

between the twins, who were being honored, after all, for their singular concord.²¹ As in Livy, *dexteritas* is still a matter of adroitness: in most situations, a knack for making fine distinctions; in the case of identical twins, a knack for making none at all.²² Compare the dilemma of the decurions with that of Syphax in 28. 18. The decurions cannot honor one twin and not offend the other, least of all when fraternal concord is the basis of the honor; Syphax, wooed by both camps, loses face and bargaining position both if he has one emissary to dinner without the other. The decurions had *dexteritas* enough to solve their own problem; Syphax is saved from embarrassment only thanks to Scipio, the embodiment of *dexteritas*.

So much, then, do the sources offer on *dexteritas*. The dictionaries should recast their definitions of the word in the light of Livy, not Gellius. *Dexteritas* properly means versatility in the face of a diversity of problems or a multifaceted (and therefore seemingly impossible) situation. So in the sphere of administration, where "dexterity" renders it best (Livy 37. 7); so in the sphere of diplomacy and oratory, where "adroitness" renders it best (that much at least is certain at Aus. *Par.* 14. 8): specifically, adroitness in the face of a diverse audience with irreconcilable expectations (Livy 28. 18; so in its way *CIL*, 12. 5864, with its seriocomic dilemma). Gellius' use of the word (followed by Non. 52. 7–11) is a misunderstanding of Livy 37. 7 (whether the misunderstanding is his own or someone else's is irrelevant); correctly used, there is nothing to the word of any "readiness to help or oblige."

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21. The *mot juste* for a mark of distinction between twins is *gemitudo*, a *hapax* from Pacuvius' *Atalanta* (ap. Non. 116. 23–24 L. = *Tr. Rel.* 61 Ribbeck): "Habeo ego istam qui distinguam inter vos gemitudinem." The verse presumably comes from the recognition scene, wherein the apparent twins Parthenopaeus and Telephus (abandoned at the same time) were recognized by their mothers; cf. O. Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 310–18.

22. A modern parallel is Twain's account of the Siamese twins (Chang and Eng Bunker). They too enjoyed a "singular fidelity," and likewise came to exercise the ingenuity of officialdom. Despite their concord, they fought on opposite sides in the Civil War; they took each other prisoner at Seven Oaks, and it needed a general army court to exchange them. Alas for the parallel, at the time Twain wrote Chang was fifty-one, Eng fifty-three. See "The Siamese Twins," *The Complete Short Stories* (New York, 1928), pp. 245–48.

THE HIPPOCRATIC PHYSICIAN AND HIS DRUGS:
A REINTERPRETATION OF ΑΠΟΡΕΙΣΘΑΙ AND
ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΑΝΕΙΝ IN CHAPTER 2 OF
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΡΩΝ, ΤΑΤΩΝ, ΤΟΠΩΝ

The Hippocratic work *Airs, Waters, Places* consists of three sections: a brief introduction, a first part concerned with meteorological medicine, and a second part which is ethnographic. In the introduction it is claimed that the work will be valuable to the itinerant practitioner arriving at a city with which he is unfamiliar. It begins with the remark that one who wishes to study medicine correctly should consider the effects of the seasons, of winds, and of waters, the situation of cities,

their water supplies, and the mode of life of their inhabitants. "For if one knows all these things well," says F. Adams in his translation, "or at least the greater part of them, he cannot miss knowing, when he comes into a strange city, either the diseases peculiar to the place, or the particular nature of common diseases, *so that he will not be in doubt as to the treatment of the diseases, or commit mistakes.*"¹ The italicized part, which is crucial to the argument to be advanced, reads in the Greek *ὥστε μὴ ἀπορείσθαι ἐν τῇ θεραπείῃ τῶν νοῦσων μηδὲ διαμαρτάνειν* and is quite unequivocal; some sort of practical help in the *treatment* of diseases is offered. All the other translators and commentators examined have rendered this sentence in more or less the same way; W. H. S. Jones, for example, has "he will not be at a loss in the treatment of diseases, or make blunders,"² A. Coray "il ne sera ni embarrassé dans leur traitement, ni exposé aux erreurs,"³ A. J. Brock "he will not be at a loss how to treat the diseases and will commit no blunders,"⁴ E. Littré "il n'hésitera pas dans le traitement, ni ne commettra les erreurs,"⁵ and H. Diller "dann wird er bei der Behandlung der Krankheiten nicht ratlos sein und keine Fehler machen."⁶ Adams, Brock, and Coray were medical practitioners, and the others were scholars with a considerable knowledge of medicine; yet none of them appears to have remarked that the work, in fact, does not give this kind of help at all. To the medical reader this is surprising. It tells the practitioner nothing that will diminish in the least any doubts he may have as to the appropriate treatment for any individual patient he may attend. What it does tell him is that in a settlement with a particular situation, climate, and water supply, the inhabitants will tend toward a certain physical type and constitution and that certain specified diseases will occur commonly. The practitioner will know in advance what sort of people and what diseases to expect, and that is all.

Now what is the practical use of knowing in advance the physical type of the inhabitants and the diseases that are likely to occur commonly? Such information, then as now, is quite useless to the physician who has to decide what treatment to give an individual patient, and it may even be dangerous if the knowledge that a particular disease is common distorts his judgment. In one respect, however, it is indeed most valuable to the wandering physician to know in advance what sort of diseases and what sort of patients to expect in a strange city; for if he knows this he will know, before setting out, what drugs and other preparations are likely to be needed in quantity. Perhaps, therefore, the verb *ἀπορέω* in the phrase in question should not be given the meaning of being in doubt or at a loss psychologically. Its primary meaning, according to LSJ, is "to be without means or resources." Resources can be concrete, to wit the drugs in the doctor's bag, and the translation suggested is "He will not be without the appropriate resources for the treatment of diseases" or "He will not find himself without the appropriate remedies for the treatment of diseases."

Looked at in this way the information, at least in the first part of the work, is

1. *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, vol. 1 (London, 1849), p. 191. The passage quoted is from ch. 2 of *Airs, Waters, Places*.

2. *Hippocrates*, 4 vols. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 1:73.

3. *Traité d'Hippocrate des airs, des eaux et des lieux* (Paris, 1800), p. 7.

4. *Greek Medicine* (London, 1929), p. 53.

5. *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1839-61), 2:12.

6. *Hippokrates über die Umwelt* (Berlin, 1970), p. 27.

indeed of practical help to the wandering practitioner; it tells him what drugs to pack for his journey. He would no doubt have to transport his effects at his own expense, or even carry them himself, from city to city; if he knew the predominant physical type of the inhabitants and what diseases were likely to occur commonly, he would know what remedies he would need in large quantities, and his planning could be more intelligent, his outlay smaller, his journey less expensive or exhausting, and his drugs less likely to become stale through not being used. He would arrive well prepared.

This interpretation receives strong support from a passage in the Hippocratic work *Decorum*, which, in spite of the obscurity of its language, is clear enough on the points that matter:

ἔστω δέ σοι ἐτέρη παρέξοδος ἡ λιτοτέρη πρὸς τὰς ἀποδημίας ἢ διὰ χειρῶν· ἡ δ' εὐχερεστάτη διὰ μεθόδων· οὐ γάρ οἶόν τε διέρχεσθαι πάντα τὸν ἱητρὸν. . . . προκατασκευάσθω δέ σοι καὶ μαλαγμάτων γένεα πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστων χρήσις, ποτήματα τέμνειν δυνάμενα ἐξ ἀναγραφῆς ἔσκευασμένα πρὸς τὰ γένεα. προητοιμάσθω δέ καὶ τὰ πρὸς φαρμακίην ἐς τὰς καθάρσις, εἰλημμένα ἀπὸ τόπων τῶν καθηκόντων, ἔσκευασμένα εἰς ὃν δὲλ τρόπον, πρὸς τὰ γένεα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη ἐς παλαιῶσιν μεμελετημένα, τὰ δὲ πρόσφατα ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν, καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ λόγον. ἐπὴν δὲ εἰσις πρὸς τὸν νοσέοντα, τούτων σοι ἀπρητισμένων, ἵνα μὴ ἀπορῆς, εὐθέτως ἔχων ἕκαστα πρὸς τὸ ποιησόμενον, ἴσθι γινώσκων ὃ χρὴ ποιεῖν πρὶν ἐσελθεῖν.⁷

Provide yourself with a second bag, of simpler construction, to be carried in the hand on journeys. The most convenient is one divided into compartments, for the physician cannot go through everything. . . . Equip yourself in advance with emollients for various purposes, and cutting draughts of various kinds made up from formulae. Let purgatives be made ready in advance, collected from the appropriate places and properly made up according to their varieties and sizes of dose, some preserved, others fresh for immediate use; the same applies to the other preparations. When you go in to visit the patient, *having made these things ready so that you will not be at a loss, but will have everything arranged in order* for what is to be done, know what must be done before you enter.

It is likely, of course, that *Decorum* was written later than *Airs, Waters, Places*, and it is scarcely conceivable that it could be by the same author; it clearly shows, however, that the wandering physician did have a bag and that he prepared its contents in advance, either by gathering the material himself or by buying it from his usual suppliers. The rest of the sentence in *Airs, Waters, Places*, however, presents an apparent difficulty. It continues, in Adams' translation, "or commit mistakes," and all the other translators preserve this sense. Once the meaning of the first part of the sentence has been understood, however, we may translate διαμαρτάνω "fail utterly," a usage that has the authority of Plato.⁸ The practitioner

7. Littré, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9:236-38. Both Littré and Jones, *Hippocrates*, 2:290-94, comment on the extraordinary word παρέξοδος for the doctor's case or bag. The reading διὰ μεθόδων from Jones' footnote has been accepted to mean "divided into compartments"; he translates the text as it stands "methodically arranged," which comes to the same thing. Jones also suggests, very attractively for the thesis presented here, the emendation περιέρχεσθαι, with the meaning "The physician cannot go round everywhere" (sc. to collect what he needs); as the text stands, however, διέρχεσθαι πάντα might well mean "hunt through everything" if the contents of the box were in disarray. Littré translates, "Il n'est pas possible que le médecin ait la revue de toute chose."

8. LSJ, s.v. διαμαρτάνω 3 with a reference to Pl. *Thl.* 178A and mention of its opposite, τυγχάνω, which appears a little later in the same chapter of *Airs, Waters, Places*: καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τυγχάνου τῆς ὑγίειης, "may best succeed in promoting health."

would fail utterly and become a laughing-stock, if he arrived without any of the right remedies and had to spend several days finding, or buying from local pharmacopoli of unknown reliability, the drugs he would be using. L. Edelstein has well shown the supreme importance of reputation to the Hippocratic physician,⁹ and has suggested that the aim of the first part of *Airs, Waters, Places* is to enable him to appear clever on arrival in an unfamiliar city, through knowing, like Sherlock Holmes, all sorts of things about local conditions without having to ask the natives.¹⁰ Deichgräber, I think correctly, has argued that Edelstein has been misled by Rufus of Ephesus and is mistaken here;¹¹ but of the general importance of reputation to the Greek—not only to physicians—there can be no doubt. The day on which the latest itinerant expert arrived would be a critical day for his reputation, and the psychological advantage of being fully prepared to start work at once would be very great. By studying *Airs, Waters, Places* the wandering physician could ensure such preparation; his success, one might say, would be in the bag.

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9. *Ancient Medicine* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 76.

10. Quoted in K. Deichgräber, *Die Epidemien und das Corpus Hippocraticum* (Berlin, 1971), pp. 113–14.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

AENEAS AND THE GATES OF SLEEP

Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua ueris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.

[*Aen.* 6. 893–98]

From the time of Servius onward the significance of Aeneas' departure through the gate of ivory has baffled attempts at precise explanation. The most recent commentator, R. G. Austin, concluded a judicious discussion with the despairing words "the matter remains a Virgilian enigma (and none the worse for that)."¹ But Virgil, though often elusive, does not seem to have indulged in gratuitous mystification (discounting places where the unfinished estate of his epic has left questions unresolved). Where it matters most, the import of the *Aeneid* can be clearly made out, and so it is—or so at least it seems to me—with Aeneas' departure from the Underworld. This paper aims first to set out briefly the conditions that appear necessary for understanding the passage and then to offer a new proposal for its interpretation.²

The first assumption to be made is that the lines *do* mean something and are not

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1. P. Vergili Maronis "*Aeneidos*" *liber sextus* (Oxford, 1977), p. 276.

2. Other interpretations are sensibly reviewed by Austin; see, too, B. Otis, "Three Problems of *Aeneid* 6," *TAPA* 90 (1959): 173–79; H. R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der "Aeneis"* (Bern, 1952), pp. 91–94; and A. Grillone, *Il sogno nell'epica latina* (Palermo, 1967), pp. 34–36.