

MEDICINE AND PRACTICAL ETHICS IN GALEN

Galen was notable in the ancient world for his creative intermingling of medicine and practical ethics. This book is the first authoritative analysis of Galen's psychological and ethical works alongside a large number of his technical tracts, both medical and philosophical, and offers a robust framework through which we can comprehend his role as a practical ethicist – an aspect of his intellectual profile that has been little understood until now. Sophia Xenophontos explores a wide range of literature on *moralia* in the Roman Imperial period, as well as topics including the pathology of emotions, the social role of medicine, and character formation and social ethics, to show the sophisticated and complex ways in which moral themes and controversies from antiquity were adapted and reinvigorated by Galen. This title is also available as open access on Cambridge Core.

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Θεοτόκη

For this reason it behoves us to transfer wisdom into medicine and medicine into wisdom (μετάγειν τὴν σοφίην ἐς τὴν ἰητρικὴν καὶ τὴν ἰητρικὴν ἐς τὴν σοφίην). For a physician being a philosopher is like a god (ἰητρὸς γὰρ φιλόσοφος ἰσόθεος).
[Hippocrates], *Decorum* 5, 27.1-3 Heiberg = IX.232.8-10 Littré

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An earlier version of Chapter 4 was published as ‘Psychotherapy and Moralising Rhetoric in Galen’s Newly Discovered *Avoiding Distress* (*Peri Alypias*)’ in *Medical History* 58.4 (2014) pp. 585–603, while an earlier version of Chapter 5 appeared as ‘Galen’s *Exhortation to the Study of Medicine*: An Educational Work for Prospective Medical Students’ in the volume *Greek Medical Literature and its Readers: From Hippocrates to Islam and Byzantium*, London-New York: Routledge, edited by P. Bouras-Vallianatos and S. Xenophontos in 2018, pp. 67–93. In both cases the versions featuring in this book are revised and augmented and are thus to be preferred.

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This book was written during the most exciting period ever, when my son, Theotokis, first appeared in my life to give it a new direction and change it for ever. This book is dedicated to him.

Conventions and Abbreviations

References to Galen's works consist of:

- (i) the title of the work (abbreviated or in full) followed by
- (ii) book and/or chapter numbers as per the traditional division (where applicable),
- (iii) page and line number of the most recent edition (if one is available) and/or
- (iv) the (corresponding) location in Kühn's collected edition (where applicable; volume in Roman numerals, page and line in Arabic numerals)

Some examples:

PHP 9.7, 590.2-11 De Lacy = V.782.3-14 K. (=Kühn) refers to De Lacy's edition of the *Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, Book 9, ch. 7, p. 590, ll. 2-11, which corresponds to volume V, p. 782, ll. 3-14 in Kühn's edition.

Diff. Puls. 3, VIII.636.1-8 K. (=Kühn) refers to a section from ch. 3 of *The Different Kinds of Pulse*, covering ll. 1-8 on p. 636 in volume VIII of Kühn's edition. *The Different Kinds of Pulse* has yet to be edited by any scholar other than Kühn.

Med. Exp. 9.2, 18.4-8 Walzer corresponds to ch. 9, paragraph 2 of *Medical Experience*, which extends from l. 4 to l. 8 of p. 18 in Walzer's edition. *Medical Experience* is not included in Kühn.

Opt. Med. Cogn. 1, 47.11-12 Iskandar is a segment of section 1 to be found in ll. 11-12, p. 47 of Iskandar's edition of the Arabic translation of *Recognising the Best Physician*. The original work does not survive in Greek.

The same referencing system is applied to Hippocratic texts and the works of other medical authors.

Throughout the book Galenic passages quoted from the original follow the most recent edition. Thus, where variant readings exist, these are taken from the latter, unless otherwise stated. Square brackets [...] indicate

deletions by the editor(s), whereas angle brackets <...> enclose letters or words added by the editor(s).

I cite proper names of ancient authors and their works according to LSJ (9th edition. Oxford, 1940; revised supplement, Oxford, 1996) and *OCD* (S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition. Oxford, 2012). By convention, texts in the Hippocratic Corpus are referred to as being by [Hippocrates].

Transliteration of Greek terms follows the Library of Congress system: <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/greek.pdf> (last accessed: 31 January 2023).

The capitalised form ‘Chapter’ refers to a particular chapter of this book, whereas the uncapitalised form ‘chapter’ is reserved for sections of Galen’s or another author’s writings. In this book, ‘ethics’ and ‘morality’, ‘ethical’ and ‘moral’ are used interchangeably, reflecting the overall lack of modern consensus as to how these pairs should be compartmentalised. The same holds for ‘passions’, ‘emotions’ and less frequently ‘affections’ and ‘feelings’, which are also used indistinguishably as the English renderings for the Greek *pathē* (see e.g. Fitzgerald 2008: 2–5 and Singer 2021: 157, n. 6). I refrain from using the renderings ‘sentiment’ or ‘suffering’.

The following abbreviations are used to refer to modern reference works, editions or series:

- CMG *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. Berlin, 1908 – .
 DG Diels, H. (ed.), *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879.
 DK Diels, H. and W. Kranz (eds.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th edition. Zurich, 1968–1970.
 EANS *Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists: The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P. Keyser and G. Irby-Massie. London-New York, 2008.
 LSJ Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. J. Jones (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, 1940. Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare with the assistance of A. A. Thompson. Oxford, 1996.
 PCG *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 volumes, ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin. Berlin, 1983–2001.
 PIR² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*
 SVF Von Arnim, H. (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1924.
 TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1971–2004): vol. 1, *Didascaliae tragicae, catalogi tragicorum minorum*, ed. B. Snell (1971); vol. 2, *Fragmenta adespota*,

testimonia, etc., ed. R. Kannicht and B. Snell (1981); vol. 3, *Aeschylus*, ed. S. Radt (1985); vol. 4, *Sophocles*, ed. S. Radt, 2nd edition (1999); vol. 5, *Euripides*, ed. R. Kannicht, 2nd edition in 2 parts (2004).

Abbreviations for editions of Galenic texts most frequently referred to:

- B. V. Boudon (ed.), *Galien, Exhortation à l'étude de la médecine*. Paris: Belles Lettres, 2000.
- Ba. A. Bazou (ed.), *Γαληνοῦ Ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσιν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἐπονται*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2011.
- BM V. Boudon-Millot (ed.), 'Un traité perdu de Galien miraculeusement retrouvé, le *Sur l'inutilité de se chagriner*. Texte grec et traduction française', in V. Boudon-Millot, A. Guardasole and C. Magdelaine (eds.), *La Science médicale antique: Nouveaux regards; études réunies en l'honneur de Jacques Jouanna*. Paris: Beauchesne, 2007, 73–123, at 87–102.
- DB W. De Boer (ed.), *Galeni De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione; De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione; De atra bile*. Leipzig and Berlin: in aedibus Teubneri [CMG V 4,1,1], 1937.
- DL Ph. De Lacy (ed.), *Galeni De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag [CMG V 4,1,2, vols. 3], 1978–1984.
- I. A. Z. Iskandar (ed.), *Galeni De optimo medico cognoscendo libelli versio Arabica*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag [CMG Suppl. Or. IV], 1988.
- K. K. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, 20 vols in 22. Leipzig: Carl Cnobloch, 1821–1833.
- Ko. K. Koch (ed.), *Galeni De sanitate tuenda*. Berlin: in aedibus B. G. Teubner [CMG V 4,2], 1923.
- Kr. P. Kraus (ed.), 'Kitāb al-akhlāq li-Jālīnūs', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University* 5.1 (1939) 1–51.
- L. É. Littré (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, 10 vols. Paris: J. B. Baillière, 1839–1861.
- M. F. Marx (ed.), *A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*. Leipzig et Berlin: in aedibus Teubneri [CML I], 1915.
- N. V. Nutton (ed.), *Galeni De praecognitione*. Berlin: in aedibus Teubneri [CMG V 8,1], 1979.
- PX I. Polemis and S. Xenophontos (eds.), *Galen, On Avoiding Distress and On My Own Opinions*. Edited by Ioannis Polemis and Sophia

Xenophontos. Translated by Sophia Xenophontos. Berlin: Trends in Classics Supplementary Volumes (151), 2023. [open access: <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783111320816/html>; last accessed 23 August 2023].

WP E. Wenkebach and F. Pfaff (eds.), *Galen in Hippocratis sextum librum Epidemiarum commentaria I-VI*. Berlin: in aedibus Academiae litterarum [CMG V 10,2,2], 1956.

Translations:

All translations of *Avoiding Distress* cited throughout are my own. They come from PX above (freely accessible at: <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783111320816/html>; last accessed 23 August 2023). Translations of *Affections and Errors of the Soul*, *Character Traits* and *The Capacities of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body* are taken from Singer 2013. Those of the *Exhortation to the Study of Medicine* come from Singer 1997 with modifications; those of *Prognosis* are by Nutton 1979 sometimes with minor alterations. Translations of the other Galenic passages cited in this book follow, often with minor changes, the standard modern translations, unless otherwise indicated. The same goes for translations of all other ancient authors. For Galenic works that remain untranslated, the translations provided are mine.

Abbreviations of Galen’s works used in this book are provided below. A full list may be found in Singer (2013: 431–444) and in G. Fichtner’s Bibliography of the Galenic and pseudo-Galenic corpus, accessible through the CMG website (<http://cmg.bbaw.de/online-publications/hippokrates-und-galenbibliographie-fichtner>; last accessed 31 January 2023). Pseudo-Galenic or dubious works are enclosed in square brackets.

| Abbreviation | Latin Title | English Title |
|-----------------|---|---|
| AA | <i>De anatomicis administrationibus</i> | <i>Anatomical Procedures</i> |
| Adv. Jul. | <i>Adversus Julianum</i> | <i>Against Julian</i> |
| Aff. Pecc. Dig. | <i>De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione</i> | <i>Affections and Errors of the Soul</i> |
| Alim. Fac. | <i>De alimentorum facultatibus</i> | <i>The Capacities of Foodstuffs</i> |
| Ars Med. | <i>Ars medica</i> | <i>The Art of Medicine</i> |
| Art. Sang. | <i>An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur</i> | <i>Whether Blood is Naturally Contained in the Arteries</i> |

| <i>Abbreviation</i> | <i>Latin Title</i> | <i>English Title</i> |
|------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Bon. Hab.</i> | <i>De bono habitu</i> | <i>Good Condition</i> |
| <i>Bon. Mal. Suc.</i> | <i>De bonis malisque sucis</i> | <i>Good Humour and Bad Humour</i> |
| <i>CAM</i> | <i>De constitutione artis medicae ad Patrophilum</i> | <i>The Composition of the Art of Medicine, Addressed to Patrophilus</i> |
| <i>Caus. Symp.</i> | <i>De symptomatum causis</i> | <i>Causes of Symptoms</i> |
| <i>Comp. Med.</i> | <i>De compositione medicamentorum</i> | <i>The Composition of Drugs</i> |
| <i>Gen.</i> | <i>per genera</i> | <i>According to Kind</i> |
| <i>Comp. Med.</i> | <i>De compositione medicamentorum</i> | <i>The Composition of Drugs</i> |
| <i>Loc.</i> | <i>secundum locos</i> | <i>According to Places</i> |
| <i>CP</i> | <i>De causis procatarcticis</i> | <i>Antecedent Causes</i> |
| <i>Cons.</i> | <i>De consuetudinibus</i> | <i>On Habits</i> |
| <i>Cris.</i> | <i>De crisibus</i> | <i>On Crises</i> |
| <i>Cur. Rat. Ven.</i> | <i>De curandi ratione per venae sectionem</i> | <i>Treatment by Bloodletting</i> |
| <i>De Mor.</i> | <i>De moribus</i> | <i>Character Traits</i> |
| <i>Di. Dec.</i> | <i>De creticis diebus</i> | <i>Critical Days</i> |
| <i>Dig. Puls.</i> | <i>De dignoscendibus pulsibus</i> | <i>Diagnosis by the Pulse</i> |
| <i>Diff. Feb.</i> | <i>De febrium differentiis</i> | <i>The Different Kinds of Fever</i> |
| <i>Diff. Puls.</i> | <i>De differentiis pulsuum</i> | <i>The Different Kinds of Pulse</i> |
| <i>Diff. Resp.</i> | <i>De difficultate respirationis</i> | <i>Difficulty in Breathing</i> |
| <i>Gloss.</i> | <i>Glossarium</i> | <i>Glossary of Hippocratic Terms</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Aph.</i> | <i>In Hippocratis Aphorismos</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Aphorisms'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Art.</i> | <i>In Hippocratis De articulis</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Joints'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Elem.</i> | <i>De elementis ex Hippocrate</i> | <i>The Elements According to Hippocrates</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Epid. I</i> | <i>In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum I</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Epidemics I'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Epid. III</i> | <i>In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum III</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Epidemics III'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Epid. IV</i> | <i>In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum IV</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Epidemics IV'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Epid. VI</i> | <i>In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum VI</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Epidemics VI'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Progn.</i> | <i>In Hippocratis prognosticum</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Prognostic'</i> |
| <i>Hipp. Prorrh.</i> | <i>In Hippocratis De praedictionibus</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Prorrhetics'</i> |
| <i>[Hist. Phil.]</i> | <i>[Historia Philosophica]</i> | <i>[History of Philosophy]</i> |
| <i>HNH</i> | <i>In Hippocratis De natura hominis</i> | <i>Commentary on Hippocrates's 'Nature of Man'</i> |
| <i>Ind.</i> | <i>De indolentia</i> | <i>Avoiding Distress</i> |
| <i>Lib. Prop.</i> | <i>De libris propriis</i> | <i>On My Own Books</i> |
| <i>Loc. Aff.</i> | <i>De locis affectis</i> | <i>Affected Places</i> |
| <i>MM</i> | <i>De methodo medendi</i> | <i>Therapeutic Method</i> |

Conventions and Abbreviations

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(cont.)

| Abbreviation | Latin Title | English Title |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| MMG | <i>Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi</i> | <i>Therapeutics to Glaucon</i> |
| <i>Med. Exp.</i> | <i>De experientia medica</i> | <i>Medical Experience</i> |
| <i>Mot. Dub.</i> | <i>De motibus dubiis</i> | <i>On Problematical Movements</i> |
| <i>Musc. Diss.</i> | <i>De musculorum dissectione</i> | <i>The Dissection of Muscles</i> |
| <i>Nat. Fac.</i> | <i>De naturalibus facultatibus</i> | <i>Natural Faculties</i> |
| <i>Opt. Doct.</i> | <i>De optima doctrina</i> | <i>The Best Method of Teaching</i> |
| <i>Opt. Med.</i> | <i>Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus</i> | <i>The Best Doctor is Also a Philosopher</i> |
| <i>Opt. Med. Cogn.</i> | <i>De optimo medico cognoscendo</i> | <i>Recognising the Best Physician</i> |
| <i>Opt. Sect.</i> | <i>De optima secta</i> | <i>The Best Sect</i> |
| <i>Ord. Lib. Prop.</i> | <i>De ordine librorum propriorum</i> | <i>The Order of My Own Books</i> |
| <i>Part. Art. Med.</i> | <i>De partibus artis medicativae</i> | <i>The Parts of the Art of Medicine</i> |
| <i>Parv. Pil.</i> | <i>De parvae pilae exercitio</i> | <i>The Exercise with the Small Ball</i> |
| PHP | <i>De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis</i> | <i>Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato</i> |
| <i>Plen.</i> | <i>De plenitudine</i> | <i>Fullness</i> |
| <i>Praen.</i> | <i>De praecognitione</i> | <i>Prognosis</i> |
| <i>Praes. Puls.</i> | <i>De praesagitione ex pulsibus</i> | <i>Prognosis by the Pulse</i> |
| <i>Prolaps.</i> | <i>De humero iis modis prolapso quos Hippocratis non vidit</i> | <i>Dislocations not Seen by Hippocrates</i> |
| <i>Prop. Plac.</i> | <i>De propriis placitis</i> | <i>My Own Opinions</i> |
| <i>Protr.</i> | <i>Protrepticus</i> | <i>Exhortation to the Study of Medicine</i> |
| <i>Purg. Med. Fac.</i> | <i>De purgantium medicamentorum facultate</i> | <i>The Capacity of Cleansing Drugs</i> |
| QAM | <i>Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequuntur</i> | <i>The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body</i> |
| <i>San. Tu.</i> | <i>De sanitate tuenda</i> | <i>Matters of Health</i> |
| <i>Sem.</i> | <i>De semine</i> | <i>Semen</i> |
| SMT | <i>De simplicium medicamentorum ac facultatibus</i> | <i>The Capacities of Simple Drugs</i> |
| <i>Soph.</i> | <i>De sophismatibus penes dictionem</i> | <i>Linguistic Sophisms</i> |
| <i>Subf. Emp.</i> | <i>Subfiguratio empirica</i> | <i>Outline of Empiricism</i> |
| <i>Temp.</i> | <i>De temperamentis</i> | <i>On Mixtures</i> |
| [<i>Ther. Pis.</i>] | [<i>De Theriaca ad Pisonem</i>] | [<i>Theriac, To Piso</i>] |
| <i>Thras.</i> | <i>Thrasybulus sive utrum medicinae sit an gymnasticae hygieine</i> | <i>Thrasybulus: Is Healthiness a Part of Medicine or of Gymnastics?</i> |
| UP | <i>De usu partium</i> | <i>The Function of the Parts of the Body</i> |
| <i>Ven. Sect. Er. Rom.</i> | <i>De venae sectione adversus Erasistrateos Romae degentes</i> | <i>Bloodletting, Against the Erasistrateans at Rome</i> |