

## PSYCHOLOGICAL WRITINGS

All Galen's surviving shorter works on psychology and ethics – including the recently discovered *Avoiding Distress*, and the neglected *Character Traits*, extant only in Arabic – are here presented in one volume. Each appears in a new translation, with substantial introduction, notes, glossaries and indices. Original and penetrating analyses are offered of the psychological and philosophical thought, both of the above and of two absolutely central works of Galenic philosophy, *Affections and Errors* and *The Capacities of the Soul*, by some of the foremost experts in the field. Each treatise has also been subjected to fresh textual study taking account of the latest scholarly developments, and is presented with accompanying textual discussions; this adds greatly to the value and accuracy of the work without detracting from the book's accessibility to a wider readership. The book thus provides a major contribution to the understanding of the ancient world's most prominent doctor-philosopher in his intellectual context.

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## CAMBRIDGE GALEN TRANSLATIONS

General editor: Philip van der Eijk

Galen's works represent one of the most impressive monuments of classical medicine. They dominated medical theory, teaching and practice in the medieval European and Islamic worlds and remained a key source of medical wisdom down to the twentieth century. But his works also concern themselves with all the philosophical issues involved in understanding the human body, soul and health, and in diagnosing and treating illness, and Plato and Aristotle were key influences on his thought. Furthermore, as the court physician of several Roman emperors, Galen is an important source of information about social and cultural life in the early Empire.

Cambridge Galen Translations provides a co-ordinated series of scholarly English translations of works of Galen in a unified format with substantial introduction and annotation, glossaries and indices. Many of the translations have been newly commissioned, while others are revised versions of good translations which have for some time been out of print. Editors and translators are drawn from the world's leading scholars of Galen and of ancient medicine. The series is intended both to contribute to international Galenic scholarship and to make Galen's work more easily accessible for a wider, non-specialist readership including historians and philosophers of science and readers with a medical background.

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# GALEN: PSYCHOLOGICAL WRITINGS

EDITED BY  
P. N. SINGER

*Avoiding Distress*

*Character Traits*

*The Diagnosis and Treatment of the Affections  
and Errors Peculiar to Each Person's Soul*

*The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body*

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTIONS  
AND NOTES BY  
VIVIAN NUTTON, DANIEL DAVIES  
AND P. N. SINGER

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF  
PIERO TASSINARI



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## *Series editor's preface*

The works of Galen of Pergamum (129–c. 215 CE), ‘the Prince of Physicians’, constitute one of the most impressive monuments of classical medicine. They comprise all areas of medical theory and practice, ranging from anatomy, physiology, pathology, diagnosis and prognosis, dietetics and regimen in health, therapeutics, pharmacology and surgery, gynaecology, embryology and theory of reproduction to psychiatry and ethics. In addition, they cover philosophical and methodological aspects fundamental to the acquisition, systematization and communication of medical knowledge, such as logic, terminology, epistemology, philosophy of nature and theory of causation. And however voluminous and wide-ranging, they are bound together by an intrinsic and coherent (if eclectic) comprehensive theory of the human body, the human psyche, their place within the natural world, the nature of medical knowledge, and the technical and ethical components of medical expertise.

Galen’s works were of enormous influence on the subsequent history of medicine and science, both in the West and in the East (and in Arabic medicine), and Galen’s authority remained powerful until well into the seventeenth century and, in some respects, beyond that. Yet, more recently, Galen’s works have also found strong resonance beyond the domain of medical history. Galen was, after all, not only a brilliant doctor and prolific writer but also the court physician of several Roman emperors, a keen public debater and dissector, and an active participant in social and cultural life, first in Pergamum and subsequently in Rome. It is therefore not surprising that Galen’s work commands a rapidly growing interest from classicists, ancient historians and students of Greek and Roman literature, philosophy and society; and his writings are being exploited as a rich source for the social, cultural and intellectual history of the early Imperial period.

Yet Galen’s works are difficult to access. Many are available only in old editions that do not meet current standards of classical scholarship, such as the nineteenth-century edition by Karl Gottlob Kühn (Greek text with

Latin translation), which is still the most recent edition aspiring to completeness but which is universally regarded as unsatisfactory – and, in spite of its title *Opera omnia*, it lacks a number of Galenic works preserved in Latin or Arabic adaptation (such as, in the present volume, *Character Traits*) or deemed lost but later discovered (such as the recently found *Avoiding Distress*, also included here). For only a handful of Galenic texts have the basic modern philological requirements of a critical edition with translation and commentary been fulfilled; and although Galenic scholarship of the last decades has seen significant improvement, it is still the case that large parts of Galen's work are not available in English translation. While interest in Galen thus seems greater than ever before, the language skills required to read him in the original are becoming more and more scarce.

The Cambridge Galen Translations series aims to address this need. The purpose of the series is to provide a co-ordinated series of scholarly English translations of works of Galen in a uniform format consisting of introduction, translation, explicative notes, glossaries and indexes.

The series has been planned in close co-ordination with other ongoing Galen projects, such as the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum (CMG) at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences,<sup>1</sup> the Galen volumes in the Budé series published by Les Belles Lettres (Paris),<sup>2</sup> and those in the Loeb Classical Library published by Harvard University Press,<sup>3</sup> in order to minimize duplication and, where possible, to promote international collaboration. Indeed, the translations in this volume, and in those to follow, are based on critical editions that have been published, or are being prepared for publication, in the CMG, or Belles Lettres, or in some cases by other publishers (such as the Galenic *Scripta Minora* published in the Teubner series).

Yet the novelty of the project lies not only in its provision of English translations. It also aims to make a new contribution to international Galenic scholarship, especially through substantial introductions, notes

<sup>1</sup> A list of works published in the CMG (which was founded in 1907) and of works in preparation can be found on the CMG website at <http://cmg.bbaw.de/Startseite.html>

<sup>2</sup> See J. Jouanna and V. Boudon, 'Présentation du projet d'édition de Galien dans la Collection des Universités de France', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1993, pp. 101–135. So far, six volumes have been published: *Ars Medical/Protrepticus* (Boudon, 2000), *De ossibus ad tirones/De dissectione musculorum* (Garofalo and Debru, 2005), *De libris propriis/De ordine librorum suorum/Quod optimus medicus* (Boudon-Millot, 2007), *De dissectione nervorum/De dissectione venarum et arteriarum* (Debru and Garofalo, 2008), *Introductio sive medicus* (Petit, 2009), *De indolentia* (Boudon-Millot, Jouanna and Pietrobelli, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> So far, two Galenic works have been published: *On the Natural Faculties* (Brock, 1916) and *Method of Medicine* (Johnston and Horsley, 2011).

and glossaries, which are intended to provide resources for the study of Galenic language and thought, and indeed of Greek medical terminology at large. In this regard, the format of the series is closely modelled on Richard Sorabji's *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* (published by Duckworth), from which it has drawn most of its inspiration, and on the Cambridge series of translations of Proclus' Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. Moreover, the project is meant to open up Galen's work to other disciplines beyond Classics and History of Medicine, such as the History of Philosophy, the History and Philosophy of Science, Cultural History, Linguistics and Literary Studies, and to readers with a medical background.

Galen's work is vast, and the series will therefore, in the first instance, give priority to works that have not yet been translated into English (or indeed into any modern language), or to works for which an English translation exists which, however, is out of print,<sup>4</sup> or in need of revision or replacement in the light of recent developments in Galenic scholarship. Further considerations in the planning of the series have been the availability of critical editions and the interest of the texts to be included and their relevance to some of the major issues that Galen's work raises. Thus the works translated in the present volume are important witnesses to Galen's views on the relationship between body and soul, on mental health and well-being and on the psychological management and treatment of human emotions. The volumes to follow will testify to Galen's views on the nature of human beings; the nature and methodology of medical prognosis and prediction; the preservation of health and the promotion of a healthy style of living; the structure and purposive arrangement of the human body; and the theory and therapeutic practice of simple medicines. They will also provide insight into the ways in which Galen arrived at his views and tried to justify them, how he accommodated and appropriated the various intellectual traditions, both medical and philosophical, to which he was indebted, and how successful he was in his attempts to create a synthesis out of these often conflicting tendencies. Furthermore, they will give a lively picture of the social and cultural environment in which Galen lived and how it impinged on the formation and development of his ideas; and finally, they will be illuminating for Galen's activities as a writer and communicator, for the ways in which he presented his ideas, the consistency of his terminology, the audiences for whom he wrote, the genres he used to

<sup>4</sup> E.g., P. N. Singer's *Galen: Selected Works*, Oxford 1997; translations of a number of Galenic texts included there are revised, with extensive new introductions and notes, for the present series.

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disseminate his ideas and the rhetorical strategies he employed to persuade his readers and to distinguish himself from rival doctors with whom he was in constant competition.

The project is generously supported by the Wellcome Trust through a History of Medicine Programme Grant, which has allowed the appointment, at Newcastle University, of three designated academic staff for the first five years of the project. Thanks are due to Newcastle University for its institutional support, and to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Humboldt University for ensuring the continuation of the project, and providing additional funding, after my move to Berlin. The project is further supported by the help of the members of the Advisory Board, which consists of Vivian Nutton (London), Heinrich von Staden (Princeton), Christopher Gill and John Wilkins (both Exeter), Jim Hankinson (Austin, Texas), Christian Brockmann (Hamburg), Véronique Boudon-Millot (Paris), Amneris Roselli (Naples) and Daniela Manetti (Florence). For the practical organization of the project, we would like to thank Cambridge University Press, and in particular its Classics Editor Michael Sharp, who have supported the idea right from the start and have been a patient source of help during the final stages of manuscript preparation.

Philip van der Eijk

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## *Editor's preface*

The present volume comprises all that survive of Galen's shorter works on psychological and ethical themes. Though small in extent, they represent a particularly important and interesting part of his philosophical output, as well as reflecting the ways in which that philosophy interacts with his medical thought and role as a doctor. At the time of writing, there is no book in print in English containing any of these works.<sup>1</sup>

*Avoiding Distress* (*Ind.*<sup>2</sup>), a hitherto lost work, dramatically discovered in an overlooked manuscript in Thessaloniki in 2005, here receives its first full translation and commentary in English. *Character Traits* (*Mor.*), a work surviving only in Arabic, and in condensed form at that, appears here in a thoroughly revised and updated version based on the only previous English translation, that of Mattock in 1972. The translations of *Affections and Errors* (*Aff. Pecc. Dig.*) and *The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body* (*QAM*) began as revisions by the editor of his own 1997 translations, but developed in the process – a process driven mainly by considerations of increased precision and internal consistency, as well as the need to take into account a range of modern scholarly developments – into essentially new translations.

The present volume is the result of collaboration, and the individual translators and editors of each treatise have benefited from each other's advice, as well as from that of Christopher Gill and Ralph Rosen, who

<sup>1</sup> The larger and more wide-ranging – but also more difficult and more technical – work of Galenic psychology, *The Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, is accessible in English in Philip De Lacy's 1978–1984 edition with *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (or via the *CMG* website), which may be studied by the reader interested in pursuing further some of the themes raised in this volume. The present series aims on the whole to avoid unnecessary overlap with works which are available in modern, scholarly English translations.

<sup>2</sup> For the abbreviations given here in parentheses, and subsequently, see the list of titles and abbreviations of Galen's works at the end of this book. The Greek titles are, respectively, *Περὶ ἀλυστίας*; *Περὶ ἡθῶν*; *Περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ ἰδίων παθῶν* [καὶ] *ἀμαρτημάτων*; *Ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσιν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἐπὶνται*.

were involved in the volume at the planning stage, and of the series editor, Philip van der Eijk. Each of these gave invaluable detailed advice and suggestions at various draft stages, for which we are profoundly grateful. (In the particular case of Christopher Gill, the availability to the editor of a pre-publication version of his 2010 book *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism* was of particular value in the development of the introductory material.) The editorial assistant, Piero Tassinari, also provided extremely useful guidance, including on scholarly matters, in a way that goes beyond the remit that that title would imply.

However, it remains the case that each of the chapters of the book has largely represented a separate task; and the distribution of labour can be summarized as follows. *Avoiding Distress* was translated, annotated and introduced by Vivan Nutton; *Affections and Errors* and *The Capacities of the Soul* by P. N. Singer; *Character Traits* was translated by Daniel Davies, in close collaboration with Singer, this collaboration extending also to the notes; its introduction is by Singer. The overall introduction to the volume is also by Singer. The compilation of the List of titles and abbreviations of Galen's works and of most of the other index materials, the rationalization of the Bibliography, and a range of other editorial tasks aimed at increasing the work's accuracy, consistency and usefulness, have been the work of Piero Tassinari.

The book is designed to make these central works in Galen's intellectual output accessible and comprehensible to a wider audience, who may have interests in philosophy; in Graeco-Roman culture; in the history of medicine, ethics or psychology. At the same time, our aim has been to take appropriate account of the considerable recent historiographical and philological developments in the specialist field of Galen studies.

In the latter context, especially, the volume perhaps goes further than would normally be expected for a translation, in discussion of and attempt to establish the correct text. Perhaps a word may be needed here in justification of this: there are, in fact, specific reasons why each of the texts here included required such attention.

In the case of *Avoiding Distress*, the justification is clear enough. The text, discovered in 2005 in a single, extremely error-prone, manuscript, has since that date been the focus of a large volume of scholarly activity. Nutton has been deeply involved in this activity, and has in effect established his own text in response to the ongoing scholarly discussions. In the context of these discussions – which extend to considerable areas of doubt on substantive questions – it has been necessary for him at times to discuss MS variants in considerable detail, and even to offer in appendix form his own version of one particularly problematic passage.

*Character Traits*, extant in an Arabic summary rather than a full Greek text, presents its own textual problems. Though previously translated into English, and discussed (fairly briefly) in a couple of well-known pieces by Richard Walzer, it has not, in fact, been the focus of any very serious or extended scholarly attention. The main textual problem, however, is that that summary version stands in need of supplementation from a variety of later Arabic, Hebrew, and Judaeo-Arabic sources, which at times give fuller quotations of the text. This has necessitated the addition of a substantial appendix of such quotations.

The text of *Affections and Errors*, meanwhile, though surviving in Greek, and in a number of modern editions, nonetheless presents massive problems of its own. The single important Greek manuscript is extremely corrupt; and the number of variant readings, some of them on substantive questions, suggested by a host of modern scholars, is considerable. Moreover, a recent critical edition, by Giuseppina Magnaldi, in many respects at odds with the previously accepted one, and not reflected in any modern translation, needed to be taken into account. In the process, it is again hoped that a translation has been arrived at which represents a better text than previous versions. But where philological detail has been discussed beyond the level that would interest a wider audience, the results of this have been placed in a separate section of textual notes.

In the case of *The Capacities of the Soul*, finally, though the textual difficulties are on the whole less, there were again particular reasons for attention to philological detail. In this case a new critical edition, by Athena Bazon, appeared in the course of our work, and just in time for us to take into account. This new edition again presented a different approach from that previously used as standard, and raised a number of questions, especially in relation to the importance of considering the Arabic tradition of the text; and so, here too, a careful comparison of the textual solutions offered by the different modern editions seemed necessary. There are sometimes differences of substantive importance to the sense; but, again, a separate section of textual notes has been added covering the more intricate and less accessible questions.

In addition to the individuals acknowledged above, thanks go to Peter Adamson for taking time to advise us, especially on Graeco-Arabic questions; to the participants in the Warburg Institute's Arabic Reading Group, which discussed *Character Traits* in the spring of 2011; to the participants in two Galen workshops, organized by Philip van der Eijk at the Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, in the summers of 2010 and 2011, many

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of whom gave extremely useful advice on translation and other questions; to Athena Bazou for making available to us the results of her research in advance of the 2011 publication of her edition of *The Capacities of the Soul*, as well as for a number of valuable personal communications; to Hinrich Biesterfeldt, for personal communications about an unpublished Arabic manuscript of *The Capacities of the Soul*; and, for advice and insights on a number of individual matters, Galenic and para-Galenic, to Catharine Edwards, Brooke Holmes, Caroline Petit, Thomas Rütten and Christine Salazar. Especial thanks go to Rotraud Hansberger, for technical advice and help with the Arabic material in the volume at a late stage, and to Anna Oxbury, the Press's copy-editor, for her painstaking and meticulous contribution.

P. N. Singer

## *Note on citations and abbreviations*

Titles of works of ancient authors, if given in full in a discursive context, are usually translated. For precise references in footnotes, the standard abbreviations of the *Greek–English Lexicon* of Liddell, Scott and Jones (LSJ) are used, with a few exceptions for more familiar authors or works. However, works by Galen are cited in the form given in the List of titles and abbreviations of Galen's works at the end of the book.

All references to Galenic works are by page and line number of the most recent critical edition, followed by the editor's name in abbreviated form, and (where available) by the volume and page number of the older edition of Kühn in round brackets. The full list of Galenic titles in abbreviated form, along with full title in Latin and English, and the abbreviations for editors' names, is to be found in the List of titles and abbreviations of Galen's works. A typical reference to *The Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* might therefore be: *PHP* 323,15–17 DL (V.465 K.). Similarly, all Hippocrates quotations are identified by the Littré volume and page numbers as well as those of the recent critical edition.

As a rule, book and chapter number are not given when passages are thus referenced with page and line number.

Throughout the actual texts translated in this volume, references to the Kühn page numbers, when available, are printed in the left-hand margin. References to page and line numbers of the modern edition used as basis for the translation are printed in the right-hand margin. The traditional division of the text into chapters (as in modern editions) has been retained in the translations.

Notes in the quotations section of *Character Traits* and in the Textual notes to *Affections and Errors* and *The Capacities of the Soul* are always preceded by the part number within this volume. So, those in the Quotations section of *Character Traits* are numbered '2.1', etc.; those in the Textual notes to *Affections and Errors* '3.1', etc.; and those in the textual notes to *The Capacities of the Soul*, '4.1', etc.

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*Note on citations and abbreviations*

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The following is a list of the most common abbreviations used throughout the volume (full titles are given in the bibliography):

*ANRW* = Haase and Temporini (1972–)

*CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

*CMG* = *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*

K. = Kühn (1821–1833)

KRS = Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983)

L. = Littré (1839–1861)

LS = Long and Sedley (1987)

LSJ = Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon*

*SVF* = von Arnim (1903–1905)