humor erumpit, ut oculos aurisque; quo periculo nullum humanum membrum vacat. Nihil autem horum sic ut aliud curatur.
- 68 Ita protinus in his a communi fluentis morbi contemplatione ad propriam medicinam descendit. Atque in hac quoque rursus alia proprietatis notitia saepe necessaria est; quia non eadem omnibus etiam in similibus casibus opitulantur: siquidem certae quaedam res sunt, quae in pluribus ventrem aut adstringunt aut resolvunt. Inveniuntur tamen, in quibus aliter atque in ceteris idem eveniat: in his ergo communium inspectio contraria est, propriorum tantum salutaris.
- 69 Et causae quoque aestimatio saepe morbum solvit. Ergo etiam ingeniosissimus saeculi nostri medicus, quem nuper vidimus, Cassius febricitanti cuidam et magna siti adfecto, cum post ebrietatem eum premi

* ὁ ἐπιλογισμὸς—a reckoning up of factors to arrive at a *cognitio* or *διάγνωσις*, II. 14, 3 *et al.*

I vow, the ancients knew all this, but were not content therewith; therefore even the oldest authority, Hippocrates, said that in healing it was necessary to take note both of common and of particular characteristics. Indeed these very Methodici, even within their professed limitations, cannot be consistent; for there are divers kinds of constricting and of relaxing diseases, those in which there is a flux being the more easy to observe. For it is one thing to vomit blood, another bile, another food; it is one thing to suffer from diarrhoea, another from dysentery; one thing to be relaxed through sweating, another to be wasted by consumption. Humour may break out into particular parts, such as the eyes or the ears; from a risk of this kind there is no human member free. No one of these occurrences is treated in the same way as another.

Hence the Art descends straight down from a consideration of the common characteristics of a flux to the particular case. Moreover, because the same remedies do not meet with success in all, even of similar cases, additional knowledge of peculiarities in such a case is often necessary. Although certain things act upon the bowels in most cases, whether as astringents or as laxatives, yet there are to be found some in whom the same thing acts differently than it does in others. In such instances, therefore, investigation of particular characteristics is salutary, that of common characteristics the reverse. Moreover, a reckoning up of the cause often solves the malady.* Thus Cassius, the most ingenious practitioner of our generation, recently dead, in a case suffering from fever and great thirst, when he learnt that the man had begun to feel oppressed after intoxication,

coepisse cognosset, aquam frigidam ingessit; qua ille epota cum vini vim miscendo fregisset, protinus
 70 febrem somno et sudore discussit. Quod auxilium medicus opportune providit non ex eo, quod aut adstrictum corpus erat aut fluebat, sed ex ea causa, quae ante praecesserat. Estque etiam proprium aliquid et loci et temporis istis quoque auctoribus: qui, cum disputant, quemadmodum sanis hominibus agendum sit, praecipiunt, ut gravibus aut locis aut temporibus magis vitetur frigus, aestus, satietas, labor, libido; magisque ut conquiescat isdem locis aut temporibus, si quis gravitatem corporis sensit, ac neque vomitu stomachum neque purgatione alvum
 71 sollicitet. Quae vera quidem sunt; a communibus tamen ad quaedam propria descendunt, nisi persuadere nobis volunt sanis quidem considerandum esse, quod caelum, quod tempus anni sit, aegris vero non esse; quibus tanto magis omnis observatio necessaria est, quanto magis obnoxia offensis infirmitas est. Quin etiam morborum in isdem hominibus aliae atque aliae proprietates sunt; et qui secundis aliquando frustra curatus est, contrariis
 72 saepe restituitur. Plurimaque in dando cibo discrimina reperiuntur, ex quibus contentus uno ero. Nam famem facilius adulescens quam puer, facilius in denso caelo quam in tenui, facilius hieme quam aestate, facilius uno cibo quam prandio quoque

administered cold water, by which draught, when by the admixture he had broken the force of the wine, he forthwith dispersed the fever by means of a sleep and a sweat. He, as a practitioner, provided an opportune remedy, not out of consideration whether the man's body was constricted or relaxed, but from what had happened beforehand to cause it. Besides, according to these very authorities there are particulars relating to locality and to season. When they are discussing what should be done by men in health, they prescribe the avoidance of cold, heat, surfeit, fatigue, venery, especially in sickly localities and seasons; in such places and seasons rest is to be taken, particularly when one feels a sense of oppression, and neither the stomach is to be disturbed by an emetic, nor the bowels by a purge. Such generalities are indeed true: none the less they descend from them to certain particular characteristics, unless they would persuade us that climate and season are to be taken into consideration by those in health but not by the sick, the very persons in whom all such observance is by so much the more necessary, the more that their weakness is liable to all attacks. Nay, even in the same patient, the particular characteristics of a disease are very variable, and those who have been treated for a time in vain by the ordinary remedies have been often restored by contrary ones. And in the giving of food too there are many distinctions to be noted; I will content myself with one instance. For hunger is more easily borne by an adult than by a boy, more easily in a dense than in a thin atmosphere, more easily in winter than in summer, more easily by one accustomed to a single meal than by one used in addition to one at midday,

adsuetus, facilius inexercitatus quam exercitatus
 73 homo sustinet: saepe autem in eo magis necessaria
 cibi festinatio est, qui minus inediam tolerat. Ob
 quae conicio eum, qui propria non novit, communia
 tantum debere intueri; eumque, qui nosse pro-
 prietates potest, non illas quidem oportere negligere,
 sed his quoque insistere; ideoque, cum par scientia
 sit, utiliore tamen medicum esse amicum quam
 extraneum.

74 Igitur, ut ad propositum meum redeam, rationalem
 quidem puto medicinam esse debere, instrui vero ab
 evidentibus causis, obscuris omnibus non ab cogi-
 tatione artificis sed ab ipsa arte reiectis. Incidere
 autem vivorum corpora et crudele et supervacuum
 est, mortuorum discentibus necessarium: nam posi-
 tum et ordinem nosse debent, quae cadaver melius
 75 quam vivus et vulneratus homo repraesentat. Sed
 et cetera, quae modo in vivis cognosci possunt, in
 ipsis curationibus vulneratorum paulo tardius sed
 aliquanto mitius usus ipse monstrabit.

His propositis, primum (*lib. I*) dicam, quemad-
 modum sanos agere conveniat, tum ad ea transibo
 (*lib. II, 1-8*), quae ad morbos curationesque eorum
 (*lib. II, 9-33*) pertinebunt.

more easily when sedentary than when in active
 exercise; and often it is necessary to hurry on the
 meal in the case of one who is intolerant of hunger.
 Hence I conjecture that he who is not acquainted
 with the peculiar characteristics has merely to
 consider the general ones; and he who can become
 acquainted with peculiarities, whilst insistent upon
 them, ought not to neglect generalities as well; and
 consequently, presuming their state to be equal, it
 is more useful to have in the practitioner a friend
 rather than a stranger.

Therefore, to return to what I myself propound, I
 am of opinion that the Art of Medicine ought to be
 rational, but to draw instruction from evident causes,
 all obscure ones being rejected from the practice of
 the Art, although not from the practitioner's study.
 But to lay open the bodies of men whilst still alive is
 as cruel as it is needless; that of the dead is a
 necessity for learners, who should know positions
 and relations, which the dead body exhibits better
 than does a living and wounded man. As for the
 remainder, which can only be learnt from the living,
 actual practice will demonstrate it in the course of
 treating the wounded in a somewhat slower yet much
 milder way.

With these premises I will first speak of how those
 in health should act (*Book I*), then I will pass on to
 what pertains to diseases (*Book II, 1-8*), and to their
 treatments (*Book II, 9-33*).