Cynicism in the Pseudo-Hippocratic Letters

A. Outline of letters under discussion (Letters 10-17; probable date 1st C BCE)

Letter 10: The Council and the People of Abdera to Hippocrates

- o Democritus has fallen ill; Abderites beg Hippocrates to come and cure him
- Symptoms described: "he is constantly wakeful night and day, <u>laughs at everything large and small</u>, and thinks life in general is worth nothing" (ἐγρηγορὼς καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέρην, <u>γελῶν ἕκαστα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα</u>, καὶ μηδὲν οἰόμενος εἶναι τὸν βίον ὅλον διατελεῖ. 10.9-10)²

Letter 11: Hippocrates to the Council and People of Abdera

- o Hippocrates will come and cure Democritus (if he is ill)
- o H. will not accept payment

Letter 12: Hippocrates to Philopoimen (his guest friend in Abdera)

- o Hippocrates accepts Philopoimen's invitation to stay with him when he comes to Abdera
- o H. praises those who seek solitude for the purpose of philosophy/the intellect

Letter 13: Hippocrates to Dionysius (a friend who will be staying at his house while he is in Abdera)

- o H. thinks Democritus is not ill; it is the Abderites who need treatment, as they have fallen sick with worry
- ο While H. is away, Dionysius asked to discipline H's wife: "a woman always needs someone to discipline her, for by nature she has the untameable within herself; wherefore, if she is not pruned every day, she runs to wood [i.e. goes wild], just like trees." (...αἰεὶ χρήζει γυνὴ σωφρονίζοντος, ἔχει γὰρ φύσει τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἐν ἑωυτέῃ, ὅπερ, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἡμέρην ἐπικόπτοιτο, ὡς τὰ δένδρα καθυλομανέει. 13.26-28)

Letter 14: Hippocrates to Damagetus (ship-owner)

o H. asks Damagetus to send the ship, Helios, so he can sail to Abdera

Letter 15: Hippocrates to Philopoimen (his guest friend in Abdera)

o H. recounts dream he had about Democritus; gives an allegorical interpretation

Letter 16: Hippocrates to Crateuas (herbalist)

- o H. asks for purgative for Democritus, though hopes he won't have to use it
- ο Wishes that Crateuas could instead cut out the root of the love of money: thus "we would purge the diseased minds of men along with their bodies." (...ἐκαθήραμεν ἂν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς νοσεούσας. 16.16-17)

Letter 17: Hippocrates to Damagetus (ship owner)

- o H. has met Democritus; Democritus was not mad; H. recognizes that Democritus is the man most capable of giving prudence to (σωφρονίζειν) mankind; H. will be his herald
- o Reports LONG Cynic diatribe he heard from Democritus

¹ Possibly a later addition, as letter 11 is found in the papyrus tradition without 10 preceding it (Smith 1990: 24)

² Translations throughout adapted from Smith 1990.

B. Cynic Elements in Letter 17

- 1. **Rejection of accepted social practices:** "[Men] rush to marry women whom they cast out shortly later; they love, then they hate; they beget children in desire, then they case them out when they are grown. What is this empty and irrational passion, no different from madness?" (γαμεῖν σπεύδουσιν, ἃς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἐρῶσιν, εἶτα μισέουσι, μετ' ἐπιθυμίης γεννῶσιν, εἶτ' ἐκβάλλουσι τελείους. Τίς ἡ κενὴ σπουδὴ καὶ ἀλόγιστος, μηδὲν μανίης διαφέρουσα; 17.141-3)
- 2. **Self-sufficiency:** "In their passions what excess have [men] left for irrational beasts except that beasts retain self-sufficiency" (Έν δὲ τοῖσι θυμοῖσι τί περισσὸν ζώοισιν ἀλόγοισι παραλελοίπασιν; πλὴν ὅτι ἐν αὐταρκείη μένουσιν οἱ θῆρες. 17.232-3)
- 3. **Unfavourable comparison of humans to animals:** "What lion ever hid gold in the ground? What bull butted out of greed? What leopard overfilled himself insatiately? A wild boar feels thirst for as much water as he takes, a wolf devours what he gets for needed nourishment and stops. But, days and nights strung together, man is never glutted with a banquet." (Τίς γὰρ λέων ἐς γῆν κατέκρυψε χρυσόν; τίς ταῦρος πλεονεξίην ἐκορύσατο; τίς πάρδαλις ἀπληστίην κεχώρηκε; διψῆ μὲν ἄργιος σῦς, ὅσον ὕδατος ἀρέχθη· λύκος δὲ δαρδάψας τὸ προσπεσὸν τῆς ἀναγκαίης τροφῆς ἀναπέπαυται ἡμέρησι δὲ καὶ νυξὶ ξυναπτομένησιν οὐκ ἔχει θοίνης κόρον ἄνθρωπος. 17.233-7)
- 4. **Laughter as therapy:** "when you learn it [i.e. the cause of my laughter], I know that you will take on a better cargo than you brought on your embassy, and carry back my laughter as therapy for your country and yourself, and you will be able to instruct all others in prudence." (μαθών δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κρέσσονα τῆς πρεσβείης ἀντιφορτισάμενος ἀποίσεις θεραπείην τὸν ἐμὸν γέλωτα τῆ πατρίδι καὶ ἑωυτέω, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήση σωφρονίζειν. 17.110-2)
- 5. **Contempt for/mockery of the rest of humanity.** Long list of vices/irrationality we succumb to unnecessarily. "When we see these wretched, unworthy pursuits, so many of them, how can we fail to mock a life that cleaves at such wantonness?" (Τὰς ἀναξίους οὖν καὶ δυστήνους ψυχὰς ὁρεῦντες καὶ τοσαύτας, πῶς μὴ γλευάσωμεν τὸν τοιήνδε ἀκρασίην ἔχοντα βίον αὐτέων; 17.281-3)
- 6. **Foolishness of avoiding the "shortcut to virtue":** "They do not see the straight path of virtue, clear and smooth and free of harm... They are borne along struggling on a treacherous and twisted path, burdened and stumbling" (Τὴν γὰρ ὀρθὴν κέλευθον τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ θεωρεῦσι καθαρὴν καὶ λείην καὶ ἀπρόσπταιστον... φέρονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπειθῆ καὶ σκολιὴν, τρηχυβατέοντες, καταφερόμενοι καὶ προσκόπτοντες... 17.218-221).

C. <u>Hippocrates as Internal Audience</u>

1. And I said, "Oh great Democritus, I shall carry the great gifts of your friendship back to Cos. You have filled me with great wonder at your wisdom. I shall go away as herald that you have tracked down and understood the truth of human nature. And taking from you the therapy for my intellect I shall go away..." "For I have seen Democritus, wisest of men, alone most capable of teaching mankind virtue" (17.298-310)

καὶ φημὶ, ὧ Δημόκριτε μεγαλόδοξε, μεγάλας γε τῶν σῶν ξενίων δωρεὰς εἰς Κῷ ἀποίσομαι πολλοῦ γάρ με τῆς σῆς σοφίης θαυμασμοῦ πεπλήρωκας ἀπονοστέω δέ σου κῆρυξ ἀληθείην ἀνθρωπίνης φύσιος ἐξιχνεύσαντος καὶ νοήσαντος. Θεραπείην δὲ λαβὼν παρὰ σεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίης, ἀπαλλάσσομαι... Δημόκριτον γὰρ εἶδον, ἄνδρα σοφώτατον, σωφρονίζειν ἀνθρώπους μοῦνον δυνατώτατον.

2. Man's life is pitiable: through the whole of it, like a winter wind, the unbearable <u>love of money</u> has slipped in. If only all doctors would come together to cure a sickness which is worse than madness... (11.26-29)

Οἰκτρός γε ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, ὅτι δι' ὅλου αὐτοῦ ὡς πνεῦμα χειμέριον ἡ ἀφόρητος <u>φιλαργυρίη</u> διαδέδυκεν, ἐφ' ἢν εἴθε μᾶλλον ἄπαντες ἰητροὶ ζυνήεσαν ἐλθόντες ἀποθεραπεῦσαι χαλεπωτέρην μανίης νοῦσον...

3. When the intellect wants to stop being battered by tumult it takes the body quickly then to quiet. Then it stands upright in itself and looks round in a circle at the place of truth, where there is no father, no wife, no children, mother, sibling, relatives, menials, no chance, in sum, none of the things that will make tumult. (12.23-28)

όκόταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξω φροντίδων κοπτόμενος ἀναπαῦσαι θελήση τὸ σῶμα, τότε ταχέως ἐς ἡσυχίην μετήλλαξεν, εἶτα ἀναστὰς ὄρθριος ἐν ἑωυτῷ περιεσκόπει κύκλῳ χωρίον ἀληθείης, ἐν ῷ οὐ πατὴρ, οὐ μήτηρ, οὐ γυνὴ, οὐ τέκνα, οὐ κασίγνητος, οὐ ξυγγενέες, οὐ δμῶες, οὐ τύχη, οὐχ ὅλως οὐδὲν τῶν θόρυβον ἐμποιησάντων·

D. Cynicism as the shortcut to virtue

1. **Polemical Use:** Julian, Πρὸς Ήράκλειον κυνικὸν 7.225

[The Cynics] say that they are traveling the short and ready road to virtue. I would that they were going by the longer, for they would more readily arrive by that road than by this of theirs.

Τὴν σύντομον φασὶν ὁδὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν <πορεύεσθαι>· ὄφελον καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπορεύεσθε·

2. Democritus' claim:

They do not see the straight path of virtue, clear and smooth and free of harm... They are borne along struggling on a treacherous and twisted path, burdened and stumbling... (17.218-221)

Τὴν γὰρ ὀρθὴν κέλευθον τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ θεωρεῦσι καθαρὴν καὶ λείην καὶ ἀπρόσπταιστον... φέρονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπειθῆ καὶ σκολιὴν, τρηχυβατέοντες, καταφερόμενοι καὶ προσκόπτοντες...

E. <u>Hippocrates' Activities as Wasted Time</u>

And I said "By Zeus, Democritus, you speak truly and wisely. For that reason I consider you blessed to enjoy such leisure. It has not fallen to be to share in it." And when he asked "Why, Hippocrates, has it not so fallen?" "Because," I said, "traveling, children, debts, disease, death, servants, marriages: such things whittle away my leisure." Thereupon the man was swept back to his usual manner. He burst out laughing; he scoffed and then remained silent. (17.85-92)

Κάγω, νη Δία, ἔφην, ὧ Δημόκριτε, ἀληθέως γε καὶ φρονίμως λέγεις, ὅθεν εὐδαίμονά σε κρίνω τοσαύτης ἀπολαύοντα ήσυχίης· ἡμῖν δὲ μετέχειν ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται. Ἐρεομένου δὲ διὰ τί, ὧ Ἱππόκρατες, οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται; ὅτι, ἔφην, ἢ ἀγροὶ ἢ οἰκίη ἢ τέκνα ἢ δάνεια ἢ νοῦσοι ἢ θάνατοι ἢ δμῶες ἢ γάμοι ἢ τοιαῦτά τινα τὴν εὐκαιρίην ὑποτάμνεται. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ εἰωθὸς πάθος κατηνέχθη, καὶ μάλα ἀθρόον τι ἀνεκάγχασε, καὶ ἐπετώθασε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχίην ἦγεν.

F. Democritus and the Therapeutic Power of Laughter

1. The Abderites, standing about me downcast, their eyes not far from tears, said "You see Democritus' way of life, Hippocrates, how mad he is, how he doesn't know what he wants or what he is doing." One man, who wanted even more to point out his madness wailed shrilly like a woman lamenting a child's death. The another groaned imitating a wayfarer who had lost his belongings. When Democritus heard the first, he smiled, on hearing the second, he laughed. (17.37-45)

Οἱ δὲ Ἀβδηρῖται περιεστῶτές με κατηφέες καὶ οὐ πόρρω τὰς ὄψιας δακρυόντων ἔχοντες φασὶν, ὁρῆς μέντοι τὸν Δημοκρίτου βίον, ὧ Ἱππόκρατες, ὡς μέμηνε, καὶ οὔτε ὅ τι θέλει οἶδεν οὔτε ὅ τι ἔρδει. Καί τις αὐτέων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν μανίην αὐτοῦ, ὀξὺ ἀνεκώκυσεν εἴκελον γυναικὶ ἐπὶ θανάτφ τέκνου ὀδυρομένη, εἶτ' ἀνφμωξε πάλιν ἄλλος ὑποκρινόμενος παροδίτην ἀπολέσαντά τι ὧν διεκόμιζε· καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ὑπακούων τὰ μὲν ἐμειδία, τὰ δὲ ἐξεγέλα...

2. Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione* 315b15 (attributed to Democritus) From the same letters, tragedy and comedy arise.

έκ τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ τραγφδία καὶ κωμφδία γίνεται γραμμάτων.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Attridge, H.W. First-Century Cynicism in the Epistles of Heraclitus, (Missoula: 1976)

Barnes, J. The Presocratic Philosophers (London: Routledge, 1992)

Bernays, J. Die Heraklitischen Briefe: ein Beitrag zur philosophischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Literatur (Berlin 1869)

Bosman, P. "The Pragmatics of Diogenes' Comic Performances" CQ 56.1 (2006)

Boudon-Millot, Veronique "Art, Science, and Conjecture", in *Hippocrates in Context: Papers Read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium* (University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27-31 August 2002) Ed. van der Eijk, Philip J., (Leiden: Brill, 2002)

Bracht-Branan, R. "Diogenes' Rhetoric and the Invention of Cynicism", The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy (Hellenistic Culture and Society), Ed. Bracht-Branan, Goulet-Caze (Berkley: 1996)

Diels, H. "Hippokratische Forschungen. II. III" Hermes Vol. 46, No. 2 (1911), pp. 261-285

----- "Hippokratische Forschungen V: Eine neue Fassung des XIX. Hippokratesbriefes", Hermes 53 (1918)

----- & Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (Zurich: 2002 repr)

Dudley, Donald R. A History of Cynicism, (London: Methuen & Co, 1937)

Edelstein, Emma and Ludwig, Asclepius, (Baltimore: 1945)

Emeljanow, V.E. The Letters of Diogenes (Thesis: Stanford Univ., 1968)

Gomez, *The Legend of the Laughing Philosopher and its presence in Spanish Literature (1500-1700)*, (Cordoba: 1984)

Hankinson, R. "The Laughing Philosopher and the Physician" in Pierre Destrée and Franco V. Trivigno (eds) Laughter, Humor, and Comedy in Ancient Philosophy (Oxford: 2019)

Heinze, De Horatio Bionis Imitatore (Bonn: 1889)

Ioannidou, Grace Catalogue of Greek and Latin literary papyri in Berlin: P. Berol. inv. 21101-21299, 21911, (Mainz am Rhien: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996)

Lewin, Hippocrates Visits Democritus, (MA thesis, Cornell: 1968)

Littre, E. Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate. (Amsterdam: 1961-78)

Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles*, (Missoula: 1977)

Marmysz, J. "That's Not Funny: The Humor of Diogenes" *The Philosophy of Humor Yearbook* Vol. 1 (2020)

Marwan, Rashed (Ed.) Aristotle: De la génération et la corruption, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005)

Moles, J. "Honestius quam ambitiosius"? An Exploration of the Cynic's Attitude to Moral Corruption in his Fellow Men", The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. 103, (1983)

Nill, Morality and Self-Interest in Protagoras, Antiphon and Democritus, (Leiden: 1985)

Perilli, "Democritus, Zoology, and the Physicians", Philosophia Antiqua, Volume 102: Democritus: Science, The Arts, and the Care of the Soul: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Democritus (Paris, 20-22 September 2003) (Paris: 2006)

Sakalis, Demetrios Th. "Beitrage zu den pseudo-hippokratischen Briefen", in Formes de pensee dans la collection hippocratique, ed. F. Lassere and P. Mudry (Geneva, 1983) 499-514

Sayre, The Greek Cynics, (Baltimore: 1958)

Smith, Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings, (Leiden: 1990)

Stewart, "Democritus and the Cynics", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 63 (1958)

Taylor, C.C.W. *The Atomists: Leucippus and Democritus. Fragments, A Text and Translation with Commentary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999)

Temkin, "Hippocrates as the Physician of Democritus", Gesnerus 42 (1985)

Warren, J. Epicurus and Democritean Ethics: an Archaeology of Ataraxia (Cambridge: 2002)