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Galen

›ON AVOIDING
DISTRESS‹ AND ›ON
MY OWN OPINIONS‹

*Critical Edition by Ioannis Polemis
and Sophia Xenophontos*

English Translation by Sophia Xenophontos

TRENDS IN CLASSICS

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Galen

On Avoiding Distress and On My Own Opinions

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes



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Volume 151

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Preface

This book offers a new critical edition and a correspondingly fresh English translation of Galen's treatises *On Avoiding Distress* (*De Indolentia*) and *On My Own Opinions* (*De Propriis Placitis*). Both works are important examples of Galen's intellectual production and worldview. The former is a moral essay on the popular subject of practical ethics, akin to other Imperial-period disquisitions on *moralia*, while the latter is a piece of doxography, summarising the author's general position on the creation of the world, and the structure and function of the body and soul. The decision to treat the two works together is not coincidental, but is accounted for by the existence of an important shared witness, the fifteenth-century codex Vlatadon 14, unexpectedly found in 2005. In the case of *On Avoiding Distress* Vlatadon 14 provided us with a unique opportunity to discover the Greek original, which seemed to have vanished for ever. And as far as *On My Own Opinions* is concerned, the codex has preserved the full Greek text, until recently known only through a medieval Arabo-Latin paraphrase and some passages preserved in Greek. It has also furnished us with an improved version of the text compared to its other witnesses: the Arabo-Latin translation is corrupt and incomplete, while the codices preserving the Greek extracts are not as reliable as Vlatadon 14. Beyond the significance of the discovery with regard to these particular Galenic texts, the find raised hopes of retrieving other ancient works through systematic research into the collections of little-visited European libraries.

We take this opportunity to thank Bishop Nikephoros of Amorium, Abbot of the Holy Patriarchal and Stavropegic Monastery of Vlatadon in Thessaloniki, Greece, for allowing us to examine the codex *in situ*. We are especially grateful to Petros Bouras-Vallianatos for establishing contact with the monastery and for furnishing us with high-quality digital images of selected folios. We also thank him for his patience in going through the entire manuscript and making several helpful suggestions.

Throughout the editorial process, we have been ably assisted by the editors of the series 'Trends in Classics' Antonios Rengakos and Franco Montanari. We are also grateful to the two anonymous readers for their encouragement and constructive remarks. Profound thanks are due to Georgi Parpulov for palaeographical assistance with Vlatadon 14 and to Fabian Käs for illuminating us on some thorny Arabic material relating to *On Avoiding Distress*. For Sophia Xenophontos, this book is one of the main outputs of a Wellcome Trust University Award in the Humanities and Social Sciences (208106/A/17/Z, 'The Physician of the Soul: Medicine and Practical Ethics in Galen'). She is indebted to the Wellcome Trust

not just for funding her research on Galen but also for covering the Open Access fees for this volume.

Ioannis Polemis, Athens
Sophia Xenophontos, Thessaloniki
May 2023

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Conventions and Abbreviations

Proper names of ancient authors and their works are cited 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).

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

References to Galen's works consist of:

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

Abbreviations for editions and reference works cited in the introduction to the critical edition and the translation:

Boulogne-Delattre	J. Boulogne and D. Delattre, 2003, <i>Galen. Systématisation de la médecine. Texte grec et traduction annotée, précédés d'études introductives</i> . Villeneuve d'Ascq.
Brunschön	C. W. Brunschön, 2021, <i>Galen De locis affectis V–VI</i> . Berlin [CMG V 6,1,3].
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i> . Berlin, 1908 – .
De Boer	W. De Boer, 1937, <i>Galen De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione; De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione; De atra bile</i> . Leipzig and Berlin [CMG V 4,1,1].
De Lacy(a)	Ph. De Lacy, 1996, <i>Galen De elementis ex Hippocratis sententia</i> . Berlin [CMG V 1,2].
De Lacy(b)	Ph. De Lacy, 1978–1984, <i>Galen De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis</i> . Berlin [CMG V 4,1,2, vols. 3].
Diels	H. Diels, 1915, <i>Galen in Hippocratis Prorrheticum I commentaria III</i> . Berlin and Leipzig [CMG V 9,2].
Garofalo(a)	I. Garofalo, 1986, <i>Galenus: Anatomicarum administrationum libri qui supersunt novem: earundem interpretatio Arabica Hunaino Isaaci filio ascripta</i> . Vol. I: Books I–IV, Naples.
Garofalo(b)	I. Garofalo, 2000, <i>Galenus: Anatomicarum administrationum libri qui supersunt novem: earundem interpretatio Arabica Hunaino Isaaci filio ascripta</i> . Vol. II: Books V–IX, Naples.
Helmreich(a)	G. Helmreich et al., 1893, <i>Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora</i> . Vol. 3: <i>Περὶ αἰρέσεων τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις, Θρασύβουλος, Περὶ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων</i> . Leipzig.
Helmreich(b)	G. Helmreich, 1907–1909, <i>Galen De Usu Partium libri XVII</i> . Leipzig.
Jouanna	J. Jouanna, 2016, <i>Hippocrate</i> . Vol. IV, Part I: <i>Épidémies I et III</i> . Paris.
Kühn	K. G. Kühn, 1821–1833, <i>Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia</i> . 20 vols in 22. Leipzig.
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, 1961, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford.

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- Smith W. D. Smith, 1994, *Hippocrates Epidemics 2, 4-7*. Volume VII Loeb Classical Library 477, Cambridge, MA.
- 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 ed. (1999); vol. 5, *Euripides*, ed. R. Kannicht, 2nd edition in 2 parts (2004).
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1 Brief Introduction to Galen and the Two Works

This brief introduction seeks to familiarise the unacquainted reader with the author and the two works under examination, and to provide them with a basic window into the key scholarly debates pertaining to the content and context of the two treatises. It has no claims to being thorough or exhaustive and it is not meant to replace Singer (2013: 1–41) and Nutton (2013: 45–76) for *On Avoiding Distress* or Nutton’s 1999 introduction and commentary for *On My Own Opinions*.

1.1 Galen: Life and Career

Galen’s life, work and entire worldview come across as exceptional in the context of both the ancient world and later history. As far as the former is concerned, Galen (129 – ca. 216 AD) is antiquity’s most powerful representative of the renovation and development of medicine, someone who responded in a critical fashion to earlier – sometimes remote – medical traditions, like the one professed by his hero Hippocrates, the father of medicine, in the Classical era (5th– 4th c. BC). Galen was also a constant explorer of the various philosophical trends that were fashionable in his day (although once again they had deep roots in the past), which he embraced or contested with notable acumen. The substantial philosophical background with which he infused his theory and praxis in many branches of medicine, e.g. anatomy and physiology, accounts to a large extent for the robustly scientific system he came up with to look into the workings of the human body and the origins and treatment of disease.

This dynamic wedding of medicine and philosophy, coupled with Galen’s generally inquisitive spirit, produced, in turn, a vast array of writings on almost every area of the intellect that could be anticipated by ancient standards: anatomical, physiological, therapeutic and prognostic works, and Hippocratic commentaries, to be sure, but also works on Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy as well as specialised texts on popular ethics, demonstration, lexicography, philology and literary criticism. What is perhaps not so widely known about Galen in that respect is that he is by far the most prolific author of the ancient world: his output surviving in Greek (there is more in Latin, Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew) fills twenty-two massive volumes in Karl Gottlob Kühn’s nineteenth-century edition. This amounts to around 20,000 pages of printed text, suggesting a remarkable level of productivity that had impressed even Galen’s contemporaries in his lifetime. For example, Athenaeus in his *The Sophists at Dinner* (1.1e) (early third c.

AD) refers to Galen as the person ‘who has published more works on philosophy and medicine than all his predecessors’.

Galen’s ambitious relationship with the past that so often seems to be cementing his peculiar place in history in fact extended into the future as well, though Galen could not have anticipated this nor did he perhaps ever intend it. His medical legacy enthralled later scholars and audiences to such a degree that its survival was assured across time and space in both East and West up to the early modern period. Suffices it to mention that during the Renaissance Galen was the most authoritative model in medical education, being conscientiously studied by prospective medics in several European universities.¹

Such a success story demands a detailed account of the early years, education and public life of this influential man. Born in AD 129 in Pergamum, a prosperous province of the Roman Empire in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), Galen received his early training there under the close supervision of his father, Nicon, a wealthy architect. Galen’s numerous references to his father across his writings show that Nicon was much more than a nurturer: he was an intellectual guide and a moral model, who decisively influenced Galen’s formation and later progress, leading him to become a medical practitioner. From 148 to 157 Galen travelled abroad, notably in Smyrna, Alexandria and Corinth, to pursue higher philosophical and medical studies; in 157 he returned to his home town to take up the position of chief physician to the gladiators; and in the summer of 162 he headed to Rome, after travelling extensively in Syria, Cyprus, Palestine, Lycia and Lemnos to collect herbal and mineral drugs. In the capital of the empire Galen soon managed to become a big name in elite and imperial circles both as a practising physician who successfully diagnosed and treated his high-level clientele in bed-side consultations, and as a startling participant in anatomical demonstrations – popular urban spectacles at the time. He also gained popularity by giving public lectures, taking part in disputations and excelling in the area of authoring medical works, which he addressed to prominent physicians and philosophers as well as powerful public men, such as the Roman senator, consul and governor Flavius Boethus. The highpoint in Galen’s professional career was no doubt being invited to treat key members of the imperial family, notably the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180) and his son, Commodus (r. 180–192).²

¹ See the relevant individual studies in the volume by Bouras-Vallianatos and Zipser (2019).

² There are three dedicated biographies of Galen by Nutton (2020), Mattern (2013) and Boudon-Millot (2012). Cf. Schlange-Schöningh (2003). For a concise overview of Galen’s life and career, see Hankinson (2008).

1.2 *On Avoiding Distress*

1.2.1 Date, Topic and Genre

The long-lost text *On Avoiding Distress* is a short treatise catalogued in Galen's autobiographical work *On My Own Books* under the group of texts on moral philosophy.³ It is mentioned, again only by its title, in a ninth-century inventory of Galen's works provided by the Nestorian Christian scholar and physician Ḥunayn ibn 'Ishāq.⁴ Although it was translated into Syriac and Arabic in the medieval period, none of these translations survive today. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries some authors quoted some passages from *On Avoiding Distress* in Arabic and Hebrew,⁵ but there was no trace of the Greek original, which seemed to have vanished for ever. It was not until 2005, when the treatise was unexpectedly found in a fifteenth-century codex kept in the Vlatadon monastery in Thessaloniki, Greece, that such fears were laid to rest.⁶ The discovery brought to light a magnificent testimony to the treatment of distress in antiquity.

On Avoiding Distress deals with the immediate aftermath of the great fire that broke out on the Palatine Hill in Rome in the spring of AD 192.⁷ In addition, it includes some critical remarks on the reign of Commodus, which Galen could only have articulated so unreservedly once the eccentric emperor was assumed to be dead. This points to a date of composition in the early months of AD 193, following the assassination of Commodus on 31 December 192.⁸

The work is written in epistolary form in response to a request from an anonymous friend, who seeks to discover the philosophical processes that made Galen immune to distress, despite his significant losses in the fire. Letter writing was

³ *περὶ τῶν τῆς ἠθικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐζητημένων*, *On My Own Books*, 169.13 Boudon-Millot(b) = XIX.45.10–11 Kühn. The other two extant ethical works, namely *Affections and Errors of the Soul* (*περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκάστῳ παθῶν καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων τῆς διαγνώσεως*) in Greek and *Character Traits* (*περὶ ἡθῶν*) in Arabic summary, belong to this same category.

⁴ See Ḥunayn ibn 'Ishāq, *Epistle*, Bergsträsser (1925: 40) no. 120 = Lamoreaux (2016: 122) §130.

⁵ E.g. Joseph Ibn Aknīn, student of Maimonides, quoted *On Avoiding Distress* in his Arabic *Hygiene of the Soul*; see Halkin (1944: 60–147). See also Zonta (1995: 113–123) and Boudon-Millot-Jouanna-Pietrobelli (2010: LXX–LXXIV) for additional information.

⁶ This significant discovery was made by A. Pietrobelli. *On Avoiding Distress* occupies ff. 10v–14v of MS Vlatadon 14. For a description of the manuscript, see Pietrobelli (2010). See also 2.1.2 *The Manuscript*.

⁷ 'at the end of winter', as the text suggests (ch. 5).

⁸ There is consensus over the date of the essay's composition. See, e.g. Boudon-Millot (2007a: 76), Boudon-Millot-Jouanna-Pietrobelli (2010: LVIII–LIX) and Nutton (2013: 45–48). Overall, Galen's ethical treatises seem to have been written towards the end of his life, possibly after AD 192.

a conventional form used in works on the ‘therapy of emotions’ in antiquity,⁹ as shown by similar formats in Plutarch and Seneca; and composing a treatise particularly at the behest of friends, named or unnamed, constituted a trope of considerable rhetorical potential in the tradition of ethical writing in general.¹⁰

There is a more common generic identification for *On Avoiding Distress* though: it is deemed a work of popular philosophy or practical ethics. This was a fashionable philosophical product by Galen’s time, though the genre harks back to the Hellenistic period,¹¹ where it can be seen in the cynic diatribe of Bion of Borysthenes (325–250 BC). Popular philosophical works sought to furnish practical advice on how to think about the world and behave in it, so as to deal effectively with a variety of everyday adversities. They also offered guidance on how to take care of one’s body and soul, so as to maximise one’s chances of having a successful position in social, political and professional life. While theoretical moral philosophy appealed to a restricted group of philosophical specialists, practical ethics spoke to every educated, thinking person who cared about developing or refining their character.

As is obvious primarily from his book classifications but also other parts of his corpus, Galen was deeply sensitive to the importance of practical philosophy and its social role, which led him to produce a distinct body of ethical works, as seen above. Although only three out of twenty-three such pieces by Galen have come down to us, the surviving headings of those that have been lost allow us to get some insights into their main themes and aims. Some texts concern the appropriate behaviour for when participating in everyday cultural practices, such as rhetorical demonstrations in the forum or private discussions in aristocratic villas.¹² Others deal with the management of negative emotions, such as slander, flattery and desire for fame.¹³ And yet others promote moral uprightness,

⁹ See Stirewalt (1991).

¹⁰ See König (2009: 40–58).

¹¹ See Gill (2003: 40–44).

¹² *The Interaction between Someone making Public Demonstrations and their Audience* (περί τῆς τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων (πρὸς) τοὺς ἀκούοντας συνουσίας), *To Orators in the Forum* (πρὸς τοὺς ἀγοραίους ῥήτορας), *The Interaction between the Parties to a Dialogue* (περί τῆς ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις συνουσίας), *The Discourse with Bacchides and Cyrus in the Villa of Menarchus* (περί τῆς ἐν αὐλῇ Μενάρχου διατριβῆς πρὸς Βακχίδην καὶ Κύρον). Galen’s *Kroniskoi* could also come under this category, being reminiscent of the literary symposium as in Plutarch’s *Table Talk*.

¹³ E.g. *On Slander* (περί τῆς διαβολῆς), *Things said in Public against Flatterers* (περί τῶν δημοσίᾳ ῥηθέντων κατὰ κολάκων), *To what Extent the Esteem and Opinion of the Public is to be taken into Account* (μέχρι πόσου τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τιμῆς καὶ δόξης φροντιστέον ἐστίν). Love of riches (*philoploutia*) is also explored by Galen: at the very end of his *On Avoiding Distress*, he refers to

decorum and affability.¹⁴ *On Avoiding Distress* fits the second category of Galen's practical ethical production, and is a gem among Imperial-period disquisitions on *moralia*, as we will see below.

1.2.2 Importance to Popular Philosophy

Accounts of the destructive fire of 192 are also given by the contemporary historians Cassius Dio (72.24) and Herodian (1.14.2–6), but in the form of a factual reportage, so Galen's *On Avoiding Distress* is the only extant *philosophical* account of this historical incident. Moreover, Eratosthenes of Cyrene (third century BC), Diogenes of Babylon (second century BC) and Plutarch (AD ca. 45 – ca. 120, 'The catalogue of Lamprias' no. 172) were all said to have written an essay entitled *Περὶ ἀλπιίας*. However, Galen's own is the only one to survive. It also resembles Plutarch's *Tranquillity of the Soul* and Seneca's homonymous work, which were already in circulation at the time together with other (now lost) essays on emotional resilience, for instance one by Panaetius (185 BC – 110 BC). Still Galen's *On Avoiding Distress* introduces fresh elements to the genre in that it depicts an intrinsically collaborative rapport between author and addressee, unlike the more distant relationship between teacher and student conjured up in the works by Plutarch and Seneca. It is also distinctive in that the moral instruction that is on offer is enhanced with snapshots of moments from the author's own life that result in a lively sort of moralising.¹⁵

1.2.3 Addressee

The narrative of *On Avoiding Distress* makes it clear at several junctures that Galen and his anonymous addressee share many common characteristics, experiences and beliefs: they both come from Pergamum, they have the same social standing (upper class), moral qualities (e.g. being restrained) and age (now in their mid-sixties), they have known each other from childhood, were educated together and have kept in touch through face-to-face interaction and correspondence for many years thereafter (e.g. ch. 12). The two men even appear to be like-

a now lost work he had produced entitled *On Rich People infatuated with Money* (περὶ τῶν φιλο-
 κρημάτων πλουσίων).

¹⁴ E.g. *Agreement* (περὶ ὁμονοίας), *Modesty* (περὶ αἰδοῦς).

¹⁵ Xenophontos (2014).

mindful with regard to Commodus' capricious politics (ch. 12), while the friend has, according to Galen, some of the latter's compositions at his disposal (ch. 15). Exchanging ideas and knowledge therefore is an important index of their friendship. Their close bond is also evident through references in the text that show that the friend is well aware of the misfortunes that have afflicted Galen in the course of his life, some of which he witnessed himself, such as the slaves Galen lost to the plague or his financial setbacks (ch. 1). The friend seems to show a genuine concern for Galen's problems, since he immediately seeks news about him through informants after he learns about the fire; he is also not content with second-hand accounts, which explains why he is determined to request a description of the incident from Galen himself (ch. 1–2).

The anonymous recipient of the work cannot be identified with certainty, and it is hard to confirm that he is a historical person. In the *Affections and Errors of the Soul*, Galen's most extensive surviving moral work, the author relates an incident involving a young man from his intimate circle, who impatiently visited him early one morning to find out whether Galen's resistance to distress was due to training, philosophical doctrines or nature (*Affections and Errors of the Soul*, 25.16–24 De Boer = V.37.6–14 Kühn). This enquiry is quite similar to the one made by Galen's anonymous friend at the beginning of *On Avoiding Distress* (although in this case nature is replaced by philosophical arguments in the educational triad). It is unlikely that the two men are one and the same, because in the near-contemporary *Affections and Errors of the Soul* the man asking the question is young and this does not align with the advanced age of Galen's friend in *On Avoiding Distress*. However, the fact that the question is phrased in a similar way raises some suspicions: is Galen simply misremembering who had asked the question? Or are the two anonymous men fictional personas, serving the needs of Galen's rhetorical exposition in each work after some necessary reshuffling of their credentials? In the absence of any secure evidence, no conclusions can be drawn.

1.2.4 Structure and Summary

The text of *On Avoiding Distress* may be divided into two main parts. The first one (chapters 1–9) focuses on the destructive consequences of the fire for other people, but mostly for Galen, which are described at length. This is constantly accompanied by the friend's determination to understand why Galen was not emotionally affected by the impact of the fire and how he managed this. The second part (chapters 10–18) includes Galen's response to the inquirer, which encompasses the strategies he had used to maintain his emotional serenity. Each part can be further subdivided as follows:

Part I:	Detailed account of the numerous personal and public losses. ‘How could Galen remain calm in the face of such disaster?’, the friend asks in his letter
Chapter 1–Chapter 9	
Chapter 1	Loss of Galen’s silver and gold, silver vessels and documents; of his works; of his simple and compound medicines; and of his instruments
Chapter 2	Public loss of autograph copies of ancient grammarians, orators, physicians and philosophers stored in the libraries on the Palatine Hill
Chapter 3	Loss of Galen’s carefully-prepared editions of ancient authors Public loss of authentic works not included in the Catalogues
Chapter 4	Public loss of what was included in the storehouses on the Sacred Way, those at the Temple of Peace and those at the House of Tiberius, in addition to the destruction of the libraries on the Palatine Hill
Chapters 5–6	Loss of Galen’s treatise on Attic nouns and collections of everyday language
Chapter 7	Loss of Galen’s writings produced for others and the writings produced for himself, and of his epitomes of medical and philosophical works
Chapters 8–9	Loss of Galen’s medical recipes
Part II:	Galen’s reply to the addressee’s question. He supplies practical advice by means of:
Chapter 10–Chapter 18	
Chapters 10–11	Moral anecdotes involving Aristippus (ch. 10), Crates and Diogenes (ch. 10) and Zeno (ch. 11), all of which warn against insatiability and promote self-sufficiency
Chapters 12–13	Moral-didactic lines from Euripides, which encourage the use of the technique of premeditation of future calamities
Chapters 13–15	The moral exemplum of Galen’s father, which still inspires Galen to seek self-sufficiency and emphasises the importance of combining appropriate nature and nurture for achieving virtue in the soul

Chapter 16	Galen's philosophical opposition to <i>apatheia</i> (complete freedom from affection) and his advocacy of <i>metriopatheia</i> (moderation of emotions) for all people, including himself; this makes him an accessible model for his readers
Chapters 17–18	Social commentary on the despicable behaviour of greedy people, which functions as a distancing strategy

1.2.5 Psychotherapeutic Strategies

On Avoiding Distress is of particular importance for the new evidence it brings regarding Galen's role as a practical ethicist. This is an aspect of his intellectual profile that still awaits comprehensive treatment.¹⁶ In the second part of the treatise Galen recounts brief didactic stories from the lives of righteous philosophers, in order to encourage readers to imitate their admirable qualities, notably self-control. The moral anecdotes featuring in the Galenic treatise are standard features of the literature on *moralia*, where they are commonly employed by other authors, such as Plutarch, as a way of exhorting readers to virtue in an impersonal manner. In Galen the same anecdotes are customised to fit his own moral trajectory towards combating distress (ch. 10–11): the point they help make in the text is that Galen had developed a rationalising approach to endure the loss of his material goods, following Aristippus, who had despised his superfluous possessions as unnecessary for his survival, and had frowned on the avaricious as people eternally compelled to suffer as a result of their countless desires.

Galen also proposes enhancing one's moral condition by interpreting gloomy incidents in life as opportunities for development and prosperity. The anecdote about Zeno of Citium (ch. 11) enables Galen to put across his point, once again by personalising it specifically in terms of his own circumstances: the devastating shipwreck that left Zeno bereft of everything led to his becoming the founder of the Stoa. So, asks Galen, bearing that in mind, would it not be odd and potentially counter-productive, if he were agitated by his own losses? Furthermore, Zeno disdained external blessings because, like the other Stoics, he considered them moral 'indifferents', factors that do not affect individual flourishing. Embracing Zeno's stance, Galen was similarly unmoved not just by the destruction of his

¹⁶ Xenophontos (forthcoming).

books and drugs in the fire, but also by his missed opportunities for a medical career in the imperial court. While appropriating the gist of the relevant moral anecdote and adapting it to his personal situation, Galen also problematises the meaning or implications of concepts firmly established in his audience's mind. For example, he is blunt about the fact that serving as a court physician was not entirely a positive course of action, as most people would think; he supports this claim by suggesting that an imperial career has been, for many, a cause of insanity (ch. 11).

Galen supplies other mind-control techniques that ensure moral fortitude: by visualising future evils, one is in a better position to withstand them when they actually arise. This method, known as the premeditation of future calamities (*praemeditatio futurorum malorum*), is presented in the text as an ability only available to thinking beings, i.e. men, and not to animals who spend their lives in passivity, unable to tap into the knowledge of day-to-day affairs that comes from experience. Galen cites the poetic lines that Euripides puts into the mouth of Theseus as the latter prepares himself to endure exile, untimely deaths and other manifestations of misfortune (ch. 12; cf. ch. 16). And he explains how he himself has tested the efficiency of this moral device by proactively imagining his own banishment under Commodus, advising his anonymous friend to do the same.

Moral progress in Galen is never possible without a familiar exemplum to live up to. For Galen that exemplum had always been his father, whom he mentions here as the avatar of moral goodness resulting from a combination of innate and developed virtue (ch. 13–15). This idea is, in fact, a staple of Galen's moral thought, which he emphasises or elaborates on elsewhere in his moral and morally-themed works. In the context of his practical ethics, a role model in Galen is key to helping the moral learner adopt a route that prioritises righteousness and philosophy over worldly benefits. By bearing in mind his father's beliefs therefore Galen finds another way to bear the pain that losing his possessions in the fire caused him. In other parts of his corpus, Galen advises members of his audience to find a moral monitor, a person from their social circle who normally acts as a candid critic of their moral failings and helps to rectify them. Hence, in addition to earlier, long-dead models, like Aristippus or Zeno, real-life models are also important in Galen's practical philosophy, showing the pragmatic nature of his moral didacticism.

This correlates with the fact that Galen's utterances in his works of practical ethics are not meant merely to communicate a piece of abstract theory or flag up his philosophical allegiances; rather, they reflect the practical application of ethical advice in the daily lives of his readers, taking into account the limits of human nature. For example, Galen's support for the moderation of emotions (rather than their total elimination, ch. 16) is tied up with his self-presentation as

a man with human weaknesses and limitations: he can disregard the loss of his belongings as long as he is not left destitute or in exile, and he is prepared to defy physical pain as long as he is not severely brutalised or hindered from performing ordinary activities (e.g. talking to a friend or making sense of a book) due to his suffering. Galen's ethics is addressed to normal people, not unapproachable saints like the Stoic sage.

Finally, one of the structural pillars of the Galenic moral discourse, not just in *On Avoiding Distress* but also elsewhere, is the use of assimilation and distancing strategies to incite or discourage particular courses of action or conduct. The presentation of greedy agents is negatively loaded particularly through the use of terms of disparagement, so as to induce readers to dissociate themselves from this group of people and avoid their bad manners (ch. 15–16): greedy men are enslaved to their passions, they constantly complain, lamenting and groaning day and night, they can barely sleep, they are wicked and wretched, and they live on the verge of abnormality.¹⁷ By delineating insatiable people as social outcasts, Galen, playing on his ideal readers' sense of social honour, leads them to distance himself from them.

1.2.6 Books, Editions and Libraries

The new text also enhances our understanding of the composition and publication of ancient books, and the holdings of public libraries in the Roman Imperial period.¹⁸ For one thing, the work informs us about Galen's usual practices in putting his works together: it seems he was often invited to write down his thoughts on an event or his response to a query raised by a friend, acquaintance or follower. The final product could take two forms: a) an informal version very close or identical to the text he had originally written down or dictated to his scribes to the same effect, b) a revised, more polished, version thereof. The informal variant was often intended for private use, for instance to assist Galen's memory or that of his close circle of friends or peers, while the formal one was, at least theoretically speaking, targeted at others, in the context of a wider circulation (ch. 7).¹⁹ Many

¹⁷ On the ideas developed in this section and Galen's practical ethics in general, see the forthcoming monograph by Xenophontos.

¹⁸ E.g. Tucci (2008), Jones (2009), Nutton (2009), Roselli (2010), Nicholls (2011), Dorandi (2014), Singer (2019), Salas (2020: 16–22).

¹⁹ This distinction is also made in *On My Own Opinions*, ch. 3: 'So when I composed the book *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, first for personal use against "the forgetfulness of old age", as Plato says, and then so as to share it with friends who asked for it...'

of Galen's surviving works belong to the first group and possibly never made it to the second, which could explain the occurrence of internal inconsistencies, awkward repetitions, infelicities of style and the generally loose syntax in them. *On Avoiding Distress* is an example of this category.

The decision as to whether or how to distribute his writings (*ekdosis*) always rested with Galen. This is an important point, because in his works of autobibliography Galen repeatedly complains that scammers had attempted to sell forgeries as authentic Galenic texts or to appropriate copies of his works by passing them off as their own.²⁰ Yet, in *On Avoiding Distress* we also learn that some responsibility for the fate of Galen's writings also lay with the recipients of his books in Asia Minor, who often took the initiative in depositing them in local public libraries for wider consultation (ch. 5). That Galen displays no annoyance at this practice shows that he found it acceptable. Copies were also made for personal reasons, as for instance when Galen states in *On Avoiding Distress* that he had planned to produce copies of all of his works so as to have them at his disposal in his country home in Campania, where he spent some months of each year (ch. 5).

The form taken by ancient books has also been at the heart of discussions around *On Avoiding Distress*. We learn that one of Galen's sources for his medical recipes, the physician Eumenes, kept his recipes in two parchment codices (ch. 8), and not in papyrus rolls, the most widespread medium for recording written works at the time. These parchment codices (called *diphtherae*), anticipating the later codex that approximates the modern paginated book, were easier to consult, which could be why they were used for collections of drug recipes at such an early period.

Perhaps the most personal element running through *On Avoiding Distress* is Galen's account of his own editions. The relevant passages offer a wholly new set of information on the topic, which exceeds the briefer references gathered from his other works. Galen enlarges upon his working methodology as a textual critic of ancient works, particularly those by Theophrastus, Aristotle, Eudemus, Clytus and Phaenias: he corrected scribal errors and made efforts to revise mistaken readings accurately so as to form new editions. He also lays great stress on how he improved the punctuation of texts, which he understands as significantly affecting the meaning and interpretation of edited works (ch. 3). Galen is also self-portrayed as a competent researcher into the treasures of ancient libraries. He describes his activities in locating authentic works that were not recorded in the library catalogues and, conversely, his spotting miscatalogued items (ch. 3). The way in which Galen had assembled his collections of pharmacological

²⁰ *On My Own Books*, 134.1–136.22 Boudon-Millot(b) = XIX.8.1–11.11 Kühn.

recipes is also interesting. His main means of supply was by inheritance from previous collectors who had put together their own collections through extensive travelling and the purchase of valuable recipes (ch. 8).

1.2.7 Modern Translations

The discovery of *On Avoiding Distress* in 2005 sparked the production of many critical editions and translations within a relatively short time-span.²¹ We currently have seven translations in modern languages: a) V. Boudon-Millot's French translation of 2007 accompanying the *editio princeps* of the work, b) a modern Greek translation by P. Kotzia and P. Sotiroudīs, which appeared in 2010, c) a revised French translation for the Les Belles Lettres series published in the same year, and d) I. Garofalo's and A. Lami's Italian translation of 2012. e) In 2013 V. Nutton published the first English translation of *On Avoiding Distress* based on his own emendations and improvements on the Les Belles Lettres text, while f) in 2015 K. Brodersen offered a German rendering of *On Avoiding Distress* relying on the Les Belles Lettres text and to a large extent Nutton's readings. Finally, g) another English translation by C. K. Rothschild and T. W. Thompson was published in 2011, also relying on the text by V. Boudon-Millot, J. Jouanna and A. Pietrobelli. Due to the lack of an authoritative critical text, these translations sometimes differ radically from one another. The translation of *On Avoiding Distress* (as well as that of *On My Own Opinions*) in the present volume is based on a much-improved version of the two texts and it thus seeks to replace previous translations.

1.2.8 Studies on *On Avoiding Distress*

The last decade has seen an enormous amount of learned commentary on Galen's recently discovered treatise. To start with, there are three edited volumes specifically devoted to this work: Manetti (2012), Rothschild and Thompson (2013) and Petit (2019). The topics dealt with in the papers included in these collective works as well as in other studies published elsewhere disclose the main areas of interest arising from this fascinating document. These may be structured around the following headings:

- a) history of scholarship, history of texts and history of the book;

²¹ See also 2.1.1 The Discovery of the Treatise and its Previous Editions.

- b) the location, contents and function of Roman libraries and storehouses;
- c) history of Imperial Rome: the great fire of 192, the Antonine plague, the reign of Commodus and the conditions at the imperial court;
- d) Galen's biography, autobiography and self-characterisation;
- e) Galen's moral philosophical positions and arguments, particularly in connection with the tradition of ethical writing;
- f) philological observations on the manuscript transmission and textual condition of the work.

1.3 *On My Own Opinions*

1.3.1 Topic and Date

On My Own Opinions maps some of Galen's fundamental views on the structure and function of body and soul and summarises his most important conclusions that draw upon a long and diverse medical and philosophical career. As a sort of intellectual consignment, it has been unanimously considered the very last piece by Galen, particularly given the absence of any mention of it in his autobiographical works *On My Own Books* and *On the Order of My Own Books*, which were also written late in life. If it was indeed written towards the end of Galen's life, it must be dated in the early 200s (possibly between 209 and 216). The Arabic tradition reinforces this hypothesis: al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925) confidently states that *On My Own Opinions* was the last Galenic work, while the tenth-century philosopher al-Sijistānī reports that in response to the composition of *On My Own Opinions* Alexander of Aphrodisias criticised Galen for taking eighty years to acknowledge his ignorance on certain medico-philosophical issues.²²

1.3.2 Overview and Structure

Although *On My Own Opinions* encompasses some key medical beliefs and problems, it can hardly be considered a technical tract of medical theory or practice. Rather, it should be best seen as a doctrinal piece, which combines Galen's 'philosophical testament'²³ with the scientific methodology he espoused. Indeed, one of its major characteristics is that the medical material is consistently subsumed

²² Nutton (1999: 37–38).

²³ A term coined by Nutton (1987: 51).

under Galen's avowed purpose of projecting the epistemological limits of medicine and fostering useful principles for surmounting them or, at least, acknowledging them; building sound arguments and using consistent terminology are the two main principles advocated by Galen. The deficient knowledge of humans *qua* psychosomatic entities and of the cosmos that surrounds them concerns Galen much more here than providing a comprehensive account of his scientific achievements.

Chapter 1 of the work forms a preface, which stresses Galen's personal quandary at the time of composition: his contemporaries, especially those lacking training, tended to misconstrue his work, despite (according to Galen) its clarity. To substantiate this point, Galen adduces the anecdote concerning the poet Parthenius, which relates the latter's agonising attempt to persuade one of his readers of the true meaning of his poetry, which the reader did not quite grasp. The guiding principle behind both stories, that of Parthenius and Galen's own, is the notion of misinterpretation (a recurring theme in the work), which Galen sets against the backdrop of the intellectual decadence of his day, a familiar topic in other writings by him as well. The only solution Galen can see to this sad situation is to write his opinions down. *On My Own Opinions* is thus positioned as an 'occasional' or context-specific writing intended to validate Galen's authority in the world of medicine and philosophy.

After dividing his opinions into the things he knows with certainty, what he knows with some degree of plausibility and those things of which he professes total ignorance, Galen embarks upon topics that come under the latter category. So in chapter 2, he declares his agnosticism regarding the generation of the universe and the nature of the creator. He is careful, however, to distance himself from Protagoras' radical atheism by acknowledging the existence of the gods because of incidents of divine power and providence he has experienced himself: being cured of a disease owing to the intervention of Asclepius and being saved from the Dioscuri when in danger at sea. This section closes with reference to Galen's affiliation with Socrates, who advocated respect for traditional religion.

In chapter 3 Galen shifts from his position on divine matters to his position on men, and more specifically he touches on his theory of the human soul. His main point here is that he is confident that we all have a soul and that the soul is responsible for human voluntary motion and sensation, though he declares himself unable to give a definitive answer as regards the soul's substance and mortality or immortality. One of the most defining principles of Galen's scientific procedure, which also features in *On My Own Opinions*, is the tendency to declare secure knowledge only when this comes from proofs assembled through personal investigation or experiments. Hence here the statement that the three sources of motion are situated in the brain, the heart and the liver, accrues from robust

anatomical evidence, as initially set out in his early work *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*. Then reference is made to Galen's firm belief that plants too have a source of motion and specific capacities (the attractive, the alternative, the expulsive and the retentive), which are explained in his *On Natural Capacities*. In this context, there is also mention of embryology, this time with reference to *On the Formation of the Foetus*, to show that Galen has still not been able to make up his mind regarding the capacity that forms embryos.

Chapter 4 focuses on the theory of the elements, which holds that bodies in this world are made up of a combination of fire, earth, water and air. After emphasising that he is unaware of how things stand as regards the composition of celestial bodies, Galen declares himself in agreement with Hippocrates both on the above and in refuting thinkers who advocated that the elements are not subject to change. Galen cites his *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, his commentary on the Hippocratic *On the Nature of Man* and other similar works. Emphasis is also laid on the importance of precise denotation – a regular notion in the work –, in this case in connection with the meaning of 'hot' and 'the most'. Some discussion on innate heat is also provided, which segues into a brief checklist of varieties of fevers (*On the Different Kinds of Fevers*) and varieties of mixtures (*On Mixtures*) in conjunction with a brief exposition on the theory of mixtures (*eukrasia*, various kinds of *dyskrasiai*).

Chapter 5 starts with a succinct account of the importance of eliminating superficial misconceptions, but then returns to the subject of the brain to posit that sensation and voluntary motion flow to all parts of the body through the nerves. There follows some discussion on the sensitivity of the nerves compared to flesh, which is supported by empirical evidence gathered from venesections and observation of the inflammation of the nerves. Such concrete proof leads Galen to criticise Asclepiades, who developed the opposing view that the nerves have no sensation.

In chapter 6 Galen picks up on the topic, first raised in ch. 3, of his ignorance regarding the substance of the soul and now advances his belief that the body is capable of sensation, since it is inhabited by a soul which is the source of sensation. Here the main topic is the relationship between body and soul, and so Galen also points out that the bodily parts, just like the soul, are generated from a mixture of the four elements, and that the preservation of the body ensures that the soul does not depart from it as long as the body performs its activities (the conditions leading up to physical death and the departure of the soul from the body is taken up again in chapter 15).

Different philosophical approaches to the substance of the soul are assembled in chapter 7, which culminates in Galen's repeating that he is sceptical about the topic. This rounds off the broader topic of Galen's inability to know about

some human matters and especially those regarding the human soul, a subject that goes back to the beginning of chapter 3. This marks the end of the first part of the treatise.

Chapter 8 is a transitional section, which offers a neat account of methodological value regarding the proper manner of scientific investigation: the need to assess the validity of the premises of an argument and not the conclusions in isolation, and more generally, the need not be driven by contentiousness in pursuing scientific research. Galen's ideal audience is here glossed as people who love the truth and are not motivated by egotism. Galen also builds a picture of the ideal author. It is important, he suggests, for the author to understand what needs to be covered in each work depending on its particular purpose. The treatment of the tripartition-cum-trilocation, namely that each part of the soul is located in a different part of the body, is referenced as an example of how Plato got this right: the *Republic*, being an ethical treatise advising on how to achieve virtue, did not require any mention of trilocation, whereas the *Timaeus*, with its focus on natural theory, did need some reference to it. The usefulness of the knowledge provided by an author is also key. This is where Chrysippus and the Stoics got it wrong, according to Galen: they talked about the location of the hegemonic part, but were not concerned with showing how this is profitable for practical philosophy, just as they did not justify the knowledge of meteorological theory, which they had elaborated on to such an extent. Chapter 8 is a programmatic nexus situated at the very heart of the work.

Bodily alterations are the main topic of chapter 9, which is accompanied by a description of how drugs work in the body with reference to *On the Capacities of Simple Drugs*. The role of the liver is also dealt with. Chapter 10 returns to the three principles that govern human beings in order to reiterate the fact that Galen is still uncertain as to the capacity that forms embryos or which of all the bodily parts is formed first in gestation. The author notes a shift of opinion in maturity and remarks on how a piece of secure knowledge acquired at an early stage could progress into the category of plausible knowledge in old age on the basis of anatomical evidence.

Humoral theory is the focus of chapter 11, where Galen contrasts Hippocrates' view that all four humours (blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile) are natural, with the view of other theorists who thought that only blood was. Galen discusses the action of drugs in relation to bodily humours to support the Hippocratic view.

Chapter 12 focuses on some methodological considerations as regards the value of long-term study and then re-emphasises the need to cope efficiently with homonymy using the example of the term *μελαγχολικός*, which could mean both 'black bile' and a kind of blood sediment. Galen also believes that attention

should be drawn to the level of detail to be provided depending on different contexts of exposition, and so he refers to how the notion of the existence of heat in plants should be formulated depending on whether these issues are discussed in passing or in detail. The same idea is developed in chapter 13 in connection with specialised and less specialised works by Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus. There is a link here back to the three epistemological levels mentioned at the end of chapter 1 and Galen's certainty that we have a soul (beginning of chapter 2), which this time evolves into a statement of Galen's determinism. In chapter 14 Galen talks about different approaches to the substance of the soul. And again he looks back to the three epistemic layers of secure knowledge, plausible knowledge and absence of knowledge to repeat in chapter 15 that he is sure that bodies are made up of a mixture of the four elements but he is not sure about the soul's substance and mortality/immortality. He also reiterates his certainty about the soul being subservient to the nature of the body and about the function of the attractive and the expelling capacities.

In light of the above, the treatise could be helpfully divided as follows:

Part 1: Chapters 1–7

Transition: Chapter 8

Part 2: Chapters 9–15

With the exception of the discussion on the function of drugs, the majority of the other subjects dealt with in the second part of the work are replicated from Part 1 with no significant degree of elaboration or variation. Hence, the possibility that the work did not undergo any revision is a reasonable one, since, in a more polished version, Galen would have dispensed with so much repeated material.

The repetitive style of the treatise and its occasionally rambling line of thought and lack of cohesion (particularly in the second half) are some of the factors that might obstruct a smooth reading of the work, which could also explain its limited afterlife in later centuries. It has generally been agreed that this is not one of Galen's most original or distinctive works, and that it does not present its author at his best. A caveat is in order though. Modern scholars have been inclined to marginalise the work in the light of its disjointed and verbose Latin version. Examination of the Greek original shows that *On My Own Opinions* is in fact no more disorganised than other unrevised works by Galen.

1.3.3 Audience

The frequent use of the second-person singular ‘you’ throughout does not seem to be attached to any specific individual. Rather, it stands for a generic addressee that most likely represents a class of physicians. This follows from consideration of the level of technicality involved in sections that talk about anatomical operations or the restoration of the humoral balance through adopting an appropriate regimen. Regarding the former, in chapter 5 the author goes into some detail on venesections:

And you can learn this, in the case of any living being you like, by exposing a nerve and then pricking it with needles or styluses; because you will hear it cry out much more than it would when the flesh or the skin was pricked, since it experiences more pain... If you cut the entire nerve, therefore, no danger ensues, since the source is no longer affected through sympathy by the inflammation that affects the nerve.

As regards the latter, in chapter 11 dietary advice is given in relation to the evacuation of humours:

...you should clearly take care to evacuate the excess of the [two] biles and the phlegm in line with a healthy diet, so that we do not increase these humours by using an excess of phlegm-producing or bile-producing foods.

Furthermore, there is some expectation that the ideal addressee is familiar with the capacities of foodstuffs, medicines (ch. 9, ch. 13) and even of humoral theory, which is deliberately set out only partially (ch. 5) presupposing the reader’s prior acquaintance with the topic. Finally, Galen twice refers to medicine as ‘our art’, suggesting a sense of community among fellow physicians.

One of the strategies which Galen employs in approaching his audience is the use of the imperative: ‘Pay attention when I say “form” as opposed to matter, which we understand to be without quality as regards itself’ (ch. 6). Another is the use of examples to elucidate specific points: ‘Thus, for example, we all concur that scammony has a cathartic capacity, just as the medlar has the ability to suppress the stomach’ (ch. 13); and yet another the use of guidance such as: ‘if you consider the matter closely...’ (ch. 15), ‘you can learn this...’ (ch. 5), ‘I am now going to describe to you...’ (ch. 3), all of which gives the text a didactic aspect too.

1.3.4 Other Points of Interest

Despite being mainly an assemblage of Galen’s judgments and accomplishments, *On My Own Opinions* also accommodates a number of other interesting themes or

elements. These are: cross-references to earlier Galenic works, self-authority and Galen's relation to and critique of the past, the adaptation of material to different audiences and circumstances, the usefulness of knowledge, misinterpretation and the salience of precise denotation, the connection between medicine and moral philosophy or the place of the work within the doxographical tradition. Some of these strands are briefly explored below.

(a) Cross-References to Other Works by Galen

A quick perusal of the work makes clear how often Galen refers to his previous writings in this short text (18 works are mentioned, some of them more than once). Unlike what happens in Galen's autobiographical tracts, there are no obvious claims to authenticity here. Rather, Galen's targets are somewhat different. First of all, on some rare occasions, Galen provides supplementary information on the reasons behind the production of some of his earlier books, as, for example, when he identifies his *On the Soul* as a polemic against Chrysippus (ch. 7) or when he clarifies that *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* was composed initially as an aide-memoire and later on for distribution among a circle of intimates who had requested it (ch. 3). In other cases, works of the earlier period and of maturity are intertwined to highlight the fact that Galen remained noncommittal on some important subjects, in particular the mortality or immortality of the soul (ch. 3). By reviewing his previous ideas and potentially assessing them in the light of his current views, Galen both unifies his output and constructs for himself the image of a careful thinker, who either maintains valid views or accepts his mistakes and amends them where necessary (see ch. 10). Even when he is reluctant to be dogmatic, his suspension of judgment is equated with prudence rather than scholarly cowardice. However, by far the commonest purpose that these cross-references serve throughout is to back up Galen's claims, and place his works within a meaningful whole, a framework that is shown to encompass a considerable input to medicine and philosophy. *On My Own Opinions* is a compendium of Galen's authoritative legacy.

(b) Self-Authority

To put together one's entire legacy is, to say the least, to advertise one's profile and competencies. *On My Own Opinions* builds on Galen's usual attempts at self-validation, as known from his other writings. For one thing, his relationship to Hippocrates (whom he mentions more often than any other author in *On My Own Opinions*) typically involves agreement on basic doctrines (e.g. ch. 4: 'I showed in the first place that it was Hippocrates who declared this, and second that he was correct to do so...'), corroboration of Galen's authority (e.g. end of ch. 4), and admiration (ch. 11: 'Well, this opinion is also plausible, but Hippocrates' is much

more truthful than this'). The same sentiments hold for Galen's overall approach to his favourite philosopher Plato, whom Galen defends against potential detractors, justifying his opinions (ch. 15: 'Therefore Plato seems to me to be right to say that plants have perception...') and unequivocally praising them (all in ch. 15).

But he also takes a more provocative approach to Plato, which has no parallel in Galen's attitude towards Hippocrates: in chapter 13, Galen takes issue with Plato's discussion of plants (their principle of motion and perception), criticising him for treating the matter inopportunistically and not as carefully as Galen himself has done. At the same time, Galen's approbation of Plato is offset by conflict with him on certain points:

But when it becomes necessary for me to explain the individual character of the natural part of moral philosophy according to Plato's view, I praise some of his doctrines straightaway and declare myself in agreement with this man, but for other doctrines I only endorse them to the point of plausibility, just as I am left in complete uncertainty about certain other issues, having no inclination [to declare] regarding such controversial matters that there is another opinion more plausible than these. (ch. 13)

This judgmental note also applies to some cases of opposition to Chrysippus, Galen's *bête noire* in *On My Own Opinions* (but elsewhere too): the allegation of obscurity twice in the same chapter (beginning and end of ch. 7) is a weighty one, if one considers that 'clarity of exposition/instruction' (σαφής διδασκαλία) is a basic trait of Galen's scientific practice and medical writing in general. In ch. 8 Galen levels another accusation against Chrysippus, this time for failing to discuss the practical-ethical dimensions of the soul's location in the heart. Galen accuses Asclepiades too, of advancing a doctrine 'to a greater extent than necessary' (ch. 5). It is interesting in that respect that, compared to Galen's vitriolic rhetoric in earlier works, in *On My Own Opinions* his hostile language is significantly more moderate. This is in tune with the generally accepted view among modern scholars that there is a softening of Galen's polemical tone in his later works. Still, he continues to highlight his imposing role in the history of medicine and philosophy, heralded by the way in which his abandonment of Protagoras and his siding with Socrates is so heavily stressed at the very beginning of the work. One could see this as a thundering vindication of his place in ancient thought taking the form of a programmatic positioning, so to speak.

(c) Advice on the Teaching and Learning of Medicine

At the start of chapter 13 Galen explains why some of Plato's readers may have had real issues with him: how, after all, is one to justify the internal inconsistencies within different works of the Platonic corpus? The simple answer Galen provides is that one should not hastily categorise them as self-contradictions.

They are rather to be explained in terms of the different backgrounds of the audience to which they were variously addressed. It is interesting that in order to defend other writers too who similarly adjusted their material to suit an expert or non-expert readership (Aristotle and Theophrastus come into the discussion at this point), Galen twice stresses the reaction of an audience when supplied with material they cannot digest or make sense of. This reaction ranges from serious displeasure to crude rebuke of the author in question. The above framework enables Galen to launch into self-praise and promote his own ability to adapt his ideas and corresponding phrasing.²⁴ Indirectly, he also advises his colleagues on how they should best teach medicine and compose medical works, encouraging them to follow his example and express themselves as lucidly as possible, always bearing in mind the background of their recipients. Galen even allows some flexibility in the use of terms,²⁵ yet only in as far as the disciplines he is serving are not harmed by this. The usefulness of knowledge suggested here is a theme that crops up quite frequently in *On My Own Opinions*. Galen distinguishes between three classes of knowledge: knowledge which is useful for the physician to possess in order to better perform his profession (ch. 6), unnecessary knowledge which does not affect his art if the physician ignores it (e.g. substance of the soul, ch. 6, or empsychosis and metempsychosis, ch. 15; also ch. 14), and knowledge which, were it possessed, would enhance the physician's conceptual toolkit, being in Galen's words 'an additional ornament' (ch. 14). The same concerns revolving around useful or useless questions in different areas of study and research feature in Galen's *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* (e.g. 588.7–29 De Lacy(b) = V.779.16–781.10 Kühn), a work, which, as has recently been shown, reflects Galen's acquaintance with the doxographical (or *Placita*, i.e. 'tenets', 'doctrines') tradition and its typical characteristics.²⁶ At this point it may be worth exploring the affiliation of *On My Own Opinions* with the *Placita* literature, a topic which, to the best of my knowledge, has been largely overlooked or at best misinterpreted.²⁷

24 By the same token, elsewhere in *On My Own Opinions* (ch. 3), Galen states that he uses different terms to denote the same thing depending on whether he is addressing Platonist philosophers, Stoic philosophers or ordinary people.

25 E.g. ch. 12 where Galen says that the notion of the existence of heat in plants could be expressed in a slightly different way depending on whether the discussion is couched in general terms or something more specific. See also end of ch. 5.

26 Tieleman (2018: esp. 454–459).

27 Nutton (1999: 47–49), for example, sees Epicurus' *Principal Doctrines* as a prototype for Galen's *On My Own Opinions*, and although Nutton's general position was that 'there are no convincing close parallels to what Galen is attempting here' (p. 48), he did to some extent associate the work with the genre of ancient autobiography, considering it a forerunner to St Augustine's

(d) *On My Own Opinions* and Doxography

In a seminal study on ancient doxography J. Mansfeld has pointed out that the two intrinsic elements of the ‘writing of opinions’ is the opposition (*diaphōnia*) and juxtaposition (*diairesis*) of tenets and their proponents.²⁸ *On My Own Opinions* is shown to make extensive use of both these elements.²⁹ The term *diaphōnia* and its cognates appears five times in the text (twice in ch. 5, once in ch. 12 and twice in ch. 13), always pointing to some sort of doctrinal incongruity, while on other occasions, though the specific term is not used, the notion of distinction or deviation is distinctly evoked. Much more pervasive in *On My Own Opinions* is the diairetic mode of presentation conventionally used in *Placita*, namely the type of arrangement that makes use of division and subdivision of the subject-matter.³⁰ An illustrative example is found in ch. 1 – ch. 2:

...whereas I provide as witnesses my written views, regarding which I declared that I have secure knowledge or at least a plausible one, just as I also say about [other] matters that I know nothing certain of, due to having no scientific acquaintance with them.

2. Of the latter sort are the following (for I decided to talk about these issues first): whether the universe is ungenerated or generated, or if there is anything after it outside of it or nothing at all. Since I say that I am ignorant of such things, namely of what the nature of the creator of everything in the world is, whether he is incorporeal or in fact corporeal, and yet more in which place he lives.

Here the broader idea of views divided into those securely known, those plausibly known, and those not known at all is narrowed down by Galen’s decision to talk about the latter group.³¹ Then the data in the latter group (things not known) is subdivided into two questions, each of which includes a binary antithesis: (a) is the universe ungenerated or generated? And (b) is there anything beyond it or

Confessions and even linking it with Diogenes of Oenoanda’s publicly displayed Epicurean opinions. As has already been noted, neither of these connections is persuasive (Perilli 2004: 76). The first scholar to associate *On My Own Opinions* with the doxographical genre was Tieleman (2018) in a study on Galen and doxography, though his treatment of *On My Own Opinions* is only a perfunctory one, overshadowed by his emphasis on Galen’s *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*. The place of *On My Own Opinions* in the doxographical tradition is a topic I will explore in more detail in a future study.

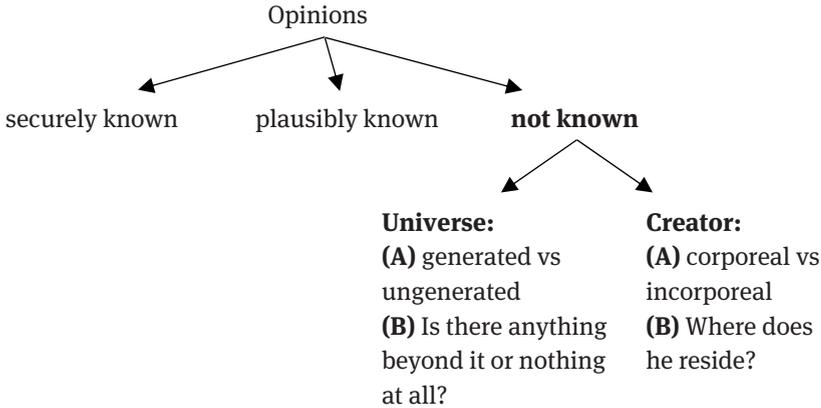
28 Mansfeld (1990).

29 A concise and illuminating discussion of tenet-writing in antiquity is provided by Mansfeld (2020). Sadly, Galen’s *On My Own Opinions* is not mentioned in Mansfeld’s overview of representative doxographies either in the broader or the narrower sense.

30 For the method of division in Galenic works, see also Boulogne (1997); cf. Tieleman (2015).

31 For the notion of plausibility in Galen, see the study by Debru (1991).

nothing at all? The same group of things not known comprises other controversial *doxai*: a general one on the nature of the creator, and two more specific ones: (a) whether the creator is corporeal or incorporeal and (b) where he resides.³² The following schema in the form of a branch diagram visualises how Galen arranges his material by means of divisions and categories:



The material throughout *On My Own Opinions* is conveniently structured in line with the doxographical schema of *diairesis* on literally every page. This type of ‘checklist’ ordering goes back to the Aristotelian categories and later on infiltrated into the dialectical and rhetorical traditions, which strongly inspired doxography.

Other defining characteristics of doxographical pieces in antiquity is that they offered short accounts of convictions which may or may not have been accompanied by name-labels, their style was by default compact, sweeping and descriptive (eschewing detailed argumentation), and that they maintained a profound interest in how the researcher should organise his inquiry through a methodical, rationally-driven procedure. All these aspects are also present in *On My Own Opinions* (on the latter, e.g. see ch. 13, also discussed above). Even the mainstream themes of doxographies are also discussed in *On My Own Opinions*: natural philosophy, metaphysics, cosmology, epistemology, religion and notably issues such as the constitution of the soul, its (in)corporeality and (im)mortality, to mention only a few. Among the stock of physical doctrines were also spermatology, embryology and health/disease, which again occur in *On My Own Opin-*

³² All these questions recall the so-called ‘question-types’ of the *Placita* literature. See Mansfeld (1990); and Tieleman (2015: 94–96) on question-types in Galen’s *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*.

ions on a smaller or larger scale.³³ Galen also seems to be exploiting the *Placita* conventions in that he tends to provide: a) a plurality of traditions (e.g. ch. 14: ‘...whether this comes from the mixture of the four elements or from some combination of primary bodies, which some say are atoms, others unjointed, others indivisible, others homogenous particles (and yet others non-homogenous particles’), b) alternatives or variants of interpretations (e.g. end of ch. 3) or c) arithmetic arrangement of subject-matter, e.g. that there are four natural capacities, nine mixtures, four elements, four qualities and four humours, three kinds of fever, two kinds of drugs and so on. When Galen mentions the absurd opinion of some men who posit that foetal limbs are formed by the heart (ch. 10), he appears to be tapping into the use of the paradoxical conception familiar from the *Placita* literature. Likewise his statement about taking a position somewhere in the middle in the debate on the soul’s substance (ch. 14) is reminiscent of the so-called ‘intermediate or compromise view’ that is part of the doxographical genre. Finally, the text is infused with ‘yes or no questions’ introduced by *ei, eite* (‘if’) or even *poteron* (‘whether’),³⁴ another stock trait of the collections of tenets.

1.3.5 Modern Translations

The medieval Latin paraphrase and the extant Greek fragments were translated in English by V. Nutton in his 1999 edition. A French translation accompanies the *editio princeps* of the whole Greek text made by V. Boudon-Millot and A. Pietrobelli in 2005, while an Italian rendering by I. Garofalo and A. Lami features in their 2012 edition of the work. The text is given its first English translation here based on the Greek text as established by Polemis and Xenophontos. See ‘3. This Translation’ below for more information on the state of the text, the trans-

33 It is interesting, for instance, that Galen’s *On My Own Opinions* shares many themes with the pseudo-Plutarchan *Opinions of the Philosophers*, an epitome of the lost *Placita* of a certain Aëtius (edited as the left column in the reconstructed Aëtius in Diels 1879). Such common themes are, for example, whether the universe was created, whether there is an extra-cosmic void, whether the demiurge is corporeal, whether the soul is (or is not) corporeal or mortal, what its substance is, discussion of the halo, the size of the earth, divination and dreams, the causes of death, plants etc.

34 εἰ θνητὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀθάνατος (ch. 6); Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀθάνατός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος (ch. 6); εἴτε πνεῦμα μόνον εἶη φερόμενον ἐκ τῆς κυύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, εἴτε σὺν αὐτῷ τι καὶ τὸ αἷμα (ch. 10); πότερον αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ κατὰ τινος κοιλότητος ἐν τῷ τοῦ ζώου σώματι περιέχεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ψυχικὸν ἢ δι’ ὄλων διεκλήλυθε τῶν στερεῶν σωμάτων, καὶ πότερον κατατεθραυσμένον (ch. 7).

lating practices followed and the symbols used e.g. where the text is elliptical or requires conceptual supplementation.

1.3.6 Studies on *On My Own Opinions*

The work has so far attracted scholarly attention mainly on account of its philological quandaries.³⁵ Some papers have been published on Galen's religion, agnosticism and his understanding of the limits and function of knowledge.³⁶ But overall a substantial amount of interpretative work remains to be done to analyse and contextualise the work's importance to many fields, including theories on the soul's dependence on the body, epistemology and knowability, the work's doxographical roots or its place in the history of ideas, especially as regards religion and agnosticism.

³⁵ E.g. Lami (2010), Lucarini (2010).

³⁶ E.g. Einarson (1959), Donini (1992: 3498–3502), Frede (2010: 75–81), Pietrobelli (2013), Tieleman (2018).

2 Introduction to the Critical Edition

2.1 *On Avoiding Distress*

2.1.1 The Discovery of the Treatise and its Previous Editions

On Avoiding Distress had been lying unnoticed for centuries in the MS Vlatadon 14 (ff. 10v–14v) in the eponymous monastery in Thessaloniki when it was discovered in 2005, entirely by chance, by A. Pietrobelli amongst a large collection of medical and philosophical works preserved in the codex which, unlike *On Avoiding Distress*, had not been miscatalogued and thus relegated to obscurity.³⁷ Vlatadon 14 was copied by a sloppy scribe, whose negligence, in conjunction with the deficient script he probably found in his exemplar, explains the highly defective condition of the text passed down to us.

The first edition of the work was undertaken by V. Boudon-Millot in 2007 and gave rise to various attempts to emend the text at points where the first edition failed to do so. The treatise was edited anew in 2010 by P. Kotzia and P. Sotiroudis, who pointed out several mistakes in the *editio princeps* and offered their own solutions to textual difficulties. In the same year, Boudon-Millot and J. Jouanna, with the collaboration of Pietrobelli, building on previous contributions to the restoration of the text, produced yet another edition. This certainly offers a much better text than the one supplied in 2007, however, several problems have remained unresolved. This state of affairs is reflected in the Italian edition of the work by I. Garofalo and A. Lami published in 2012,³⁸ which corrected additional scribal errors and furnished numerous convincing textual suggestions. Notwithstanding the existence of the above-mentioned valuable editions of *On Avoiding Distress*, we are still without a definitive text of the work. The purpose of the present edition is to incorporate the most important contributions to the constitution of the text that have been proposed since its first edition after critically assessing their scholarly rigour, and to present the results of our personal investigation of the remaining complexities, in the hope of having made a decisive step towards a more authoritative text of *On Avoiding Distress*.

37 Pietrobelli discovered the text from microfilm reproductions of Vlatadon 14. The physical manuscript was re-discovered in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki in 2008 by Stefan Alexandru. See Alexandru (2014: 91).

38 There is also the edition by Brodersen (2015), which is based on the edition by Boudon-Millot-Jouanna-Pietrobelli (2010) and is also dependent on V. Nutton's (2013) emendations.

2.1.2 The Manuscript

For a detailed analysis of the contents of the codex, the reader is referred to A. Pietrobelli's study of 2010, which revises the unsatisfactory initial description by S. Eustratiades.³⁹ Pietrobelli suggested that three of the scribes working on the manuscript be identified as Andreiomenos, Konstantinos Laskaris and Demetrios Angelos. The latter two were disciples of John Argyropoulos, who was active in the so-called *Krales Xenon* in Constantinople a few years before the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1453. Andreiomenos, on the other hand, is an otherwise obscure scribe and medical author, about whom we know very little. Pietrobelli's identification of him as the copyist of *On Avoiding Distress* is based on the latter's autograph recipe book in Iviron 151 (second half of the fifteenth century), ff. 228r–235r.⁴⁰ However, P. Bouras-Vallianatos and G. Parpulov have confirmed *per litteras* that the handwriting in Vlatadon 14, ff. 10v–14v, does not match that of Andreiomenos in Iviron 151. The scribe of *On Avoiding Distress* should thus be considered anonymous.⁴¹ In fact, Vlatadon 14 should no longer be connected with the circle of John Argyropoulos on chronological grounds, since a preliminary examination of some watermarks of Vlatadon 14 by P. Bouras-Vallianatos and G. Parpulov point to a date in the *second* half of the fifteenth century.⁴²

2.1.3 Problems with the Text

It is not our purpose here to discuss the full range of textual complications an editor of the *On Avoiding Distress* has to deal with. We shall instead confine our-

³⁹ Pietrobelli (2010: 97–101), Eustratiades (1918: 37). See also Alexandru (2011: 409–410) for additional information on the codex, including its size.

⁴⁰ See the edition of Andreiomenos' recipe book by P. Bouras-Vallianatos (forthcoming).

⁴¹ Speranzi (2019: 7, n. 27) has identified Ioannes Arnes as a copyist in part of the MS (38r l.18–38v l.15, 42v l.1–44v l.13, 45v). Pietrobelli's other identifications have also been contested: Speranzi (2015: 113–114, n. 88) has questioned the attribution to Konstantinos Laskaris, and Stefec (2013: 41–42, n. 6) has doubted the hand of Demetrios Angelos. Pietrobelli repeats his identifications in Pietrobelli (2019: ccv–ccviii) without responding to Speranzi's and Stefec's comments on the scribes. It is worth noting that Laskaris was originally identified as copyist of a part of Vlatadon 14 by D. Harlfinger; see Alexandru (2021: 560–561, n. 34).

⁴² Watermarks: (1) ff. 1, 10, 12: [identical with] G. Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard* (<http://www.piccard-online.de/>), no. 70543 (Ochsenkopf), Udine 1471; (2) f. 53 [very similar to] G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: Findbuch*, Stuttgart 1980, vol. IX, Part 5, no. 1315 (Schere), Wiener Neustadt 1471; (3) f. 72 [similar to] G. Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard* (<http://www.piccard-online.de/>), no. 153186 (Dreiberg), Udine 1472.

selves to discussion of some problematic passages, where, as we see it, the proper solution to the problem differs somewhat from those proposed by other scholars.

The passages from *On Avoiding Distress* printed in this section are diplomatic transcriptions from Vlatadon 14 with minimal interventions, e.g. correction of basic scribal errors such as πολλῶν (MS πολῶν) and ἑβδομήκοντα (MS εὐδομήκοντα), and standardisation of the punctuation and accentuation for the reader's convenience. References to passages from *On Avoiding Distress* consist of chapter and line number.

1, 11–16 Θαυμάζειν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων καὶ συμβολαίων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων, ἃ διεφθάρη κατὰ τὴν πυρκαϊάν, ἀλύτως ὠφθη φέρων, ἀλλ' ὅτι πλῆθος ἄλλο τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγγραμμένων αὐτοῦ, φάρμακα δὲ παντοῖα πάμπολλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ συγκείμενα, καὶ ἄρματα παντοδαπά, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰατρικὰς ἐπιτήδεια χρήματα μὲν οὖν, ἔφην, ἀπολέσας, ἄλλα κτήσασθαι τι ἐλπίζει...

a. The passage beginning with ἀλλ' ὅτι is highly problematic, since it is unclear which verb is governing the nouns πλῆθος etc. One may justifiably surmise that a verb on which πλῆθος depended is missing after ἐπιτήδεια. To remedy that difficulty, Kotzia and Sotiroidis emended χρήματα to χρείας, putting a full stop after it, and excised τὰ μὲν after παντοδαπά. Boudon-Millot, Jouanna and Pietrobelli, as well as Garofalo and Lami, reconstructed the text in the following way: ἀλλ' ὅτι πλῆθος ἄλλο τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συ(γγε)γρα(μ)μένων (σεσωρευμένων Garofalo and Lami) αὐτοῦ, φάρμακα δὲ (δὴ Garofalo and Lami) παντοῖα πάμπολλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ συγκείμενα, καὶ ἄρμενα παντοδαπά, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰατρικὰς ἐπιτήδεια χρείας, (ἃ) μὲν οὖν ἔφην ἀπολέσας ἄλλα κτήσασθαι ἔτι ἐλπίζει(ν), supposing that the verb governing πλῆθος etc. would have been understood from what came before. This construction seems highly artificial. For this reason, we prefer to start a new sentence after ἐπιτήδεια, retaining the paradosis Χρήματα μὲν οὖν ... unchanged. Our understanding is that part of the sentence was lost and that the lacuna likely occurs immediately after ἐπιτήδεια. The fact that τὰ μὲν lacks a corresponding τὰ δὲ is a strong indication for the existence of such a lacuna. The verb controlling πλῆθος was in all likelihood found in the text that has been lost.

b. The existence of τι raises another problem, which both groups of editors, Boudon-Millot, Jouanna and Pietrobelli, and Garofalo and Lami, tried to eliminate by emending to ἔτι. Even that solution is unsatisfactory, however, since the subject of ἐλπίζει is missing in any case. In our view, the best way forward would be to emend τι to τις. The sense is that any other man would be hopeful of regaining his lost property, whereas Galen lacks even this possibility.

1, 33–34 καὶ δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο πλέον ἐνοίκιον ἐτελοῦμεν οἱ μὲν μισθώματα κατὰ τὰς ἀποθήκας ἐκεῖνα οἰκήματα...

The MS reading οἱ μὲν μισθώματα is clearly erroneous, and the verb governing the noun οἰκήματα is missing. Although the emendations οἱ ἐμισθούμεθα by Sotiroudis and οἱ ἐμεμισθώμεθα by Garofallo and Lami provide such a verb, we believe that the simplest solution would be to read οἱ μεμισθώμεθα. This stays very close to what is preserved in the MS. One should not lose sight of the fact that the perfect could be used as a historic tense in Galen's period.

2, 5–7 [.]ς δ' εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπ[.....] ἐν ἀπορία πάντων ἦν, ὧν ἄνευ οὐδὲν οἶον τ' ἐστὶ κατα[σκ]ευάσαι, βραχεῖ χρόνω τῆς δ[υσχερείας] τοῦ πράγματος ἡσθόμην...

a. It is obvious that the MS has an –ς before δ' εἰς Ῥώμην. The supplement [ἐπεῖ] proposed by Sotiroudis is therefore implausible. The best solution is to read: [ὧ]ς δ' εἰς Ῥώμην.

b. Sotiroudis read ἐπ[ανῆλθον] ἐν ἀπορία πάντων ἦν. But in this restoration the two finite clauses ἐν ἀπορία πάντων ἦν and βραχεῖ χρόνω ... ἡσθόμην are not connected with one another. To surmount that difficulty, we propose reading ἐπ[ανελθών]. This emendation yields a subordinate temporal clause (ὧς δ' εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθών ... κατασκευάσαι) linked to a finite one (βραχεῖ ... ἡσθόμην).

2, 13–15 Καλλίνια καὶ Ἀττικία μὲν καὶ Πεδουκίνια, καὶ μὴν Ἀριστάρχηα οἴτινες εἰσὶν Ὅμηροι δύο καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Πανατίου καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα...

a. This passage has attracted immense scholarly discussion due to the valuable, though quite unclear, information it provides about the editions of ancient philologists still preserved in the second century AD. Ἀττικία μὲν has been unnecessarily altered to Ἀττικιανὰ on the basis of another passage by Galen, where he supposedly speaks about certain Ἀττικιανῶν ἀντιγράφων.⁴³ Ἀττικιανῶν, however, is the result of a correction of the preserved form Ἀττικῶν, so that its value as a parallel formulation from the Galenic corpus is questionable. The reading Ἀττικία μὲν seems sound: it might refer to the products of the famous *scriptorium* of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero.

b. The form Πεδουκίνεια has been corrupted beyond restoration. Some scholars have contended that Galen is referring to a certain Sextus Peducaeus Dionysius, a copyist of manuscripts whose name is preserved in an inscription from Rome dating to the Augustan period. Our own suggestion is that the MS reading be emended to Λουπερκίνεια. Lucius Luperus was a friend of Pliny the Younger

⁴³ Galen, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, fragment 2, 13.3–4 Schröder: κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀττικιανῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔκδοσιν.

not long before Galen's time. A reading ^{λου}περκίνεια might have engendered the false form Πεδουκίνεια, assuming a scribal transposition of πε and confusion of the letters Λ and Δ, which are frequently mixed up in papyri. One might also emend to Λουκίλλεια, referring to the grammarian Λούκιλλος (of Tarsus), who lived before the time of the emperor Hadrian.

c. The form οἴτινες seems odd in this context, since there is no corresponding masculine plural in the passage that precedes it. The difficulty could be removed if we emend οἴτινες to οὔτινος, which would be dependent on the immediately preceding adjective Ἀριστάρχεια and would then refer to the editorial activity of the agent embodied in the adjective, namely Aristarchus. This is a typical case of *hypallage*.

3, 6–7 Τί δὲ λέγειν περὶ στιγμῆς ἢ ὑποστιγμῆς...

Bearing in mind that Galen often employs the expression τί δεῖ λέγειν⁴⁴ in his writings, we may safely emend τί δὲ to τί δεῖ.

3, 8–9 καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Εὐδήμου καὶ Κλίτου καὶ Φαινίου...

Aristotle had a student called Klytos, and Galen is likely referring to him in this passage. We therefore suggest emending Κλίτου to Κλύτου.

3, 11–19 εὔρον τινα κατὰ τε τῆς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ βιβλιοθήκας καὶ τὰς ἐναντίῳ ἃ φανερώς ἦν οὐπὲρ ἐγγέγραπτο κατὰ τὴν λέξιν οὔτε κατὰ διάνοιαν. Ὅμοια μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Θεοφράστου, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστημονικὰς πραγματείας (ἐστὶν ἄλλα τὰ Περί φυτῶν βιβλία κατὰ δύο πραγματείας ἡρμηνευμένα πάντες ἔχουσι, ἢ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλει σύνναμος ἀκριβῶς, ἦν εὐρεθεῖσά μοι καὶ μεταγραφεῖσα, ἢ καὶ νῦν ἀπολομένη), κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀνδρῶν παλαιῶν μὴ φερόμενα κατὰ τοὺς Πίνακας, τινὰ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένα μὲν, μὴ φαινόμενα δ' αὐτά.

This passage is damaged beyond repair and most previous attempts to restore it in a plausible way have failed. What is clear is that Galen had discovered some totally unknown or little known writings of earlier Greek authors in the libraries before they burned down. It is also clear that he refers to the so-called *Pinakes*, i.e. the catalogues of Greek authors compiled by the Alexandrian librarians. But the syntactic and other difficulties involved in reconstructing this passage are numerous and thorny:

⁴⁴ See, e.g., *Sects for Beginners*, 25.6 Helmreich(a) = I.96.5–6 Kühn; *The Elements According to Hippocrates*, 96.12 De Lacy(a) = I.452.7 Kühn; *On Anatomical Procedures*, 357.8 Garofalo(b) = II.549.2 Kühn.

a. What is the meaning of ἐναντίω? Jones' emendation to ἐν Ἀντίῳ (i.e. in the libraries at Antium) strikes us as convincing. Most arguments against this emendation fall short of providing a better alternative.

b. Some editors have argued that what comes next refers to certain writings by ancient authors which, although contained in the *Pinakes*, were not in fact written by the writers to whom they were attributed. This can scarcely be Galen's intended meaning, since it undermines his attempt in this context to emphasize the results of his research into books by the ancients and thus to explain why the addressee should be distressed by the significance of his losses. The discovery of spurious works would not have been such an amazing feat as to cause grief when they were lost (as Galen himself says a few lines below in 3, 17–19). Rashed was right to interpret the passage in a different way: the works attributed to certain authors by the *Pinakes* were found only in those two libraries, which were subsequently destroyed. Thus some of the treasures of Greek literature vanished entirely. In the light of Rashed's conjectures (ἦν οὐπὲρ ἐπεγέγραπτο, κατὰ τὴν λέξιν τε καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁμοιούμενα αὐτῷ), we made a slight alteration to: κατὰ τὴν λέξιν νοῦν τε καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν; the νοῦς of a text is the gist of it, its general sense.⁴⁵ This conjecture offers a neat variant for the reading οὐτε, which has confused most editors of the text.

c. The meaning of the phrase ὅμοια μὲν αὐτῷ is also obscure. It is unclear to whom the pronoun αὐτῷ refers. Even if we accept Rashed's ὁμοιούμενα, the difficulty is not removed. Part of the text may have been lost, but it would be hazardous to reconstruct the section that is supposedly missing.

d. The reference to the works of Theophrastus that follows has also created problems for interpreters of this passage. Galen seems to be making a distinction between Theophrastus' two extensive treatises on plants, which were well known and preserved in Galen's time (i.e. Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας and Περὶ φυτῶν αἰτίων), and another mysterious treatise on the same subject called Ἀριστοτέλει σύναρμος. This mysterious work is difficult to identify. Galen probably believed that the treatise *On Plants* was written by Theophrastus and inspired by Aristotle's work with the same title, hence Galen's statement that it 'agrees precisely with Aristotle'. Aristotle's *On Plants* is now considered spurious, as it has been shown to be a work by Nicholas of Damascus (1st c. BC), but it is not unlikely that it was considered a genuine work of Aristotle back in Galen's time. Bearing all these points in mind, the passage in question might be emended to ἄλλ' ἄττα instead of ἄλλα τὰ. If this is correct, then we may be sure that the work Galen had

⁴⁵ See Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics VI*, 248.16 Wenkebach-Pfaff = XVIIb.217.6 Kühn: βούλεται γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τῆς λέξεως εἶναι τοιοῦτος.

in mind was indeed entitled *Περὶ φυτῶν*, like the two extensive treatises by Theophrastus known to everybody. ἄλλα τὰ would not, however, yield that meaning: if we retain it, the suggestion is that Galen could have had in mind another treatise with a different title, making it impossible to guess which work was referred to with the phrase ἡ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλει σύναρμος. Another solution would be to keep ἄλλα τὰ, adding a relative ἃ after the word βιβλία.

5, 8–9 ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσιασθῶσι...

Galen is referring to his friends who were eager to display his writings in public libraries in his native city of Pergamum. The unintelligible δημοσιασθῶσι has been emended to δημοσίᾳ στῶσι or δημοσίᾳ τεθῶσι. The best solution would seem to be to change it to δημοσίᾳ θῶσι, which is more plausible in palaeographical terms. In addition, the following period, which describes by analogy similar activities by other people who publicly displayed Galen's books, is controlled by the verb ἔθηκαν, the aorist active of τίθημι, so that the period under examination, namely ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσιασθῶσι, would naturally have required a form of the same verb in the same tense.

5, 13–14 κομίσει τά τε αὐτόθι μέλλοντα κείσθαι καὶ τὰ πεμφθησόμενα τῶν ἐτησίων πνευμάτων...

A participle connected to ἐτησίων is obviously missing. Unless part of the text has fallen out (e.g. τῶν ἐτησίων πνευμάτων (πνευσάντων)), we suggest reading: τῶν ἐτησίων πνευσάντων, which does less violence to the paradosis than the πνεόντων proposed by previous editors.

6, 1–2 Ἦν δ' ὡς οἶσθα καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ φθάνον Δίδυμος τά τε γλωττηματικά πάντα ἐξηγήσασθαι διὰ πενήκοντα βιβλίω...

Emendation of φθάνον to ἔφθανεν, (ἃ) ἔφθασεν or ἔφθαν' is unnecessary. Φθάνον should be emended to φθάνων, a minimal change to the paradosis. Periphrastic expressions like ἦν ... φθάνων ... ἐξηγήσασθαι are to be expected in a text with a rather informal style, probably reflecting a lack of revision of the oral version eventually written down. That Galen repeats this phrase a bit further on (ἃ Δίδυμος ἔφθασεν ἐξηγήσασθαι) using the verb ἔφθασεν cannot be regarded as a valid argument in favour of the emendation to ἔφθασεν.

6, 12–15 Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς κωμικοῖς ἀβυδομᾶν ἢ ἀβυστακινεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὴ σαφῆ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἦν, ὠριστο κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν πραγματείαν, ἃ Δίδυμος ἔφθασεν ἐξηγήσασθαι καλῶς οὕτως, ὄλυροι καὶ λάθυροι...

This is one of the most problematic passages in the treatise. It was already pointed out in I. Polemis' 2011–2012 study that the seemingly unintelligible

phrase ἀβυδομᾶν ἢ ἀβυστακινεῖν conceals two glosses from Old Comedy, namely Ἀβυδοκόμαν ἢ ἀβυρτάκην.⁴⁶ Ἀβυδοκόμης (or Ἀβυδοκόμας in Doric) is ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ συκοφαντεῖν κομῶν, while ἀβυρτάκη is a sour sauce made of leeks.⁴⁷ It is difficult to determine whether we should preserve the accusative form of the nouns or whether we must read Ἀβυδοκόμας ἢ ἀβυρτάκη in the nominative. That said, the way this phrase is linked to what comes before or after it remains ambiguous. In order to create an intelligible sequence out of what is preserved in the MS, we have made two slight emendations, converting the first Ἄλλα into Ἄλλ' ἄ, and correcting the second ἄλλ' to ἡ ἄλλ'. The corruption of ἀβυρτάκην ἢ ἄλλ' to ἀβυστακινεῖν ἄλλ' seems a predictable scribal move in a manuscript like Vlatadon 14, which is marred by many errors. ἄ and ὄσα are both subjects of the verb ἦν. The sequence of thought expressed in this passage now becomes clearer: 'But also those terms found in the ancient comic playwrights, *Abydokoman* or *abyrtakēn*, (or) whatever else was unintelligible to their audience, were defined in my treatise, [terms] Didymus had already explained so well: *olyrai* [i.e. rice-wheat], *lathyroi* [i.e. grass peas], *oroboi* [i.e. bitter vetch]...'. One might also be tempted to consider emending οὕτωςι το οὕτοσί.

7, 2–5 τὰ δὲ ἄνευ μέτρου γραψάντων ἤδη μετήνεκτο κατὰ τὴν τύχην, ἐν βιβλίοις ὄντα τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτῶ μεγάλοις, ὧν ἕνια διελεῖν ἴσως δεήσει δίχα, πλείονων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων ἐπῶν ἐξαμέτρων ἀριθμὸν ἐχόντων.

The scribe initially wrote ἐξάριθμον and afterwards added ἀμετρον above ἀριθμον. Boudon-Millot, Jouanna and Pietrobelli opted for ἐξάριθμον, while Kotzia and Sotiroudis preferred ἐξαμέτρων. There is another possible explanation for this reading: the scribe did not correct ἐξάριθμον into ἐξάμετρον, but instead supplied a word he had previously omitted, i.e. ἐξάμετρον. How are we to make sense of the MS reading ἐξάμετρον ἀριθμόν in that case? The obvious solution would be to emend to ἐξαμέτρων ἀριθμόν. Galen's point is that some of the individual books in his large collection of prose authors were so voluminous that they had to be divided into two. A 'voluminous' book in this context is one consisting of prose text that exceeds four thousand hexameters in poetic form.

9, 5–6 ἴσως ἂν οὖν φήσεις ἐπιτάττεσθαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν...

Since an ἐπιθυμία cannot 'be submitted to commands' (ἐπιτάττεσθαί), but can only be enhanced, we have chosen to emend ἐπιτάττεσθαί το ἐπιτετάσθαί (from ἐπιτείνομαι), which gives the required sense in this context. ἐπιτάττεσθαί

⁴⁶ Polemis (2011–2012: 3–4).

⁴⁷ LSJ⁹, s.v.

can in fact mean ‘to be placed behind’ (LSJ⁹, s.v. II.2), which in this case would have metaphorically meant ‘be postponed’. But this is a far-fetched option in the presence of the parallel ὄρεξις ἐπιτεταμένη σιτίων attested in Galen and other contemporary authors.⁴⁸ Hence our preference for ἐπιτετάσθαι.

10, 5–7 ἐπειδὴ ἐθεάσατο τὸν οἰκέτην μὴ δυνάμενον ἔπεσθαι τῷ φορτίῳ (φασκώλιον δὲ ἦν τοῦτο χρημάτων μεστόν), ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχέαι τοσοῦτον, ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐφορον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

The meaning of the phrase ἔπεσθαι τῷ φορτίῳ is obscure: one cannot possibly ‘follow the burden he carries on his own shoulders’! We wonder if we should emend τῷ φορτίῳ to τοῦ φορτίου, which would function as a partitive genitive dependent on the infinitive ἀποχέαι. The meaning would then be that ‘his slave was unable to keep up with him, and so the master ordered him to shed as much of his load as would render the rest easily carried’.

10, 15–17 Καὶ γὰρ ἂν τριάκοντα ἔχωσιν, ἑτέρουσ ὄψονται πεντήκοντα ἔχοντας, ἂν ταῦτα πάλιν αὐτοὶ κτήσωνται τοσοῦτους, ἔχοντας ὄψονται τινὰς ἄλλουσ ἐβδομήκοντα...

Two accusatives (ταῦτα and τοσοῦτους) seem to depend on the verb κτήσωνται, which is odd. This motivated Jouanna’s emendation (κατὰ) ταῦτὰ πάλιν. We propose emending ταῦτα πάλιν to τανάπαλιν, which would mean ‘over again, inversely’ in this context.

11, 9–11 καθάπερ ὁ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων, ὡσ φ[ασιν] ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ ναυαγίας, ἐν ἧ πάντα ἀπώλεσεν, «εὖ γε ποιεῖς», εἶπεν, «ᾧ Τύχη, συνελαύσα ἡμᾶσ εἰσ τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν Στοάν».

One could treat καθάπερ ὁ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων and εἶπεν as a syntactic unit, considering ὡσ φ[ασιν] a parenthetical aside. But the word order seems unusual, and for that reason we and Garofalo-Lami concur in suggesting the simple restoration ὅσ, φ[ασιν].

11, 14–16 Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μέγα, μὴ μανῆναι τὴν μανίαν πολλοῖσ τῶν ἐν αὐλῇ βασιλικῶν κατηγωρισάντων...

a. We suggest that the first Οὐδὲ be emended to Οὐδὲν. The occurrence of a similar expression in ch. 10 (Ὡστε τοῦτο μὲν μέγα οὐδὲν) can be adduced as an argument in favour of the correction.

⁴⁸ See Galen, *The Composition of the Art of Medicine*, 220.11 Boulogne-Delattre = I.298.2 Kühn: ὄρεξις ἐπιτεταμένη σιτίων. Cf. Lucian, *The Dipsads*, 4.11: ἡ ἐπιθυμία πολὺ πλέον ἐπιτείνεται αὐτοῖσ.

b. Previous editors have suggested reading τὴν μανίαν πολλῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλικῇ, which makes good sense. Our own proposal is to retain the dative πολλοῖς, adding the word αὐτήν before μανίαν. There is no need to emend βασιλικῶν; the βασιλικοί were the courtiers of the palace, the king's officers, and this sense of the word is well attested.

12, 1 Τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ἐχόμενον ἐπίδειγμα πρῶτον.

What is the meaning of ἐχόμενον in this context? Ἐχομαι μεγαλοψυχίας would normally mean 'I am striving after magnanimity', but the syntactic unit ἐπίδειγμα μεγαλοψυχίας renders the participle ἐχόμενον superfluous. For that reason, Garofalo and Lami emended ἐχόμενον to ἐσόμενον. Our own suggestion is to read ἔχομεν νῦν in place of ἐχόμενον, staying close to the paradosis. Another possibility would be to read ἔχε μὲν νῦν, which is also consistent with what the MS preserves. An additional argument in favour of ἔχομεν νῦν or even ἔχε μὲν νῦν instead of any of the participles proposed by other editors is that the syntactic structure of the passage requires a main verb for the finite clause τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ... ἐπίδειγμα πρῶτον, given that the syntax demands a full stop after γενναῖον ἤδη. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μέγα with an implied ἦν ... μὴ μανῆναι creates a hiatus with ἀλλὰ τὸ ... μὴ λυπηθῆναι, γενναῖον ἤδη (with an implied ἐστί). The general meaning would thus be: 'It was not a great thing that I escaped madness, but that I was not distressed despite my losses is already a sign of high-mindedness. And here you get the chief display of my magnanimity.'

12, 16–19 Πέπεισαι δ' οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὅλον τὸν χρόνον, ὡς τὰς ἱστορίας ἔγραψαν οἱ τοῦτ' ἔργο ἔχοντες, ἦττω γεγονέναι κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὧν νῦν ἔπραξας Κομμόδου ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι.

κακὰ πράττω means 'fare badly, experience bad things' (LSJ⁹, s.v. II). κακὰ ἔπραξας thus makes no sense in this context, since Galen cannot be comparing his friend's personal misfortunes at the time of the emperor Commodus, however great they may have been, with all the disasters men had suffered in the whole course of human history. Jouanna suggested ἔπραξε ... Κόμμοδος, which gives rise to another issue, since Commodus was obviously the instigator of the evil deeds, not the one who suffered because of them. This passage could be remedied by emending ἔπραξεν to ἔπραξαν. The general meaning would be: 'men have suffered during the reign of Commodus much more than in the whole course of their history as attested by the earlier historians'. This reading fits with the thrust of Galen's argument here: the author wants to emphasise that the many atrocities that happened to people under Commodus' cruel regime, so much worse than in any other period of human history, led Galen to exercise his soul's imagination as a psychotherapeutic method and enabled him to deal more easily with any misfortunes he might

face, for example loss of his possessions or exile. For that reason, just below in the same section Galen advises his friend to follow the same technique of schooling his imagination. But Galen's friend is never said in the text to have actually suffered any misfortunes; he is only seeking psychotherapeutic advice for the future, as the beginning of the treatise makes clear. So κακὰ ἔπραξας cannot stand.

12, 19–22 Ὡστε καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν κάγὼ θεώμενος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ἐγύμνασά μου τὰς φαντασίας πρὸς ἀπώλειαν πάντων ὧν ἔχω, «μετὰ τοῦ καὶ αὐτός τι κλασθῆναι προσδοκᾶς, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι μηδὲ ἀδικήσαντες, εἰς νῆσον πεμφθῆναι ἔρημον».

a. The infinitive κλασθῆναι makes no sense, and the emendations that have been put forward (τι κλαυσθῆναι προσδοκᾶς, τι κλασθῆναι προσδοκήσας) are awkward. The simplest solution is to read κ(ο)λασθῆναι προσδόκα. The infinitive κολασθῆναι hardly needs justification in a context where the imminent possibility of punishment through exile under Commodus is being discussed.

b. Προσδόκα instead of προσδοκᾶς might seem a bold emendation, but it is justified on the grounds of style and genre. The author disrupts the sequence of his thoughts to soliloquise using direct speech. This kind of lively technique is a central feature of the so-called *diatribai*, the popularised moral treatises of the Roman Imperial period with which *On Avoiding Distress* is usually associated. Moreover, the same imperative προσδόκα is frequently employed by Galen elsewhere in his corpus.⁴⁹

13, 9–11 παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ, πάππῳ δὲ ἐμῷ, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονίαν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀσκηθεῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνῳ ἦν πρῶτον.

This is a puzzling passage. The gist of this chapter is that Galen had inherited the good qualities of his character from his father and other ancestors. Specifically, his virtuous father managed to imitate his own father (Galen's grandfather), who had also been righteous, having inherited those virtues from his father (Galen's great-grandfather) in turn. Instead of adopting the emendation by Garofalo and Lami καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦν πρῶτος, we prefer to emend πρῶτον to πατρῶον. Keeping οἷς and changing πρῶτον into πατρῶον, we can render this passage as follows: 'he was trained from childhood by his father – my grandfather – in virtue, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other, in which his excellence (αὐτὸ) was inherited as well'. This suggestion is consistent with the

⁴⁹ E.g., Galen, *The Affected Places*, 434.30–31 Brunschön = VIII.436.18–437.1 Kühn: προσδόκα ταύτην ἐκτρώσειν; *The Therapeutic Method*, X.403.13 Kühn: προσδόκα γενήσεσθαι διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας; *Commentary on Hippocrates' Prorrhetics*, 79.11–12 Diels = XVI.649.13 Kühn: καὶ διαπυθῆσαι προσδόκα τὴν φλεγμονήν.

sense of the following period, in which Galen clarifies the direction of imitation through his ancestral line: his father was said to have followed the lifestyle of his own father, and the same was true of his grandfather, who followed the lifestyle of his great-grandfather.

15, 1 Ἐν τούτῳ τρεφόμενος αἰεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ...

We believe that the emendation στρεφόμενος (instead of τρεφόμενος), proposed by Polemis in 2011–2012, is sound.⁵⁰

15, 1–3 καὶ σχο^λ καὶ ἄρμενα καὶ φάρμακα καὶ βιβλία καὶ δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄξια σπουδῆς ὑπολάβοιμι...

The letters σχο^λ have been expanded to σχολῆν. It is more reasonable to expand it to σχολῆ (= ‘hardly’). Our emendation approximates that of Garofalo and Lami (σχολῆ γ’ ἄν).

16, 1–2 Τελείως μὲν οὖν ἀποκρίνασθαί σοι πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἦν ἐποιήσω περὶ τῆς ἀλυπησίας, αὐτὰρ νῦν ἡγοῦμαι διορισμὸν τινα προσθεῖναι.

This passage has a poetic or rather epic flavour (αὐτὰρ), which would be greatly enhanced if we read Τέως instead of Τελείως. Τῆος comes before αὐτὰρ in *Odyssey* 16, 139.

16, 18–20 Αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἐγὼ παρακολουθῶν τῇ ποιότητι τῆς ἐμῆς ἕξεως ἦν ἔχω κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν.

Galen points out that his body necessarily follows the inner disposition of his soul. He goes on to remark that it is not desirable for his body to suffer more trials than it can bear, because that might destroy the tranquillity of his soul. We therefore believe that παρακολουθῶν should be changed to παρακολουθεῖν. The subject of the infinitive is the accusative τὴν ψυχὴν.

16, 26–27 Ἐπαινῶ γὰρ πάνυ τὸ Θησέως ὄπερ υπερευριπίδους κατὰ τάδε τὰ ἔπη φησίν...

Our emendation ὑπέρευ Εὐριπίδης is very close to the paradosis Υπερευριπίδους.

17, 7–8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μοχθηροτέρῳ βίῳ περιπίπτουσι τοῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμία προσγίνονται.

⁵⁰ It is quite a common phrase, see, e.g., *Septuaginta, Siracides* 33, 5: στρεφόμενος ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ.

The emendation οἷς ἄπληστοι ἐπιθυμῖαι προσγίνονται by Garofalo and Lami seems quite plausible, whereas Boudon-Millot's ταῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμῖαις. Προσγίνονται τινές οὖν {οὐχ ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λυποῦνται} radically alters the *paradosis*. We believe that the dative τοῖς ἀπλήστοις can be retained, if we read ἐπιθυμῖαι. ἐπιθυμῖαι is the subject of προσγίνονται,⁵¹ which has τοῖς ἀπλήστοις as its object, while περιπίπτουσι is not a finite verb, but a participle depending on τοῖς ἀπλήστοις and having βίω as its object,⁵² i.e. 'Desires are born in greedy men who are prone to this wicked way of life'.

2.2 On My Own Opinions

2.2.1 The Manuscript, History of the Text and Previous Editions

Until recently, Galen's treatise *On My Own Opinions* was known almost in its entirety through a medieval Latin translation (*De Sententiis*) made from a lost Arabic translation of the Greek original. A study by E. Wakelnig has recently thrown new light on the Arabic tradition of *On My Own Opinions*, showing that the Philosophy Reader of the MS Oxford, Marsh 539 quotes five short passages either directly from an Arabic translation of Galen's *On My Own Opinions* or from some later reworking of such a Graeco-Arabic translation.⁵³ Part of the first few chapters of the work is also preserved in a Hebrew translation in the so-called *Book of the Seeker* (*Sefer ha-Mevaqqesh*) penned by the Spanish Jew Ibn Falaquera (ca. 1225–1295).⁵⁴ Some extracts in Greek from the opening chapters survive in MS Parisinus gr. 2332 (XV c.) and its apograph Vindobonensis med. gr. 15 (early XVI c.), while Parisinus suppl. gr. 634 (late XII c.) and its descendant Neapolitanus III.D.15 (229) (late XIV c.) preserve a few quotations from the *On My Own Opinions* in the scholia (identical in both MSS) appended to other Galenic works.⁵⁵ Apart

51 A possible parallel is Galen, *The Function of the Parts of the Body*, 313.17–18 Helmreich(b) = IV.180.5–6 Kühn: ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγγίνεσθαι τῶν ἀφροδισίων.

52 See the same syntax in Galen, *Anatomical Procedures*, 133.21 Garofalo(a) = II.343.6 Kühn: αἰμορραγία περιπίπτουσιν ἀνεπισχέτω.

53 Wakelnig (2012). Wakelnig has also suggested that the medieval Latin translation must have derived from the same Arabic translation of *On My Own Opinions* featuring in MS Oxford, Marsh 539.

54 Nutton (1999: 22–45).

55 Another type of scholiastic reference that is of no value for constituting the text is preserved in Yalensis 234 (XIII c.) and its apograph Parisinus gr. 2147 (XI c.), and includes a mention of the title of the work. See Moraux (1977: 28, schol. I A 534–536).

from extracts and scholia, certain portions of continuous text are also recoverable in Greek. An entire chapter is preserved in MS Ambrosianus gr. 659 (mid-XIV/XV c.). In addition, the two final chapters are also preserved as a unit in MS Laurentianus gr. 74.5 (XII c.) and its two apographs Marcianus gr. Z 281 (copied for Cardinal Bessarion in the second half of the XV c.) and Parisinus suppl. gr. 35 (late XV/early XVI c.). Those chapters circulated independently under the title Περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων (*On the Substance of Natural Capacities*) and were edited by C. G. Kühn (vol. IV, 757–766).⁵⁶ A second Latin translation of this supposedly independent ‘treatise’ was produced by Niccolò of Reggio, a Greek physician and teacher at the University of Naples from the area of Calabria, who grew up in a bilingual environment in the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Finally, some readings from another, now lost MS, the so-called Codex Adelphi, containing extracts of *On My Own Opinions* as *On the Substance of Natural Capacities*, are preserved in some marginal notes taken from the codex by two English scholars of the late XVI and early XVII c., John Caius and Theodore Goulston, before it was lost.⁵⁸ In 2005, however, the entire Greek text was discovered by A. Pietrobelli in MS Vlatadon 14 (ff. 59r–62v). Boudon-Millot and Pietrobelli published the Greek text for the first time in the same year,⁵⁹ while in 2012 a new edition was published by Garofalo and Lami,⁶⁰ who contributed a series of emendations.

The relationship between the Greek MSS, as well as the main problems in the Latin translation, have been discussed by Nutton,⁶¹ who had edited both the Latin translation and the extant Greek fragments prior to the discovery of the text in MS Vlatadon 14. It is very difficult to determine the exact nature of the relationship between Vlatadon 14 and the fragmentary Greek MSS, since the amount of text preserved in these MSS is small. There can be no doubt that Vlatadon 14 and Ambrosianus gr. 659 are very close, as they concur on many readings; they may derive from the same archetype.⁶² Another observation worth making is that Laurentianus gr. 74.5 shares many readings with the Aldine edition (1525) of the final chapters of *On My Own Opinions*, circulating under the title *On the Substance of Natural Capacities*, and Kühn’s edition of the same text.

In editing sections which also survive in A and L, we have preferred the readings of V, provided that they made sense and did not disturb the overall meaning.

⁵⁶ Nutton (1999: 14–27).

⁵⁷ Nutton (1999: 33–35).

⁵⁸ Nutton (1999: 19–21).

⁵⁹ Boudon-Millot-Pietrobelli (2005).

⁶⁰ Garofalo-Lami (2012).

⁶¹ Nutton (1999: 21–27).

⁶² Boudon-Millot-Pietrobelli (2005: 170–171).

We have adopted the readings of L (overall a superior manuscript to V) only when V's readings were *non sensum*.

2.2.2 Problems with the Text

Despite its importance to the textual tradition of Galen's works, Vlatadon 14 is a problematic witness. The section of the MS containing this work is very tricky by virtue of the physical damage to the relevant folia: many faded sections and letters mostly in the top and bottom outer margins, and extensive humidity affecting as many as fifteen lines from the bottom. To this one should also add that due to the negligence of its scribes, the low quality of the MS from which it was copied, or a combination of the two, the text of *On My Own Opinions*, like that of *On Avoiding Distress*, is full of misspellings and other inaccuracies. Most of these have been corrected by previous editors, but some passages remain problematic. In what follows, we discuss those passages in detail. References to passages from *On My Own Opinions* consist of chapter and line number.

1, 14–15 ἐφ' αἷς οἱ μήτε παρὰ γραμματικῶ μήτε ῥητορικῶ διδασκαλίαν παιδευθέντες...

We have retained διδασκαλίαν, which we see functioning as the object of παιδευθέντες (see also παιδείαν παιδευθεῖσιν a few lines below). Other editorial measures might also be possible. One could correct the whole passage as follows: οἱ μήτε παρὰ γραμματικῶν μήτε ῥητορικῶν διδασκάλων παιδευθέντες. Another solution would be to merely change διδασκαλίαν to διδασκάλω. Διδασκαλίᾳ would also be reasonable, but in that case one should consider reading μήτε παρὰ γραμματικῶ μήτε ῥήτορι διδασκαλίᾳ παιδευθέντες.

1, 16–17 παρακούουσι τῶν γεγραμμένων οὐ μόνοις τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔχουσιν ὄντως ἀσαφεῖς τε πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς...

We could emend to ἔχουσιν ὄντως ἀσαφῶς with ἔχουσιν functioning as a relative participle referring to παλαιοῖς. Alternatively, since strictly speaking ἀσαφῶς ἔχω refers to the quality of the works, not of the authors, we could emend to ἐχόντων ἀσαφῶν, which is also possible on palaeographical grounds.

4, 6–8 Ἐπιδέδεικται δὴ μοι περὶ τούτων οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὧν ἐξηγησάμην τὸ Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου σύγγραμμα καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων τριῶν ὑπομνημάτων].

We believe that the paradosis καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων τριῶν ὑπομνημάτων] should be changed to καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν ὑπομνημάτων]. Galen says in *On My Own*

Books that he wrote two commentaries on the Hippocratic *On the Nature of Man*. Because some people disputed the authenticity of this Hippocratic work, however, he decided to compose three additional commentaries, in which he showed that Hippocrates held the same views in *On the Nature of Man* and his other works.⁶³ The text in *On My Own Opinions* is thus saying: ‘I have demonstrated this not only in *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, but also through my explication of the work *On the Nature of Man* and the three other commentaries [on the subject].’ This reading is also in tune with the next sentence, in which Galen states that he has demonstrated the same conceptual coherence of Hippocratic views in other writings as well.

6, 1–5 Ἐπειδὴ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶ, μὴ γινώσκων μηδ’ εἰ θνητὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀθάνατος, ὁρῶ μέντοι κατ’ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς αἰρέσεις ὁμολογούμενον {οὐ} δυναμένην εἰς πᾶν [σῶ]μα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνοικίεσθαι, κἂν ἀθάνατος ἦ, κἂν ἀσώματος, εὐλογον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ δεχόμενον αὐτὴν σῶμα κ[αὶ] κατέχον, ἄχρι περ ἂν ἦ τοιο[ῦ]τον οἷον εἶναι προσήκειν καλεῖν αἰσθητικόν...

Since this passage is not connected by particle with what preceded it, we suggest emending Ἐπειδὴ to Ἐπεὶ δέ.

6, 7–9 εἴπερ ἡ ψυχὴ σὺν τῷ διαπλαττομένῳ σώματι τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει, κατ[ὰ ψυχ]ῆν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρᾶσιν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι...

a. The MS clearly has εἴπερ ἡ ψυχὴ σὺν τῷ, so that there is no need to add ἅμα to the text, as La¹ and Ga-La propose.

b. In place of [διὰ δὴ τ]ῆν, we read κατ[....]ῆν. With some reservation, we propose the supplement κατ[ὰ ψυχ]ῆν.

6, 17–22 Δέδεικται δέ μοι καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Ὑγιεινῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος αἰεὶ μεταβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸ ψυχρότερον τε καὶ ξηρότερον, ὥστ’ ἀποξηραίνεσθαι τελείως καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι κατὰ τὸ γῆρας, κάπειδαν ἐπὶ πολὺ προέλθῃ ξηρότητός τε καὶ ψυχρότητος, οὐκέτι δυναμένην τὴν ψυχ[ῆ]ν ἐνεργεῖν τὰς [ο]ϊκεία[ς ἐνεργείας], ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώντων ἡμῶν συναπομαραιομένης αὐτὰς ἔπεσθαι τῷ σώματι.

Both groups of editors, finding the combination of the participle δυναμένην with the infinite ἔπεσθαι odd, corrected δυναμένην to δύνασθαι. But the participle δυναμένην can be retained, given the loose syntax of Galen’s text. One might adduce a similar passage from 9, 5–9 of *On My Own Opinions* (Ἐδείχθη δ’ ἔνια ἐν τοῖς Περί τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ θερμαίνειν ἢ ψύχειν ἢ

⁶³ *On My Own Books*, 161.15–20 Boudon-Millot(b) = XIX.36.11–16 Kühn.

ὕγραίνειν ἢ ξηραίνειν, ἔνια δὲ κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐνεργοῦντα τὸ θερμαίνειν ἅμα καὶ ὕγραίνειν ἢ τὸ ψύχειν ἅμα καὶ ξηραίνειν, ἕτερον δὲ γένος εἶναι φαρμάκων κατὰ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας ἐνεργούντων), where both the participle ἐνεργοῦντα and the infinitive εἶναι depend on Ἐδείχθη. If the text as it has been preserved must be altered, we would be inclined to change ἢ κρᾶσις ... μεταβάλλουσα τὸ τὴν κρᾶσιν ... μεταβάλλουσιν though even that seems superfluous.

7, 13–16 καὶ δέδεικται μοι καὶ κατ’ ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔβδομον ὑπόμνημα τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τὰς κοιλίας τοῦ ἐγκεφ[άλου] κατφικισμένον, οὐκ ἐν ... αὐτοῦ.

Garofali and Lami have edited the passage as follows: καὶ δέδεικται μοι καὶ κατ’ ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔβδομον ὑπόμνημα τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τὰς κοιλίας τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου (ὡς ὄργανον πρῶτον τοῦ λογικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου) κατφικισμένου οὐκ ἐν ταῖς κοιλίαις αὐτοῦ. The supplementation in square brackets, based on the Latin *quod iste spiritus anime sit in ventriculis cerebri et quod sit primum instrumentorum anime rationalis, que anima habitat in corpore cerebri, non in ventriculis* (Lat. 80, 10–13 Nutton), is highly invasive and risky. First, the Vlatadon manuscript presents a gap of around 12 letters, which is far shorter than the supplementation proposed by Garofalo and Lami. Secondly, the gist of the sentence is that the psychic spirit is contained in the ventricles of the brain and not elsewhere (this is where the gap features). The simpler solution might have been to supplement ἐν (τῷ σώματι) αὐτοῦ, but even this conjecture is not convincing, as the body (σῶμα) of the brain refers to the organ in general and not to a specific anatomical locus like the ventricles. It would therefore be absurd on Galen’s part to contrast a particular anatomical part with an entire organ containing that part. In light of the above, the passage should be left untouched and not rashly remedied in the way Garofalo and Lami suggest.

8, 31–33 Ἱατροῖς μέντοι τὸν τε περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν λόγον ἔδειξα χρήσιμον ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τῆς (καὶ τ[ὶ τῆς] Ga-La) φυσικῆς θεωρίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν γνῶσιν (φύσιν V) ἀναγκαῖον ἢ χρήσιμόν πῶς ἐστίν.

The MS clearly reads καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας without τί, although this leaves the genitive τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας hanging in the air. The only solution is to make this genitive dependent on the previous accusative, i.e. λόγον. But then what is the subject of ἐστίν? Either we must excise the words ἢ χρήσιμον πῶς ἐστίν as an unnecessary repetition of the previous χρήσιμον ὑπάρχοντα (keeping the hyperbaton τὸν ... λόγον ... τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας, which is still rather awkward), or we must add a word to provide ἐστίν with a subject. The most satisfying solution would be to reintroduce τί before τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας, not as a supplement of a

part of the MS that is barely legible – there is no need to supplement the MS at any point – but as an addition required by the context as a whole.

10, 2–5 Τάχα γὰρ οἰήσονται μὴ τῆς τῶν τελείων ζώων διοικήσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν κουμένων διαπλάσεώς τε καὶ γενέσεως εἰρησθαι τὰς ἀρχάς. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἔφην, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τριῶν ἀρχῶν διοικεῖται τὰ τεχθέντα ζῶα πεπεῖσθαι φημι...

In this passage, Galen is referring to common misunderstandings of his theories on principles (*archai*) and he makes clear that some people mistakenly think that he has used the term *archai* with reference to the formation and creation of embryos rather than to the administration of fully-grown human beings. Previous editors adopted the MS reading Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἔφην..., putting ὡς ἔφην within commas and thus making it parenthetical, and regarded the following Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τριῶν... as a secondary clause functioning as the object of πεπεῖσθαι. This cannot be right, given that this sentence includes a γὰρ, which makes it a main clause instead. Ὅτι μὲν cannot depend on the preceding ἔφην either, since the presence of γὰρ is a clear indication that a new period is beginning. The best solution is accordingly to separate the two clauses and render them both finite by emending ἐγὼ ὡς ἔφην to ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔφην or something similar. Galen is explaining that he had not said what other people thought he had and is setting matters straight: ‘For they may think that I used the term “principles” to refer not to the administration of full-grown living beings, but to the formation and generation of embryos in the womb. But I did (not) say (such) a thing. For I declare that I am convinced that the living beings in question are indeed administered by three principles, although I do not know which capacity forms the embryos in the womb or which (their) substance is.’

10, 18–24 Αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μήτρας ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀρτηρίαί φερόμεναι, διελθοῦσαι τὸ χόριον, εἶτα περιλαβοῦσαι τὴν κύστιν, ἐπιβαίνουσι μὲν πρῶτον ὅστῳ τι κατὰ τὸ κάτω πέρασ ὅλης τῆς ράχεως τεταγμένῳ, τοῦντεῦθεν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀσφύος σπονδύλων καὶ τοῦ θώρακος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιτεταμένης τούτοις ἀρτηρίας ἀναφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν κοιλίαν τῆς καρδίας τῆς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιπεπομένης οὐσίας, εἴτε πνεῦμα μόνον ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφην, εἴτε σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αἷμα.

The genitive τῆς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιπεπομένης οὐσίας does not depend on any other word in this sentence; Garofalo and Lami therefore reasonably changed it to an accusative singular or plural (either τὴν ... οὐσίαν, or τὰς ... οὐσίας) to indicate that this is the object of ἀναφέρουσιν, which seems to be missing from the text as it appears in V. This emendation, however, requires an additional change of τῆς ... ἐπιπεπομένης to τὴν ... ἐπιπεπομένην or τὰς ... ἐπιπεπομένας, depending on whether one adopts the accusative singular or plural. The simpler solution would be to assume that the article τὸ fell out before τῆς παρὰ τῆς

μήτρας ἐπιπεμπομένης οὐσίας. (τὸ) τῆς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιπεμπομένης οὐσίας would mean: ‘(whatever part) of the substance is sent out from the womb.’

12, 1–3 Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνο δεινὸν ἐργάζονται τινες ἀντιλέγοντες τοῖς συμπεράσμασι τῶν ἀποδείξεων, οὐκ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἠρωτημένους λόγους ἐλέγχοντες, ἔνιοι δ’ οὐδ’ ὑπομένοντες ἀναγινώσκειν...

In chapter 8, Galen complained about the attitude of certain physicians and philosophers, who were trying to refute the conclusions of their opponents without paying sufficient attention to the matter in hand, i.e. ignoring the real subject of the discussion and the proofs put forward by their adversaries in reaching their conclusions. In chapter 11, he accused them of frivolously supporting mistaken theories (e.g. they wrongly believe that blood is the only natural humour in the body). Now, in chapter 12, he accordingly wants to attack their erroneous use of logic and their intellectual inertness, going a step further in his accusation, by pointing out that some wrong-headed men are not even willing to read the arguments of their adversaries, thinking it sufficient to state their total disagreement with the others’ conclusions. He therefore comes down hard on them for not testing the premises of the arguments before challenging the conclusions reached, and for being lazy and unwilling to read and do careful research. This is even worse than their previously mentioned shortcoming, according to Galen, hence the need to adopt the comparative form δεινότερον (in line with the Lat. 100, 5–6 Nutton: *sed quod peius est quod hunc debeat inquirere reprobationem sillogismi*). (ὃ) is a necessary supplement to ἐκεῖνο: ‘But (what) some men do is even more terrible...’. That Galen is now going even further in castigating those physicians who are eager to deny the scientific findings of their opponents thus becomes more evident.

12, 41–43 τοῖς τ’ ἀποφαινομένοις οὕτω καὶ δοξάζουσιν οὐκ ἀντιλέγομεν, μήποτε τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνστησόμεθα. Καί τις ἴσως δόξει διαφωνίαν ἀξιόλογον εἶναι...

Garofalo and Lami added an εἰ after ἀντιλέγομεν. However, one can accept the text as it stands, provided one emends ἐνστησόμεθα to ἐνστησώμεθα: ‘we do not disagree, so as not to threaten scientific accuracy’. We put a comma after ἐνστησώμεθα, changing δόξει to subjunctive δόξη.

2.3 The Principles of the Present Edition

The *apparatus criticus* of the present edition is positive, i.e. an attempt has been made to record all readings of the manuscript(s) as well as the suggestions of

the various scholars who have dealt with the texts. Therefore, it provides readers with a window into the scholarly debate over individual readings or passages, without needing to assemble some thirty plus publications to this end (see Sigla, under ‘Editores’), especially as three out of the five critical editions lack a proper *apparatus criticus*. Additional suggestions in the form of *an...scribendum?*, *an...delendum?*, *...etiam possis* etc are frequently provided in the *apparatus criticus* to provoke further problematising of difficult passages, especially when matters seem unresolved. Only some minor misspellings in the manuscript(s), which we have tacitly corrected, have been omitted from the *apparatus criticus*.⁶⁴ We have refrained from listing all the incorrect readings in the *editio princeps* of *On Avoiding Distress*, limiting ourselves to those that are most important. We were able to study MS Vlatadon 14 *in situ*; this gave us the opportunity to correct some erroneous readings made by previous editors (relatively few in the case of the *On Avoiding Distress*, more numerous in the *On My Own Opinions*) and to read some portions of the MS more accurately.

As far as the readings of the MSS preserving extracts from Galen’s *On My Own Opinions* are concerned, we have not relied on Nutton’s reports of the manuscripts but have conducted an independent investigation of the main witnesses, A, L, P and Q. As far as V goes, in some cases, although we adopt the supplement proposed by previous editors for a damaged word or phrase, we reconstruct the damaged phrase somewhat differently, because we were able to make out more letters. In *On My Own Opinions* chapter 1, 9, for example, we were able to see that the word στίχον is preserved in the MS intact, whereas previous editors thought that the letters τὸν στίχ were missing and others were unable to decipher any letters whatsoever. We accordingly print the entire word in the text without brackets; the reader should be able to see how previous editors have reconstructed the text on the basis of the information provided in the critical apparatus (in this case the note [τὸν στίχ]ον suppl. Ga-La [.....] Bou-Pi). In general, editorial conjectures adopted in the main text are not indicated in the critical apparatus before ‘corr.’ unless required for clarity’s sake.

⁶⁴ For instance, Vlatadon 14, ff. 10v–14v, preserving *On Avoiding Distress*, has spelling errors as a result of iotacisms, e.g. χρήματα for χρήματα, ἄχριστα for ἀχρηστα, διαίτι for διαίτη, ἀπαντίσας for ἀπαντήσας, ἀπολέσι for ἀπολέση, νεότιτι for νεότητι, ἐρώτισιν for ἐρώτησιν; and other orthographical anomalies, e.g. Καμπανείαν for Καμπανίαν, ἔφριν for ἔφην, πτησάνην for πτισάνην, εγεγώνει for εγεγόνει, ἐκάστις for ἐκάστης, ἐκάστοται for ἐκάστοτε, γινώσκεις for γινώσκεις, ἐστερεῖσθαι for ἐστερεῖσθαι, ποταί for ποτέ. In the same vein, Vlatadon 14, ff. 59r–62v, which preserves *On My Own Opinions*, also has orthographic peculiarities: e.g. διδασκαλείαν for διδασκαλίαν, δεηθῖσι for δεηθεῖσι, ἀμεπτον for ἀμεμπτον, διηρικένας for διηρηκέναι, ἀλήθειαν for ἀλήθειαν, σπονδήλων for σπονδύλων.

The division of *On Avoiding Distress* and *On My Own Opinions* into paragraphs is our own, as is the punctuation, which presents an entirely new organisation of the texts into periods and semi-periods, significantly enhancing their readability.

Symbols used in the Critical Edition

- [...] square brackets enclose letters or words that are to decipher, or letters or words that must be reconstructed due to physical damage to the MS.
- <...> angle brackets indicate additions by the editors.
- {...} curly brackets indicate deletion by the editors.

3 This Translation

For the text of the translation of *On Avoiding Distress* and *On My Own Opinions*, Sophia Xenophontos has based herself on the new editions by I. Polemis and S. Xenophontos included in this volume, which have been produced from first-hand examination of the Vlatadon codex, offering many improved readings and accurate supplementation of badly preserved words or phrases. This translation is an attempt to provide a meaningful English text while reflecting the original Greek locutions as closely as possible. Navigation through Galen's texts in both cases has been tricky, mainly due to Galen's loose syntax, which required some streamlining. Longer periods have been broken into smaller ones, while, in cases of *prothysteron*, a trope that transposes what would normally come first to later in the sentence, the terms in question were reordered to make the text more comprehensible. Readers can easily consult the Greek parallel text to track the original terms and their architecture. Multivalency of meaning was another big challenge. For example, the rendering of *aisthēsis* in *On My Own Opinions* proved particularly tricky. Depending on context, it has sometimes been translated as 'sense', at other times as 'sense-perception' and occasionally as 'sensation'. In addition, as elsewhere in Galen, *hypomnēmata* could refer to 'reminding notes', 'exegetical works/commentaries', or 'works/writings' in the broader sense.

In most cases the brief notes accompanying the translation clarify editorial issues relating to the preservation of the text, e.g. they comment on the rigour of different variant readings or suggest possible supplementation of lacunae. In other cases, they provide the reader with alternative translations for tricky parts or help illuminate Galen's obscure line of thought to ensure that the text makes sense to the reader. Alternatively, they simply give references to primary sources cited by Galen in the main texts.

Symbols used in the Translation

- (aa) Angle brackets denote editorial additions already evident in the Greek parallel text. The symbol (...) marks a lacuna or uncertain text in the codex.
- [aaa] Square brackets indicate terms supplied by the translator for the purpose of clarification.
- (aaa) Round brackets are used for ordinary parenthesis and to enclose Greek terms or transliterations thereof.
- †...† Cruces mark corrupt passages.

Greek Text and Facing Translation

De Indolentia

Sigla

Codex manuscriptus

V = Thessalonicensis, Vlatadon 14, s. XV

Editores

An = A. Anastassiou apud Bou²

An¹ = A. Anastassiou, “Galen, *De Indolentia* §71, S. 21, 17–19 Boudon-Millot, Jouanna = §27, S. 79. 321–322 Kotzia, Sotiroudis = §71, S. 44 Garofalo-Lami”, *Galenos* 6 (2012), 49–51

Bou¹ = V. Boudon-Millot, “Un traité perdu de Galien miraculeusement retrouvé, le *Sur l’inutilité de se chagriner*: Texte grec et traduction française”, *La science médicale antique. Nouveaux regards. Études réunies en l’honneur de J. Jouanna*, Paris 2007, 87–101

Bou² = *Galien Ne pas se chagriner*. Texte établi et traduit par V. Boudon-Millot et Jacques Jouanna avec la collaboration de A. Pietrobelli (*Les Belles Lettres*), Paris 2010

Br = *Galenos Die verbrannte Bibliothek. Peri Alypias/ Über die Unverdrossenheit*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben und erstmals ins Deutsche übersetzt von K. Brodersen, Wiesbaden 2015

Ca = A. Carlini apud T. Dorandi, “‘Editori’ antichi di Platone”, *Antiquorum Philosophia* 4 (2010), 161–174

Chr = D. Christidis apud Ko-So

Cr = E. Craik apud Nu

Ga-La = *Galeno L’anima e il dolore. De indolentia-De propriis placitis*. A cura di I. Garofalo e A. Lami. Testo greco a fronte, Milano 2012

Ga¹ = I. Garofalo (and A. Roselli) in K.-D. Fischer et al. “Congesture inedite sui testi medici”, *Galenos* 2 (2008), 135–142, at 137–138

Ga² = I. Garofalo, “Emendamenti al ‘de indolentia’”, *Studi sul De indolentia di Galeno*. A cura di D. Manetti (Biblioteca di “*Galenos*” 4), Pisa/Roma 2012, 63–68

Ga³ = I. Garofalo apud Nu

Gou = J. B. Gourinat, “Le Platon de Panétius: à propos d’un témoignage inédit de Galien”, *Philosophie antique* 8 (2008), 139–151

Ha = E. Handley apud Nu

Jo = C. P. Jones, “Books and Libraries in a Newly-Discovered Treatise of Galen”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22 (2009), 390–397

Jou¹ = J. Jouanna apud Bou¹

Jou² = J. Jouanna apud Bou²

Ko = P. Kotzia apud Ko-So

Ko-So = P. Kotzia-P. Sotiroudis, “Γαληνοῦ Περὶ ἀλυπίας”, *Ἑλληνικά* 60. 1 (2010), 66–81

La¹ = A. Lami apud Nu

La² = A. Lami, “Il nuovo Galeno e il fr. 964 di Euripide”, *Galenos* 3 (2009), 11–19

- Le = C. Levy, “Médecine et philosophie. À propos de l’édition du *De indolentia* de Galien dans le C.U.F”, *Bulletin de l’Association Guillaume Budé* 1 (2011), 198–210
- Lei = D. Leith apud Nu
- Lor = V. Lorusso, rec. Bou², *Gnomon* 83 (2011), 587–592
- Lor¹ = V. Lorusso in K.-D. Fischer et al. “Gongetture e emendamenti inediti”, *Galenos* 6 (2013), 181–190, at 183
- Lor² = V. Lorusso apud Ros¹
- Luc = C. M. Lucarini, “Congetture al nuovo Galeno”, *Philologus* 154 (2010), 331–337
- Ma = D. Manetti, “Galeno Περὶ Ἀλυπίας e il difficile equilibrismo dei filologi”, *Studi sul De indolentia di Galeno*. A cura di D. Manetti (Biblioteca di “Galenos” 4), Pisa/Roma 2012, 9–22
- Nu = V. Nutton, “Avoiding Distress. Introduction-Translation-The Text of Chapters 4–5 and 16–18”, in *Galen Psychological Writings: 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*. Edited by P. N. Singer with contributions by D. Davies and V. Nutton with the collaboration of P. Tassinari (Cambridge Galen Translations), Cambridge 2013, 45–106
- Pi = A. Pietrobelli apud Bou²
- Pol¹ = I. Polemis, “Διορθωτικά στο *Περὶ ἀλυπίας* τοῦ Γαλινοῦ”, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 43 (2011/2012), 1–8
- Pol² = Γαληνός, *Για την αποφυγὴ της λύπης* (Η πραγματεία *Περὶ ἀλυπίας*. Εισαγωγή Σ. Ξενοφώντος, Μετάφραση-Σχόλια Π. Κοτζιά-Π. Σωτηροῦδης, Επόμετρο Ι. Πολέμης, Thessaloniki 2016, 145–161
- Pu = E. Puglia, “La rovina dei libri di Anzio nel *De indolentia* di Galeno”, *Nearco – Revista Eletrônica de Antiquidade* 7.3 (2014), 125–133 (initially published in *Segno e testo* 9 (2011), 53–62)
- Ra = M. Rashed, “Aristote à Rome au IIe siècle: Galien *De indolentia*, 15–18”, *Elenchos* 32 (2011), 55–77
- Rl = T. Raiola, “Asini per uccelli: una nota a *de Indolentia* 61”, *Galenos* 5 (2011), 21–26
- Ros¹ = A. Roselli, “Libri e biblioteche a Roma al tempo di Galeno: La testimonianza del *De Indolentia*”, *Galenos* 4 (2010), 127–148
- Ros² = A. Roselli apud Nu
- Ro = C. K. Rothschild and T. W. Thompson, “Galen: On the Avoidance of Grief”, *Early Christianity* 2 (2011), 110–129
- Se = A. Segonds apud Bou²
- Si = P. N. Singer, “Note on MS Vlatadon 14: A Summary of the Main Findings”, in *Galen’s Treatise Περὶ Ἀλυπίας (De indolentia) in Context. A Tale of Resilience*. Edited by Caroline Petit (Studies in Ancient Medicine 52), Leiden/Boston 2019, 10–37
- So = P. Sotiroudis apud Ko-So
- St = I. Stephanis apud Ko-So
- Str = A. Stramaglia, “Libri perduti per sempre: Galeno, *De indolentia* 13; 16; 17–19”, *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica* 139 (2011), 118–147
- Va = A. Vassiliadis apud Ko-So

Abbreviationes

a. corr. = ante correctionem
add. = addidit, addiderunt
coni. = coniecit, coniecerunt
corr. = correxit, correxerunt
e corr. = e correctione
fort. = fortasse
leg. = legit, legerunt
om. = omisit, omiserunt
p. corr. = post correctionem
secl. = seclusit, secluserunt
s.l. = supra lineam
suppl. = supplevit, suppleverunt
stat. = statuit, statuerunt
transp. = transposuit, transposuerunt

Περὶ ἀλυπίας Γαληνοῦ Λόγος

1. Ἐλαβόν σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ἧ παρεκάλεις με δηλωσαί σοι τίς ἄσκησις ἢ λόγοι τίνες ἢ δόγματα παρεσκευασάν με μηδέποτε λυπεῖσθαι. Παρῶν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφης ἑωρακέναί κατά τινα τοῦ πολυχρονίου λοιμοῦ μεγάλην εἰσβολὴν ἀπολέσαντά με τοσοῦτους οἰκέτας, ὅσους σχεδὸν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἀκηκοένας 5 δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ἤδη μοι γεγονέναι τι τοιοῦτον, εἰς χρήματά τε τρίς που καὶ τετράκις ἀδραῖς ζημίαις περιπεσόντα, ἔφης αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναί με μηδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ κινήθέντα, τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔναγχός μοι συμβάν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα γεγονέναι τὰ πρόσθεν, ἀπολλυμένων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πυρκαϊᾷ πάντων (τῶν) ἀποκειμένων μοι πραγμάτων ἐν ταῖς κατά τὴν Ἱερὰν Ὁδὸν ἀποθήκαις. Ὅποσα μὲν οὖν καίρια καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφης 10 ἐπίστασθαι, πεπύσθαι δὲ τινος ἀγγέλλοντός σοι μηδὲ νῦν ἀνιαιθῆναί με, φαιδρόν τε καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττοντα καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν, θαυμάζειν (δέ), οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων καὶ συμβολαίων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων, ἃ διεφθάρη κατά τὴν πυρκαϊάν, ἀλύπως ὤφθην φέρων, ἀλλ' ὅτι πλῆθος ἄλλο τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγγεγραμμένων αὐτοῦ, φάρμακα δὲ παντοῖα πάμπολλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ συγκείμενα, καὶ ἄρμενα παντοδαπὰ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἱατρικὰ ἐπιτήδεια (...). 15

Tit. ἀλυγισίας V ἀλυπησίας corr. Jou² Br Le: corr. Bou¹ So Nu Ga-La Si Ma Pu Str **1,1** μαι V μοι leg. Bou¹⁻² Br: με corr. So Ga-La **2** τινὲς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τίνα post δόγματα add. Jou² Br | γὰρ post μὲν add. Nu Br **3** λογισμοῦ V: λοιμοῦ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἐκβολὴν V ἐμβολὴν leg. Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Ko Ga-La **4** τοιοῦτους V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | οὐς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ὄσους corr. Ga-La | εἶχεν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | οὐκέτ' post εἶχον add. Lor **5** ἦδοι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | γέγονεν ἔτι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τε secl. Ga-La γε corr. An Nu Br; an δὲ scribendum? | τρίσι Bou²; an τρίς ἢ καὶ scribendum? **6** περιπεσόντα V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: περιπεσόντι corr. Ga-La | δ' post ἔφης add. Bou¹ Ga-La **7** κινήθέντα V Bou² Ga-La Br Ro: ἀνιαιθέντα corr. Bou¹ Ko-So **8** ἀπολυμένων V ἀπολομένων corr. Ko Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Br | πυριᾷ V πυρκαϊᾷ Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Br | τῶν add. An Ko Ga-La Br **9** οὖν καίρια V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: ἦν καὶ ποῖα corr. La¹ Ga-La οὖν καὶ ποῖα corr. La¹ Br **10** πεπεῖσθαι V: corr. Jou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἀγγέλον τῶν σοι V ἀγγέλοντός σοι leg. Bou¹ ἀγγέλοντος σοι Bou² (τῶν) ἀγγε(λ)λότων σοι corr. Ha Bou² Br ἀγγειλαντός σοι corr. Ko ἀγγέλων τῶν σῶν corr. Ga-La: corr. corr. corr. | μηδὲν V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. So Ga-La **10-11** φαιδρόν τε V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La: φαιδρόν τε (δόντα) corr. Ko φαιδρόν τ' (δόντα) corr. Ha Nu Br **11** δ' add. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: corr. corr. corr. **12** πολῶν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br **13** πυρκαϊάν Bou¹ | ὤφθην φέρων V ὑπέφερον Bou¹: corr. Nu Bou² So Ga-La Br **14** συγγραμμένων V σεσωρευμένων corr. Ga³ Ga-La Br Ros¹ Nu: corr. Bou¹⁻² So Ro Si | δὲ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: δὴ corr. Ga-La | πάμπολα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br **15** ἄρματα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τὰ μὲν secl. Ko | τὰς ἱατρικὰς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: corr. corr. | post ἐπιτήδεια lacunam indicavimus **15-16** ἐπιτήδεια χρήματα V: χρειαῖς (ἄ) corr. Ga-La Bou² Br Ro ἐπιτήδεια χρειαῖς. (Τὰ) corr. Ko ἐπιτήδεια χρήματα (ἄ) corr. Bou¹

Galen's *On Avoiding Distress*

1. I received your letter in which you were asking me to point out to you what training or what sort of arguments or doctrines prepared me to never be distressed. You said that, when you were present yourself, you had seen me lose almost as many slaves during a great attack of the long-standing plague as I had in the city of the Romans, and that you had heard that something similar had happened to me already before then, when I fell into severe financial losses three or possibly four times. You said that you personally had not seen me even slightly upset, but that what has happened to me just now has surpassed everything that had occurred earlier, since all my possessions (that) had been stored in the warehouses on the Sacred Way were destroyed in the great fire. You said, then, that you personally knew the many events that took place in the past¹, but that you also learned from one of your reporters² that I was not distressed at all at this time, beaming with joy and engaging in my usual activities just as before. [You also said] that you were astonished not because I was seen bearing without distress the fact that silver, gold, silver vessels and many contracts, which were destroyed in the fire, were in storage, but because [there was] an additional mass of my writings there, large amounts of medicines of all sorts, some of them simple, other compound, and instruments³ of every kind,

1 *καίρια* here means 'something belonging to the past', and not 'important' as other translators have suggested. This meaning makes a better contrast with the *νῦν* of the following sentence.

2 Or: 'messengers'.

3 In his *Commentary on Hippocrates' Surgery* (XVIII B.670.12–671.9 Kühn), Galen discusses a specific category of ἄρμείνα for treating a patient at home, e.g. various wash-tubs and wash-pots, differentiating them from surgical instruments such as the surgeon's knife, the trepan, the hook, the scraper and the metallic protector that prevents injury in operations on the skull. In the light of this, the missing text in the suggested lacuna might have involved the category of the domestic utensils that naturally complements the category of purely medical instruments. Cf. also the corresponding definition of ἄρμείνα by Erotian (1st-c. AD physician) in fragm. 37 Nachmanson.

«Χρήματα μὲν οὖν», ἔφη, «ἀπολέσας, ἄλλα κτήσασθαι τι(ς) ἐλπίζει», τὰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ χρήματα προσευρημένα τῶν ἀρμένων, ὧν τὰ ὑποδείγματα πλάττων αὐτοὺς ἐκ κηροῦ τοῖς χαλκεῦσιν ἐδίδουν, ὡς οὐκέθ' οἷόν τε σχεῖν ἄνευ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ ἀσχολίας μεγάλης, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τε ἐπληρωθωμένα {καὶ} διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς, ἀνδρῶν παλαιῶν τὰ συγγράμματα, τὰ θ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συντεθέντα, καὶ 20 μέντοι καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀντιδότους, ἃς εἰδέναι ἔφη καὶ με παμπόλλας ἔχοντα, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν θηριακὴν ὀνομαζομένην εἰς ὄγκον ὀγδοήκοντα λιτρῶν κιννάμωμόν τε τοσοῦτον, ὅσον οὐδὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ταῦτα καπηλεύουσιν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ἀνὰ πάντα σπάνια, εἶναι δαφιλή παρ' ἐμοί. Πεπύσθαι 25 δὲ ὡς καὶ Φιλίδης μὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἀπολλυμένων αὐτῶ τῶν βιβλίων κατὰ πυρκαϊᾶν ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ λύπης διεφθάρη συντακεῖς, ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐν μέλασιν ἱματίοις προήεσαν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, λεπτοὶ καὶ ὠχροί, τοῖς πενθοῦσι παραπλήσιοι. Θαρροῦντες γάρ τοι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἱερὰν Ὀδὸν ἀποθήκαις, ὡς δὴ οὐδὲν πεισομέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ τιμαλφέστατα τῶν κτημάτων ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπετίθεντο, θαρρεῖν δὲ αὐταῖς διὰ τὸ μήτε ξύλον ἔχειν αὐτὰς ὅτι μὴ 30 κατὰ τὰς θυρίδας, μήτε τινὰ γειτνίαςιν ἰδιωτικῆς οἰκίας, ἔτι τε τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι στρατιωτικῇ φρουρᾷ διὰ τὸ τεσσάρων ἐπιτρόπων Καίσαρος ἀποκεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο γράμματα, καὶ δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο πλεον ἐνοίκιον ἐτελοῦμεν οἷ

16 ἔφην V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: corr. Ga³ Pol² | ἀπολέσας ἄλλα V Bou² Ga-La Br: ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ corr. Bou¹ Ko-So | κτήσασθαι V p. corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Ro: κτήσεσθαι V a. corr. Va | τι V Bou¹ Ko-So ἔτι corr. Bou² Ga-La Br Ro: correximus | ἐλπίζει V: ἐλπίζειν corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 17 χρήματα secl. Ro Ga-La Br Ro | προσευρημένα V Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: προσηρημένα corr. Bou¹ | τῶν ἀρμένων secl. Jou² Br Ro | πλάτων V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 18 τῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | οὐκέτ' V Bou¹ οὐκέτι Ga-La οὐκ ἔτ' Bou² Ro: corr. Ko-So Br | πολοῦ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | τε post πολλοῦ add. Bou¹ 19 καί² secl. An Ha So Ros¹ Nu Ga-La Br; an καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς (γεγραμμένα) scribendum? 20 τὰ del. Ga-La Ros¹ Nu Br Luc | συγγράμματα V a. corr.; συγγράμματα secl. Luc 21 φῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | πάμπολας V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko Ga-La Br 23 κοινάμωμον V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | καπηλεύουσιν V p. corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: καπηλευσιν V a. corr. 24 τᾶλλα V Bou² Ko-So Br: τὰ ἄλλα corr. Bou¹ Ga-La | πεπεῖσθαι V: corr. Jou¹ Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 25 Φιλίδης V Bou²: Κάλιστος corr. Ko Φιλιστιδῆς corr. Ga-La Nu Br Φιλ(...)ίδης Ros¹ Φιλιππίδης corr. Bou¹ | ἀπολλυμένων V Bou¹⁻² Br: ἀπολομένων corr. Ko-So Ga-La Ros¹ | τὴν post κατὰ add. Ko Ga-La Ros¹ 26 ἀπὸ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: corr. Ko | ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος V Bou² Ko-So: ἄλλος τε καὶ ἄλλος Bou¹ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι corr. La¹ Ga-La Nu Br 27 μέλεσιν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | προῖεσαν V Bou¹ Ko-So: corr. Jou² Ga-La Br 28 τι V Bou¹: corr. Jou² Va Ga-La Br | δὲ V secl. Ga-La: δὴ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br 29 οὐδὲ V Bou¹⁻²: corr. Ko-So Ga-La Br 30 αὐταῖς² αὐτοῖς V αὐτοῦς corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br | ἔφασαν post αὐταῖς add. Bou¹ 31 τὸ V Bou¹⁻² Br: τῶ corr. So Ga-La 33 ἐκεῖνο V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἐκεῖνα τὰ corr. Ga-La ἐκεῖνο τὰ corr. Ros¹ | ἐτέλομεν leg. Bou¹ 33-34 οἱ μὲν μισθώματα V οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὰ corr. Jou² Br εἰ μὲν ἐμισθώμεθα τὰ corr. Bou¹ οἷ ἐμισθούμεθα corr. So οἷ ἐμεμισθώμεθα corr. Ga-La ὅπερ ἐμισθούμεθα corr. Luc: corr. Pol¹

some suitable for medical practice (...)⁴. ‘Well, when someone loses his possessions’, you said, ‘he hopes to acquire replacements’, whereas as for the possessions I invented on my own from among my instruments, of which I was personally forming models out of wax and giving them over to the bronze-smiths, it is no longer possible to get them without a great deal of time and significant effort; and the same goes for the books that have been corrected by my own hand, i.e. the writings of ancient authors, but also works composed by me, and indeed also what we call antidotes, of which you said that you knew that I owned a great many, especially the called theriac, eighty litres in weight, and as much cinnamon as is impossible to find among all the retail-dealers in such materials put together, and all the other rarities [which you said] I had in abundance. [You also said] that you learned that when his books were lost in the fire, Philides the grammarian⁵ wasted away from depression and grief and died, and that various others were going around in black clothing for a long time, thin and pale, resembling mourners. For because they felt confidence in the warehouses along the Sacred Way, on the theory that they would not be affected by fire, people used to deposit their most precious belongings in them, [claiming] that they felt confidence in them because – except for the windows – they contained no wood, they were not adjacent to any private house, and in addition they were guarded by a military garrison on account of the fact that the archives of four procurators of Caesar were kept in that place. It is for this very reason that we who leased

4 Part of the text must have been lost since τὰ μὲν lacks a corresponding τὰ δὲ in the Greek, and the verb governing πλῆθος seems to be missing.

5 The name of the grammarian is dubious. The manuscript reads Philides, Boudon-Millot (2007: 88) corrected to Philippides, Nutton in his English translation of the work (2013: 79) suggested Philistides (also Garofalo-Lami 2012), whereas Kotzia (in Kotzia-Sotiroudis 2010: 67) emended it to Kallistos, following Pfaff’s reconstruction of the name from the Arabic in a close parallel in Galen’s *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Epidemics VI*, 486.19–24 Wenkebach-Pfaff. None of these names is supported by the secondary tradition. In the present edition the manuscript reading Philides has thus been retained, though it refers to an otherwise unknown figure.

μεμισθώμεθα κατὰ τὰς ἀποθήκας ἐκείνας οἰκήματα τὰ τε σπουδῆς ἄξια κτήματα
 θαρροῦντες ἐκεῖ κατετιθέμεθα. Συνέβη δέ μοι πρὸς τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἄ[λλ]ο τι 35
 δυσχερὲς ἴδιον. Εἰς Καμπανίαν γὰρ ἐξιών, ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἄρμενα καὶ
 φάρμακα καὶ βιβλία καὶ σκευῶν ἀργυρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα κατετεθειμένῃ εἰς τὴν ἀποθή-
 κην, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττοιο κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν. Τοιγαροῦν συνέβη κάκεῖνα
 πάντα σὺν τοῖς κειμηλίοις ἐκεῖ σωρευθέντα διαφθαρήναι.

2. Ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω γενόμενα καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφης πεπύσθαι, βούλεσθαι δὲ
 ἀσφαλέστερον ἀκοῦσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀπάντων ἀπολομέ-
 νων ἀνιαθῆναι με θαυμασιώτερον ἐδόκει σοι, καὶ πάνυ μοι τοῦτ' ἐφαίνου γράψαι
 ἀληθῶς. Ἐν [γὰρ] τῇ Καμπανίᾳ πυθόμενος καὶ α[ὐτὰ πάντα] διεφθάρθαι, πάνυ 5
 ῥαδίως ἤνεγκα τὸ πρᾶγμα, μηδὲ βραχὺ κινήσεις, [ὡς] δ' εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπ[ανελθὼν] 5
 ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πάντων ἦν, ὣν ἄνευ οὐδὲν οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ κατα[σκ]ευάσαι, βραχεῖ χρόνῳ
 τῆς δ[υσχερείας] τοῦ πράγματος ἠσθόμην, ὥσπερ καὶ μέχρι νῦν αἰσθάνομαι καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλου βιβλίου καὶ ἄρμένου καὶ φαρμάκου καθιστάμενος
 ἐν χρεῖα. Τὸ γὰρ τοι δεινότατον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν βιβλίων ἀπωλείᾳ λέληθέ σε, μηδὲ
 ἐλπίδα ἔτι τῆς κατασκευῆς ὑπολειπομένην, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ βιβλιοθη- 10
 κῶν πασῶν κατακαυθεισῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Οὔτε οὖν ὄσα σπάνια καὶ

34 ἐκεῖνα V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. So Lor | τὰ post ἐκεῖνα add. Ga-La | τε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: δὲ corr. Ga-La 35 ἐκεῖνα V Bou¹ Ga-La: ἐκεῖ corr. An Bou² Ko Br Luc; an ἐκείνας scribendum? | κατατιθέμεθα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Luc | ἄ[λλ]ο suppl. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 37 κατα-
 τεθειμένῃ V κατεθειμένῃ corr. St Ko-So κατετιθέμην corr. Bou¹: corr. Jou² Ga-La Br 2,1 αὐτὰ V
 Bou¹⁻² Br: αὐτὸς corr. So Ga-La Luc | ἔφης V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: ἔφη corr. Luc | πεπεῖσθαι V:
 corr. Jou¹ Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Luc | μὲν V Bou¹ δ' corr. Jou² Br: δὲ corr. So Ga-La Luc; an μέντοι
 scribendum? 2–3 ἀπτομένων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: corr. Ga-La 3 ἀνιασθῆναι leg. Bou¹ | θαυμασι-
 ώτερον V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: θαυμασιώτατον corr. Nu Br | μοι V: σοι corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La
 Br | τοῦ post καὶ primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | Zeῦ post καὶ add. Ga-La 4 [γὰρ] suppl.
 Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τῇ secl. Bou¹ Ga-La | α[ὐτὰ πάντα] supplevimus: α[ὐτὰ] suppl. Bou¹⁻²
 Ga-La Br ἄ[παν]τα suppl. So 5 μήτε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br μήτ' ἐ[πι] conl. Pol²: μηδὲ corr. Pol¹ Ga-La;
 μή τι etiam possis | κινεῖσεις V ἀνιασεις corr. Bou¹ (αἰνασεις leg. Bou) Ko-So: corr. Bou² Ga-La
 Br | [ὡς] legimus et supplevimus: [ἐπεὶ] suppl. So [μὴ] suppl. Bou¹ [...] Bou² [ὅτε] suppl. Nu Br |
 ἐπ[ανελθὼν] supplevimus: ἐπ[ανῆλθον] So [β...] leg. Bou¹ ἐ[.....] leg. Bou² ἔβην [...] leg. Ga-La
 ἐπ[ανῆλθον καὶ] suppl. Pol² 6 οὐδὲν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Nu: οὐδὲ corr. Br | κατα[σκ]ευάσαι
 suppl. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: ἰατρεύσαι corr. Nu Br | βραχὺ χρόνῳ V (ἐν) βραχεῖ (δὲ) χρόνῳ corr. So
 ἐ[...] χρόνῳ leg. Bou¹ Ga-La: corr. Bou² Br 7 δ[υσχερείας] suppl. So: τ[ῆς...] leg. Bou¹ τ[ῆς δ.....]
 leg. Bou² Br τῆς [...] leg. Ga-La 8 καθιστάμενον V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10 ἐλπίδα ἔτι
 τῆς κατασκευῆς ὑπολειπομένης V ἐλπίδος ἔτι τῆς κατασκευῆς ὑπολειπομένης corr. Ga-La: corr.
 Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br 11 κατακαυθείς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ὅτε V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La
 Br Str

storerooms in those warehouses paid more rent and confidently deposited our property that was worthy of serious attention there. But in addition to this shared [calamity], I experienced another, personal misfortune. For because I was about to set out for Campania, I had stowed everything I kept at home in the storehouse – instruments, medicines, books and not a few silver vessels – in order that they would be safe while I was away. As a result, it happened that all those objects as well perished, being gathered together there with my treasures.

2. That these things, therefore, happened this way, you said that you had learned yourself, but that you wanted to hear a more trustworthy account [of the events] from me. For the fact that I was not distressed, even though all these objects were lost, seemed to you quite marvellous, and you appeared to me to have written this with absolute accuracy. Because when I was informed in Campania that all these things were lost, I bore this event very easily, without being even slightly moved. And when I returned to Rome, I was bereft of everything without which one cannot prepare anything. I realised the gravity of this situation very shortly, just as I realise it every single day until now, each time I stand in need of one book, instrument or medicine or another. But in fact the most dreadful matter associated with the loss of the books has escaped you, and there is no hope of recovery remaining, since all libraries on the Palatine were burned to the ground on that day. It is accordingly impossible to find not only works that are

ἀλαχόθι μηδαμόθεν κείμενα δυνατόν ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν {ἐστὶν} οὔτε τῶν μέσων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς γραφῆς ἀκρίβειαν ἐσπουδασμένων, Καλλίνεια καὶ Ἀττίκεια {μὲν} καὶ Πεδουκίνεια, καὶ μὴν Ἀριστάρχεια, οὐτινός εἰσιν Ὅμηροι δύο, καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Πανατίου καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, διασωζομένων ἐντὸς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων αὐτῶν, ἃ καθ' ἕκαστον βιβλίον ἢ ἔγραψαν ἢ ἀνεγράψαντο οἱ ἄνδρες ὧν ἦν ἐπώνυμα τὰ βιβλία. Καὶ γὰρ γραμματικῶν πολλῶν αὐτόγραφα βιβλία τῶν παλαιῶν ἔκειντο καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων.

3. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν, τοιούτοις καὶ τοσοῦτοις, ἀπώλεσα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν εἰς καθαρὸν ἔδαφος ἐγγέγραπτο βιβλία, τῶν ἀσαφῶν {μὲν}, ἡμαρτημένων δὲ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς οἷον, ἐμοῦ προηρημένου ἔκδοσιν ἐμὴν ποιήσασθαι, τῶν γραφῶν εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ἐκπεπονημένων, ὡς μήτε τι περιττεύειν ῥῆμα μήτε ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παραγραφὴν ἀπλήν ἢ διπλήν ἢ 5 κορωνίδα προσηκόντως τιθεμένην ἐν μέσῳ βιβλίων· τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ στιγμῆς ἢ ὑποστιγμῆς, ἃς οἶσθα τοσοῦτον δυναμένας ἐν ἀσαφέσι βιβλίοις, ὥστε προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν αὐταῖς ἐξηγητοῦ μὴ δεῖσθαι; Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἀριστο-

12 ἀλαχόθι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro Str | μηδαμόθεν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str: μηδαμόθι conit. Jou² | ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν {ἐστὶν} corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἔτι εὑρεῖν ἔστιν corr. Ga-La ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν ἔτι corr. Ros¹ Str Pol² | μὲν post τῶν add. Jou² (in apparatu critico) Ga-La | τῶν μέσων V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Str: {τινὰ} τῶν μέσων corr. Ko τῶν κοινῶν vel τῶν {ἐν} μέσῳ conit. Nu Ha Ros¹ τῶν μέσων {μὲν} Str τῶν {ἐν} μέσῳ corr. Br Luc 13 ἐσπουδασμένους V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str | Καλλίνια V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Ko-So (tacite) Ga-La Str | ἀττίκεια, μὲν καὶ V Ἀττικιανὰ καὶ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ἀττικιανὰ μὲν καὶ corr. Ga-La Ἀττίκεια μὲν† Luzzato apud Str: corr. Str 14 Πεδουκίνια V Bou¹⁻² Br Πεδουκαῖα vel Πεδουκίνια corr. Jo Πεδουκείνια Ca: corr. Ko-So Ga-La Str; an τὰ Λουκίλλεια vel Λουπερκίνεια scribendum? | an ἔτι post καὶ addendum? | ἀριστάρχεια V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str | οἵτινες V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str: corr. Pol² 15 ἐν τοῖς V ἐν ταύταις corr. Bou¹ ἔν τισι corr. Ko ἐν τούτοις corr. Str: ἐντὸς corr. Bou² Ga-La Ros¹ Br 16 ἐκάστην V a. corr. | ἀνεγράψαντο V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Lor¹: ἀνεγράψαντο corr. Jou² Br μετεγράψαντο conit. Bou¹ ἐνεγράψαντο corr. Str ἀπεγράψαντο corr. Pinto apud Str | ὧν V p. corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str: ὡς V a. corr. 17 αὐτόγραφα V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Si Nu Br Ros¹ Str Gou: ἀντίγραφα corr. Bou² Ro 3,1 οὖν] σὺν corr. Br 2 μοι post ἐγγέγραπτο add. Jou² Si Br Ro Ros¹ | εἰς καθαρὸν–βιβλία post γραφὰς transp. Ga-La 2–3 τῶν ἀσαφῶν–κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς post ἐπανόρθωσιν transp. Ga-La 3 ἀσαφῶν {μὲν}, ἡμαρτημένων corr. Bou¹⁻² Br Ro: ἀσαφῶν ἢ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων {δὲ} corr. Ros¹ ἀσαφῶς {ἡρμηνευμένων}, ἡμαρτημένων corr. Si; an ἀσαφῶν {μὲν οὐ}, ἡμαρτημένων scribendum? | οἷον ἐμοῦ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: κοινήν corr. Ga-La | τοῦ V Bou¹ τῶν corr. Ko: ἐμοῦ corr. Jou² Br | προηρημένου V προσηρημένου corr. Bou¹ προηρημένων, {ὡς} corr. Ko: corr. Bou² Ga-La Br Ros¹ 4 ἔδοσιν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | ἐμὴν secl. Ga-La ἐμοῦ corr. Ga-La | ἐμπεπονημένων leg. Bou¹ 5 χρήματα V Bou¹ ῥήματα corr. Jou² Luc Br Ro χρῆμα Lor² Ros¹ γράμματα corr. Nu χρήματα secl. Ko: corr. Ga-La | ἐλλείπει V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 6 προσηκόντως V {μὴ} προσηκόντως corr. Bou¹ Ko-So: corr. Bou² Ga-La Br Ro | an βιβλίῳ scribendum? | δὲ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ro δὲ {δεῖ} corr. Ga-La: δεῖ corr. Pol¹ Br | περιστιγμῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 7 ὡς V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Luc Ro: ἃς corr. Ko Br | τὸ τοῦτον V a. corr. | δυναμένας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: δυναμένων corr. Luc 8 δ' post τοιαῦτα add. Ga-La | καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστημονικὰς πραγματείας post Θεοφράστου add. Ga-La

rare or unavailable from another source, but also the common ones that were eagerly sought out for the precision of their text, those of Callinus⁶, Atticus, Peducaeus and of course Aristarchus, by whom are two Homers, and also the Plato of Panaetius⁷ and many other such writings, within each volume of which were preserved either what the men whose names the books bore wrote or the notes they made. For in fact autograph copies of many ancient grammarians, orators, physicians and philosophers were stored [there].

3. In addition, then, to these numerous and significant [books], I lost on the very same day whatever books had been written on clean material after correction, from those, for example, that were unclear, or that contained mistakes in their text; because I decided to produce my own editions, after the readings had been laboured over to restore their accuracy, so that not a word would be superfluous or missing, nor even a single or double marginal mark or a coronis suitably placed between books. Why should I mention a stop or a comma, which you know are so decisive in obscure works, that when someone pays due attention to them he can dispense with a commentator? Such were the works of Theophrastus, Aristotle, Eudemus, Clytus and Phaenias, and most of Chrysippus

⁶ The identification is not certain. Boudon-Millot-Jouanna-Pietrobelli (2010: 49–50) connect Callinus with the eponymous scribe (*bibliographos*) mentioned in Lucian's *The Ignorant Book-Collector* 2 and 24, whereas Jones (2009: 391–392) identifies him with Callinus of Hermione, student of the philosopher Lycon of Alexandria Troas, who, according to Diogenes Laertius (*The Lives of the Philosophers* 5.73), had bequeathed his unpublished books to Callinus 'so as he could publish them with diligence' (3rd c. BC). This identification suits the context in Galen better, if what he seeks to emphasise is the linguistic precision of works based on a careful editorial process (in line with what he says in ch. 3) rather than mere faithful transcription or ownership of high-quality copies. Cf. Dorandi (2010), who is in favour of the latter interpretation.

⁷ Whether Galen has in mind an edition of Plato by Panaetius or an accurate copy of Plato as made for or owned by Panaetius is unclear, although the possibility of an 'edition' is not far-fetched, given Panaetius' philological engagement with the Platonic corpus. The list of five names is not unproblematic, because the first three are nebulous figures as regards their precise engagement with manuscripts and texts. The key to the problem is perhaps the reference to Aristarchus, who can hardly be associated with mere copying. Hence, careful 'editions' seems a more probable option here than high-quality copies, 'transcriptions'.

τέλους και Εὐδήμου και Κλύτου και Φαινίου βιβλία και Χρυσίππου τὰ πλεῖστα και τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν πάντων. Λυπήσει δέ σε και ταῦτα μάλιστα, ὡς τῶν ἐν τοῖς 10
καλουμένοις Πίναξι {τῶν} γεγραμμένων βιβλίων ἔξωθεν εὐρόν τινα κατά τε τὰς
ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ βιβλιοθήκας και τὰς ἐν Ἀντίῳ, ἃ φανερώς ἦν οὐ ἐπεγέγραπτο
κατά τὴν λέξιν νοῦν τε και τὴν διάνοιαν. Ὅμοια μὲν αὐτῷ και τὰ Θεοφράστου,
και μάλιστα τὰ κατά τὰς ἐπιστημονικὰς πραγματείας (ἔστιν ἄλλα τὰ Περι φυτῶν
βιβλία, (ἃ) κατά δύο πραγματείας ἐκτεταμένας ἡρμηνευμένα πάντες ἔχουσιν, ἢ 15
δὲ Ἀριστοτέλει σύναρμος ἀκριβῶς ἦν εὐρεθεῖσα μοι και μεταγραφείσα, ἢ και νῦν
ἀπολομένη), κατά δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον και Θεοφράστου και ἄλλων τινῶν
ἀνδρῶν παλαιῶν μὴ φερόμενα κατά τοὺς Πίνακας, τινὰ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμέ-
να μὲν, μὴ φαινόμενα δ' αὐτά.

9 κλίτου V Κλίτου Bou¹ Κλειτομάχου corr. Jou² Ko Ga-La: corr. Pol¹ Ra Si Br | χρυσίπου V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br 10 ταῦτα V Bou¹⁻² Ra Ko-So Br Str: τοῦτο corr. Ga-La 10-11 ταῖς καλουμέναις V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Str 11 τῶν secl. Ra Bou² Ko Ma Ga³ Ga-La Br Str Ro: τούτων corr. Bou¹ | γεγραμμένων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str Ro: προγεγραμμένων corr. Jo ἀναγεγραμμένων corr. Ra | ἔξωθεν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Ro: ἐκωθέντα corr. Str | εὐρόν ex εὐρῶν V ἡῦρόν corr. Bou¹ quae εὐρων leg. εὐρον leg. Jo: corr. Bou² So Ra Ga-La Br Str Ro | κατά τινα (deinde τινα cancellavit) τε τῆς V κατά τινὰ τε τῆς Bou¹ κατά {τε} τὰς corr. Ko και τινα τε τῆς corr. Jo: corr. Bou² Ra Ga³ Ga-La Br Ro Str 12 βιβλιοθήκας V Bou² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Ro: βιβλιοθήκης leg. Bou¹ | και τὰς ἐναντίῳ V τινὰ ἐναντίως corr. Jou² Ro και τὰ ἐναντία corr. Bou¹ Ko-So και +τὰς ἐναντίῳ+ Br και τὰ ἀντίγραφα corr. Lei και τὰ ἐν Ἀντίῳ corr. Jo (qui τινα ἐν Ἀντίῳ etiam conī.): corr. Ra Ga-La Str 12-13 ἦν οὐπερ ἐγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν οὔτε κατά διάνοιαν. ὅμοια μὲν αὐτῷ V Bou¹ (οὐκ) ἦν οὐπερ ἐγέγραπτο, (οὔτε) κατά τὴν λέξιν οὔτε κατά (τὴν) διάνοιαν ὁμοιούμενα αὐτῷ corr. Bou² Ro (οὐκ) ἦν οὐπερ ἐγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν, οὔτε κατά (τὴν) διάνοιαν ὅμοια {μὲν} αὐτῷ corr. Ko (οὐκ) ἦν οὐπερ ἐγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν, οὔτε κατά διάνοιαν ὅμοια μὲν (an delendum?) αὐτῷ corr. Jo οὐτ' ἦν οὐπερ (ἐπ)εγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν, οὔτε κατά διάνοιαν ὅμοια ἦν αὐτῷ corr. Ga-La (οὐκ) ἦν οὐπερ ἐπεγέγραπτο, (οὔτε) κατά τὴν λέξιν οὔτε κατά (τὴν) διάνοιαν ὁμοιούμεν(α) αὐτῷ corr. Br ἦν οὐ ἐπεγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν τε και τὴν διάνοιαν ὅμοια. (ἔστι) μὲν αὐτῶν Ma ἦν οὐπερ ἐπεγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν τε και τὴν διάνοιαν ὅμοια. (ἔστι) μὲν αὐτῶν corr. Si ἦν οὐπερ ἐπεγέγραπτο, κατά τὴν λέξιν τε και διάνοιαν ὁμοιούμενα αὐτῷ. (και γὰρ εἰ παραπλήσια ἀλλήλοις τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους) corr. Ra ἦν (οὐχ) οὐ ἐπεγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν, οὔτε κατά διάνοιαν ὁμοιούμεν(α) αὐτῷ corr. Str (οὐκ) ἦν οὐ ἐπεγέγραπτο Ros¹ ἦν οὐπερ ἐγέγραπτο κατά τὴν λέξιν νοῦν τε και (τὴν) διάνοιαν corr. Pol²: correximus 14 ἐστίν. ἄλλα τα V {ἔστιν} ἄλλα τὰ corr. Ma Si {ἔστιν} ἄλλα τὰ corr. Br ἐστίν, ἄλλα τὰ γε corr. Ra: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Ro; an ἔστιν ἄλλ' ἄττα scribendum? 15 ἃ addidimus | ἐκτεταμένα vel ἐκτεταμένως corr. Ga³ | ἃ post ἡρμηνευμένα add. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La: ἃs add. Ko | ἡρμηνευμένα leg. Bou¹ 16 δ' Ἀριστο^α V δ' Ἀριστοτέλει Bou¹⁻² Ro δὲ (τῆ) Ἀριστοτέλους corr. Ko-So δ' Ἀριστοτέλους corr. Ga³ Ma Ra Ga-La Br: correximus | σύναρμος V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Ro Ma: +σύναρμος+Br συναρμόττουσα corr. Ra συνάρθμος corr. Ga³ συνώνυμος vel ὁμώνυμος corr. Nu | ἢ V Ko-So Ga-La Br: ἢ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ro Ra; an ἀκριβῶς {ἦν} εὐρεθεῖσα μοι και μεταγραφείσα ἦ(ν) και νῦν ἀπολομένη scribendum? 17 τὰ post και add. Ga-La | και Ἀριστοτέλους post Θεοφράστου add. Ga-La 18 τινὰ μὲν post παλαιῶν add. Jou² | φερόμενα V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Ro: φαινόμενα corr. Nu Br 19 φαινόμενα V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Ro: φερόμενα corr. Ga³ Nu Br

and all the ancient physicians. Above all, however, you will be distressed by the fact that, beyond the books recorded in the so-called Catalogues, I found some in both the Palatine libraries and those in Antium which clearly belonged to the author to whom they had been ascribed with respect to their style and sense and their thought. Similar to this are the works of Theophrastus, and especially those on science – the books *On Plants* (which) are expounded in two lengthy treatises that everybody has, are different, whereas the work that agrees precisely with Aristotle was found by me and transcribed, but is now also lost⁸ – and so in the same way [I came across] works of Theophrastus and of other ancient persons that did not appear in the Catalogues, while [I also found] other works that although recorded there, were manifestly not those works.⁹

⁸ This parenthetical note is even more perplexing than Galen's general line of thought here, but on closer inspection it tells us that: (a) Theophrastus' treatises *On Plants* were widely known and, it is implied, included in the Catalogues, unlike his books on science that Galen had found and which were not so widely known; (b) the work that is close to Aristotle in style and thought, the Ἀριστοτέλει σύναρμος, unlike the treatises *On Plants*, was less well known and perhaps not included in the Catalogues, but Galen was able to locate and transcribe it before it was lost in the fire.

⁹ Some simple deductions can be made from this woolly section, i.e.: (a) Galen had found authentic works not recorded in the Catalogues (e.g. Theophrastus' books on science) and (b) he had tracked down other works which were miscatalogued. This section thus points out that Galen's research improved the state of the Catalogues, first by locating books that ought to have been included in the lists but which were unfortunately omitted, and second by spotting erroneous entries.

4. Τούτων οὖν ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον βιβλιοθήκαις εὑρον, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἀντίῳ κατεσκευάσα. Διεφθάρη δὲ νῦν τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς ἡμετέροις, τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς οὐ μόνον ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰερὰν Ὀδὸν ἀποθήκαις λυμναμένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν μὲν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης 5 τέμενος, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιόν τε καὶ τὴν Τιβεριανὴν καλουμένην οἰκίαν, ἐν ἧ καὶ αὐτῇ βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων βιβλίων μεστή, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἀντίῳ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν τῶν ἐκάστοτε πιστευομένων ἐκ διαδοχῆς αὐτὰ μ[.]τιν[...].]χ[...].]α, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐγὼ ἀνέβην εἰς Ῥώμην πρῶτον, ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ διεφθάρθαι. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ κάματον ἡμῖν παρέσχεν οὐ μικρὸν ἐγγραφομένοις αὐτά. Νυνὶ δὲ τελέως ἐστὶν ἄχρηστα, μηδὲ ἀνελιχθῆναι δυνάμενα διὰ τὸ κεκολληθῆσαι τὰς χάρτας ὑπὸ τῆς σηπεδόνοσ· ἔστι γὰρ ἐλῶδες τε καὶ κοῖλον τὸ χωρίον 10 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διὰ θέρους πνιγρὸν.

5. Ἰσως δὲ ἐλύπει καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ὅσα πολιτικὰ πραγματεία, διττὴ μὲν οὔσα, καθάπερ οἶσθα, μία μὲν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας, ἕτερα δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἄνευ μέτρου γραψάντων. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τύχην γε τῆς ἑτέρας εἰς Καμπανίαν ἐκεκόμιστο τάντίγραφα, καὶ εἴ γε μετὰ δύο μῆνας ἐνεπέπρηστο τὰ κατὰ τὴν 5 Ῥώμην, ἔφθανον ἂν εἰς Καμπανίαν πασῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων πραγματειῶν τὰ ἀντίγραφα. Διπλᾶ γὰρ ἐγέγραπτο πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἕκδοσιν ἤδη, χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μελλόντων μένειν, ἀξιούντων μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι φίλων ἀπάσας

4,1 ἡῦρον corr. Bou¹ 2 τὰ δ' ἐναντία V Bou¹ Ko-So τινὰ δ' ἐναντίως corr. Jou² Si Ro τὰ δ' +ἐναντία+Br τὰ δ' ἀντίγραφα corr. Lei: corr. Jo Ra Ga-La Str | κατεσκεύασα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Jo Str Ro 3 πυρκαϊᾶς leg. Bou¹ | τῆς V: ταῖς corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Str 4 λυμναμένοις V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Str Ro | πρὸ αὐτῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Str Ro: πρῶτον corr. Ros² Br 5 τιβεριανὴν καλοῦμεν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ra Str 6 αὐτῇ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Ro; an αὐθις scribendum? | μὲν del. Ra μὴν corr. Str 6–7 τὰ δ' ἐναντίῳ V τινὰ δὲ ἐναντίως corr. Jou² Ro τινὰ δ' ἐναντίως Si τὰ δὲ ἐναντία corr. Bou¹ Ko-So +τὰ δ' ἐναντίω+ Br τὰ δ' ἀντίγραφα corr. Lei: corr. Jo Ra Ga-La Str 7 ἐκάστοτε ληστευομένων V Bou¹⁻² Str Ro ἐκάστοτε λυμναομένων corr. Ko ἐκάστοτ' ἐμπιστευομένων corr. Ra Ga-La Pu Ros¹ Si: corr. Ga¹⁻³ Nu Br 8 μ[.]τιν[...].]χ[...].]α vix legere potuimus, supplere nequimus: lac. 10 litt. stat. Bou² Ro lac. 13 litt. stat. Ga-La μ[.]σι[.....] leg. Ko-So μ[υ]σὶ [βεβρωμένα] suppl. Ra μεσι[τείας] suppl. Str μ[ῆ] σή[πληται πω]s suppl. Pu [σχεδὸν ἅπαντα] suppl. Ha | ἀνέβην V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ra Ga-La Br Str Ro | τὸ post Ῥώμην add. Ko 9 Ταῦτ' V Bou² Ko-So Br Str Ro: Τοῦτ' corr. Bou¹ Ga-La | ἐγγραφομένοις V ἐκγραφομένοις corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Str Ro; an μετεγγραφομένοις scribendum? 11 τὰς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: τοὺς corr. Ga-La Str Ros¹ | τσηπεδόνοσ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Str Ro 5,1 ἐλύπει V: (σ)ε λυπ(ήσ)ει corr. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro ἐλύπει (ἂν) corr. Bou¹ ἐλύπει (σε ἂν) corr. Ko λείπει con. Pol¹ 1–2 πράγματα V Bou¹ πράγματα (καὶ ὀνόματα πραγματεία) corr. Jou² Br πράγματα (ἀπώλεια) corr. Ro: corr. Ko-So Ga¹ Ga-La 3 μέτρου V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: μέτρων corr. Ga-La | τις V τινὰ corr. Bou¹: corr. Bou² Ko-So Ga¹ Ga-La Br 4 ἐξί (deinde cancellatum) ἐκκόμιστο V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga¹ Ga-La Br | ταν τέγραφα V τ' ἀντίγραφα corr. Bou¹: corr. Bou² Ko-So Ga¹ Ga-La Br 5 ἔφθανον νοῦν V ἔφθανον ἂν οὖν corr. Jou² Br ἔφθανεν ἂν οὖν corr. Ga-La ἐφθάνομεν ἂν corr. Bou¹: corr. Ko 6 τὰ] τὰς V a. corr.

4. I thus found many of these [books] in the libraries on the Palatine, while I arranged those in Antium. But those on the Palatine were recently destroyed on the same day as mine, since the fire ravaged not only the storehouses on the Sacred Way but also, before them, those at the Temple of Peace, and later on those on the Palatine and at the so-called House of Tiberius, in which there was also a library filled with many other books. The [books] in Antium, on the other hand, because of the negligence of those who were successively entrusted with them on every occasion (...) ¹⁰, at the time when I first went up to Rome, were on the verge of ruin. These therefore caused me no small trouble as I was copying them. But now they are completely useless, since they cannot be unfolded because the leaves have become stuck together due to decay; for the region is extremely marshy and low-lying, and during the summer it is stifling hot.

5. Perhaps you were also distressed by [the unfortunate outcome of] my treatise on Attic nouns and collections of everyday language,¹¹ which, as you know, consists of two parts, one drawn from Old Comedy, the other from the prose-writers.¹² But by chance the copies of the latter had been transferred to Campania, and if the fires in Rome had occurred two months later, the copies of all my works would have made their way to Campania before that. For all those intended for publication had already been written in duplicate – with the exception of those that were meant to remain in Rome – since, on the one hand,

¹⁰ Uncertain text in the codex.

¹¹ We should imagine this as a glossary.

¹² Lit. 'from those who have written without metre'.

αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι τὰς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγонуίας πραγματείας, ὅπως ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσίᾳ θῶσι, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἤδη πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἔθηκαν, ἐννοοῦντος δὲ κάμου πάντων ἔχειν ἀντίγραφα κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν. Ἦν οὖν διὰ τοῦτο διπλᾶ πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα χωρὶς τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μελλόντων μένειν, ὡς ἔφην. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πυρκαϊὰ τελευτῶντος ἐξεγένετο τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνενόουν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ θέρους εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν κομίσει τὰ τε αὐτόθι μέλλοντα κεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ πεμφθησόμενα τῶν ἐτησίων πνευσάντων εἰς Ἀσίαν. Ἐνήδρευσεν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἡ Τύχη, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀφελομένη βιβλίων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων πραγματείαν, ἣν ἐξελεξάμην τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας ὄλης.

6. Ἦν δ', ὡς οἴσθα, καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ φθάνων Δίδυμος τὰ τε γλωττηματικά πάντα ἐξηγήσασθαι διὰ πεντήκοντα βιβλίων, ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτομὴν ἐπεποιήμην ἐν ἐξακισχιλίοις στίχοις. Ἐδόκει μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαυτὴ κατασκευὴ ῥήτοροσι τε καὶ γραμματικοῖς εἶναι χρήσιμος, ἢ οἵτινες ὅλως ἀτικίζειν βούλοιντο τινα καὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ πράγματα χρήσιμα διαφερόντων, ὁποῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ παρατεθὲν ἔναγχος ὑπὸ τινος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἰατρῶν, οὕτω τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι τοῦ χόνδρου κατὰ τοὺς Ἱπποκράτους χρόνους, διὰ τοῦτο πτισάνην αὐτὸν προκρίνειν πάντων τῶν σιτηρῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων, ὡς, εἴ γε χόνδρος ἐγινώσκετο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἕτερόν τι προελέσθαι τοῦδε. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν καὶ κατὰ τὸ Περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινόν, ὃ τινες μὲν φασιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἔνιοι δὲ Φιλιστίνου, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀρίστωνος, ἀνδρῶν παλαιωτάτων, εὐρίσκειται γεγραμμένος ὁ χόνδρος. Ἄλλ' ἂ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς κωμικοῖς, Ἀβυδοκόμαν

8 πεφθῆναι V a. corr. | γεγонуίας V Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Br 8–9 ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσιασθῶσι V ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσίᾳ στῶσι corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσίᾳ τεθῶσι corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹; ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ δημοσίᾳς θῶσι etiam possis 9 ἄλλοις V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10 ἐννοοῦντες V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10–11 ἀντίγραφα. Κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν ἦν οὖν Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Br 13 ἐνόουν V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Ko Ga-La | κομίσει V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 14 πεμφθησόμενα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἐνησίων V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | πνευμάτων V Bou¹ πνεόντων corr. Ga¹ Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br: corr. Pol² 16 ἥκιστον Bou¹ | ἦν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | ἐξελέξατο V Bou¹ ἐξέλεξα corr. Nu Bou² Ga-La Br Ro: corr. Ko | ἐκ ante τῆς add. Ko Ga-La 6,1 Ἦν δ' V Ko-So: ἦς {δ'} corr. Jou² Br Ro τῶν δ' corr. Bou¹ τῶνδ' Ga-La | φθάνων V (ἄ) ἔφθανεν corr. Bou¹ ἔφθανεν corr. Bou² Br Ro (ἄ) ἔφθασεν corr. So ἔφθαν' ὁ corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹ | Δύδυμος V a. corr. 3 βιβλίους V: στίχοις corr. Jou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Nu Br Ro | νοῦν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 4 οἵτινες V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: εἴ τινες corr. Ga-La | ἀτ'αἰκίζειν V: tacite corr. Bou¹⁻² corr. Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἢ post βούλοιντο (sine distinctione) add. Jou² Br Ro | καὶ secl. Ko 5 τὰ secl. Ko | χρήσιμα secl. Ha Br | διαφερόντως conit. Pol² 6 εἰπόντος V εἰπόντος (τινός) corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ὑπὸ τινος corr. Ga-La 7 κατοῦς V: κατὰ τοὺς corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 9 τι secl. Ga-La 10 μάλιστα V: tacite corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | κατὸ V κὰν τῷ corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br | ὑγιεινόν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ὑγιεινῶ corr. Ga-La 12 ἀλλὰ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: corr. Pol² 12–13 ἀβυδομῆν ἢ ἀβυστακινεῖν V +Ἀβυδομᾶν ἢ Ἀβυστακινεῖν+ Ko-So +ἀβυδομῆν ἢ ἀβυστακινεῖν+ Ga-La Χιωνίδῃ ἢ Ἀριστοφάνει conit. Bou¹ Ἀριστομένει ἢ Ἀριστοφάνει corr. Bou² Si Ἀντιφάνει ἢ Ἀναξανδριδῃ corr. Chr: corr. Pol¹ Nu Br

friends in my homeland were requesting that all my treatises be sent to them, so that they could place them in a public library, just as some other [friends] had already deposited many of my works in other cities, while, on the other hand, I myself intended to have copies of everything in Campania. For this reason there were accordingly two copies of all my works, not counting those that were to remain in Rome, as I said. So the fire broke out at the end of winter, while I was planning to transport to Campania at the beginning of summer both what was to remain there and what was going to be sent to Asia when the Etesian winds blew¹³. Fate accordingly ambushed me by depriving me of many of my other books and, most important, of my treatise on nouns, which I assembled drawing from the whole of Old Comedy.

6. As you know, Didymus had earlier managed to explain both the common and all the rare [words] in fifty books, of which I had composed an epitome in six thousand lines. This composition, then, seemed to be useful for both orators and grammarians, or in general for anyone who might wish to use Attic words from among those that are important for practical affairs. An example is the one provided recently by one of the distinguished physicians in Rome, [who said] that *chondros*¹⁴ was not yet in use in the time of Hippocrates, on account of which he [i.e. Hippocrates] preferred *ptisanē* over all other cereal foodstuffs in his *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, since if in fact *chondros* was known to the Greeks, he would not have chosen anything else other than this. But *chondros* is found written in particular in *Regimen in Health*, which some say is by him, but others attribute to Philistion, and still others to Ariston, very early persons. But also those terms found in the ancient comic playwrights, *Abydokoman* or *abyrtakēn*¹⁵, (or) whatever else was unintelligible to their audience, were defined in my

13 I.e. summer winds.

14 *chondros* and *ptisanē* both mean barley gruel.

15 The unintelligible reading of the manuscript ἀβυδομᾶν ἢ ἀβυστακινεῖν has perplexed editors of the work, but the present edition suggests (in line with Polemis 2011/2012) that the phrase conceals two glosses from Old Comedy, namely Ἄβυδοκόμαν ἢ ἀβυρτάκην. Ἄβυδοκόμης (or Ἄβυδοκόμας in Doric) is a nickname for the braggart slanderer, refined by the lexicographers as ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ συκοφαντεῖν κομῶν, while ἀβυρτάκη is a sour sauce made of leeks (LSJ⁹, s.v.).

ἢ ἀβυρτάκην, (ἦ) ἄλλ' ὅσα μὴ σαφῆ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἦν, ὤριστο κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν πραγματείαν, ἃ Δίδυμος ἔφθασεν ἐξηγήσασθαι καλῶς οὕτως, ὄλυραι καὶ λάθυροι καὶ ὄροβοι καὶ χόνδρος τὰ τε ἄλλα Δημήτρια σπέρματα καὶ λάχανα καὶ ὀπῶραι καὶ θάμναι καὶ δευτερίαι καὶ θάμνοι καὶ καρποὶ καὶ βοτάναι καὶ ζῶα καὶ ἄρμενα καὶ σκευὴ καὶ ὄργανα καὶ τᾶλλα πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ ὀνόματα πάντα. 15

7. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λοιπὰ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας ἐξελεγμένα τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἔφθασαν εἰς Καμπανίαν μετενεχθῆναι, τὰ δὲ (τῶν) ἄνευ μέτρου γραψάντων ἤδη μετενήνεκτο κατὰ τὴν Τύχην, ἐν βιβλίοις ὄντα τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ μεγάλοις, ὧν ἕνια διελεῖν ἴσως δεήσει δίχα, πλειόνων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων ἐπῶν ἐξαμέτρων ἀριθμὸν ἔχοντων. Τούτων οὖν οὐδὲν ἠνίασέ με, καίτοι πολλῶν τε καὶ χρησίμων καὶ δυσπορίστων ὄντων, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἀπώλεια, διττῶν κατ' εἶδος ὄντων. Ἔνια μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐγεγόνει σύμμετρα, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι χρήσιμα, τινὰ δὲ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ καὶ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντι παρασκευῆν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν. Ἔπειτα αἱ κεφαλαιώδεις πλείοσαι συνόψεις πολλῶν πάνυ βιβλίων ἰατρικῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων, ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐλύπησεν. 10

8. Τί ποτε οὖν, φήσεις, ἔτι μείζον ἀπάντων τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστίν, ὃ λυπεῖν (ἂν) δύναιτο; Καὶ δὴ σοι φράσω τοῦτο. Γραφὰς φαρμάκων θαυμασιωτέρας ἐπεπεῖσμην ἔχειν οἷας οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένη, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ Τύχης εἰς τοῦτο συλλαμβανούσης, τὸ δέ τι κάμου συμπροστιθέντος. Διττὴ δὲ Τύχη προὔξενησέ μοι ἕκαστα κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὧν ἡ μὲν προτέρα τοιάδε 5 τίς ἐστίν. Τίς ἀνὴρ πλούσιος τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασεν εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀξιολόγων φαρμάκων γνῶσιν, ὡς ἑκατὸν χρυσῶν ἐνίας γραφὰς ὠνεῖσθαι πλέον. Ὅς καὶ

13 (ἦ) ἄλλ' corr. Pol¹⁻²; ἄλλ(α τε) vel (καὶ) ἄλλα (Br) etiam possis 14 ἄλλ' εἶρα V: ὄλυραι corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 16 καὶ θάμναι secl. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La | δένδρα V p. corr. Ko-So Ga-La δεύτερα V a. corr. Bou¹; corr. Jou² Br 7,1 λοιπὰ secl. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro 2 ἔφθασαν V: ἔφθασεν corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La | δὲ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: δ' tacite corr. Ga-La | τῶν add. So: ἐκ τῶν add. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro 3 μετήνεκτο V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τὴν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: τινα corr. Ga-La 5 ἐξάμετρον (ἀμετρον s.l.) ἀριθμὸν V p. corr. ἐξάρθμον V a. corr. Bou¹ Ga-La Jou² Br Ro ἐξαμέτρων corr. Ko Si: correximus | ἔχοντων V Bou¹⁻² Br Si Ro: ὄντα corr. Ko ἔχοντα corr. Ga-La | νοῦν V Pol²: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | με V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: μου corr. Pol² 6 ἡμῶν V ἡμετέρων corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἐμῶν Ko 8 καὶ τῷ V Ko-So: καίτοι corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br | ἔχοντι V Ko-So: ἔχοντα corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br 10 ἰατρικῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br; an ἰατρῶν scribendum? | φιλοσόφων V Ko-So Ga-La: φιλοσοφικῶν corr. Bou¹⁻² Br | ἐλύπησαν V Bou² Br: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La 8,2 ἂν add. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro | θαυμασιωτέρας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: θαυμασιωτάτας corr. Ga-La; an θαυμασιωτέρων scribendum? 3 τῆς V: τῇ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | Ῥωμαίους V Bou² Br Ro: Ῥωμαίων corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La 4 τυχεῖν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | συλλαμβανούσης V συλλαβούσης corr. Ko: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Ro | συνπροτιμηθέντος V p. corr. συμπροτιμηθέντος corr. Bou² Ro συνπροτιθέντος V a. corr. συμπροτιθέντος corr. Bou¹ συμπροθυμηθέντος corr. Ko Luc Ga-La: corr. Nu Br 5 δὲ V: δὴ leg. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 6 Τίς ἀνὴρ V Ἄνῆρ τις corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: correximus | εὐρεῖν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἔχειν corr. Ga-La 7 χρυσῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: χρυσίων corr. Ga-La | ὃ V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br

treatise, [terms] Didymus had already explained so well: *olyrai*,¹⁶ *lathyroi*,¹⁷ *oroboi*,¹⁸ *chondros*¹⁹ and other seeds of Demeter²⁰, vegetables, late-summer fruits, wine from pressed grapes, ‘seconds’²¹, bushes, fruits, plants, animals, instruments, equipment, tools, and all the other [unclear] objects and terms of ordinary life.

7. The remaining selections, therefore, of such words from Old Comedy were not transported to Campania earlier, but luckily those from prose writers had already been transported, being in forty-eight large books, some of which will perhaps have to be divided in two, since they exceed the length of four thousand hexameter lines. None of these [lost books] therefore grieved me, even though they were numerous, useful and difficult to get hold of, just as the loss of my writings, being of two kinds, also did not. Because some were produced in such a fitting fashion as to be useful also to others, while others [were produced] only for me and for anyone with the same training to assist his memory²². Then there were the numerous concise summaries of a quite substantial number of medical and philosophical books; but not even these distressed me.

8. What on earth then, you will say, is even greater than all the items mentioned that could cause distress? Well, I shall tell you what this is. I was convinced that I had in my possession really astonishing medical recipes, such as no one else in the entire Roman world [had], partially because Fate had assisted with this, and partially because I too had made a contribution. A two-fold Fate therefore brought about all sorts of things in my path, the first of which is the following: A wealthy man from my homeland was eager to attain the knowledge of remarkable medicines, to the extent that he would buy some recipes for over a hundred

16 I.e. rice-wheat.

17 I.e. grass peas.

18 I.e. bitter vetch.

19 I.e. barley gruel, groats.

20 Namely, grains, cereals.

21 Poor wine, produced by the second crushing of the grape, pressed with the addition of water.

22 Or: ‘for reminding’.

τοιούτων ἔργων ἐπετηδεύσατο, μὴ μόνον ὅσα κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦν εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν (νῦν) ἱατρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξωνήσασθαι. Τούτων τῶν 10
 φαρμάκων πάντων αἱ γραφαὶ κατὰ δύο διφθέρας πτυκτὰς ἐφυλάττοντο μετὰ
 πάσης ἀσφαλείας, ἄστινας τῶν κληρονομησάντων τις αὐτόν, φίλτατος ὢν ἐμοί,
 μηδὲ αἰτηθεὶς, αὐτόματος ἔδωκεν. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ προτέρα Τύχη τῆς τῶν φαρμάκων
 εὐπορίας, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἐφεξῆς ἄκουσον. Ὡς ἐγενόμην ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον,
 ἔτος ἄγων τρίτον πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα, πολίτην τε καὶ συμφοιτητὴν ἐμὸν ὀνόμα-
 τι Τεύθραντα διατρίβοντα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εὖρον, ὃς διεδέδεκτο τὰς Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ 15
 ἱατροῦ διφθέρας, ὄντος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῦ Περγαμηνοῦ, φιλοφαρμάκου δὲ καὶ
 πολυφαρμάκου πάντων τῶν ἱατρῶν μάλιστα, καὶ αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ διφθέραι ἐν ἐνὶ
 σχεδὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν συνηθροισμέναι διὰ τὰς ἐπιγινόμενας
 ἀποδημίας αὐτῶ, μεθ' ἃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διετέλεσεν ἄχρι θανάτου. Ταύτας οὖν τὰς
 διφθέρας ὁ Τεύθρας, ἀποθανὼν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ λοιμοῦ καταβολῆ, κατέλιπέ μοι 20
 μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τῆς ἧς εἶπον ἀνόδου τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην μοι γεγονέαι. Ἐκ
 τούτων οὖν τῶν παρασκευῶν, εἴ τις τι τῶν θαυμασιῶν εἶχε φαρμάκων, ἐλάμβανον
 οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀντιδιδούς δύο καὶ τρία τῶν ὁμοίων.

9. Οὐ μόνον οὖν ἀπώλοντο κατὰ τὴν πυρκαϊᾶν αἱ διφθέραι πᾶσαι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 τοῦτο ἔτι μικρὸν ἐνόμιζον), ἀλλὰ (καὶ) πραγματεία μοι γεγонуῖα μετὰ πολλῆς
 ἀκριβείας, ἡ Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων, ἐν ἧ ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς αὐθις συνθεῖην φαρμά-
 κων ἐμήνυον τὰ δοκιμώτατα, καὶ μόναι φαρμάκων σώζονται ὀλίγων γραφαί,

8 τοιούτων V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | οἶον post ἐπετηδεύσατο add. Bou¹⁻² Br ὡς post ἐπετηδεύσατο add. Ko-So Ga-La Jou² | οὐσίαν V Bou¹ Ko-So: Ἀσίαν corr. Ga³ Bou² Ga-La Nu Br Si
 9 νῦν add. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Nu Br Si | πάλαι τῶν αἰῶων V πάλαι τῶν αἰώνων vel παλαιῶν ἐνίων vel πάλαι τῶν ἐτών conī. Pol²: τῶν παλαιῶν corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | δὲ post Τούτων add. Bou¹ 10 ἐγραφαὶ V a. corr. | πτυκτὰς V Bou¹ Ko-So Lor: corr. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro 11 αὐτὸς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: corr. Pol² 12 μήτε V Bou¹: corr. Jou² Ko Ga-La Cr Ga³ Br Ro | αἰτιθεὶς V: tacite corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | αὐτόματως V αὐτομάτως tacite corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: corr. Pol² 13 δὲ iteravit V | τήνδε δὲ (τὴν) corr. Jou² Br: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La | ἐφῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br; an εὐθύς scribebendum? 14 ἔττος ἄγων V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | συμφυτητὴν V a. corr. 15 τεύρθραντα V a. corr. | Εὐμενοῦς V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Si: Εὐμένους corr. So Εὐδήμου conī. Bou¹ Ro 16 μεργαμηνοῦ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | φιλομάρκου V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 16–17 καὶ πολυφαρμάκου secl. Br 17 ἐ V: αἱ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | διφθέραι V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Br: γραφαὶ corr. Jou² Nu 18 ἐπιγινόμενας V Ga-La: ἐπιγενομένης corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br 19 ἐπιδημίας V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | αὐτῶ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: αὐτοῦ corr. So | ἄχρι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: μέχρι corr. Ga-La 21 μοι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἐμοὶ corr. Ga-La | γεγονέαι V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: γεγονότι corr. Ko 23 ἀντιδιδούς e corr. V 9,1 οὐ μόνουῖν V a. corr. 2 καὶ add. Ko | γεγονεῖα V Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Br 3 πῶς V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: πως corr. Ko-So | αὐτὸς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: ἄν τις corr. Ga-La Nu Br | συνθεῖην V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: συνθείη corr. Ga-La Nu Br 3–4 φαρμάκων secl. La¹ Nu Br 4 ἔμεινον τὰ V ἔμοι[ν] ὄντα (sic) (τὰ) corr. Bou¹ ἄμεινον τὰ corr. So: corr. Nu Bou² Ga-La Br; ἡρμήνευον τὰ vel ἔλεγον τὰ etiam possis | ὀλίγα V a. corr. | οὐ post γραφαὶ add. Ko

gold pieces. He undertook a task of this sort, to purchase whatever recipes were highly esteemed not only by all (contemporary) physicians in Asia but also by the ancients. The recipes of all these medicines were preserved, with the utmost security, in two folded parchment codices, which one of his heirs, a dear friend of mine, gave me of his own accord, without being asked. This was the first Fate for securing my abundance of medicines, but listen thereafter to the second. When I arrived in Rome for the first time, being thirty-three years old, I came across a fellow citizen and schoolmate of mine named Teuthras, who lived in the city and who had inherited the parchments of the physician Eumenes²³. The latter was himself also from Pergamum and was fond of and extremely knowledgeable about the medicines of all physicians; and these recipes²⁴ had been gathered in one place from all over almost the entire world thanks to the travels he had completed, after which he remained in Rome until his death. When Teuthras died in the first attack of the plague, therefore, he left these recipes to me a short while after my initial arrival in Rome, which I have mentioned. If someone had an exceptional medicine, I could thus obtain it without difficulty by giving in exchange two or three similar medicines from these compositions.

9. Not only, then, were all the parchments destroyed in the fire – indeed, I considered even this a minor matter – but (also) the treatise I composed with great accuracy, namely *On the Composition of Drugs*, in which I showed how I myself again composed the most excellent medicines, and only recipes for a few

²³ An otherwise unrecorded physician in the Galenic corpus and elsewhere. It has been suggested that Eudemus is the name Galen meant (edition by Boudon-Millot 2007: 112, n. 273), but issues of chronology render this emendation unsafe.

²⁴ In fact, the text says ‘parchments’ with the implication ‘containing recipes’. I therefore translate simply as ‘recipes’.

φθάνουσαι διδόσθαι τοῖς ἑταίροις. Ἴσως ἂν οὖν φήσεις ἐπιτετάσθαι σου τὴν 5
ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον γνῶναι πῶς ἀπολέσας τοσαύτην ποικιλίαν
κτημάτων, ὧν ἕκαστον αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μόνον λυπηρότατον ἂν ἐγένετο τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, οὐκ ἠνιάθην ὡς ἕτεροί τινες, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἦνεγκα τὸ συμβάν.
Ἐγὼ δέ σοι διττὴν ἀπόκρισιν πρὸς τοῦτο ποιήσομαι, τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν, ὑπὲρ ἧς
ἀναμνησθῆναί σε χρή πολλάκις (ἐμοῦ) ἀκηκόοτα διερχομένου τοιούτους λόγους, 10
ἧν καὶ νῦν ἄρξομαι τῆς ἀναμνήσεως.

10. Φιλότιμος Ἀρίστιππος, οὐκ ἀρκούμενος διαίτη εὐτελεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ (ἐν)
πολυτελείαις ὄψων ὧν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας διδοῦς ἀργύριον ἐκάστοτε δαψιλῆς τοῖς
θερμοτέροις τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἑταίρων, ὅμως καὶ ἔτι πολλῶν δεόμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ
ἐκεῖνος, ἀνίων ποτε ἐκ Πειραιῶς (εἰώθει (γὰρ) ἀεὶ βαδίζειν οὐ μόνον τὰς οὐτῶ
βραχείας ὁδοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς μακράς), ἐπειδὴ ἐθεάσατο τὸν οἰκέτην μὴ δυνάμε- 5
νον ἔπεσθαι, τοῦ φορτίου (φασκάλιον δὲ ἦν τοῦτο χρυσίων μεστὸν) ἐκέλευσεν
ἀποχέαι τοσοῦτον, ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐφορον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν
γνώμην ἔπραξε καὶ τὸδε. Τέσσαρας ἔχων ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἕνα κατὰ τινα
περίστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλεσεν, ὡς λοιποὺς ἔχειν τρεῖς.
Ἀπαντήσας οὖν τις τῶν πολιτῶν οἷος ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ζημίᾳ συλλυπεῖσθαι. Γελάσας οὖν 10

5 ἐτέροις V Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Nu Br Ro | ἴσως ἂν οὖν V (οὖν s.l.) Bou² Br: ἴσως οὖν corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La; an ἴσως οὖν νῦν scribendum? | φήσεις corr. Jou² | ἐπιτάττεσθαι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br ὑποτάττεσθαι corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹ 6 ἀπολέσας V e corr. 8 πάνυ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Lei Br: πᾶν corr. Ga-La | ῥαδίως post πάνυ add. Jou² Br ἀλύπως post πάνυ prop. Luc 9 ποιείσομαι V: tacite corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10 ἐμοῦ add. Ko: μου post διερχομένου add. Ga-La ἐμοῦ post διερχομένου add. Jou² Br | τοιοῦτους λόγους V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τοὺς λόγους corr. Ga-La 11 ἧν καὶ V Bou² Ga-La Br: ὧνπερ corr. Bou¹ Ko-So 10,1 Φιλότιμος V Bou² Br: φιλότερος leg. Bou¹ Φιλήδονος corr. Ko (᾽Ο) φιλότιμος corr. Ga-La (᾽Ο) φιλόσοφος corr. Nu Si (᾽Ο) φιλέταιρος prop. Luc | ὁ post Φιλότιμος add. Pol² ὧν post Φιλότιμος add. Ko 2 πολυτελείαις ὄψων ἂν V πολυτελείαις ὄψων corr. Jou² Br Si πολυτελείαις ὄψωνιῶν corr. Bou¹ πολυτελείαις ὄψων ἂν corr. Pol² πολυτελῶς ὄψωνῶν corr. Ko Ga-La: (ἐν) πολυτελείαις ὄψων ὧν correximus | ἐκάστης ἡμέρας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: ἐκάστην ἡμέραν corr. Pol² | an καὶ post ἡμέρας scribendum? | διδοῦς V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἐδίδου corr. Ko 2–3 τοῖς θερμοτέροις V Bou²: ταῖς εὐμορφοτέροις corr. Ko τοῖς συνηθεστέροις corr. Bou¹ (in apparatu critico) ταῖς θερμοτέροις corr. Ga³ Ga-La Si Nu Br 3 αὐτῶν ἐτέρων V αὐτὸν ἑταίρων corr. Ko Ga-La Si Nu Br: corr. Bou¹⁻² | καὶ τι V Bou¹⁻² καίτοι corr. So Ga-La: corr. Pol¹ Br | οὖν post ᾽Ο add. Ga³ Ga-La 3–4 an πολλῶν δεόμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος. (᾽Ος) ἀνίων scribendum? 4 ἐκπείρεος V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La (τοῦ ante Πειραιῶς add. Ga-La) Br | γὰρ add. Ko 6 τῷ φορτίῳ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: correximus | τοῦτο V Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br: τούτῳ leg. Bou¹ 8 τὸδε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: τάδε corr. Br | Τέσσαρας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: Τέτταρας tacite corr. Ga-La | ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἐν τῇ πατρίδι corr. Ga-La | κατὰ secl. Br 9 ἐξ secl. Ga-La | ἀπίλασεν V ἀπῆλασεν corr. Jou² Br: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La; ἐπώλησεν etiam possis | λοιπὸν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: corr. Ga-La 10 οἷος V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: ἔτοιμος corr. Ga³ Nu Br | ἐπὶ secl. Ga-La | post συλλυπεῖσθαι lacunam indicaverunt Bou¹ Ko-So

medicines survive, those that were given to colleagues previously. Perhaps then you might say that your desire has been intensified and you want to know even more how, despite having lost such a great variety of possessions, any of which alone by itself would have been most distressing for other people, I was not grieved like some others but endured what happened very well. I will give you a double reply to this. As for the first, you must recall that you have heard (me) many times recounting such stories, of which I will now again begin to remind you.

10. The lavish Aristippus was not satisfied with a frugal regimen, but rather participated every day in luxurious meals and constantly offered abundant money to the most fervent of the companions who surrounded him. Although that man still lacked many things, when he was once returning from Piraeus ((for) he always used to walk, not only on such short trips but also on the long ones) and saw that his slave was unable to keep up with him, he ordered him to shed as much of his load (this consisted of a bag full of gold coins) as would render the rest easily carried. He did the following as well in the same spirit: he owned four fields in his home country, but lost one of them due to some reversal of affairs, so that he was left with three. One of his fellow citizens met him, then, and was prepared to console him for the loss. But Aristippus laughed and said:

ὁ Ἄριστιππος, ἔφη, «τί μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ συλλυπῆ σύ, τρεῖς ἀγροὺς ἔχοντι τοιούτους, οἷον μόνον αὐτὸς ἔχεις, ἢ ἐγὼ σοι συλλυπήσομαι;», πάνυ καλῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὁ πολλακίς ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενον, ὡς οὐ χρὴ πρὸς τι τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐμβλέπειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι πῶς οἱ τρεῖς ἀγροὺς δεξάμενοι τοῦ πατρὸς {οὐκ ἀνέξοντο} βλέπειν οὐκ ἀνέξονται ἐτέρους ἔχοντας τριάκοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν τριάκοντα 15 ἔχωσιν, ἐτέρους ὄψονται πεντήκοντα ἔχοντας, ἐὰν τάνάπαλιν αὐτοὶ κτήσωνται τοσούτους, ἔχοντας ὄψονται τινὰς ἄλλους ἐβδομήκοντα, κἂν ἐκείνους ἔχωσιν, ἄλλους θεάσονται πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἔχοντας, ὥστε κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες ἀπάντων ἐπιθυμήσουσιν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο αἰεὶ πένητες ἔσονται, μὴ πληρουμένης 20 αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ ὀπόσους ἀγροὺς ἄλλος ἔχει διὰ τέλους σκοπῆ, ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναλώμασιν ἐξαρκούντας αὐτῷ, τὴν τῶν περιττωμάτων ἀπώλειαν εὐκόλως οἴσει· ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ τις ἓνα μόνον ἔχων ἀγρὸν ἀπολέσει τοῦτον, ἄπορος ἔσται παντάπασιν, ὥστε εἰκότως ἀνιαθήσεται, ἓνα δὲ ἀπολέσας 25 ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἐν ἴσῳ καταστήσεται τοῖς τρεῖς ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ὡστε τοῦτο μὲν μέγα οὐδέν, μὴ λυπεῖσθαι τρεῖς ἀγροὺς ὑπολοίπους ἔχοντι, μέγα δὲ τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἓνα κεκτημένον ἀγρὸν ἀλύπως φέρειν πενίαν ὡς ὁ Κράτης ἔφερε, καί, (νῆ) Δία, τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἰ μηδὲ οἰκίαν ἔχει, καθάπερ ὁ Διογένης.

11 συλλυπεῖ ση V συλλυπήση tacite corr. Bou¹ Ga-La (σύ) συλλυπήση corr. Jou² Br Ro: corr. So
 12 ἓνα post οἷον add. Jou² Br Ro | μόνος V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | οὐκ post αὐτὸς add.
 Bou¹ Ga-La | σοὶ V s.l. 13 παρ' ἐμοῦ ante ἤκουσας transp. Ga-La 14 ἐμβλέπειν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So
 Br: ἐπιβλέπειν corr. Ga-La | post ἐμβλέπειν lacunam statuit Bou² et (ἀλλὰ πρὸς τι τῶν σφριζόμε-
 νων) addidit (in apparatusu critico) | καὶ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἀλλὰ corr. So 14–15 οὐκ ἀνέξοντο
 secl. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: οὐκ ἀνέξονται corr. Nu Bou² Br 15 οὐκ ἀνέξονται secl. Nu Bou² Br
 16 ἔχουσιν V a. corr. | ταῦτα πάλιν V Bou¹ (κατὰ) ταῦτα πάλιν corr. Jou² Ga-La Br {ταῦτα} πάλιν
 corr. Ko: correximus | κτήσονται V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 17 ἔχοντας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-
 La Br: ἔχοντες corr. Luc 18 προϊόντας V: corr. Bou¹⁻² So Ga-La Br 19 μᾶλλον ante ἀπάντων
 addidit Bou² (in apparatusu critico) 20 πόσους V Bou² Br: ὀπόσους corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La
 20–21 σκοποῖη V e corr.: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br; an διατελήῃ σκοπῶν scribendum? 21 ἀλλ' ἢ
 V ἀλλὰ corr. Bou¹ ἀλλ' ἦδη corr. Jou² Br ἀλλ' εἰ corr. Ga-La: corr. So | αὐτῷ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br:
 αὐτὸς corr. Ga-La 21–22 περιττωμάτων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: περιττῶν corr. Ga-La; an περιτ-
 τευμάτων scribendum? 22 ἀκίλως V ἀλύπως corr. Bou¹ Ga-La ἀκηδῶς corr. Jou² Br: corr. So
 Luc | ἔχοντι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 23 ἄπορο V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἔσι V a.
 corr. | τις post ἀπολέσας add. Jou² Br 24 τεσσάρων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τεττάρων tacite corr. Ga-
 La | ἐξαρχῆς post τεσσάρων primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | ἐκ τῶν post καταστήσεται
 primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | ἀγροὺς ὑπολοίπους post τρεῖς add. Ga-La | τοῦτο V Bou¹
 Ko-So Ga-La: τούτῳ corr. Jou² Br 25 τῷ post λυπεῖσθαι add. Ha Nu Br | ὑπολοίπους secl. Ga-
 La | ἔχοντι V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἔχοντα corr. Ko 25–26 τὸ μηδὲ τὸν V Ko-So: τὸ τὸν μηδὲ corr.
 Bou¹⁻² Br τὸν μηδὲ corr. Ga-La 26 ὁ κράτης V ὁ (Σω)κράτης corr. Bou¹ ὡς Σωκράτης corr. Pol²:
 corr. Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Nu Br | νῆ add. Pol² 27 διὰ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br δὴ corr. Ga-La:
 correximus | τις post εἰ add. Jou² Br | οἰκίον leg. Bou¹ | ἔχειν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br

‘Why are you readier to console me, when I own these three fields, than I am to console you, who own just one?’, nicely demonstrating what you heard me say many times, namely that one should not focus on anything that has been lost, but rather consider how those who have inherited three fields from their father will not bear to look at others with thirty. Because if they have thirty, they will look at others who have fifty, and if again they acquire that many, they will look at others who have seventy, and if they get those, they will see others who have more than a hundred. As a consequence, they will gradually reach the stage of wanting everything, and in this respect they will always be poor, since their desire is unsatisfied. But if someone else is constantly concerned not with how many fields another man has, but with [how many] are sufficient for his own personal expenses, he will bear the loss of the excess easily. For if someone who has just a single field loses that, he will be utterly without resources, and he will accordingly be reasonably distressed. But if someone loses one of his four [fields], he will be in the same position as those who have had three [fields] from the beginning. Hence, it is not a great matter to not be distressed when one has three fields left, but it is a great matter for someone who has never had even a single field to endure poverty without distress, as Crates²⁵ bore it, and, (by) Zeus, even more so if he does not even have a house, like Diogenes.

²⁵ Some editors have emended the preserved reading ὁ κράτις to ὁ Σωκράτις, but Κράτις makes better sense than Socrates in this context, in the light of a close parallel in Plutarch’s *How to Profit by One’s Enemies* 87a and taking into account the didactic succession Zeno-Crates-Diogenes, since Zeno was a student of Crates and Crates a student of Diogenes. Another reason for retaining Crates is because this reading is closer to the paradoxos.

11. Οὓκουν ἐμοί τι πρᾶγμα μέγα μηδὸλως ἀνιαθέντι διὰ χρημάτων ἀπώλειαν (ἦν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰ λειπόμενα πολὺ πλέω τῶν ἰκανῶν), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐλεῆσαι τὸν ἀναλίσκοντα μὲν ἐνίοτε μυρίας δραχμὰς ἐκ προσόδων μυριάδων δέκα, λυπούμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τρισμυρίων ἀπωλεία. Κατὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἦν, μηδὲ εἴ τις τὰς ἀπολοίπους ἐννέα μυριάδας ἀπόλλυσιν ἐκάστοτε, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀνιάσθαι, τῶν 5 γε μυρίων ἰκανῶς αὐτὸν τρεφουσῶν. Ἄλλα γε ἡ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀνθρώπων ἀπληστία θαυμάζεσθαι πεποιήκεν ἡμᾶς τοὺς μηδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἐργαζομένους, ἐκείνους δ', εἴπερ ἄρα, θαυμάζεσθαι προσήκει ὅσοι πάντα ἀπολέσαντες οὐδὸλως ἀνιώνται, καθάπερ ὁ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων, ὅς, φ[α]σιν, ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ ναυαγίας, ἐν ἧ πάντα ἀπώλεσεν, «εὗ γε ποιεῖς», εἶπεν, «ῶ Τύχη, συνελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς εἰς 10 τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν Στοάν». Ὡστε οὐδ' ἐμοί μέγα τι πέπρακται, καταφρονήσαντι παντοδαπῆς ἀπωλείας κτημάτων, ὥσπερ τῆς ἐν αὐλῇ μοναρχικῆ διατριβῆς, ἦν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπεθύμησά ποτ' ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Τύχης βιαίως εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκούσης, ἀντέσχον οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις. Οὐδὲ(ν) γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μέγα, μὴ μανῆναι τὴν (αὐτὴν) μανίαν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν αὐλῇ βασιλικῶν καταγρη- 15 σάντων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν ἀπολέσαντα φάρμακα, πάντα δὲ βιβλία καὶ προσέτι τὰς γραφὰς τῶν ἀξιολόγων φαρμάκων, ἔτι τε τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκδόσεις γεγонуίας ἅμα πραγματείας πολλὰς ἄλλαις, καὶ ὧν ἐκάστη μόνη γεγонуία τὴν καθ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ἰκανὴν φιλοπονίαν ἐδείκνυτο, μὴ λυπηθῆναι, γενναῖον ἦδη.

11,1 Οὓκουν V Bou¹ Ga-La: Οὐκοῦν corr. Bou² Br (cum signo interrogationis post ἀπώλειαν) Οὐκ οὔν corr. Ko | ἀπολείαν leg. Bou¹ 3 ἐνίοτε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: (ἐν) ἐνιαυτῷ corr. Ga³ Ga-La Nu Br | προσόδων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: προσόδου corr. Ga-La 4 ἀπώλειαν V Bou¹ Ko-So: corr. Se Bou² Ga-La Br | εἰς V εἰ corr. Jou² Br Ga-La: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So 5 ἀπολύπους V ὑπολοίπους corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: corr. Jou² Br | ἀπόλλυσιν V p. corr. Bou² Ga-La Br: ἀπόλυσιν V a. corr. ἀπολλύοι corr. Bou¹ Ko-So 6 καὶ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: γε² correximus 7 θαυμάζεσθαι V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: θαυμάζειν corr. Ko | μηδὲν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: μηδάν corr. Br 8 τινὰς post ἄρα add. Luc 9 κιτιάς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ὥς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: corr. Pol¹ Ga-La | φ[ασιν] supprl. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ναβαγείας V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10 συνελαύσα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: συνελάσασα etiam possis | εἰς] πρὸς corr. Ga-La 12 παντοδαπῆς V Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br: παντοδαπεῖς leg. Bou¹ παντοδαποῦς corr. Luc | ἐναλῆ μοναρχικῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 13 τότ' V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Ko Ga-La Luc 14 πάνυ post καὶ add. Ga-La | Οὐδὲ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Οὐ corr. Ko: correximus 15 (τὸ) μὴ μανῆναί (με) corr. Ko | αὐτὴν add. Pol¹ Ga-La | κοινήν post μανίαν add. Luc | πολλοῖς V Bou¹ Ga-La Luc: πολλῶν corr. An Bou² Ko Br Si | βασιλικῶν V: βασιλικῆ corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Si Luc 15-16 κατηγορησάντων V καταγορασάντων corr. Jou² κατηγορησάντων corr. Jou² κατολιγωρήσαντα corr. Ga³ Nu Br: corr. Chr Ga-La Si Luc 16 τὸ V Bou² Ko-So Br Ga-La: τὰ corr. Bou¹ | τὰ post φάρμακα add. Jou² Bou² Ga-La Br | τὰ post δὲ add. Jou² Ga-La Br 17 γεγονείας V Bou¹: corr. Bou² Ko-So (tacite) Ga-La Br 18 πραγματείας V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἀλλὰ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τῆς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 19 ἐδείκνυτο V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: (ἀν) ἐπεδείκνυτο corr. Ga-La | post ἦδη distinximus

11. It was accordingly not a great matter for me to be not at all distressed by the loss of my property, for what was left was always much more than enough. Rather, it is more fitting to pity the person who on the one hand sometimes spends ten thousand drachmas from an income of one hundred thousand drachmas, but on the other hand is distressed by the loss of thirty thousand. For the natural thing would be not to be distraught, even if someone regularly lost the remaining ninety thousand, given that his ten thousand are sufficient to support him. But the insatiability of such individuals has led us to be amazed at those who do nothing amazing; if we had to be amazed anyway, it should be at those who are not at all upset even when they lose everything, like Zeno of Citium who, they say, when he was informed about a shipwreck in which he had lost everything, said: ‘You are treating me well, O Fate, by driving me to the philosopher’s cloak and the Stoa’. As a consequence, I have done nothing great when I despised the loss of every sort of property,²⁶ and likewise of my life at the imperial court, which not only did I not desire to have, but I resisted it not once, not twice, but indeed many times, even though Fate was dragging me into it by force. Not even the following was a great achievement, namely that I did not suffer the (same) madness as many of those who have grown old in the royal court do. But the fact that I was not distressed, although I lost all my medicines, all my books and in addition the recipes of my remarkable drugs, and even the editions of them I produced together with many other treatises, each of which, composed as a self-standing entity, would have shown the considerable industry [I have practised] throughout my life, is already a sign of high-mindedness.

²⁶ Lit. ‘every sort of loss of property’. This is a typical *hypallage*, according to which the logical relationship between two words in a sentence is distorted. Here one would naturally expect the adjective ‘every sort of’ to qualify ‘property’ rather than ‘loss’.

12. Τοῦτο καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ἔχομεν νῦν ἐπίδειγμα πρῶτον. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν ἤγαγέ με πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἃ σὺ γινώσκεις αὐτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συναναστραφείς καὶ συμπαιδευθεὶς ἡμῖν ἔφης, δεῦτερον (δὲ) τὰ προσγινόμενα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων. Εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, παιδεύει καὶ θέα 5 πραγμάτων πολιτικῶν ἀναμνησκουσα τῶν τῆς Τύχης ἔργων. Ὁ γὰρ ἐποίησεν Εὐρυπίδης λέγοντά πως τὸν Θησέα, παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν εἴσει·

ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν
εἰς φροντίδα ἐκ συμφορᾶς ἐβαλλόμην,
φυγὰς τ' ἐμαυτῷ προστιθείς πάτρας ἐμῆς
θανάτους τ' ἄωρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδοῦς,
ἴν', εἴ τι πάσχοιμι ὣν ἐδόξαζόν ποτε,
μή μοι νεῶρες προσπεσὼν ψυχὴν δάκη.

10

Ὁ μὲν οὖν σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἀναμνησκεί διὰ παντὸς ὧν ἐνδέχεται παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ μὴ σοφὸς μὲν, οὐ μὴν ὡσπερ βόσκημα ζῶν, ἐκ τῶν ὀσημέραι γινομένων 15 ἐπεγεύρεται πως καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων γνῶσιν. Πέπεισαι δ', οἶμαι, καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὄλον τὸν χρόνον, ὡς τὰς ἱστορίας ἔγραψαν οἱ τοῦτ' ἔργον ἔχοντες, ἦττω γεγονέαι κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὧν νῦν ἔπραξαν Κομμόδου ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν. Ὡστε καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν κἀγὼ θεώμενος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν,

12,1 ἐχόμενον V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br ἐσόμενον corr. Ga-La: correximus; ἔχε μὲν νῦν etiam possis 2 καὶ ἃ σὺ γινώσκεις V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br ἃ καὶ σὺ γινώσκεις corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹⁻² | ἂν) οὖν leg. Bou¹ 3 συναναστραφείς V Bou¹ Ko-So Br: συναναστραφείς conl. Jou² Ga-La | συμπαιδευθῆς V a. corr. | ἐφῆς V secl. Jou² Ga-La Br φῆς corr. Ko: ἔφης Pol¹⁻² | δὲ add. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 5 ἀναμνησκουσα V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τέχνης V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Le: τύχης corr. Ga³ Ga-La Si Nu Br 7 ἔση V εἴση corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br 9 εἰς φροντίδα ἐκ V: εἰς φροντίδ' αἰεὶ corr. Bou² Br La² Si Ro εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν corr. Ko-So εἰς φροντίδας καὶ corr. Bou¹ Ga-La | ἐκ συμφορᾶς V: συμφορᾶς corr. Si Ro καὶ συμφορᾶς corr. Bou¹ Ga-La αἰεὶ συμφορᾶς corr. Bou² La² Br νοῦν συμφορᾶς (τ') ex Kannicht fragm. 964 (TrGF 5, 963–964) corr. Ko-So 11 τε V Bou¹: τ' corr. Bou² Ko-So La² Ga-La Br Ro 12 πάς μι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So La² Ga-La Br | ποτε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: φρενὶ corr. La² 13 νοερώς V νεωρώς corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So La² Br Ro | προσπεσῶν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So La Ga-La Br Ro | ψυχὴ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So La² Ga-La Br Ro; μᾶλλον Kannicht (TrGF 5, 963–964) | δάκη V δάκοι corr. Bou¹ Ko-So: corr. Bou² La² Ga-La Br Ro 14 ἐνδέχεται p. corr. V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 16–17 Πέπεισαι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: Πέπεισθαι corr. Ro 17 παρ' ὄλον τὸν χρόνον, ὡς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: παρ' ὄλον τὸν χρόνον οὐ corr. Ga-La | τὰς ἱστορίας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: (ἐν) ταῖς ἱστορίαις corr. Pol¹⁻² 18 ἔργο V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | ἐξ post ἀνθρώποις add. Bou¹ | ἔπραξας V Bou¹ ἔπραξεν corr. Jou² Br Ro ἔπραξε Ga-La ἔπραξας (ἐν) corr. Ko: corr. Pol¹ | κωμώδου V Κωμ(μ)ώδου corr. Bou¹ Κόμοδος corr. Jou² Br Ro Κόμοδος Ga-La: corr. So 19 ἐν ante ὀλίγοις add. Ko

12. This can now function also as a chief example of my magnanimity. And what first led me to such magnanimity is what you used to say that you personally knew, since you were brought up and educated with me from the beginning, but second what has accrued to me in Rome from my experience of affairs. For you are well aware that the observation of political affairs can educate, by reminding [us] of the activities of Fate. What Euripides somehow represented Theseus as saying is more true than anything else, and you will know this when you hear the verses:

Having learned this from a wise man,
I used to be thrown into worry about disaster,
attaching exile from my home country to myself
and untimely deaths and other routes of misfortune,
so that, if I ever suffer anything of what I was imagining,
it will not come upon me as something unprecedented and grieve my soul.²⁷

The wise man therefore constantly reminds himself of what he might suffer, but also the unwise man too, provided he does not live like an animal, is in some way himself awakened to the knowledge of human affairs by everyday events. You yourself, I think, are convinced that – according to the histories recorded by those whose job is precisely this – throughout the entire course of time human beings have suffered less serious misfortunes than those lately [committed] by Commodus within a few years. As a result, when I saw all these things on a daily

²⁷ Euripides, fragm. 964 Kannicht, *TrGF* vol. 5, p. 963.

ἐγύμνασά μου τὰς φαντασίας πρὸς ἀπώλειαν πάντων ὧν ἔχω· «μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ 20
αὐτὸς τι κολασθῆναι προσδόκα, ὡσπερ ἄλλοι μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντες, εἰς νῆσον
πεμφθῆναι ἔρημον». Ὅπου δ' εἰς νῆσον τοιαύτην τις πεμφθῆναι προσδοκῆσας
ἅμα τῇ πάντων ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ὧν εἶχε παρεσκεύασεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνασχέσθαι, ἧ που
κτῆμα ἀπολέσας [μόνον], μηδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἀφαιρεθεῖς, ἔμελλε
λυπηθῆσεσθαι; 25

13. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν πεπειραμένος τῶν ἄλλων ἀληθέστατον εἶναι τὸν Εὐριπίδου
λόγον, ἀσκεῖν παρακελεύομαι τὰς φαντασίας σου τῆς ψυχῆς μόνον οὐ καθ'
ἐκάστην καιροῦ ῥοπήν. Τοῦτο δ' οὐ δύναται προσγενέσθαι τοῖς μὴ πεφυκόσιν εὖ
πρὸς ἀνδρείαν μῆτ' ἀρίστη παιδείᾳ χρησαμένοις, ἦν ἔμοι προὔξενησε Τύχη τις
ἀγαθῇ, ὡς που καὶ σὺ παιδευθεὶς σὺν ἡμῖν οἴσθα ὅποιαν. Ἦν μοι πατήρ, οὐ ἔγω 5
καὶ ἀναμνησκόμενος ἐκάστοτε, βελτίων ἑμαυτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν αἰσθάνομαι
γινόμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων τις ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὡς οὗτος ἐτίμησε δικαιοσύ-
νην τε καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ δι' αὐτὰς κάκεινας ἔσχε, φύσει τοῦτο χωρὶς τῶν ἐκ
φιλοσοφίας λόγων (οὐ γὰρ ὠμίλησε φιλοσόφοις ἐν νεότητι), παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μὲν
ἑαυτοῦ, πάπῳ δὲ ἐμῷ, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονίαν 10
ἐκ παιδὸς ἀσκηθεῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ ἦν πατρῶον. Ἔλεγε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ

20 ἐγύμνασά V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | τοῦ V Bou² Ga-La Br Ro: τοῦτο corr. Bou¹ Ko-So; τοῦτον vel τούτου etiam possis 21 τι κλασθῆναι V Jou² Ko-So Ro τι κλα(υ)σθῆναι corr. Bou¹ ἐπικλασθῆναι corr. La¹ Ga-La Nu Br δικασθῆναι corr. Pol¹⁻²; correximus | προσδοκᾶς V Bou¹ προσδοκᾶς corr. Ko-So προσδοκῆσας corr. Jou² Br Ro προσδοκῶν corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹⁻² | μηδὲ V Bou¹⁻² Br Ro: corr. Ko Ga-La 22 πεμφθῆναι προσδοκῆσας V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: προσδοκῆσας πεμφθῆναι corr. Ga-La 23 ἅμα τῇ αὐτῇ leg. Bou¹ | ἀπολεία V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | των V secl. Ga-La τούτων corr. Bou¹ Ko-So τῶν (κτημάτων) corr. Jou² Br Ro: correximus | εἰ V Bou¹ Ko-So: ἧ corr. Jou² Ga-La Br Ro; an ἐν scribendum? 24 καταπολέσας V κατὰ τι ἀπολέσας corr. Jou² Br Ro ἐν τι ἀπολέσας corr. Ko κατὰ μέρος ἀπολέσας corr. Bou¹ καὶ τι ἀπολέσας corr. Ga-La: κτῆμα ἀπολέσας correximus | [μόνα] V (partim erasum) [γούν μη]δενὸς suppl. Pi Bou² Br Ro [μόνον] om. Bou¹ Ga-La: suppl. et corr. So | ἀφερεθεῖς V a. corr. | οὐκ ἂν post ἀφαιρεθεῖς add. Bou² Br Ro οὐκ post ἀφαιρεθεῖς add. Bou¹ οὐκ post ἀφαιρεθεῖς add. Ko (sine signo interrogationis post λυπηθῆσεσθαι) 25 λυπηθῆσεσθαι V λυπήσεσθαι corr. Ko: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Ro 13,1 Εὐριπίδους V Bou¹: corr. Bou² So Ga-La Br 2 σου V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: μου corr. Pol² 4 χρησαμένοις V Bou² Ko-So Br: διαχρησαμένοις corr. Bou¹ Ga-La 5 ὡς που] ὡσπερ leg. Bou¹ | ὅποιον V Bou¹⁻² Br ὅποιος (sine distinctione ante ἦν) corr. Ga-La Οἴσθα (δ') ὅποιος corr. Luc: corr. Ko-So; ὅποια etiam possis (cum distinctione ante ἦν) | ὧν V οἴου corr. Jou² Br: οὗ corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La 7 τὴν ψυχὴν αἷς post ἀνθρώπων primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | οὕτως post τις add. Jou² Br | καὶ ὡς οὗτος V Bou¹ Ko-So: ὡς καὶ οὗτος corr. Jou² Br ὡσαύτως corr. Ga-La 8 fort. post σωφροσύνην lacuna statuenda | δι' αὐτὰς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: δὴ αὐτὸς corr. Ga-La | (καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς.) {κάκεινας} Ἔσχε (δὲ) φύσει corr. Ko | τοῦτο secl. Ga-La 9 ὠμίλησε V Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br: ἐμέλησε corr. Bou¹ | τὸ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 10 δὲ¹ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: δ' corr. Ga-La | ἀρετῆν] ἀριθμητικὴν corr. Ga³ | κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονίαν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: κατ' ἀρχιτεκτονίαν corr. Ga-La 11 ἐν οἷς V Bou¹⁻² Br: ἐν αἷς corr. Ko Ga-La Si | καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ ἦν πρώτον V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἦν πρώτος corr. Ga-La Si: corr. Pol¹⁻²

basis, I schooled my imagination for the loss of everything I own: ‘After this, you too must expect to be punished somehow and be sent to a desert island, just like others who did nothing wrong’. And when someone expected to be sent to such an island at the same time that he lost everything he had, prepared himself to endure it, if somehow he lost only property, without being deprived of any of his other belongings, was he going to be distressed?

13. Knowing from experience that Euripides’ words are the truest of all, therefore, I encourage you to practise the imagination of your soul for almost every turn of affairs. But this cannot happen to those who are not naturally gifted with courage or to those that have not received the best possible education, which some good Fate granted me; for I suppose you know what it was like, since you were educated with me. I had a father, and every time I remember him, I feel that I am improved in regard to my soul. For no other person honoured justice and discretion as excellently as he did, and because of these [virtues] he possessed others as well; this was so by nature, without the mediation of the teachings of philosophy (for he did not associate with philosophers when he was young), since he was trained from childhood by his father – my grandfather – in virtue, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other, in which his excellence was inherited as well. My father used to say that he had led exactly the same

τοιούτον βεβιωκέναι βίον ὅποιον καὶ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον ὁμοίως ἔφη βεβιωκέναι, τὸν μὲν ἀρχιτέκτονα, τὸν δὲ γεωμέτρην γενόμενον.

14. Νόμιζε δὴ οὖν κάμει καὶ φύσει μὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς προγόνοις ὄντα γενέσθαι τοιούτον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ παιδευθέντα τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς παιδείαν, ὁμοίαν ἐκείνοις σχεῖν διάθεσιν τῆς ψυχῆς. Οἶδα δέ μου τὸν πατέρα καταφρονοῦντα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ὡς μικρῶν, ὅπερ κάμοι μάλιστα νῦν γέγονεν ἐν γήρα. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἥδιστα βεβιωκότας οὐδὲν ἔσχε πλείω τῶν ὄνων τούτων, οὐς κατὰ τὴν 5 Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὀρώμεν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν περιαιγομένους ἕνεκα τοῦ τὰς θηλείας ὀχεύειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἡδονῶν καταφρονοῦντας, ἀρκουμένους δὲ τῷ μῆτε ἀλγεῖν μῆτε λυπεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐδέποτε ἔπεισεν ἀπομαντευόμενος μεῖζόν τι καὶ κρεῖττον τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἰδίαν ἔχειν φύσιν, οὐκ ἐν μόνῃ τῷ μῆτε ἀλγεῖν μῆτε λυπεῖσθαι περιγραφόμενον. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν καὶ τούτων τις 10 ἀποχωρήσας ἐπιστήμην θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἡγήσεται τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἐλαχίστου μορίου τούτου ὀρῶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μετέχοντας, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐλάχιστον, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀκριβῆ γνώσιν οὐκ ἔχομεν. Ὅ γὰρ ἐν τῷ καθόλου μὴ γινώσκων ὅποια τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα εἰσιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ μέρος οὐδ' ἐπιστημονικῶς τι ἐλέσθαι καὶ φυγεῖν δύναται. 15 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ προνοεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὑπέλαβον χαλεπὸν, ἅμα τῷ μὴδ' ὠφελουμένους τι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀρᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν σπουδῆς.

15. Ἐν τούτῳ στρεφόμενος αἰεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, μικρὰ πάντα εἶναι νομίζω καὶ σχολῆ καὶ ἄρμενα καὶ φάρμακα καὶ βιβλία καὶ δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄξια σπουδῆς ὑπολάβοιμι (ἄν). Τῷ δ' ἡγουμένῳ μικρὰ πάντα εἶναι τίς ἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τε

12 τὸν μὲν ἀρχιτέκτονα post βεβιωκέναι primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V 13 βιωκέναι V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br | τὸν¹ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τὸ corr. Ga-La 14,4 καὶ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: οὖν corr. Ga-La 5 ἔσχε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: ἔχειν corr. Ga-La | πλείω V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: πλέον corr. Ga-La | ὄνων corr. Rl Ga-La: οἰωνῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro κυνῶν Ga³ | τῶν V (τὴν) τῶν corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ga-La Ro: τὴν corr. Rl 7 ἡδονῶν secl. Ga-La 8 ἔπεισεν V Ko-So: ἐπήνεσεν corr. Jou² La¹ Ga-La Nu Br ἐπέισθη corr. Bou¹ ἐτίμησεν conl. Luc 9 ἀπομαντευομένην V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | εἶναι post κρεῖττον add. Ko ὄν add. Jou² Br | ἔχειν V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἔχον corr. Ko 11 ἐπιστήμην V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἡγήσεται V Bou¹: corr. Jou² Ko-So Ga-La Br 14 τὸ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 15 εἰσιν V Bou¹⁻² Br: ἐστὶν corr. Ko Ga-La | τῷ] το leg. Bou¹ | οὐδ'² V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br; an ὄδ' scribendum? | καὶ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἢ corr. Ga-La 16 χαλεπῶν V Bou¹: corr. Bou² So La¹ Ga-La Nu Br 17 ὠφελουμένον V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ὀρᾶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ὀρῶν corr. Ga-La 18 ἀνδρῶν secl. Ga-La 15,1 δὲ post τούτῳ add. Ga-La | τρεφόμενος V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br (δὲ) τρεφόμενος corr. Ga-La: corr. Pol¹⁻² | ἄ post λογισμῷ add. Bou¹ | πάντων V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br 2 σχολ V σχολῆν corr. Jou² Br Ro σχολὰς corr. Bou¹ Ko-So σχολῆ γ' ἂν corr. Ga-La Ga² Si: corr. Pol¹⁻² | πῶς ἂν post πλοῦτον add. Jou² Br Ro καὶ οὐκ add. Ko 3 ἂν add. Bou¹ Ko-So | τὸ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | τί V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Ro: corr. So

kind of life as his father, but he also said that his own father and his grandfather had maintained the same lifestyle, the former being an architect, the latter a surveyor.

14. You should thus assume that I too have become the person I am because I am by nature similar to my ancestors, and also that because I received the same education as them, I have the same qualities of soul. I know that my father used to despise human affairs as of small importance, which holds especially for me too now in my old age. In addition, he did not consider those who have lived a most sumptuous life any better than those asses we see in the city of Rome being led around by their owners for the purposes of mounting she-asses for a fee. Whereas those people, on the other hand, who despised such pleasures and were content with feeling no pain or sorrow in their soul, he never persuaded them [to act otherwise], since he instinctively perceived that the good is something greater and better which has its own nature and is not defined by the absence of pain or distress. But even if someone, after he gives up these [views], considers that the good is knowledge of divine and human affairs, I see that human beings participate in only the tiniest of this. And if this is very small, it is obvious that we do not possess exact knowledge of everything else either. Because the person who lacks comprehensive knowledge of the character of divine and human affairs is not in a position to choose something or avoid it either in part or scientifically. For this reason, I thought that engaging in politics and taking thought for the body politic was difficult, observing at the same time that most people get no benefit from the effort expended by good, noble men.

15. Turning my mind constantly to this calculation, I consider everything trivial, and I would scarcely assume that instruments and medicines and books and fame and wealth are worthy of effort. And when someone thinks that everything is of little value, what worry could there be about them and by them? The

αὐτῶν εἶη φροντίς; Ἀκόλουθον γάρ ἐστι τῷ μὲν ὑπολαβόντι μεγαλείων ἐστερη-
σθαι λυπεῖσθαι τε καὶ φροντίζειν αἰεὶ, τῷ δὲ σμικρῶν αἰεὶ διατελεῖν καταφρονούν- 5
τι. Ὅτι δὲ ἕκαστον ὧν εἶπον σμικρῶν εἶναι οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀπεφηνάμην, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
πολλῆς (ἀκριβείας), εἰσὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα μοι περὶ τούτων ἕκαστου, ἃ διελθὼν
εὐρήσεις. Ἄλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδὲ αὐτὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς οὐδὲ ὡς μέγα τι
πράττων, ἀλλ' ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει συνέθηκα. Τὴν γὰρ ἀοχλησίαν τινὲς ἀγαθὸν
νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὃ οὔτε ἑμαυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον οὔτε ζῶν τι φέρον οἶδα 10
πάντα γὰρ ἐνεργεῖν ὁρῶ βουλόμενα καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν. Ἄλλὰ τοῦτ'
αὐτὸ διὰ πολλῶν ὑπομνήσεων ἐπιστήσαμεν ἐν ἄλλοις τέ τισι κἀν τῷ κατ' Ἐπικού-
ρου.

16. Τελείως μὲν οὖν ἀποκρίνασθαί σοι πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἦν ἐποιήσω περὶ
τῆς ἀλυπίας, αὐτὰρ οὖν ἡγοῦμαι διορισμὸν τινα προσθεῖναι. Τάχα γὰρ οἶε με,
καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπέσχοντο μηδέποτε[ε δη] μηδὲ νῦν λυπηθῆσεσθαι
τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαινεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ φῆς ἐωρακέ- 5
ναι με μηδέποτε λυπούμενον. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν τίς ἐστι τοιοῦτος σοφὸς ὡς ἀπαθῆς 5
εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, τοῦ δ' αὐτὸς (μὴ) εἶναι τοιοῦτος ἀκριβῆ γινώσιν ἔχω.
Χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλείας καταφρονῶ μέχρι τοῦ μὴ πάντων ἀποστερηθεὶς εἰς
νῆσον ἐρήμην πεμφθῆναι, πόνου δὲ σωματικοῦ μέχρι τοῦ μὴ καταφρονεῖν

4 γὰρ secl. Ga-La | μεγαλεῖα V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br μεγάλων corr. Ga-La: correximus 5 διατελῶς V
διὰ τέλους corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: corr. Ga-La 5–6 μηδέποτε λυπεῖσθαι post καταφρονούντι
add. Jou² Br Ro μὴ add. Bou¹ Ko-So 6 σμικρῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: σμικρὸν corr. So Ga² 6–7 με-
τὰ πολλῆς (σχολῆς) corr. Bou¹ μετ' ἀποδείξεως corr. Ga-La Ga² μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς corr. Pol²: corr.
Jou² Ko Br Ro 7 εἶσι V εἴσει corr. Bou¹⁻² Br secl. Ko Ga-La: correximus | ἃ διελθὼν V Bou¹ Ko-So:
διελθὼν ἃ corr. Jou² Br ἃ secl. Ko Ga-La Ga² 8 Ἄλλὰ] ὅτι corr. Bou¹ 9 μοῖρα V (partim erasum)
Bou¹⁻² Br Ga-La: μέρει corr. Ko-So | τὴν γὰρ ἀοχλίαν τινῶν ἀγαθῶν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La
Br; τὴν γὰρ ἀεργίαν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν etiam possis 10 εἶναι secl. Bou¹ Ga-La | ὃ οὔτε] δ' οὔτε corr.
Br | ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων V ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br | an ζῶν
scribendum? | φέρον V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: φέρειν corr. So 12 ὑπομνήσεων V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Luc:
ὑπομνημάτων corr. Ga-La | ἐπιστήσαμεν V: ἐπεστήσαμεν corr. Jou² Br ἐπεστήσαμεν corr. Bou¹
Ga-La ἐπιστώσαμεν Pol² ἐπέστησα corr. Ko παρεστήσαμεν corr. Luc | τῷ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: τοῖς
corr. Ko 12–13 ἐπικούρω V Ἐπικούρον corr. Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Se Ko Ga-La Luc 16,1 Τελείως V
Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: Τελέως corr. Ko; an Τέως scribendum? | οἶμα post οὖν add. Jou² Ko Br ἡγοῦμαι
add. Bou¹ | ἀποκρίσθαι V a. corr. 2 ἀλυπσίας V ἀλυπησίας corr. Jou²: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Nu
Br | αὐτὰρ V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: ἀτὰρ corr. Jou² Br | οἶοι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br
3 μηδέποτε[ε δη] suprl. So: μηδέ[ε]ποτε] suprl. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Si | μηδὲ νῦν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br:
μηδένα corr. Ga-La Ga² Luc Si | λυπηθῆσεσθαι V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Si Pol²: λυπήσεσθαι corr. Ko-So
4 τῶν φιλοσόφων V secl. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So τῶν σοφῶν corr. Ga²⁻³ Ga-La Si Nu Br: corr. Pol¹⁻² | οὔτως
καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαινεσθαι post ὑπέσχοντο transp. Ko 5 ἐστίν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: corr. Ga-La Ga² |
ἀπαθείς V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 6 τῷ V Bou¹: corr. Jou² Ko Ga-La Br | μὴ add. Ko Ga-La
(An¹ negante): οὐκ add. Luc 7 γὰρ V s.l. | καταφρονῶ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br

natural consequence for one who feels that he has been deprived of splendid things is to be distressed and perpetually anxious, whereas for the person [who thinks that he has been deprived of] small things, it is to spend his entire life despising them. As for the fact that for each matter from among those I referred to as ‘small’ I stated my opinion not superficially but with much (precision), there are my writings about each of these topics, which you will discover if you go through them [i.e. the writings]. And, by the gods, I did not compose these with an eye to what I would get from this or as if I was producing something great, but simply as a sort of game. Some people believe that freedom from disturbance is good, but I know that neither I nor any other human being nor any animal has this, since I see that all [entities] are eager to be active in both body and soul. But we have established this very position using many remarks both in certain other works and in *Against Epicurus*.

16. [I believe] that I have provided a full-fledged answer to the question you raised regarding the avoidance of distress. Nonetheless, I think that I will add some qualification. You perhaps think that, just as some philosophers professed that the [true] philosopher will never be distressed, I likewise declare the same, especially since you said that you have never seen me distressed. I for my part cannot say whether there is someone who is so wise as to be completely free from affections, but I am certain that I myself am (not) such a person. For I disregard the loss of belongings as long as I am not deprived of everything and banished to a desert island; and [I disregard] bodily pain as long as I am not

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταύρου, λυπήσει δέ με καὶ πατρὶς ἀνάστατος
γενομένη καὶ φίλος ὑπὸ τυράννου κολαζόμενος, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ θεοῖς 10
εὐχομαι μηδὲν μοι τούτων συμβῆναί ποτε, καὶ διότι μέχρι τοῦ δευροῦ μοι μηδὲν
τοιούτον συνέβη, διὰ τοῦτο ἄλυπὸν με τεθέασαι. Θαυμάζω δὲ Μουσώνιον
ἐκάστοτε λέγειν εἰθισμένον, ὡς φασιν, «ὦ Ζεῦ, πέμπε περίστασιν». Ἐγὼ δὲ
τοῦναντίον εὐχομαι διὰ παντός, «ὦ Ζεῦ, μηδεμίαν μοι πέμψης περίστασιν
ἀνιάσαι με δυναμένην». Οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγείας εὐχομαι διὰ 15
παντός ὑγιαίνειν αὐτὸ βουλόμενος οὐ καταγείσης τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιδείξασθαι
καρτερίαν, ἀσκεῖν ἀξιώσας τὰς φαντασίας εἰς ἅπαν δεινόν, ὡς μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν
αὐτό, περιπεσεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην οὐδενὶ τῶν λυπησά με δυναμένων. Αἰσθά-
νομαι γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἐγὼ παρακολουθεῖν τῇ ποιότητι τῆς ἐμῆς ἕξεως ἢν ἔχω κατὰ
τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. Οὐκ οὔτε τι τῶν ἕξωθεν αἰτίων τηλικούτων τι 20
γενέσθαι βουλοίμην (ἂν) ὡς διαφθεῖραί μου τὴν ὑγείαν, οὔτε περίστασιν ἰσχυρο-
τέραν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἕξεως, οὐ μὴν ἀμελῶ γε τῆς εὐεξίας αὐτῶν,
ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ὄση δύναμις ἐμοὶ ἦ, ῥώμην ἀμφοτέροις ἐντεθῆναι περῶμαι
τοσαύτην, ὡς ἀντέχειν δύνασθαι τοῖς λυποῦσιν αὐτά. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήτε τὸ σῶμα
τὴν Ἡρακλέους ῥώμην ἕξειν ἐλπίζω μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν, ἢν ἐμοὶ φασιν ὑπάρχειν οἱ 25
σοφοί, βέλτιον εἶναι νομίζω μηδεμίαν ἄσκησιν ἐκόντα παραλιπεῖν. Ἐπεινῶ γὰρ
πάνυ τὸ Θησέως, ὅπερ ὑπέρευ Εὐριπίδης κατὰ τάδε τὰ ἔπη φησίν,

9 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι V ἐπάγεσθαι corr. Ga³ Nu Br: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La | τοῦ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: τῷ corr. Ga³ Nu Br | φιλάριδος V: corr. Jou¹ Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ταύρου V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La: ταύρω Br 10 τοῖς post και² add. Ga-La 11 τούτων V p. corr. Ga-La Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τουτον V a. corr. | μέχρι τοῦ V s.l. | μοι post μηδὲν primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V 12 τοῦτον V a. corr. | μαί τεθέαμαι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | Μουσώνιον V Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. Ko-So Ga-La 13 ἢν θέλεις post πέμπε add. Jou² 14 με V (μη leg. Bou¹): corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 16 ἀλλ' post βουλόμενος add. Jou² Br 17 καρτερίας V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br | δ' post ἀσκεῖν add. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | μετρίως V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἐνεγγεῖν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 18 δὲ secl. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | λυπήσῃ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 19 παρακολουθῶν V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: correximus 20 ἐτιῶν V αἰτιῶν corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro | an τι² delendum? 21 ἂν post βουλοίμην add. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 21-22 εἰς σχυροτέραν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 23 ἂν ante δύναμις add. Va Lor | ἦ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἐστὶ corr. Ga-La | ἐντεθῆναι V ἐντιθῆναι corr. Ga-La: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br | περῶμαι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² So Ga-La Br 24 τοσαῦτα V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br | αὐτὸ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br; an αὐτῶ (i.e. dualis: *corpus et animam*) scribendum? 25 ἐμοὶ del. Jou² ἔνιοι corr. Ga²⁻³ Ga-La Si Nu Br ἐνίοις corr. Luc 25-26 οἱ σοφοὶ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: τοῖς σοφοῖς corr. Ga²⁻³ Ga-La Si Nu Br 27-33 ὅπερ-δάκη secl. So 27 ὅπερ υπερευριπίδους V ὅπερ ὑπὲρ Εὐριπίδους corr. Bou¹ ὅπερ ὑπὲρ Εὐριπίδου corr. Jou² Bou² Br ὅπερ παρ' Εὐριπίδει corr. Ga-La ὅπερ εἰρηται ὑπ' Εὐριπίδου corr. Luc: corr. Pol² | κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔπη Bou¹

required to promise that I disregard the bull of Phalaris. The destruction of my homeland will of course distress me, as will a friend who is punished by a tyrant, and other similar scenarios, and I pray to the gods that none of these things ever happen to me. And since nothing of this sort has occurred to me until now, this is why you have never seen me distressed. In fact, I am surprised at Musonius, who often used to remark, so they say: 'O Zeus, send me a difficult situation!' I, on the contrary, pray exactly the opposite: 'O Zeus, send me no difficulty which could distress me!' So too as far as the health of my body is concerned, I pray continually that it remain in good health, wanting not to display courage by having my head broken, and even though I have thought it right to practise my imagination for every disaster, in order to bear it with moderation, I would never pray to fall into anything capable of distressing me. For I realise precisely that my soul depends on the quality of the state I maintain in connection with my body. I therefore would not like any external cause to engender something serious so as to ruin my health, nor any difficulty more powerful than the condition of my soul. Not that I neglect their well-being. But I consistently attempt, insofar as I am able, to endow both of them with enough strength to make them able to withstand that which distresses them. For even if I expect neither my body nor my soul to have the strength of Hercules – which wise men claim I have – I think it better not to abandon any form of training of my own accord. For I very much applaud Theseus' words, which Euripides [has him] utter exceedingly well in the following lines:

ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τινος σοφοῦ μαθὼν
 εἰς φροντίδα ἐκ συμφορᾶς ἐβαλλόμεν,
 φυγὰς τ' ἐμαυτῷ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς
 θανάτους τε ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς,
 ἴν', εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὧν ἐδόξαζόν ποτε,
 μάτην (νεῶρες) προσπεσὼν ψυχὴν δάκη.

30

Καὶ μόνην γε ταύτην εὐρίσκω πρὸς τὰς ἀνιαρὰς περιστάσεις, οὐ μὴν ὑπεράνω
 πασῶν εἶμι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς συνήθεισιν ἐκάστοτε λέγειν πειρώμενος ὡς οὐδὲν 35
 οὐδέποτε ἐπηγγειλάμην ἰκανὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ὃ καὶ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπεδειξάμην.
 Ἔτι χρημάτων μὲν ἀπωλείας ἀπάσης καταφρονῶ, μέχρις ἂν ὑπολείπεται τοσαύ-
 τη κτήσις αὐτῶν, ὥς μήτε πεινῆν μήτε ῥιγοῦν (τὸ γὰρ διψῆν ὑπάρχει καὶ αὐτὸ
 τούτοις) ἔψεσθαι, ἀλγήματος δὲ μέχρις ἂν ἐπιτρέπη μοι καὶ τοῦτο, δύνασθαι
 διαλεχθῆναι φίλῳ καὶ τινος ἀναγινώσκοντός μοι βιβλίον ἔψεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις 40
 (οἱ γὰρ ἰσχυροὶ πόνοι τούτων ἡμᾶς στερίσκουσι(ν)), ἀγαπᾶν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰ
 καρτερίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι δυναθῆναι.

28 τινος σοφοῦ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: σοφοῦ τινος corr. Ga-La La² **29** εἰς φροντίδα ἐκ V Ko-So: εἰς φροντίδ' αἰεὶ corr. Bou² La² Br Ro εἰς φροντίδας καὶ corr. Bou¹ Ga-La | συμφορᾶς V συμφορᾶς corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La La² Br Ro: corr. Ko-So **31** τε V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: τ' corr. Bou² Br La² Ro **32** ἵνα εἴ τι πάσχοιμ V Ko-So ἴν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ Bou¹: corr. Bou² Ga-La Br La² Ro | ποτε| φρενὶ corr. La² **33** μάτην V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: μή μοι corr. Ga-La La | νεῶρες add. Bou² Br La² Ro: νεωρῶς add. Ga-La | δάκη V δάκοι Bou¹: corr. Bou² Ko-So Ga-La La² Br Ro **34** ἀν παραμυθίαν post ταύτην addendum? | σωτηρίαν post εὐρίσκω add. Luc | ὁδὸν post περιστάσεις add. Ko **35** συνίθεσιν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | πειράμενος V πειρώμαι corr. So εἰώθαμεν corr. Ga-La Ga²: corr. Bou¹⁻² Br | οὐδὲν secl. Ga-La **36** ἐπηγγειλάμενος V Bou¹ ἐπαγγελιάμενος corr. Jou² So Br: corr. Pol¹⁻² Ga-La **37** ὅτι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: Ἔτι corr. Pol¹⁻² | ὑπολήπεται V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro **38** πεινεῖν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | μήτε διψῆν post ῥιγοῦν add. Bou¹⁻² μήτε διψᾶν add. Br Nu Ro | τὸ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τῷ corr. Ga-La **38-39** τὸ γὰρ-τούτοις secl. Nu Bou² Br; Ro ἀν τὸ γὰρ διψῆν ὑπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτὸ τούτοις ἔπεται scribendum? **38** ὑπάρχειν V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br | αὐτὸ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: αὐτῷ corr. Ga-La **39** ἔψεσθαι secl. Bou² Ko Br Nu Ro: servaverunt Ga-La Pol² (cum dinstinctione ante ἀλγήματος) | ἀλγήματα V ἀλγημάτων corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br: corr. Pol² | ἐπιτρέπεμεν V ἐπιτρέπεται μοι corr. Jou² Br ἐπιτρέπωμεν (ὡς) corr. Bou¹ ἐπιτρέπη μὲν corr. Ga-La: corr. Ko-So Ga¹ Nu | τοῦτο V Bou¹ Ga-La: +τοῦτο Ko-So Ga¹ Nu τὸ corr. Jou² Br **41** οἱ| ἐν leg. Bou¹ | περίσκουσι V περιέχουσι corr. Bou¹ στερίσκουσι corr. Ga¹ Nu Bou² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: correximus | ἀγαπᾶν δὲ V Bou¹: ἀγαπᾶν δὲ (δεῖ) corr. Jou² Br Ro ἀγαπῶν δ' (ἂν) corr. Ko ἀγαπῶ δὲ corr. Ga¹ Ga-La | εἰς V εἴ τις corr. Jou² Br Ro εἰς secl. Ga¹: εἰ corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La **42** δυναθῆναι V ἐδυνήθη corr. Bou¹⁻² Br Ro δυναθῆναι corr. Ga¹ δυναθῆ conl. Jou²: corr. Ko Ga-La

Having learned this from a wise man,
 I used to be thrown into worry about disaster,
 attaching exile from my home country to myself,
 and untimely deaths and other routes of misfortune,
 so that, if I ever suffer anything of what I was imagining,
 it would grieve my soul in vain, having come upon me as something
 (novel).²⁸

This is the only [training] I discover when it comes to distressing situations. For I am of course not superior to them, and for this reason I always try to say to my friends that I have not once promised to be able to do that which I have not demonstrated through my actions. Furthermore, I scorn every loss of property, provided that a sufficient quantity of it is left to me that I am not hungry or cold (being thirsty is also included among these)²⁹. And [I disregard] suffering, provided it still allows me the following, to be able to converse with a friend and keep up with what is being said when someone reads a book aloud to me (for serious pains deprive us of these activities), and if I manage to display perseverance amidst such circumstances.

28 The repetition of the same poetic lines within a relatively brief passage in the text is awkward. It has been explained as an erroneous incorporation into the main text of a marginal notabilium (Kotzia-Sotiroudis 2010: 128), but Nutton (2013: 97, n. 114) is probably right in attributing it instead to the unpolished style of the work.

29 The text within parenthesis looks like a scribe's comment transferred from the margin into the body of the text.

17. Ἄ δ' ἄλλα γράφων εἰς ἀλυπίαν συνεβούλευσα, περιττά σοι λέγειν, ὄν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἶδα καὶ φύσει καὶ παιδείᾳ τοῖς εὐτελέσιν ἐδέεσμαι καὶ ἱματίοις ἀεὶ χρώμενον ἀφροδισίων τε ἐγκρατέστατον, οἷς οἱ δουλεύοντες ἀναγκάζονται δεῖσθαι χρημάτων πλειόνων, εἴτε δὲ μὴ πλουτοῦσι, πρῶτον οἰμώζουσι καὶ στένουσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, εἴτ' ἐξ ὧν εὐπορήσουσιν ὡς ἐμπιπλάναι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας σκοπούμενοι, δι' ὄλων τῶν νυκτῶν ἀγρυπνεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, καὶ μὴ τυχόντες μὲν αὐτῶν ὀδύρονται, τυχόντες δὲ οὐκ ἐμπίπλονται. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μοχθηροτέρῳ βίῳ περιπίπτουσι τοῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμίαι προσγίνονται. Τινὲς οὖν οὐχ ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λυποῦνται, εἰ μετρίως ἄπτονται τιμῆς καὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως πολιτικῆς. Ὡς γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀρεσθῆ τις ἀμέτρως, κακοδαίμονέστατα βιοῦν ἀναγκάζεται, ψυχῆς μὲν ἀρετὴν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως τίς ἐστὶν ἐπιστάμενος, αὐξήσει δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ κακίας ἅμα τῷ λυπεῖσθαι διὰ παντός, ὡς ἂν οὐ προὔθετο τυχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος. Αἱ γάρ τοι μέγισται τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπλήρωτον ἔχουσι τὸν σκοπὸν, ὧπερ οὐδεὶς (ἂν) πιστεύσειε κατὰ φύσιν διακαίμενος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῷ ποτε πιστεύοντι.

18. Ἄλλ' ἢ πεῖρα καὶ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων διδάσκαλος γίνεται. Καὶ τινος ἐτόλμησα πυθέσθαι τὰς μυριάδας μὲν ἔχοντος ἑπτακισχιλίου ἢ πλείονα, οὔτε

17,1 Τά V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: corr. Pol¹ Ga-La | ἄλλα V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: ἄλλοις corr. Ga-La | ἄ post ἄλλα add. Ko | γράφων V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: γεγραφώς corr. Jou² Br | ἀλυπσίαν V ἀλυπησίαν corr. Jou²: corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Nu Br 2 εὐτελέσιν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 4 εἴτε πλουτοῦσιν post πλειόνων add. Jou² Ro | εἴτε V Bou² Br: εἰ corr. Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La Ga² 5 ἐξ del. Luc | ἀπορήσουσι V Bou¹ Ko-So (οὐκ) ἀπορήσουσι corr. Jou² Br: corr. Pol¹ Ga-La Ga² 6 ἀναγκάζονται V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br 7 ὠρύρονται V ὠρύονται corr. An Bou² Ga-La Ga² Br ὀλοφύρονται corr. Bou¹ Ko-So: corr. Pol¹ | Τούτο V τούτου Ga²: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Luc Br | δὲ τῷ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Si: δ' ἔτι corr. Ga-La Ga² | μοχθηροτέρῳ V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: μοχθηροτάτῳ corr. So Si Pol² 8 τοῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμίᾳ V ταῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμίαις corr. Bou¹⁻² Br (cum distinctione post ἐπιθυμίαις) (καὶ) ταῖς ἀπλήστοις ἐπιθυμίαις corr. So (cum distinctione post προσγίνονται) οἷς ἀπληστοὶ ἐπιθυμίαι corr. Ga-La Ga² Si: corr. Pol² | Τινὲς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So: Τίνες corr. Ga²⁻³ Ga-La Br Si (cum signo interrogationis post λυποῦνται) 8–9 οὐχ ὡς–λυποῦνται secl. Jou² Br Ro 9 οἱ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Si Ro: correximus 10 ὦ V ὧν corr. Bou¹⁻² Br Ro ὅς corr. Ga-La Ga²: corr. Ko-So Pol² | γὰρ secl. Jou² Br Ro | (ἐ)ἂν corr. Bou¹ | εὐρεθῆ V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro ἐρασθῆ corr. Ga-La Ga²: corr. Pol² | τις V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: τινος corr. Ga-La Ga² 11 μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν post ἀρετὴν primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | ἐστὶν iteravit, deinde cancellavit V 12 αὐξήσει V Bou¹ Ko-So Ga-La: αὐξήσας corr. Jou² Br Ro | ου V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Ga² Br Ro 13 μέγιστοι V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | ἐνθυμιῶν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | ἔχουσι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Ro: ἔχουσαι corr. Pol² 14 ὥσπερ V ὥστε corr. Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br Ro: corr. Pol²; an αἴσπερ scribendum? | ἂν add. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro | πιστεύσειε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro: πιστεύσει ὁ corr. Pol² 14–15 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῷ ποτε πιστεύοντι V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br Ro: ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐγώ ποτ' ἐπίστευόν τι corr. Ga-La Ga² {ὥσπερ} οὐδέπωποτε vel οὐδέποτε πιστεύονται corr. Pol² 18,2 τὰς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: τοῦ corr. Ga-La | ἔχοντων V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἑπτακισχιλίου V Bou¹⁻² Ga-La Br: ἑπτακισχιλίας corr. Ko | οὔτε V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Br: οὐδὲν corr. Ga-La

17. As for the other advice I offered as I was writing about how to avoid distress, it would be superfluous to mention it to you who, I know, always preferred from the start, both by nature and by education, simple food and dress, and were always quite restrained in sexual pleasures. Those who are enslaved to this are compelled to need more money. And if they are not wealthy, they first lament and groan day and night, and then, while considering the means by which to fulfil their desires, they are forced to remain awake every night. And if they do not succeed at this, they wail, and if they do succeed, they are unsatisfied. Desires are born in greedy men who are prone to this wicked way of life. Some, of course, are not distressed in the same way as the majority of men are, if they engage moderately in honour, wealth, reputation and political power. Because if someone takes immoderate pleasure in one of these, he is forced to live most wretchedly, since he is completely ignorant of the virtue of the soul and its power³⁰, and he will increase the soul's vices together with his constant distress, since he is unable to obtain what he anticipated. For the greatest desires have an unattainable goal, which no normal person would trust, just as he would never trust someone who puts his trust [in such a goal].

18. But experience is indeed a teacher of the unexpected. I ventured to ask a man who had seventy millions or more, but who neither shared what he had with

³⁰ Namely, the ability of the rational part of the soul to dominate over the passions.

δὲ κοινωνοῦντος ὧν εἶχεν ἑτέροις οὔτε ἀπολαύοντος. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, «καθά-
 περ τὰ τοῦ σώματος μόρια διαφυλάττομεν, οὕτω χρῆναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαφυ-
 λάττειν ἐκάστω». Ἀγασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑπηγόρευσα χωρισθεὶς 5
 ὥσπερ εἴωθα βιβλίον περὶ τῶν φιλοχρημάτων πλουσίων, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ σοι πέπομ-
 φα.

Τέλος Γαληνοῦ περὶ ἀλυπίας.

3 κοινωνοῦν V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br | ἑτέρους V Bou¹: corr. Jou² So Ga-La Br | ἀπολάβον-
 τος V p. corr. ἀπολαβόντας V a. corr. ἀπολαβόντος corr. Bou¹⁻² Br: corr. So Ga-La Luc Ga² | post
 ἀπολαύοντος lacunam statuit Luc 5 Ἀγασθεὶς V Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Ro: Ὀργισθεὶς corr. La¹ Nu
 Br; an δ' post Ἀγασθεὶς addendum? | χωρισθεὶ V: corr. Bou¹⁻² Ko-So Ga-La Br Ro 6-7 post
 πέπομφα versos iambicos praebet V: Σοὶ μὲν, Γαληνέ, τῶν λόγων ἔστω χάρις,/ οἷσπερ διδάσκεις
 τὸν παλίνδρομον βίον/ βροτούς ἀλυπότατα σύμπαντας φέρειν,/ μηδὲ κλονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀνυπάρ-
 κτοις ὅλως./ Οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν γὰρ κἂν τοσοῦτων (τοσοῦτῳ Bou¹⁻² Ga-La; an τοσοῦτον scribendum?)
 ἐστί τῳ./ Τὸ δόγμα (an δεῖγμα scribendum?) δ' αὐτὸς ἀλλεπαλλήλου (ἂν ἐπαλλήλου conī. Bou²
 Ga-La) Τύχης,/ εἰκῶν τε σαφῆς ὑπάρχεις ἐν τῷ βίῳ· πλὴν οὐδόλως σὺ φιλοχρήματος πέλων
 (λέγω V),/ τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι τοῖς ἐπικήροις (ἐπικαίροις V) λίαν/ καλῶς διδάξεις, κἂν διδάσκης
 σὺν βίῳ. 8 ἀλυγισίας V ἀλυπησίας Jou²: corr. Ko-So Br

others nor enjoyed it. He responded: 'Just as we closely guard the parts of our body, in the same way too we must closely guard our possessions'. Shocked by the man's response, I went off and dictated, as I used to, a book *On Rich People Infatuated with Money*, which I have also sent you.

End of Galen's *On Avoiding Distress*.

De Propriis Placitis

Sigla

Codices manuscripti

A = Ambrosianus gr. 659, s. XIV/XV
L = Laurentianus gr. 74.5, s. XII
P = Parisinus gr. 2332, s. XV
Q = Parisinus suppl. gr. 634, s. XII
V = Vlatadon 14, s. XV

Lat. = versio Latina a Nu edita

Ald. = Editio Aldina, Venetiis a. 1525, Vol. 1, pp. 390–391, tit. Γαληνοῦ Περὶ οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν
δυνάμεων

Editores

Bou = V. Boudon-Millot apud V. Boudon-Millot et A. Pietrobelli, “Galen ressuscité. Édition *princeps* du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 118 (2005), 168–213

Bou-Pi = V. Boudon-Millot et A. Pietrobelli, “Galen ressuscité. Édition *princeps* du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 118 (2005), 168–213

Ga¹ = I. Garofalo, recensio editionis Bou-Pi, *Lettre d’informations, Médecine antique et médiévale du centre Jean Palerne* n.s. 5 (2006), 133–135

Ga-La = Galeno, *L’anima e il corpore. De indolentia, De propriis placitis*. A cura di I. Garofalo e A. Lami. Testo greco a fronte (Classici Greci e Latini), Milano 2012

He = G. Helmreich, “Galenī perì τῶν ἑαυτῷ δοκούντων fragmenta inedita”, *Philologus* 52 (1894), 431–434

Ka = K. Kalbfleisch, “Zu Galenos”, *Philologus* 55 (1896), 689–694

Ku = C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia (De substantia facultatum naturalium fragmentum)*, vol. 4, Lipsiae 1822, 757–766

La¹ = A. Lami, “Sul testo del *De propriis placitis* di Galeno”, *Galenos* 4 (2010), 81–126

Lu = C. M. Lucarini, “Congesture al nuovo Galeno”, *Philologus* 154 (2010), 331–337

Ko-Ni = J. Kollesch et D. Nickel apud Nutton

Ni = D. Nickel apud Nutton

Nu = Galen, *On My Own Opinions*. Edition, Translation and Commenary by V. Nutton (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* V 3, 2), Berlin 1999

Pi = A. Pietrobelli apud V. Boudon-Millot et A. Pietrobelli, “Galen ressuscité. Édition *princeps* du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 118 (2005), 168–213

Ro = A. Roselli apud Ga¹

Ta = V. Talarico apud La¹

Abbreviationes

a. corr. = ante correctionem

add. = addidit, addiderunt

cf. = confer

codd. = codices

coni. = coniecit, coniecerunt

corr. = correxerunt, correxerunt

e corr. = e correctione

edd. = editores

lac. = lacuna

leg. = legit, legerunt

om. = omisit, omiserunt

p. corr. = post correctionem

prop. = proposuit, proposuerunt

secl. = seclusit, secluserunt

suppl. = supplevit, suppleverunt

s.l. = supra lineam

transp. = transposuit, transposuerunt

Γαληνοῦ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτῷ δοκούντων

1. Παραπλήσιόν τι μοι συμβεβηκέναι δοκεῖ τῷ γενομένῳ πόθ', ὡς φασί, Παρθενίῳ τῷ ποιητῇ. Ζῶντος γὰρ ἔτι τάνδρος, ἐξέπεσεν εἰς πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ. Καί ποτε διερχόμενος πόλιν, ἐπέστη δυοὶ γραμματικοῖς ἐπὶ διδασκαλείῳ διαφερομένοις περὶ τινος ἔπους τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων. Ἐξηγεῖτο δὲ ὁ μὲν ἕτερος αὐτῶν οὕτως τὴν κατ' αὐτὸ λέξιν ὡς ὁ Παρθένιος 5 ἐννοήσας ἐποίησεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐναντίως. Ὅν δὴ καὶ πείθειν αὐτὸς ὁ Παρθένιος ἐνεχείρει, καθ' ἑτέραν διάνοιαν ἐπιδεικνὺς εἰρήσθαι τὸ ἔπος, οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ᾤετο, ὁ δὲ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πεισθῆναι βουλόμενος. «Καὶ μήν», ἔφη, «παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παρθενίου κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐννοίαν ἀκήκοα τὸν στίχον, ἦν ἐγὼ διηγοῦμαι». Ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰπόντος ἐπέιθετο, «κινδυνεύω τοίνυν», ἔφη, «παραπαίειν, 10 νομίζων [ἐ]μαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα γράψαντα, ὥστ' ἔμοι μαρτύρων δεήσειν πρὸς σὲ τουτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅπως πιστεύσης αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναί με τὸν Παρθένιον, ὃς ταῦτα ἔγραψε». Τοιοῦτον δὴ τι κάμοι νῦν ἔοικε συμβαίνειν διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν ἀτυχίαν ἰατρικὴν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, ἐφ' αἷς οἱ μήτε παρὰ γραμματικῷ μήτε ῥητορικῷ διδασκαλίαν παιδευθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἀφικνούμενοι πρὸς 15 τέχνας, παρακούουσι τῶν γεγραμμένων οὐ μόνον τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔχουσιν ὄντως ἀσαφῶς τε πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃ δοκεῖ σαφέστατα πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς τὴν πρώτην παιδείαν παιδευθεῖσιν. Διαφέρει δὲ τοῦμὸν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα τοῦ κατὰ Παρθένιον ἐν τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ὑλῇ. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐδέησε τῶν δούλων μαρτύρων ὡς ὄντως αὐτὸς ὁ Παρθένιος εἶη, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα μαρτυροῦντά 20 μοι παρέχομαι, περὶ ὧν ἀπεφηνάμην ὡς βεβαίως ἐπιστάμενος ἢ κατὰ μόνον τὸ

1,1 φασιν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 3 δύο V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La | ἐπὶ V: [ἐν τῷ] suppl. Ga-La [ἐν] suppl. Bou-Pi 4 διδασκαλείῳ V p. corr. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La: διδασκαλεία V a. corr. διδασκαλίῳ Bou-Pi 5 ἐξηγήτο leg. Bou-Pi | δὲ V: δ' corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | οὕτως V: [ὀρθῶς] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [ἀληθῶς] suppl. Bou-Pi 6 δὲ V: δ' corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | δὴ V La¹ Ga-La: δὲ Bou-Pi | πείθει V: corr. Bou-Pi (tacite) Ga-La 7 ἕτερον leg. Bou-Pi | οὐχ om. Bou-Pi 8 μᾶλλον V: [...οὐ] suppl. Bou-Pi [ἦν μᾶλλον] suppl. La¹ Ga-La 9 ἀκήκοέναι V Bou-Pi ἀκήκοα ἐκτεθέντα corr. La¹ Ga-La: correximus | τὸν στίχον V: [τὸν στίχ]ον suppl. Ga-La [.....] Bou-Pi | ὄν V Bou-Pi: ἦν corr. Ga¹ Ga-La | διηγοῦμαι V Ga-La: ἐξηγοῦμαι Bou-Pi 11 νομίζω[ν ἐμα]υτὸν suppl. Bou-Pi νομίζω[ν ἕτερον α]υτὸν Ga-La (οὐ) νομίζω[ν ἐμα]υτὸν leg. La¹ | δεήσειν V Bou-Pi: δεήσει corr. Ga¹ Ga-La 12 πιστεύσεις V πιστ[εύεις] suppl. Bou-Pi πιστε[ύ]ης suppl. Ga-La: correximus 13 συμβεβηκένειν V a. corr 13-14 διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν ἀτυχίαν ἰατρικὴν V Bou-Pi: διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν ἀτυχίαν (κατ') ἰατρικὴν corr. La¹ Ga-La; διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τὴν κατέχουσιν ἰατρικὴν etiam conī. La¹ 14 ἃς V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 15 ῥητορικῷ V Bou-Pi: ῥήτορι corr. La¹ Ga-La | διδασκαλείαν V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La; an διδασκάλῳ vel γραμματικῶν μήτε ῥητορικῶν διδασκάλων scribendum? 16 μόνους V: corr. Bou Ga-La | ἔχουσιν V Bou-Pi: οὖσιν corr. La¹ Ga-La qui etiam post ὄντως lacunam statuerunt 17 ἀσαφέσι Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | αὐτοῖς V: corr. Bou Ga-La

Galen's *On My Own Opinions*

1. Something seems to have happened to me similar to what they say once befell the poet Parthenius. For while the man was still alive, his poems slipped into the hands of many people from different places. So as he was travelling through a city at one point, he ran into two grammarians in a school arguing about a poetic line he had written. One of them was interpreting its meaning¹ just as Parthenius had intended it when he had composed [the poem], the other in a contrary sense. Parthenius himself attempted to persuade the latter person by demonstrating that the line had been expressed in a different sense, not as he thought, but the grammarian accepted anything other than being persuaded. 'In fact', [Parthenius] said, 'I have heard the line from Parthenius himself in exactly the sense I am proposing.' Since the man was not persuaded despite these words, [Parthenius] said: 'Well, I risk going crazy; I consider myself the author of these lines, so that I will need to use these servants of mine as witnesses for me to you, so that you will be convinced that I am identical with the Parthenius who wrote these lines'. Something comparable seems to be happening to me just now because of the prevailing failure in relation to [the study of] medicine and philosophy, in which those who acquired no education in the presence of a grammarian or an orator, but acquainted themselves briefly with the arts, misinterpret the works not only of the ancients, who are indeed repeatedly obscure, but also my own, which seem quite lucid to everyone who has received the fundamental education. The difference between my situation and that of Parthenius lies in the matter of witnesses. For Parthenius was in need of servants to testify that he was indeed Parthenius, whereas I provide as witnesses my written views, regarding which I declared that I have secure knowledge or at

¹ Here λέξις refers to the literal meaning of a word (see Lampe s.v. 9; note that this denotation is not recorded in LSJ⁹) and is used as an equivalent to διάνοια (see LSJ⁹, s.v. A IV) and ἔννοια (see LSJ⁹, s.v. II), which occur just below in the work.

πιθανόν, ὡσπερ καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδόλως ἐπίστασθαί φημι βεβαίως διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐπιστημονικὴν γνῶσιν.

2. Ἔστι δὲ τοιαῦτα (περὶ πρώτων γὰρ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν ἔγνωκα), πότερον ἀγέννητός ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος ἢ γενητός εἴτε τι μετ' αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν εἴτε μηδέν. Ὅτι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν φημι, δηλονότι καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ὁποῖός τις ἐστιν, εἴτ' ἀσώματος εἴτε καὶ σωματοειδῆς, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τίνι τόπῳ διατρίβων, ἄρ' οὖν καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἀπορεῖν φημι καθάπερ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἔλεγεν, ἢ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁποῖοι μὲν εἰσι τὴν οὐσίαν ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι δ' εἰσὶν, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων γινώσκειν; Ἐκείνων γὰρ εἶναι τὴν τε τῶν ζώων κατασκευὴν ἔργον ὅσα τε διὰ κληδόνων ἢ συμβόλων ἢ ὄνειράτων προσημαίνουσιν. Ὁ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ τιμώμενος ἐν Περγᾶμφ θεὸς ἐπ' ἄλλων τε πολλῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐνεδείξατο ἐμέ τε θεραπεύσας ποτέ, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ Διοσκοῦρων ἔχω πείραν οὐ μόνον τῆς προνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βλάπτεσθαί τι νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν θεῶν, τιμᾶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔγνωκα, νόμῳ παλαιῷ ἐπόμενος Σωκράτους, πείθεσθαι συμβουλευόντος τοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου προστάγμασιν.

3. Οὕτω μὲν ἔχω περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅπως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦδη σοι δίδειμι. Ψυχὴν μὲν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς πέπεισμα καθάπερ ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι κατὰ προαίρεσιν αἰσθάνεσθαι τε διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων αἴτιον ἅπαντας ὁρῶ ψυχὴν ὀνομάζοντα), ἥτις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον εἰ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἢ θνητή. Περὶ γοῦν τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ὑπομνήματα ποιησάμενος, ἑμαυτῷ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὸ λήθης γῆρας ὡς φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, εἴτα καὶ φίλοις δεηθεῖσι κοινωῆσαι αὐτῶν, οὐδαμόθεν περὶ τοῦ θνητῆν ἢ ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεφηνάμην, ὡσπερ γε (καὶ) περὶ τοῦ πότερον ἀσώματος ἐστὶν ἢ σῶμα. Περὶ μέντοι τῆς κινήσεως, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἑτέραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν, ἄλλην δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἦπαρ, ἔγραψα τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐξ ὧν ἑμαυτὸν ἔπεισα διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ὁ λόγος ἐστί. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον αἶ τε μνημαὶ καὶ αἰ

22 γε V Bou-Pi γε (καὶ) corr. Ga-La: καὶ correximus | βεβαίως V e corr.: secl. La¹ Ga-La 2,1 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δὴ leg. Ga-La | περὶ πρώτ^τ γὰρ αὐτῶν V περὶ (ῶν) πρώτων {γὰρ αὐτῶν} leg. et corr. Bou-Pi: περὶ πρώτων γὰρ αὐτῶν corr. La¹ Ga-La 2 ἀγέννητός V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | γεννητός V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | εἴτε τι V Bou-Pi Ga-La; an εἴτ' ἔ(στι) τι scribendum? | ἀγνοεῖν φημι post μηδέν add. Bou-Pi | Ὅτι V Bou-Pi: ἔτι corr. La¹ Ga-La 4 τι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 5 ἐν τίνι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ὁ om. Bou-Pi 7 γινώσκειν V Bou-Pi: γινώσκειν Ga-La 8 ἐμοί V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 9 τε² om. Bou-Pi 12 δὲ V: δ' tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 13 παλαιῷ V La¹ Ga-La: πάλαι leg. Bou-Pi 3,1 οὕτως V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 4 δέ V: δ' corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 7–8 κοινωῆσας V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 8 οὐδαμόθεν V Bou-Pi: οὐδαμόθι corr. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La 9 καὶ add. Ga-La | τοῦ post μέντοι add. La¹ Ga-La 10 ἑτέραν¹] ἔτεραν Bou-Pi | ἑτέραν²] ἔτεραν Bou-Pi 11 κατὰ τὸ V La¹ Ga-La: καθ' leg. Bou-Pi

least a plausible one, just as I also say about [other] matters that I know nothing certain of, due to having no scientific acquaintance with them.

2. Of the latter sort are the following (for I decided to talk about these issues first): whether the universe is ungenerated or generated, or if there is anything after it outside of it or nothing at all. Since I say that I am ignorant of such things, namely of what the nature of the creator of everything in the world is, whether he is incorporeal or in fact corporeal, and yet more in which place he lives, do I then say that I am perplexed about the gods as well, just as Protagoras used to claim, or rather that as regards their substance I do not know of what sort they are, but I know from their acts that they exist? For [I know that] the composition of living beings is their work, as is everything about which they predict through omens, signs or dreams. The god whom I honour in Pergamum² showed his power and providence among many other occasions when he cured me once, and I also have experience not only of the providence but also of the power of the Dioscuri at sea. I do not consider, however, that men are in any way injured by being ignorant of the substance of the gods, but I am determined to honour them by following the ancient custom represented by Socrates, who used to advise obeying the precepts of Pythian Apollo.

3. This is my position with regard to gods, where I am now going to describe to you my position regarding men. I am convinced, like all men, that we have a soul; for I see as the cause of [human] voluntary motion and of sensation through the sense organs what everyone calls a ‘soul’. But I confess that I do not know what the substance of the soul is and even more if it is immortal or mortal. So when I composed the book *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, first for personal use against ‘the forgetfulness of old age’³, as Plato says, and then so as to share it with friends who asked for it, nowhere [in this work] did I declare whether the soul is mortal or immortal, just as I (also) did not declare whether it is incorporeal or whether it is a body. Yet on the subject of motion, namely that one of its sources is situated in the brain, another in the heart, and the final one in the liver, I put forward proofs of which I am totally convinced in that treatise which deals with the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato. Moreover, I dare to declare that it is from the brain that both our memories and reflections occur to

² I.e. Asclepius.

³ Plato, *Phaedrus* 276d3.

διανοήσεις ἡμῖν γίνονται, καθ' ἃς ἀκόλουθόν τε καὶ μαχόμενον ὅσα τ' ἄλλα κατὰ
 τὴν λογικὴν θεωρίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀποφαίνεσθαι τολμῶ, καὶ πολὺ γε τούτου 15
 μᾶλλον ὡς ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ σώματος μορίων ἐκ τούτου χορηγουμένην ἔχει τὴν
 καθ' ὁρμὴν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάζειν ἐθέλῃ κινήσιν, ὡσπερ γε καὶ
 τὴν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων διάγνωσιν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑποκειμένων
 αἰσθητῶν. Ἀπεφηνάμην δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν καρδίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τοὺς
 σφυγμοὺς ἐ[νεργ]είας, γινομένης οὐ κατ' ἐκείνην μόνην ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πάσας τὰς 20
 ἀρτηρίας, ὅτι τε τὸ οἶον ζέον τῆς ἐμφύτου θ[ερμ]μασίας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡσπερ ἀφ'
 ἐστίας ὠρμήθη· μετεῖναι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ ἥπατι θερμασίας, ὡσπερ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς
 ἅπασιν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγης τε ταύτης ἐπικουρίας τε δεομένης ἐνίοτε τῆς καρδίας.
 Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῇ καρ[δι]αίᾳ τῆς θερμασίας, ὡς καὶ ζέσιν αὐτοῦ
 γίνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θυμούς. Ἀρχὴν δὲ κινήσεως εἶναι κἂν τοῖς φυτοῖς φημι καὶ 25
 δυνάμεις ἔχειν αὐτά, καθ' ἃς διοικεῖται, περὶ ὧν ἐστὶν ὑπομνήματα τρία, δεικνύ-
 ντος μου τὴν τε τῶν οἰκείων ἐλκτικὴν ὑπάρχειν ὡσπερ γε καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
 ἀποκριτικὴν ἔτι τε τὴν ἀλλοιωτικὴν τῆς τρο[φι]φῆς {τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος}, καθ' ἣν
 ἑαυτοῖς ὁμοία, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν καθεκτικὴν τῶν οἰκείων, τῆς δὲ ἀλλοιωτι-
 κῆς εἶναι καὶ τὸ τρέφειν ἔργον, ὡσπερ γε καὶ τὸ αὐξάνειν τὸ ἀποκυθέν. Οὐ μὴν 30
 περὶ γε τῆς διαπλαστικῆς τῶν κυομένων δυνάμεως] ἀπεφηνάμην που, πότερον
 ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἥς τὰς τέσσαρας ἔφην εἶναι δυνάμεις,
 ἐλκτικὴν, ἀλλοιωτικὴν, ἀποκριτικὴν, καθεκτικὴν, ἢ τις ἄλλη σοφωτέρα τε καὶ
 δυνατωτέρα τούτων ἐστίν. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ διαπλάσεως
 ἐμβρύων γράμματι. Τὴν γε μὴν τὰ φυτὰ διοικοῦσαν οὐσίαν, ὅταν μὲν τοῖς 35

14 γινώσκειται post τε add. Ga-La | ἀκόλουθόν τε καὶ μαχόμενον] ἀκολουθίαν τε καὶ μαχ(η)ν
 γινώσκ(ο)μεν Ga¹ 15 πολλῶ V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 16 τούτων V Bou-Pi: corr. Ro Ga-La
 17 ἐθέλει V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 19 καὶ post εἶναι add. Bou-Pi 20 [ἐνεργεί]ας suppl. La¹ Ga-La
 [κινήσεως] suppl. Bou-Pi 21 ἀρτηρίας leg. Bou-Pi | [οἶον] ζέον suppl. La¹ Ga-La [τὸ ἐν]ζέον
 suppl. Bou-Pi | [θερμασίας] suppl. Bou-Pi La¹ Ga-La 21–22 ὡσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας [ὠρμή]θη.
 [μετ]εῖναι suppl. Ga-La ὡσπερ ἀφροστ[.....]μετε[....] Bou-Pi 22 μὲν V s.l. | θερμασίαν V Bou-
 Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 22–23 [ω...καί] τοῖς φυτοῖς ἅ]πασιν suppl. Bou-Pi ὡ[σπερ] καὶ τοῖς φυ[τοῖς]
 ἅ]πασιν suppl. Ga-La 23 τε ταύτης [ἐπικουρίας] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [.....]ἐπικουρίας] suppl.
 Bou-Pi | παρὰ post ἐνίοτε add. Ga-La 24 [καρδί]α τῆς suppl. Bou-Pi [αἷματι τῆς] suppl. La¹ Ga-
 La | αὐτοῦ V La¹ Ga-La: αὐτῆς corr. Pi 25 κἂν V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | φ[ημι καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi
 Ga-La 27 τε τῶ[ν οἰκείων] suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν τῶν [οἰκείων ἐ] suppl. Bou-Pi 28 [τρο]φῆς [τε
 καὶ] τοῦ πνεύματος suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La; τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος delevimus cum Ga-La 29 ὁμοιοί
 V ὁμοιοῖ corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La: corraximus | τούτοις V Bou-Pi: ταύταις corr. Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi:
 δ' tacite corr. Ga-La 29–30 ἀλλοιωτικ[ῆς] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 30 [καὶ τὸ τρέφειν] suppl. Bou-
 Pi [καὶ τὸ τρέφειν Ga-La | καὶ τὸ² om. Bou-Pi 31 κυο[μέ]νων suppl. Bou-Pi κυομ[έ]νων]
 δυν[ά]μεως suppl. Ga-La | [οὐκ ἀ]πεφηνάμην Bou-Pi | πρότορον V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La
 32 τέσσαρας V Bou-Pi: τέτταρας corr. Ga-La | δυν[ά]μεις suppl. Bou-Pi δυνά[μεις] suppl. Ga-La
 33 ἐλκτικ[κῆν, ἀλλοι]ωτικὴν suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τε om. Bou-Pi 34 Εἴρη[ηται] suppl. Bou-Pi
 (tacite) Ga-La 35 γε μὴν V La¹ Ga-La: μὴν γε leg. Bou-Pi

us, and that these align with the consequent and the opposed and all that is in accord with logical theory for men. And much more than this, [I dare to say] that each part of the body receives from the brain the impulsive or voluntary motion, or whatever one might want to call it, in the same way [that it receives from there] as well the capacity to discern all external sense objects through the sense organs. I also declared my view regarding the fact that the heart is the source of the activity of pulsation, which occurs not in it alone but also in all the arteries, and that any possible overboiling of the innate heat is stirred up from the heart as if from a hearth. For the liver in fact partakes in the heat, as do all plants, but when the heat is reduced it sometimes needs the assistance of the heart. Indeed, there is so much heat in the heart that it also boils during displays of anger. I affirm that there is a source of motion in plants as well, and that plants have capacities, in line with which they are governed. There are three books on these capacities, where I show that there is a capacity which attracts what is proper to it⁴, in the same way that there is also a capacity which rejects what is foreign⁵, and yet again a capacity which alters the food, in accord with which the food becomes similar to the plants, and furthermore a capacity which retains what is proper to it. The function of the altering capacity, on the other hand, is to nourish, as well as to grow the child after birth. Regarding the capacity which forms embryos, I have nowhere declared whether it occurs naturally from the same substance from which I said the four capacities come, i.e. the attractive, the alterative, the expulsive, the retentive, or if there exists some other capacity, more skilful and more powerful than these. I have also addressed these questions in the treatise *On the Formation of the Foetus*. Now the substance

4 I.e. nourishment.

5 I.e. waste.

Πλατωνικοῖς φιλοσόφοις διαλέγωμαι, ψυχὴν ὀνομάζω καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος, ὅταν δὲ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς, φύσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ὅταν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Καὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς δυνάμεις ὀνόμασα φυσικὰς ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπομνήμασι τοῖς Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, ἐν οἷς δὴ κοινὸς ἦν ὁ κατ' αὐτὰς λόγος {ἅπασι} τοῖς 40
 ἰατροῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.

4. Τὸ μέντοι τὰ σώματα πάντα τὰ τῆδε (περὶ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐδὲν εἶναι φημι βέβαιον), ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος κεραυνυμένον γεννᾶσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν Ἴπποκράτην ἀποφηνάμενον ἔδειξα, δευτέρον δὲ ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεφῆνατο, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ὅτι τὰς δόξας τῶν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀμετά- 5
 βλη[τα] κ[α]τὰ ποιότητα τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι θεμένων ἐξήλεγξεν αὐτός. Ἐπιδέδεικται δὲ μοι περὶ τούτων οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἴπποκράτην στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὧν ἐξηγησάμην τὸ Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου σύγγραμμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν ὑπομνημάτων]. Ἐδίδαξα καὶ κατ' ἄλλα συγγράμματα 10
 τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν ἔχοντα τὸν Ἴπποκράτην καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὸ θερμὸν ὀνόματος, ἐν μὲν ἀκριβῶς θερμὸν σῶμα δηλοῦν, ἀνόθευτον ἐναντίας ποιότητος, ὅπερ ἐν τι τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων εἶναι φαμεν, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐπικράτειαν αὐτοῦ θερμὸν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἄλλο δ' ἀμφοῖν τούτοις διαφέρον, ὃ καλεῖν εἴωθεν Ἴπποκράτης σύμφυτον θερμόν, ἰδίαν ἔχον συμμετρίαν ἐν ἐκάστω γένει τῶν 15
 ζώων, +ἐν ᾧ+ δέδεικται μοι δι' ἄλλων τε καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λύκον γραφέντος, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνεκάλεσεν Ἴπποκράτει κατὰ τοὺς Ἀφορισμοὺς εἰπόντι «τὰ αὐξανόμενα πλεῖστον ἔχει τὸ ἔμφυτον θερμόν», ἡγούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλεῖστον εἰρη[σθαι] τὸ σφοδρότατον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐσίαν ηὔξημένον, οἰκεία δὲ ἔστιν οὐσία τοῦ ἐμφύτου θερμοῦ σπέρμα καὶ αἷμα· διὰ τούτων τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἢ γένεσις ἡμῖν.

37 τοῖς¹ om. Ga-La | Στωϊκ[οῖς] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 38 τρ[ισὶν] suppl. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La τ[ρία] suppl. Bou-Pi 39 ἅπασι secl. La¹ Ga-La qui etiam {ἅπασι} τοῖς ἰατροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις coniecerunt 40 τ[ε] καὶ suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 4,2 εἶναι V: εἰδέναι corr. Bou Ga-La (cf. Lat. 62, 18–19: *recuso me habere scientiam*) | φ[ημι] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 3 γενᾶσθαι V a. corr. | ἀποφηνά[μενον] suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἀποφῆν[ασθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 4 γε om. Bou-Pi 4–5 ἀμετάβ[λητα] κατὰ ποιότητα suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἀμετάβ[ολα] τὰς ποιότητ[ας] suppl. Bou-Pi 8 καὶ τινων ἄλλων V secl. Ga-La: *correximus* | ὑπομ[νημάτων.] Ἐδίδαξα V: ὑπομ[νημάτων]. Ἐτι δ' ἔδ]ειξα suppl. La¹ Ga-La ὑπομ[νημάτων] ἐν οἷς ἐπέδ]ειξα Bou-Pi ὑπομ[νημάτων]. Ἐπέδ]ειξα (δὲ) copi. La¹ 9 ἔχοντι τῷ Ἴπποκράτει V: corr. Bou Ga-La 9–10 τὸ θερμὸν ὄνομα τότε μὲν V τὸ θερμὸν ὀνομάτο[ς τι] corr. et suppl. Ga-La τὸ «θερμόν» ὄνομά τι [...] leg. Bou-Pi: *correximus* 10 δηλοῦν V Bou-Pi: δηλοῦντος corr. La¹ Ga-La | ἐναντίας ποιότητος V Ga-La: ἐναντίων ποιότητων Bou-Pi 11 ὥσπερ V Bou-Pi: corr. Ro Ga-La | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La | ἐπικρ[άτειαν] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 13 [συ]μμετρίαν suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 14 ἐν ᾧ V Bou-Pi ἐνὸν corr. Ga-La {ἐν} ὃ corr. La¹: locus corruptus videtur; an ἐφ' ᾧ scribendum? | βιβλίον post γραφέντος add. La¹ Ga-La 15 Ἴπποκράτει post τοὺς primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V 16 αὐτῶν V: corr. Bou Ga-La | εἰρη[σθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 17 an τὸ post οὐ addendum? | ηὔξη μόνον V: corr. Pi Ga-La | δέ V: δ' corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 18 [γὰρ καὶ] suppl. Ga-La [τε καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi

which governs plants, when I converse with the Platonist philosophers, I call ‘soul’, just as he [i.e. Plato] did, but when I converse with the Stoics, [I call it] ‘nature’, just I do when I address average people. And I used the term ‘natural’ for the capacities of this soul in the three books *On Natural Capacities*, in which the discussion of these capacities was addressed in common to both physicians and everyone else.

4. As for the fact, moreover, that all the bodies in this world – for I affirm that nothing is certain about the bodies in the sky – are created from a mixture of fire, earth, water and air, I showed in the first place that it was Hippocrates who declared this, and second that he was correct to do so, and in addition that he himself refuted the opinions of those who maintain that in terms of their quality the elements of the bodies are not subject to affections or changes. I have demonstrated this not only in *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, but also through my explication of the work *On the Nature of Man* and the three other commentaries [on the subject]. I showed that Hippocrates holds the same opinion in other writings [of his], but I also showed with regard to the term ‘the hot’ that it indicates, on the one hand, a single, perfectly hot body – uncontaminated by any opposing quality – which we affirm is one of the four elements; but on the other hand, that it is something other than what is called ‘hot’ due to the predominance of this quality. Finally, [I showed] that there is another meaning, different from these two, which Hippocrates was accustomed to refer to as ‘innate heat’, having a particular balance in each species of living beings; τῆν ἢ ἣν⁶ I have offered a demonstration through both other writings and the treatise *Against Lycus* concerning the reproaches the latter addressed against Hippocrates, who says in the *Aphorisms* that ‘Growing beings have the most innate heat’⁷, since Lycus thought that Hippocrates had used the expression ‘the most’ in the sense ‘the strongest’ and not in the sense ‘increasing according to its

⁶ The passage is corrupt. The paradosis reads ἐν ἣν, adopted by some editors, while others have changed it to ἐνὸν. ἐφ’ ἣν (= for this reason) might be a reasonable emendation here, since it picks up on the semantic flexibility of the preceding θερμόν and justifies Galen’s decision to compose polemical works against individuals like Lycus who have misinterpreted Hippocrates’ use of the term. See the similar usage of ἐφ’ ἣν in *On the Capacity of Foodstuffs*, 207.1–2 Wilkins = VI.690.8–9 Kühn: ἐφ’ ἣν καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ λθέ μοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀποφηνάμενους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης τροφῆς.

⁷ Hippocratic *Aphorisms* 1, 14, IV.466.8 Littré.

Ἐδείχθη δὲ καὶ ὅπως λέγεται τὸ πλείστον, οὔσης τινὸς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο παρακοῆς. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ποιότητος ἐπίτασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μέτρῳ πλέον ἀκούειν χρῆ 20
λελέχθαι πρὸς Ἴπποκράτους τὸ πλείστον. Ἐδείχθη δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ κράσεων
ὑπομνήμασιν, ἃ τῷ Περι (τῶν) καθ' Ἴπποκράτην στοιχείων ἔπεται, τῷ μὲν
ἐμφύτῳ θερμῷ θερμότερους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀκμάζοντων, τῷ δ' ἐπικτήτῳ
τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας τῶν παιδῶν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας τῶν πυρεσσόντων
πλέον ἔχειν τὸ ἔμφυτον θερμόν, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ χείρονα τὸν πυρετὸν ὑπάρχειν, 25
ὅσπερ ἂν ἔλαττον ἦ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ζώου σῶμα τὸ ἔμφυτον θερμόν· εἶναι γὰρ τὸ
μὲν ἐπικτήτων ἀηδὲς τε καὶ δακνώδες, ἄδηκτον δὲ καὶ ἄλυπον τὸ ἔμφυτον
θερμόν, καὶ {κατὰ γε τὸ} κατὰ τὴν τροπὴν {τε} τῆς ἐμφύτου θερμασίας γεννᾶσθαι
τοὺς πυρετούς, ὧν ἔδειξα τρία εἶναι γένη τὰ πρῶτα, ὀνόματα δ' αὐτῶν, ἐν μὲν
τῶν ἐφημέρων, ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἐκτικῶν, καὶ τρίτον τῶν ἐπὶ σήψει χυμῶν. Εἴρηται 30
δέ μοι περὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς Περι διαφορᾶς τῶν πυρετῶν ὑπομνήμασιν, ὥσπερ γε
κἂν τοῖς Περι κράσεων ἐννέα διαφορὰς εἶναι τῶν κράσεων, ἀπλᾶς μὲν τέσσαρας,
συνθέτους δὲ τέσσαρας, ἔξωθεν δὲ τούτων τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἄμεμπτον, γίνεσθαι
δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀπλᾶς δυσκρασίας κατ' ἐπικράτειαν ἐνὸς τῶν στοιχείων, ἥτοι τοῦ
θερμοῦ ἢ τοῦ ψυχροῦ ἢ τοῦ ὑγροῦ ἢ τοῦ ξηροῦ, τὰς συνθέτους δὲ ποτε μὲν ἅμα 35
τοῦ ὑγροῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ κρατούντων ἢ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, ποτὲ δὲ τοῦ θερμοῦ
μεθ' ὑγρότητος ἢ τοῦ ψυχροῦ μετὰ ξηρότητος, ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὲν οὐκ ἀμέμπτους
εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀρίστην οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἐπικρατοῦν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ συμμετρίαν ἄμεμπτον αὐτὴν κεκρᾶσθαι. Λέλεκται δ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ
περὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς τε καὶ θερμῆς κράσεως, ἣν ἀρίστην ἀπεφήναντο πολλοὶ τῶν 40
ιατρῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀρίστην ἐὰν κατ' ἐπικράτησιν νοῆται τὸ
θερμόν καὶ τὸ ὑγρόν, ὡς αὐτοὶ κελεύουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀκούειν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅταν

19 οὔσης–παρακοῆς om. P Nu 21 στοιχείων ἔπεται, τῷ μὲν ἐμφύτῳ θερμῷ post Ἴπποκράτους
primum scripsit, deinde erasit V 21–22 δ' ἐν–ἔπεται om. P Nu 22 ἃ τῶν V Bou-Pi ἃ τοῖς Ga¹ Lu:
corr. Ga-La | τῶν add. Ga-La 24 πυρεσσόντων V P Nu Bou-Pi: πυρεττόντων corr. He Ga-La
25 τοσοῦτο P a. corr. | τῶν a. corr. V 27 δὲ] δὲ V Ga-La: τε Bou-Pi 28 κατὰ γε τὸ secl. Nu Bou-
Pi Ga-La: κατὰ(δηλον) τὸ corr. He | γε post κατὰ add. La¹ Ga-La | τε secl. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La; an
γε scribendum? | γενᾶσθαι V P: corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 29 εἶναι γένη V: γένη εἶναι P Nu Bou-Pi
Ga-La 31 τῶν V s.l. 32 κἂν V (e corr.): tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | [δια]φορὰς suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-
La | τῶν om. Bou-Pi 32–33 τέσσαρας...τέσσαρας V Bou-Pi: τέτταρας...τέτταρας corr. Ga-La
33 ἄμεμπτον V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | Εἴ[ναι] leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La [...] Bou-Pi: γίνεσθαι legimus
et supplevimus 36 ἢ ὅτε δὲ V Bou-Pi: ποτὲ δὲ corr. La¹ Ga-La; an ἐνίστε δὲ scribendum?
37 μ[εθ'] ὑγρότητος suppl. La¹ Ga-La μ[ετὰ] ὑγρότητος suppl. Bou-Pi 38 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-
La | ἐπ[ικρατοῦν] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τετάρων corr. Ga-La 39 ἄμεμπτον
V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | αὐτὰ V: αὐτὴν corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La qui Bou-Pi αὐτὴ legerunt 39–40 [καὶ
περὶ τῆς ὑ] suppl. Bou-Pi περ[ὶ τῆς] suppl. Ga-La 40 τε om. Bou-Pi | ἦν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὴν
θερμὴν καὶ ὑγρὰν κρᾶσιν P Nu 41 ἀρίστην ἐὰν legimus et supplevimus (vide Lat. 68, 9: cum
intellexerimus): ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La ἀσίστην P ἀρίστην corr. Ka Nu οὕτως He |
νοεῖται V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus

own substance'; the substance proper to innate warmth is sperm and blood, since we are created through these and from these. It was also shown how the expression 'the most' is used, since there is some type of misconception about this term as well; for it is not according to the intensity of the quality, but more by its measure that one should understand what Hippocrates means by 'the most'. Furthermore, it was demonstrated in the books *On Mixtures*, which follow the *On (the) Elements According to Hippocrates*, that children are warmer than adults in terms of innate heat, but when it comes to acquired heat, adults are warmer than children. Likewise people in good health have greater innate heat than those who are afflicted with fever, and the worse the fever is, the less innate heat there is in the body of the living being. For acquired heat is unpleasant and irritating, whereas innate heat causes no trouble or pain. And it is by an alteration of innate heat that fevers are generated, of which I showed that there are three main kinds, whose names are as follows: one kind are the ephemeral fevers, a second are the hectic ones, and the third are those engendered by the putrefaction of humours. I have discussed these points in the essays *On the Different Kinds of Fevers*, just as in the *On Mixtures* as well I showed that there are nine different mixtures, four simple, four compound and in addition to these, the best and faultless one.⁸ [I also demonstrated that] the simple bad mixtures arise from the dominance of one of the elements, namely hot, cold, wet or dry, and the compound bad mixtures sometimes arise when the wet and the cold or the hot and the dry predominate, and at other times when the hot together with humidity or the cold with drought [predominates]. But [I said that] these mixtures are not faultless, whereas the best mixture involves none of the four elements in dominance, but is rather blended into a flawless mixture characterised by the right balance. I have said more in these books, and specifically about the wet and hot mixture, which many physicians and philosophers regarded as the best, without it being such, considering the predominance of the hot and the

⁸ I.e. the balanced, optimum mixture or *eukrasia*.

θερμὴν ἢ ξηρὰν ἢ ψυχρὰν ἢ ὑγρὰν λέγωσιν εἶναι κρᾶσιν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐν ταύταις τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τὸ σύμμετρον ὀνομάζουσιν ἦτοι θερμὴν ἢ ψυχρὰν ἢ ὑγρὰν ἢ ξηρὰν, οὕτω
 δὲ κἀνθάδε τὴν θερμὴν ἅμα ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν ἀκόλουθον νοεῖν ἐκείνην 45
 ὑπάρχειν, ἥτις ἂν ἀμετρότερον ἔχει τὸ θερμὸν τοῦ συμμέτρου θερμοῦ τό θ' ὑγρὸν
 τοῦ (συμμέτρου) ὑγροῦ. Λελέχθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τινων ἔφην οὐ μόνον ἰατρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 φιλοσόφων, ἀρίστην εἶναι τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ θερμὴν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμᾶς
 ἔχοντας ὑγροτέρους καὶ θερμοτέρους ἐώρων τῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν φυτῶν.
 Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τούτων σώματα παραβ[ολήν] ἀπεφάναντο τοὺς κατὰ 50
 φύσιν ἔχοντας ἀνθρώπους ὑγροὺς εἶναι καὶ θερμοὺς. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ὥρων τὸ
 ἕα[ρ θερ]μὸν εἶναι καὶ [ὑγρὸν] ἔφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν θέρει παραβαλλόμενον
 ὑγρὸν ἔστι, [τῷ δὲ χειμ]ῶνι θερμὸν, εἰ μέντοι τις αὐτό τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ [.....σκο]ποῖ-
 το, τὸ σύμμετρον εὐρήσει κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς [ἀντι]θέσεις, λέγω δὲ ἀντιθέσεις
 ἀμφοτέρας τὴν τε κατὰ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ 55
 ὑγρὸν, ἐν αἷς δὲ ἐπικρατεῖ τὸ μὲν θερμὸν τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν τοῦ ξηροῦ,
 μοχθηρὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας καταστάσεις. Παράδειγμα δ' αὐτῶν ὑφ'
 Ἴπποκράτους ἐδείκνυον γεγράφθαι κατὰ μὲν τὸ δευτέρων τῶν Ἐπιδημιῶν μιᾶς
 ὥρας θερινῆς εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν ἐκτραπέυσης, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρί[τ]ον
 ὄλου τοῦ ἔτους. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἐπιδημιῶν εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ τήνδε 60
 τὴν κατάστασιν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς φησιν «ὔεν (ἐν) καύματι ὕδατι λάβρω δι' ὄλου»,
 κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον, ἐν οἷς οὕτως, «ἔτος νότιον ἔπομβρο[ν], ἄπνοια διὰ παντός», ἐν
 ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς καταστάσεσι διηγήσατο λοιμώδη γεγονέναι νοσήματα.

43 [ξηρὰν] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 44 ψυχρὰν[ν ἦ] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 45 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δὴ Ga-La | an τὴν² secludendum? 46 [ἥτις εὐρω]στότερον suppl. Ga-La [ἐν ἢ εὐρω]στότερον suppl. Jou apud Bou-Pi: ἥτις ἂν ἀμετρότερον correximus | ἔχει V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 47 συμμέτρου addidimus | ξηροῦ V Bou-Pi Ga-La: ὑγροῦ corr. Lu La¹ | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La | μ[όνον] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 48 κ[ατὰ φύ]σιν suppl. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La ἐπειδὴ [εὐρίσκου]σιν leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 49 ἐώρων V σώματα Bou-Pi qui ἐάρων legerunt: corr. Ga¹ Ga-La 50 τα[ῦτα τὰ σώμ]ατα suppl. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La τ[ὰ σώμ]ατα suppl. Bou-Pi: τὰ τούτων σώματα supplevimus | παραβ[ολήν] suppl. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La | ἀπεφ[ή]ναντο suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 51 θερ[μὸν] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ὥρων V Ga-La: ὥρων Bou-Pi | τὸ om. Bou-Pi 52 [ἔαρ θερμὸν] suppl. Bou-Pi ἔ[αρ θερμὸν] suppl. Ga-La | [ὑγρὸν] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ἔφ[ησαν] suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἐφ' ᾧ [...] suppl. Bou-Pi: ἔφασαν legimus et ἔφησαν correximus 53 [ὑγρὸν ἔστι, τῷ δὲ χειμ]ῶνι suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 53–54 [τὴν τοῦ ἔαρος κρᾶσιν καθ' αὐτὴν σκοποῖο, τὸ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [τὴν τοῦ ἔαρος καθ' ἑαυτὴν κρᾶσιν...] suppl. Bou-Pi: τις αὐτό τε καθ' αὐτό [.....σκο]ποῖτο τὸ legimus et supplevimus 54 ε[ὐρήσεις κατ' ἀμφο]τέρας suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | [ἀντι]θέσεις suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δὴ corr. La¹ δ' corr. Ga-La 55 τε om. Bou-Pi | an τὸ² secludendum? | [ψ]υχρὸν suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 56 δὲ¹ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La | δὲ² V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 56–57 ξηροῦ [...] [μο]χθηρὰς suppl. Bou-Pi ξηροῦ[ῦ, μο]χθηρὰς suppl. Ga-La 58 ἐδείκνυον leg. Bou-Pi 59 ὥρης leg. Bou-Pi 59–60 τρ[ίτ]ον [ὄ]λου suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 61 φησι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ἐν² add. La¹ Ga-La | λάβρω V a. corr. 62 τὸ V La¹ Ga-La: τὸν leg. Bou-Pi | οὕτως V Ro La¹ Ga-La: ὄντως leg. Bou-Pi | ἔπομβρ[ον] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La

wet, as they themselves invite us to understand these terms when they say that a mixture is hot, dry, cold or wet. For just as in these mixtures, the one exceeding the right balance is called either hot or cold or wet or dry, so too in this case it is reasonable for us to think that the hot mixture exists together with the wet mixture, which could have the hot in disproportionate quantity in relation to the balanced hot, and the wet [in disproportionate quantity] in relation to the (balanced) wet. I also said that it was stated not only by some physicians, but also by some philosophers, that the wet and hot mixture is the best, because they saw that we are naturally wetter and warmer than the dead and plants. Indeed, in light of the comparison with the bodies of the dead and the bodies of plants, they declared that men are by nature wet and hot. Similarly, among the seasons they said that the spring is hot and wet, because compared to the summer it is wet, but compared to the winter it is hot. But if one considers this by itself [...]⁹, one will find the right balance between both oppositions – by ‘both oppositions’ I mean that involving hot and cold, and that involving dry and wet – but in those cases in which the hot predominates over the cold, and the wet predominates over the dry, such constitutions must be bad. I showed that an example of these was provided by Hippocrates in the second book of the *Epidemics* where one season, that of summer, turned to such a constitution, and in the third book, the entire year [did the same]. So in the second book of the *Epidemics*, at the very beginning, he described this constitution in the passage where he says: ‘It rained in torrents in a period of great heat throughout the whole season’¹⁰, and in the third book, in the section which reads as follows: ‘This year was very rainy and southerly; there was no wind at any point’¹¹. In both these constitutions, he reported, pestilential diseases occurred.

⁹ Unintelligible letters in the codex.

¹⁰ Hippocratic *Epidemics* 2.1, 18.1–2 Smith.

¹¹ Hippocratic *Epidemics* 3.2, 79.14 Jouanna.

5. Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τούτοις διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔδοξέ τις ἀμφισβήτησις τε καὶ διαφωνία γεγονέναι μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποφηναμένους ἀρίστην εἶναι κρᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ζῶων σώμασι τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ θερμὴν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν ἑαρινήν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν γερόντων ἡλικίας ἔσται τις φαντασία διαφωνίας, ἐὰν ὁ μὲν τις ὑγρὰν αὐτὴν, ὁ δὲ ξηρὰν εἶναι λέγη· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν στερεῶν 5 σωμάτων κρᾶσιν ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοιτο ξηρά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν περιττωμάτων ὑγρά. Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φλέγμα, ψυχρὸς καὶ ὑγρὸς ὢν χυμὸς. Ὡσπερ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐναντιολογία τις εἶναι δόξει τοῖς ἀμελέστερον ἀκούουσι τῶν ὀρθῶς εἰρημένων, οὕτω κἂν τῷ φάσκειν ἡμᾶς τὰ μὲν νεῦρα τῆς ψυχροτέρας εἶναι κράσεως, εὐαισθητότερον δὲ τὸ θερμὸν σῶμα τοῦ ψυχροτέρου. Γινώσκειν οὖν 10 χρῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων χωρὶς παρακοῆς ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων ἀκούοντας ἢ λέλεκται. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητικὸν ἔδειξαμεν εἶναι τὸ μόριον, ὡς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι, (ἐν) ᾧ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικὸν ἐστίν, ἐπιρρεῖν γοῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου διὰ τῶν νεύρων ἐπὶ πάντα τοῦ σώματος τὰ μόρια δύνανται αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ὁρμὴν κινήσεως (ἐρρήθη δὲ καὶ ὅτι καθ' ὁρμὴν ἢ προαίρεσιν λέγειν 15 οὐ διοίσει), ταύτην δὲ τὴν δύνανται εἶς γε ἕκαστον μόριον ἀφικνουμένην αἰσθητικὸν ἀποτελεῖν αὐτό, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀλλοίωσιν ἐτοιμότερον δέχεσθαι τὰ θερμότερα μόρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἰσθητικώτερα γίνεσθαι τῶν φύσει ψυχροτέρων. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν νεύρων ἰοῦσα δύναμις οἰονεῖ δι' ὀχετῶν αἰσθανόμενα μὲν ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα, μᾶλλον δ' αἰσθανόμενα τῆς σαρκώδους οὐσίας οὐκ ἐργάζεται. Καί σοι 20 τοῦτο μαθεῖν ἔστιν, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἂν ἐθελήσης ζῶου, γυμνώσαντι νεῦρον, εἶτα νύττοντι βελόναις ἢ γραφείοις. Ἀκούση γὰρ αὐτοῦ μειζόνως ἐπὶ τε τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τῷ δέρματι κεκραγός, ὡς ἂν μᾶλλον ὀδυνωμένου. Νομίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἰατρῶν αἰσθητικώτερα τῶν σαρκῶν εἶναι τὰ νεῦρα διὰ τοὺς ἐπομένους κινδύνους ταῖς φλεγμοναῖς αὐτῶν, οὓς ἐπιφέρει, διότι τοῦ πρώτου τῶν αἰσθητι- 25 κῶν μορίων ἀποβλαστήματ' ἐστί, ὡς, εἴ γε διατέμνει(ς) ὄλον τὸ νεῦρον, οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος ἔπεται, μηκέτι τῇ κατ' αὐτὸ φλεγμονῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς συμπασχούσης. Καὶ

5,2 [εἶ]ναι suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 3 οὕτως V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 4 τῆς om. P quod restituerunt Ka Nu 5 ὑγρὰν αὐτὴν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτὴν ὑγρὰν P Nu | λέγει V P: corr. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 7-9 Πλεῖστον-εἰρημένων om. P Nu 7 [ἐ]ν suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τε V Bou-Pi: τὸ corr. Lu La¹ Ga-La 8 [ἀ]κούουσι suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 9 οὕτως κἂν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 10 θερμὸν σῶμα P Nu V Bou-Pi Ga-La: θερμότερον He 10-12 Γινώσκειν-λέλεκται om. P Nu 11 ἐκάστου V: ἕκαστον leg. Bou-Pi | [ἀ]κούοντας suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 12 ἔδειξαμεν αἰσθητικὸν P He: corr. Nu 13 ἐν add. Ka Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 14 πάντα P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: παντός V; an servandum? 15 ἐρρήθη V ἐρρέθη P Nu Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La | καί² om. P Nu | ἢ] καὶ He 17 δ' V Bou-Pi Ga-La He: δὲ P Nu | ἐτοιμω^{sp} V ἐτοιμώτερα La¹ Ga-La: corr. Bou-Pi | an φύσει post τὰ addendum? 19 δι' V Ga-La: δ' Bou-Pi 20-23 καί σοι-ὀδυνωμένου om. P Nu 21 ἐθελήσεις V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ Ga-La | γυμνώσαντα V: corr. Pi Ga-La 23 ἢ τῷ νεύρῳ post τῷ δέρματι add. Ga-La | δὲ V P Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 25 ἐπιφέρει V Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐπιφέρου P ἐπιφέρουσι corr. Nu 26 ἀποβλαστήματ' V: ἀποβλαστήματα P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | διατέμνει V διατέμνει leg. Bou-Pi Ga-La: corteximus 27 μὴ κ' ἔτι V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La

5. Just as in these cases, therefore, homonymy seems to have led to some sort of controversy and disagreement on my part with those who say that the best mixture in the bodies of living creatures is the wet and hot, and that among the seasons that of spring, so too there will be an apparent disagreement as regards the age of old men, if one person says that it is wet, whereas another one says that it is dry. For as regards the mixture of solid bodies themselves, one could rightly say that it is dry, but as for that of wet residues, that it is wet. Because in this mixture there is an accumulation of phlegm, a humour which is cold and wet. Just as those who listen rather carelessly to what has yet been properly said on these subjects will assume that there is a contradiction, so too when we say that the nerves are of a colder mixture, but that a warm body is more sensitive than a colder one. We must therefore be aware of such subjects by considering each point of what is expressed from what has been said without any misunderstanding. Because we showed that the prime sensitive part [of the body], just as the ancients also believed, is that (in) which the hegemonic part¹² of the soul is located, and that from this the capacity both for sensation and for voluntary motion accordingly flows through the nerves to all parts of the body – it was also said that there will be no difference between saying ‘voluntary’ and ‘deliberate’ – and when this capacity reaches each part, it provides it with sense-perception, while the hotter parts more readily accept the alteration due to this capacity, and for this reason they become more sensitive than those that are naturally colder. The capacity which passes through the nerves, as if through channels, also renders the nerves receptive to sensation, but it does not make them more sensitive than the fleshy substance. And you can learn this, in the case of any living being you like, by exposing a nerve and then pricking it with needles or styluses; you will hear it cry out much more than it would when the flesh or the skin was pricked, since it experiences more pain. But the nerves are considered by many physicians to be more sensitive than the flesh due to the dangers that result from inflammations of them, which are caused because they are prolongations of the most important sensory parts. If you cut the entire nerve, therefore, no danger ensues, since the source is no longer affected through sympathy by the inflam-

¹² Or: ‘the regent part’, i.e. the rational part.

μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν, φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας κινδύνους ταῖς φλεγμοναῖς τῶν νεύρων, ὅλον ἐνίστε διακόψαντες τὸ νενυγμένον νεῦρον καὶ φλεγμαῖνον, ἔλαθον τὸν κάμνοντα, μὴ δυνάμενοι λαθεῖν, ἐὰν σαρκῶδες τι μόριον διακόψωσιν. Οὕτω δὲ κὰν ταῖς φλεβοτομίαις ἄκοντες ἐνίστε διακόψαντες νεῦρόν τι τριχοειδὲς ἐπιτεταμένον τῇ τεμνομένη φλεβί, κατὰ μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν τομὴν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀδύνην εἰργάσαντο τῶν μὴ τεμνομένων, ὕστερον δὲ ναρκώδους αἰσθήσεως ἐπιγενομένης, λογίζονται διηρηκέναι νεῦρον. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ναρκώδες, ὅπερ ἔπεται ταῖς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμοναῖς, ὀδύνης ἐστὶν ἀμυδρᾶς γνῶρισμα, πρόδηλον πάντη, γνῶριμον δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ἅπασιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς τῇ τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἀλγήματος ἔπεται, καὶ πολλοὶ μηδεμιᾶς ὀδύνης ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τὰς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονὰς αἰσθανόμενοι, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐσπάσθησαν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ σπασθῆναι δηλώσαντες οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι τὴν φλεγμονήν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετρίως ἔμπροσθεν ὠδυνῆσθαι δηλοῦντες οὐκ εἶναι σφοδρὰν ὀδύνην ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονῇ, διότι μὴδ' ἰσχυρὰν αἴσθησιν. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἔνιοι διὰ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας κινδύνους ταῖς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμοναῖς ᾤθησαν αἰσθητικώτερα τῶν σαρκῶδων μορίων ὑπάρχειν αὐτά, πλέον ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν νείμαντες αἰσθήσεως αὐτοῖς, οὕτως Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ χρῆν προήλθεν εἰς τοῦναντίον δόγμα, μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῖς ἡγούμενος ὑπάρχειν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐναργῶς φαινομένοις διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐθέλοι τις προσέχειν, αἰσθάνεται μὲν, οὐ μὴν ὥσπερ τὰ σαρκώδη μόρια. Λέγομεν δ' ἐνίστε τὰ νεῦρα τῶν ἄλλων μορίων ὑπάρχειν αἰσθητικώτερα διὰ τὰς ἐπομένους βλάβας.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶ, μὴ γινώσκων μὴδ' εἰ θνητὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀθάνατος, ὁρῶ μέντοι κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς αἰρέσεις ὁμολογού-

28 καὶ om. V 29 τὸ νενυγμένον V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸν ἐνιγμένον P 30 δυνάμενοι V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: δυνάμενος P 31 κὰν V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 32 τι V s.l.: om. P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 34–37 Ὅτι δὲ—ἔπεται V Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ δὲ ναρκώδες ὀδύνης ἀμυδρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονῇ γνῶρισμα P Nu 36 γνῶ[ρι]σμα suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | πάντη V Bou-Pi: παντὶ corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La 37 τὸ om. Bou-Pi | ἀλγήματι V: corr. Pi Ga-La | [ἔ]πεται suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 39 σπασθῆναι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 40 ὠδυνῆσθαι P p. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ὀδυνᾶσθαι P a. corr. ὠδυνεῖσθαι V 42 ὥσπερ οὖν ἔνιοι δι[ὰ] τοὺς suppl. La¹ Ga-La: ὥσπερ οὖν [.....] Bou-Pi 43 [αὐ]τὰ suppl. Ga-La [τὰ νεῦρα] suppl. Bou-Pi 44 κατ' ἀλήθειαν V La¹ Ga-La: κατ' ἀληθείας leg. Bou-Pi κατὰ ἀλήθειαν corr. Ga¹ | (ὁ) Ἀσκληπιάδης con. La¹ | ἢ V La¹ Ga¹ La-La: εἰ leg. Bou-Pi 45 χρῆ V Bou-Pi La¹ Ga-La ἐχρῆν corr. Lu: correximus | τοῦ[ναντίον] suppl. Bou-Pi τοῦ[να]ντίον suppl. Ga-La 46 αἰσθήσεων suppl. Bou-Pi αἰσθή[σε]ων suppl. Ga-La | ἐθέλει V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 47 αἰσθάνεται μὲν V Bou-Pi: αἰσθαν(όμενα) μὲν (εὐρῆσει τὰ νεῦρα) corr. La¹ Ga-La | an τὰ νεῦρα post μὲν addendum? 48 [ὑπάρχειν] suppl. Bou-Pi [ὑπ]άρχειν suppl. Ga-La 6,1 Ἐπειδὴ V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | an μὲν post ἀγνοεῖν addendum? | μὴ γινώσκειν V μοι γινώσκειν Bou-Pi (καὶ) μὴ γινώσκειν corr. La¹: corr. Ga-La | [μ]ηδ' suppl. La¹ Ga-La [τε οὐ]δ' suppl. Bou-Pi | ἢ V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 2 ὁρῶμέν τι V Bou-Pi: corr. Ro La¹ Ga-La 2–3 ὁμολογούμενον οὐ V ὁμολογούμενον ὡς Pi ὁμολογούμενους La¹ Ga-La: correximus

mation that affects the nerve. Indeed, many physicians, fearing the dangers that accompany the inflammations of the nerves, have sometimes severed the entire punctured and inflamed nerve without the patient realising it, although they cannot escape the patient's notice when they sever a fleshy part. Similarly, during venesections they sometimes unwittingly sever a capillary nerve that stretches along the incised vein, and in the course of the same incision they cause no more pain than if the incision had not been made, although afterwards, when a feeling of numbness occurs, they realize that they had actually severed the nerve. That the numbness itself which follows the inflammations of the nerves is a sign of faint pain, is evident in all respects, and it is by no means less known to everyone that this type of suffering follows the inflammation of the nerves. And many patients were seized by spasms shortly afterward, despite experiencing no noticeable pain during the inflammation of the nerves, showing by their spasms that the inflammation was substantial, and revealing by the moderate pain experienced previously that intense pain does not arise from the inflammation of the nerves, since the sensation is not powerful. Just as some people, therefore, due to the dangers attendant on the inflammations of the nerves, thought that the nerves are more sensitive than the fleshy parts, attributing more sensation to them than what they actually have, so too Asclepiades advanced a contrary doctrine to a greater extent than necessary, judging that the nerves experience no sensation. This is because, if one wants to pay attention to what is manifestly obvious through the senses, [one will conclude that the nerves] experience sensation, but not like the fleshy parts. But we sometimes say that the nerves are more sensitive than the other parts due to consequential damage.

6. Since I admit that I ignore the substance of the soul, not knowing whether it is mortal or immortal, but I see that it is accepted, in line with both these options,

μενον {οὔ} δυναμένην εἰς πᾶν σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνοικίζεσθαι, κᾶν ἀθάνατος ἦ, κᾶν ἀσώματος, εὐλογον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ δεχόμενον αὐτὴν σῶμα καὶ κατέχον, ἄχρι περ ἂν ἦ τοιοῦτον οἶον εἶναι προσήκει, καλεῖν αἰσθητικόν, ὡς ὀπτικόν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀκουστικόν δ[ε] τὸ οὖς, διαλεκτικὴν δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν, εἶναι τε τούτων γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς ποιᾶς κράσεως τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, καὶ εἴπερ ἡ ψυχὴ σὺν τῷ διαπλαττομένῳ σώματι τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει, κατ[ὰ] ψυχ[ὴ]ν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρᾶσιν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἄλλης μὲν οὐσης τῇ ψυχῇ γενέσεως, ἄλλης δὲ τῷ αἰσθητικῷ σώματι· μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι που ψυχῆς οὐσίαν καθ' ἑαυτήν, ἀλλ' οἶον εἶδος τι τοῦ σώματος ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν, ἄκουε δέ μου λέγοντος εἶδος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὕλης ἀντίθεσιν, ἣν ἄποι[ο]ν εἶναι νοοῦμεν ὅσον τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ. Δέδεικται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τοῦτο γινώσκειν ἰατρῷ χρήσιμον, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦμεν τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀθάνατός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος, ἀλλὰ μέχρι γε τοσούτου φαίνεται παραμένουσα τῷ σώματι, μέχρι περ ἂν οἶα τε δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας ἐνεργεῖν, ὥστε, ἕως ἂν φυλάττωμεν τὸ σῶμα τὴν αἰσθητικὴν κρᾶσιν ἔχον, οὐ τεθνηξόμεθα. Δέδεικται δέ μοι καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Ὑγιεινῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος ἀεὶ μεταβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸ ψυχρότερον τε καὶ ξηρότερον, ὥστ' ἀποξηραίνεσθαι τελεί[ως] καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι κατὰ τὸ γῆρας, κάπειδαν ἐπὶ πολὺ προέλθῃ ξηρότητός τε καὶ ψυχρότητος, οὐκέτι δυναμένην

3 π[ᾶ]ν τὸ σῶμα suppl. Bou-Pi Ga¹ πᾶ[ν] σῶμα Ga-La πᾶν [σῶ]μα La¹ | ἀθάνατος ἦ V Ga-La: ἦ ἀθάνατος Bou-Pi 4 κᾶν V Bou-Pi: καὶ corr. La¹ Ga-La | εὐλογον V La¹ Ga-La: εὐλογον [γὰρ] leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | εἶναι om. Bou-Pi | [καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi [κα]ἰ suppl. La¹ Ga-La 5 τοι[οῦ]τον suppl. Bou-Pi τοιο[ῦ]τον suppl. La¹ Ga-La | καλ[εῖν] αἰσθητικόν suppl. Ga¹ La² Ga-La καλ[ῶς] αἰσθητικόν suppl. Bou-Pi 6 [δὲ τὸ] suppl. Bou-Pi δ[ε] τὸ suppl. Ga-La | διαλεκτικὴν δὲ τῆ[ν] γλῶτταν leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La [λεκ]τικὸν δὲ τὴν [γλῶ]τταν leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | τούτων V La¹ Ga-La: τούτου con. Bou 7 γένε[σιν] ἐκ suppl. La¹ Ga-La Bou-Pi | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La 7–8 εἴπερ [ἡ] ψυχὴ ἅμα τῷ διαπλαττ[ομένῳ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La εἴπερ [...ἡ] ψυχὴ διαπ[λάτ]τεται σὺν τῷ suppl. Bou-Pi 8 τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει [διὰ δὴ τῆ]ν τῶν suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν γένεσιν [...τὴν] τῶν suppl. Bou-Pi: τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει κατ[ὰ] ψυχ[ὴ]ν τῶν legimus et dubitanter supplevimus | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La 9 ἄλλης [μὲν] οὐσης τῇ [ψυ]χῇ suppl. La¹ ἄλλ[ῆς] μὲν οὐσης τῇ [ψυ]χῇ suppl. Ga-La ἄλλ[ῆς] ἐχ[ού]σης τῆς [ψυ]χῆς suppl. Bou-Pi | τῆς ψυχῆς V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 10 μ[ῆ] γὰρ εἶναι suppl. La¹ Ga-La σώματι μ[ι]...οὐκ εἶναι leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | [κα]θ' ἑαυτήν, [ἀλλ' οἶ]ον εἶδος suppl. La¹ καθ' ἑαυτήν, [ἀλλ' οἶ]ον εἶδος suppl. Ga-La καθ' ἐ[αυτήν]...ον εἶδος suppl. Bou-Pi 12 ἦν ἄ[ποιο]ν εἶναι suppl. La¹ Ga-La [...ναί] suppl. Bou-Pi | νομίζομεν μιοῦμεν post εἶναι primum scripsit, deinde cancellavit V 13 [παν]τάπασιν suppl. Ga-La [παντά]πασιν suppl. Bou-Pi 14 ἐστιν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 14–15 τοσούτου V Ga¹ Lu Ga-La: τοσούτον Bou-Pi; an τούτου scribendum? 15 [παρ]αμένουσα suppl. La¹ Ga-La [δια]μένουσα suppl. Bou-Pi | οἶα τε V Bou-Pi οἶα τ' ἦ leg. Ga-La: correximus 17 οὐ τεθνηξόμεθα V Ga¹ Ga-La: οὐ γε θνηξόμεθα con. J. apud Bou-Pi 19 τελεί[ως] suppl. Bou-Pi τελεί[ως] suppl. Ga-La | ἀποψύ[χεσθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 δυναμένην V: δύνασθαι corr. Bou Ga-La

that the soul is capable of inhabiting any body, even if it is immortal or incorporeal, I think it reasonable that the body which receives the soul and contains it, as long as it is as it should be, be called capable of sensation, just as the eye is called capable of seeing, the ear of hearing and the tongue of speaking. [I also find it reasonable to believe that] the generation of these [bodily parts] comes from a certain mixture of the four elements, and that if the soul is created at the same time that the body is shaped, its generation must also be a mixture of the four elements in the soul, given that the generation cannot be one thing for the soul, and another one for the sensitive body. Because there is perhaps no substance of the soul per se, but it instead exists like a form of the body. Pay attention when I say 'form' as opposed to matter, which we understand to be without quality as regards itself. I have also shown that it is useful for the physician to know this, even if we are completely ignorant of the substance of the soul. For even if the soul is immortal and incorporeal, it still seems to remain within the body up to the point of being able to carry out its natural activities through it. Hence as long as we safeguard the body, which maintains the sensible temperament, we will not die. I showed in the first book of *On the Preservation of Health* that the mixture of the body is by necessity continuously converted into a colder and drier condition, so that it ends up entirely dried up and chilled in old age; and when it has reached the maximum of dryness and coldness, the soul can no longer perform its distinctive activities, but as long as

τὴν ψυχ[ὴν] ἐνεργεῖν τὰς [οἰκεία]ς ἐνεργείας], ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώντων ἡμῶν συναπομαραιομένας αὐτὰς ἔπεσθαι τῷ σώματι.

7. Καθάπερ οὖν ἰατρῶ περιττὸν τὸ γινώσκειν εἴτ' ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ εἴτ' οὐκ ἀθάνατος πρὸς τὰς ἰάσεις, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς, εἴτ' ἀσώματος ἐστὶ παντάπασιν, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων ὑπελάμβανεν, εἴτε σωματοειδῆς, ὡς ὁ Χρῦσιππος οἶεται, πνεῦμα μὲν ἀποφηνάμενος ὑπάρχειν αὐτήν, οὐ διορισάμενος δὲ σαφῶς, ὡς Ἐρασιστρατος διωρίσατο, πότερον αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ κατὰ τινος κοιλότητος ἐν 5 τῷ τοῦ ζώου σώματι περιέχεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ψυχικὸν ἢ δι' ὅλων διελήλυθε τῶν στερεῶν σωμάτων, καὶ πότερον κατατεθραυσμένον, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὑποτίθεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ὑπάρχειν ἡμῖν γένεσιν, ἢ διὰ παντὸς μορίου τῶν στερεῶν σωμά[των] τεταμένον, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι ψυχῆς ἄμοιρον. Ὅτι δὲ οὐδαμῶθεν 10 σαφῶς που, διὰ παντὸς δὲ φαίνεται λέγων ταυτά, δέδεικται δι' ἑνὸς ὑπομνήματος, ὃ Περί ψυχῆς αὐτὸς πεποίημαι. Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔφην, οὐ δύναμαι διατείνεσθαι περὶ ψυχῆς οὐσίας, ὅμως ὥσπερ αἰσθητικὸν τι σῶμα καλῶ κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον σημαίνόμενον, οὕτω καὶ ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ δέδεικται μοι καὶ κατ' ἄλλα 15 τινά, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔβδομον ὑπόμνημα τῶν Ἰπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τὰς κοιλίας τοῦ ἐγκεφ[άλου] κατῳκισμένον, οὐκ ἐν τ...τ αὐτοῦ.

8. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐτοιμῶς ἀντιλέγουσι ταῖς ἀποφάσει|ν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπιστοῦντες τῆς γῆς πάσης μείζονα τοῖς ἀποδείξασιν ἀληθῆς εἶναι τοῦτο. Τοὺς δ' ἀλήθειαν τιμώντας εὗροις ἂν οὐκ ἀντιλογίας σκοπὸν ἔχοντας, οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντας εὐρεῖν ὃ διαβαλοῦσιν,

21 ψυχὴν suppl. Bou-Pi ψυχ[ὴν] suppl. Ga-La | τὰς [οἰκεία]ς suppl. Bou-Pi τὰς οἰκεία]ς suppl. Ga-La 22 ἔσσεσθαι V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La | post σώματι lacunam indicaverunt La¹ Ga-La 7,1 καθάπερ οὖν ἰατρῶ περι[ι]ττὸν τὸ γινώσκειν suppl. Ga¹ Ga-La καθάπερ οὖν (οὐ χρήσιμον) ἰατρῶ περι[ι] τοῦ]το γινώσκειν suppl. Pi 3 ἐστίν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 4 διωρίσασθαι V Bou-Pi διορίσας corr. Ro: corr. Ga-La; an (δυνηθεῖς) διορίσασθαι scribendum? 5 ὁ post ὡς add. La¹ | κοιλότητος V: κοίλ[ου] leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La κοιλότηττα Ga¹ 6 διελήλυθε V Ga-La: διελήλυθεν Bou-Pi 7 κατεθραυσμένον V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La | ὁ post ὡς add La¹ 9 [σωμάτων] suppl. Bou-Pi σωμ[άτων] suppl. Ga-La | τεταγμένων V τεταγμένον corr. Bou: corr. Ga¹ Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La | οὐδαμῶθεν V Bou-Pi: οὐδαμῶθι corr. Ga-La La¹ qui etiam οὐδαμῶθ(ι μὲν) ἐν coniecerunt 10 σαφῶς που V Bou-Pi Ga-La: ὁ Χρῦσιππος Ga¹ | τε V Bou-Pi: δὲ corr. La¹ Ga-La | ταῦτα V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 11 αὐτὸ V Bou-Pi: corr. Lu La¹ Ga-La 12 ὥσπερ suppl. La¹ Ga-La: ὡς leg. Bou-Pi 13 οὕτως V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 15 ἐγκεφάλου suppl. Bou-Pi ἐγκ[εφάλου] suppl. Ga-La 15–16 κατῳκισμένον V La¹: κατῳκισμένου Ga-La κατα(με)μγμένον leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 16 fenestra circa duodecim litterarum; [ταῖς κοιλίαι]ς suppl. La¹ Ga-La qui ὡς ὄργανον πρῶτον τοῦ λογικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου post τὰς κοιλίας τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου addiderunt [...] Bou-Pi 8,2 ἀπ[οφάσει]ν suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἀπ[οφάσει] suppl. Bou-Pi qui lacunam post ἀπ[οφάσει] statuerunt 3 ἀληθεία V: ἀλήθειαν corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 3–4 εὐρ[οίς] ἂν [οὐ]κ suppl. Ga-La εὐρ[ίσκοις] ἂν [οὐ]κ suppl. Bou-Pi 4 οὐδὲ V Bou-Pi: οὐδ' corr. Ga-La | διαβάλλουσιν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La

we are alive, our psychic activities grow weaker and follow the similar withering of the body.

7. Just as it is superfluous for the purposes of treatment for the physician to know whether the soul is immortal or not, so too with regard to its substance [it is irrelevant] whether it is completely incorporeal, as Plato supposed, or corporeal, as Chrysippus thinks when he declares that it is pneuma, without however defining clearly, as Erasistratus did, whether the psychic pneuma is contained by itself in a cavity within the body of living creatures or is diffused throughout entire solid bodies, or whether it is fragmented, as Empedocles supposes [when he says] that we are generated from the elements, or if it is spread out through every single part of solid bodies, so that none of them is bereft of soul. That he [i.e. Chrysippus] nowhere speaks with any clarity, but instead seems to be constantly saying the same things, I have shown in a book that I myself composed *On the Soul*. But I for my part, as I said, cannot make up my mind regarding the substance of the soul; nonetheless, just as I call a body ‘sensitive’, according to the meaning articulated above, so too I speak of psychic pneuma, and I have also shown in other works, but especially in the seventh book of the *Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* that this pneuma resides in the ventricles of the brain and not in its †...†¹³

8. Many physicians, as well as philosophers, readily contradict the assertions [put forward], for example those who do not believe that the sun is larger than the whole earth against people who have shown this to be true. But you would find that those who honour the truth do not aim at contradiction, nor do they wish to discover a point they will discredit. Instead, when they hear someone

¹³ *locus desperatus*; the codex has a gap of around twelve letters that it would be hopeless to try to restore. See 2.2.2 Problems with the Text.

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου τινὸς ἀποδείξειν ὅτι οὖν, ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ 5
 τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποθοῦσιν, καὶ κρίναντες αὐτὰς ἐν χρόνῳ πλείονι, δυοῖν θάτερον
 πράττουσιν, ἢ ἀντιλέγουσιν ὧν κατέγνωσαν, ἢ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχουσιν,
 οὐ μὴν πρὸς γε τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἀπλῶς ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀντιλογίας, κἄν ὅτι μάλιστα
 παράδοξοι τύχῳσιν οὐσαί. Τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὖν ὁ λόγος ὅδε γέγραπται, προτρέπων
 ἐπὶ τὰς γεγραμμένας ἡμῖν ἀποδείξεις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων δογμάτων 10
 ἐλθόντας, ἐκεῖνας σκοπεῖσθαι, μὴ τὰ συμπεράσματα αὐτῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ
 κρίνειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. Εὐθύς γοῦν ὅτι τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ κινήσεων ἑτερογενῶν εἰσιν ἐν
 ἡμῖν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐγνώσθαι πρὸς τε τὸ ἐξευρεῖν τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὰς {πρὸς τε
 τὸν ἕξ ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν} ὅπως τε κτητέον αὐτὰς ἐστίν,
 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν ἴασιν, οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε τὸ μὲν (ἐν) 15
 ἔγκεφάλῳ κατῴκισται, τὸ δ' ἐν καρδίᾳ, τὸ δ' ἐν ἥπατι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν εἰς
 ταῦτα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργῳ Πλάτων ἔδειξεν ἐν μὲν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τρία τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη
 λέγων εἶναι χωρὶς τοῦ περὶ τῶν τόπων τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἷς ἕκαστον οἰκεῖ μνημο-
 νεῦσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Τίμαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν ἔγραψεν, οὐ τρία μόνον 20
 εἶδη τὴν ὅλην ἔχειν ἡμῶν ψυχὴν ἀποφηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριχῆ κατῴκισμένα, τὸ
 μὲν ἐν ἔγκεφάλῳ, τὸ δ' ἐν ἥπατι, τὸ δ' ἐν καρδίᾳ. Χρῦσιππος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 περὶ μὲν ἡγεμονικοῦ ψυχῆς ἐν ᾧ μορίῳ σώματος κατῴκισται γεγράφασιν, οὐκ
 ἔδειξαν δὲ εἰς ὅ,τι χρήσιμον ἐγνώσθαι τοῦτο τοῖς τὴν πολιτικὴν καὶ πρακτικὴν
 φιλοσοφίαν μεταχειριζομένοις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ περὶ τῶν βροντῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν
 καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ χαλάζης τε καὶ χιόνος καὶ ἵρεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθελίου καὶ δοκίδων καὶ 25
 τῆς γινομένης πολλάκις ἄλλω περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὴν σελήνην, ἀπλῆς ἢ διπλῆς ἢ
 τριπλῆς ἐνίστε φαινομένης, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα τῆς μετεωρο[λο]γικῆς ὀνομαζομένης
 θεωρίας ἐστίν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μόνοις τοῖς τὴν θεωρητικὴν φιλοσοφίαν
 μεταχειριζομένοις εὐλόγως ἐζήτῃται καὶ μοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο δέδεικται δι' ἐνὸς μὲν
 ὑπομνήματος ἔμπροσθεν ποτε πρὸς φίλον Ἐπικούρειον γραφέντος, αὐθις δὲ δι' 30

5 τι[νός] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ἀπόδειξιν V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 7 πράττο[ουσιν] suppl.
 Bou-Pi πράττου[σιν] suppl. Ga-La 8 κἄν V Ga-La: καὶ (ἐάν) corr. Bou-Pi 11 ἐκεῖνα V Bou-Pi:
 corr. La¹ Ga-La | μὴ τὰ V La¹ Ga-La: μετὰ leg. Bou-Pi | συμπεράσματα V La¹ Ga-La: συμπερασμα-
 των corr. Bou-Pi | αὐτῶ[v] La¹ Ro Ga-La: αὐτῶ leg. Bou-Pi | αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ V La¹ Ga-La: (καὶ)
 αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ corr. Bou-Pi 13 ἐγν[ώσθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi ἐγνῶ[σθαι] suppl. Ga-La 13–14 πρὸς
 τε τὸν [τῶν V; τὸ corr. Bou-Pi] ἕξ ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν secl. La¹ Ga-La
 14 κτητέο[v] suppl. La¹ Ga-La κτή[σασθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi 15 τῶ V: corr. Bou Ga-La | ἐν add. Bou
 Ga-La 16 [καρδίᾳ] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 18 εἶ[ναι] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 19 ἔγραψεν V: ἔ[θετο]
 leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἐκ[...] leg. Bou-Pi 21 [ἐν ἥ]πατι suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | αὐτοῦ V Bou-Pi:
 αὐτὸν corr. La¹ Ga-La 22 σώματι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 22–23 [οὐκ ἔ]δειξαν suppl. La¹ Ga-La
 ἔδειξαν leg. Bou-Pi 24 οὐδὲ [τὰ] leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La οὖν γε leg. Bou-Pi: οὐδὲ τὸ περὶ
 legimus et supplevimus 26 γι[νομένης] suppl. Bou-Pi γινο[μένης] suppl. Ga-La 27 μετ[εωρο-
 λο]γικῆς suppl. Bou-Pi μετεωρ[ολο]γικῆς suppl. Ga-La 28 μόνα V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La
 29 εὐ[λόγως] suppl. La¹ Ga-La ἀν[αγκαίως] suppl. Bou-Pi 30 ἐπικούρειον V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La |
 γραφέντι[ος] suppl. La¹ Ga-La γράφων Bou-Pi

proclaiming that he will make a demonstration of some sort, they desire to listen to his demonstrations. And after judging them over an extended period of time, they do one of two things: either they offer objections to those they found wrong, or they disprove those who contest them, but they certainly do not object to the assertions lightly, even if they happen to be extremely paradoxical. It is accordingly for such people that this treatise has been composed, encouraging them, after they approach my written demonstrations in favour of each of the opinions discussed, to consider them, and not to attempt to evaluate their conclusions in isolation. Thus, for example, that there are three principles of heterogeneous motion in us¹⁴, is a bit of knowledge needed to discover the virtues of the soul and how one can acquire them, but also needed to treat the ailments of the soul. But it is not necessary to that end [to know] that one principle resides (in) the brain, another in the heart, and a third in the liver. And this is in fact what Plato showed, when he said in the *Republic* that there are three forms of soul¹⁵, without mentioning the places of the body in which each one resides. Whereas in the *Timaeus*, where he discussed the theory of nature, he declared not only that our soul as a whole consists of three forms, but also that they are located in three places: one in the brain, another in the liver, and a third in the heart.¹⁶ Chrysippus and his associates have written regarding the part of the body in which the hegemonic portion of the soul resides, but they did not show in what regard this knowledge might be useful for those engaged in political and practical philosophy,¹⁷ just as [they did not show why it is useful to know] what concerns thunder, lightning, earthquakes, hail and snow, rainbows, parhelia¹⁸ and meteors, and the halo that often occurs around the sun or the moon, which sometimes appears simple, double or triple, and all the other phenomena that belong to the so-called meteorological theory. In fact, these phenomena are reasonably investigated only by those who deal with speculative philosophy, and I made precisely this point in a tract that I wrote previously at one point for an Epicurean friend

14 Here the reference is to the tripartition of the soul, made up of the rational, the spirited and the appetitive parts.

15 Plato, *Republic* 436a–442b.

16 Plato, *Timaeus* 69d–70e.

17 Strictly speaking, practical philosophy was an umbrella term that encompassed the subcategories of politics, economics and ethics. However, in this text Galen refers to practical philosophy in parataxis with one or more of its parts, thereby setting them on an equal level in contrast to theoretical philosophy.

18 Scientific term for ‘sun dogs’ or ‘mock suns’, the phenomenon in which a confused image of the sun appears at the diametrically opposite point in the sky.

ἐτέρου πρὸς Στωϊκόν. Ἱατροῖς μέντοι τόν τε περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν λόγον ἔδειξα χρήσιμον ὑπάρχοντα καὶ (τί) τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν γνῶσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ χρήσιμόν πῶς ἐστίν.

9. Ἐπεδείχθη δέ μοι χρήσιμον ἰκανῶς ὑπάρχον, καίτοι γ' ἡμελημένον ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων, διελέσθαι τὰς γινομένας ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλοιώσεις· διττὰς γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ γένος αὐτάς, ἐτέρας μὲν κατὰ μίαν ποιότητα τῶν δραστηκῶν ἀποτελουμένας, θερμότητα καὶ ψυχρότητα καὶ ὑγρότητα καὶ ξηρότητα, διαφερούσας δ' ἐτέρας αὐτῶν τὰς καθ' ὅλην τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς δρώσης οὐσίας. Ἐδείχθη δ' ἔνια 5 ἐν τοῖς Περι τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ θερμαίνειν ἢ ψύχειν ἢ ὑγραίνειν ἢ ξηραίνειν, ἔνια δὲ κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐνεργοῦντα τὸ θερμαίνειν ἅμα καὶ ὑγραίνειν ἢ τὸ ψύχειν ἅμα καὶ ξηραίνειν, ἕτερον δὲ γένος εἶναι φαρμάκων κατὰ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας ἐνεργούντων, τοιαῦτα δ' ἐδείκνυον ὄντα τὰ τε καθαίροντα καὶ τὰ δηλητήρια καλούμενα, διαφέροντα τῶν ἀπλῶς θανασίμων 10 ὀνομαζομένων τῶ τὰ μὲν δηλητήρια μηδέποτε ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς, τὰ δὲ θανάσιμα φέρειν ὠφέλειαν ἔσθ' ὅτε βραχεῖαν λαμβανόμενα μετὰ μίξεως ἐνίστε χρησίμων τινῶν (οὕτω γοῦν καὶ τῷ τῆς μήκωνος ὁπῶ πολλάκις χρώμεθα), τῶν δ' ὠφελούντων ἡμᾶς φαρμάκων ἔνια μὲν κατὰ μίαν ἢ δύο ποιότητος ἐνεργοῦντα, τινὰ δὲ ὅλη τῆ τῆς οὐσίας ιδιότητι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἔργων ἔνια μὲν ὑπὸ 15 μᾶς ἢ δύο γίνεσθαι ποιότητων, ἔνια δὲ καθ' ὅλην τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς τὰς ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ πέψεις αἱματώσεις τε καθ' ἧπαρ ἔτι τε τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον μόριον αὐξήσεις τε καὶ θρέψεις, ὑπάρχειν τε τὰς ἐνεργείας ταύτας ἅπαντι μορίῳ τοῦ ζώου· διοικεῖν γὰρ ἕκαστον ἑαυτὸ κατὰ τὰς φυσικὰς ὀνομαζόμενας δυνάμεις, ἃς κοινὰς ἔχει πρὸς τὰ φυτὰ, καθάπερ τι ζῶον ἑαυτὸ διασῶζον, εἴ γε τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἔλκει, 20 τὸ δ' ἀλλότριον ἀποκρίνει μεταβάλλει τε καὶ ἀλλοιοῖ καὶ ἐξομοιοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐλχθέντων, ἐπικουρίας δὲ αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ διαμένειν ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν, ἧπατος ἐπιπέμποντος μὲν ἅμα τροφὴν ἐπιτήδειον, αὐξάνοντος δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις, εἴ ποτε κάμνειεν (εἶναι γὰρ οἷόν τινα ἐστὶν καὶ

32 τί addidimus Ga-La freti (vide infra) | τῆς V: τ[ί τῆς] leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὸν [περὶ] leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 33 φύσιν V Bou-Pi: γνῶσιν corr. Ga¹ Ga-La 9,1 [ὑπάρ]χον suppl. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La ὑπάρχον(τα) leg. et corr. Bou-Pi 3 [κατὰ]¹ suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὸ leg. Bou-Pi | ἢ δύο post δραστηκῶν add. Bou 4 ὑγρό[τη]τα suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 5 δ² om. P Nu 6 τῆς add. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 7 τὸ V La¹ Ga-La Nu: κατὰ τὸ P He Bou-Pi 8 εἶναι V P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐστὶ Q 9 ὄντα secl. Nu Bou-Pi 10 ἀπλῶν P a. corr. 11 ἐν post ὀνομαζομένων add. Q 12 βραχεῖαν V P Q Bou-Pi: βραχέα corr. La¹ Ga-La | καὶ post λαμβανόμενα add. Ga-La 13 τῷ V Q He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: νῶ P | τῆς V Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τοῦ P Q | ὁπῶ πολλάκις χρώμεθα V Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πολλάκις [ὁπῶ] χρώμεθα Q ὁπῶ παρ[.]χρώμεθα P 14 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 15 ὅλη τῆ V P Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῆ ὅλης corr. Nu | ιδιότητι V P a. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ποσότητι P p. corr. 19 διοικεῖ V P: corr. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 ἑαυτὸ P a. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἑαυτῷ V P p. corr. | εἴ γε V Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἴη P εἰ He Nu 21 μεταβάλλοι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 22 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 23 μὲν ἐπιπέμποντός τε V Bou-Pi Nu He: ἐπιπέμποντος μὲν corr. La¹ Ga-La 24 δὲ V P La¹ Ga-La: τε corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi | κάμνειεν V a. corr.

and later in another tract for a Stoic friend. I showed, however, that the discussion about the three principles is useful for physicians, as well as (which part) of natural theory is necessary or somehow useful for the knowledge of our body.

9. I demonstrated that it is quite useful, although neglected by the majority [of physicians], to distinguish among the alterations occurring in bodies. For [I showed that] these are of two kinds: those produced according to one of the active qualities, i.e. warmth, cold, wetness and dryness, and the others that differ from the preceding in that they are produced according to the peculiar nature as a whole of the active substance¹⁹. And I showed in *On the Capacities of Simple Drugs* that some [medicines] work by warming, cooling, moistening or drying, others by simultaneously combining a warming and a moistening action, or a cooling and a drying action. But there is another class of drugs which act depending on the peculiar property of their substance as a whole. I showed that such drugs are the purgatives and the so-called poisons, which differ from those simply called deadly in that poisons never benefit us, whereas deadly drugs sometimes benefit us slightly when taken on occasion mixed with certain useful substances; this is how we often use poppy juice, for example. As for medicines that are useful to us, some act through one or two of their qualities, some by virtue of the peculiarity of their substance as a whole. And indeed some natural processes too occur as a result of one or two qualities, while some are brought about by means of the substance as a whole, such as the digestion in the stomach, the production of blood in the liver, and in addition the growth and nutrition in each part [of the body]. And these activities take place in every part of the living being. For each part manages itself according to its so-called natural capacities, which it has in common with plants, ensuring its own preservation like any living being, if it attracts what is appropriate to it, rejects what is foreign, and changes, alters or assimilates to its own nature everything attracted. But in order to remain in their natural state, the parts [of the body] need the assistance of the liver, which simultaneously delivers suitable food to them and strengthens their capacities, if they weaken at any point. For the liver is like a hearth or

¹⁹ Galen is consistently inconsistent in collocating the adjective ‘whole’ (*holē*) sometimes with ‘substance’ (*ousia*) and at other times with the ‘peculiar nature’ (*idiosētēta*) of the substance. The most logical association would be for ‘whole’ to function as a complement to ‘substance’. In cases when ‘whole’ is syntactically correlated with ‘peculiar nature’ instead, we should rather consider it a kind of *hypallage*. Hence, there is no need for editorial emendation here. The fluidity of syntax should be ascribed to the generally loose style of the treatise in question.

πηγὴν αὐτὸ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο, καθ' 25
οὗ συμβάλλουσιν αἱ ῥίζαι τῷ πρέμνῳ· μέχρι γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο διασώζη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
δύναμιν, ἂν καὶ τῶν ῥιζῶν τι καὶ τῶν κλάδων ἀνασθῆ, σῴζεται τὸ φυτόν), οὐ μὴν
ὁμοίως γε ταύτη τὴν ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου χορηγουμένην δύναμιν αἰσθήσεώς τε καὶ
κινήσεως ἐκάστῳ τῶν μορίων ὑπάρχειν. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ γίνεσθαι τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχειν
ταύτην, οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαμένειν, ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων ὅσα τε τῶν ζώων 30
οὐ πόρρω τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρτηριῶν κινήσεως
τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιρρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, οὐ μὴν διαμένειν γ' ἐν αὐταῖς, τὰς δὲ
φυσικὰς ὀνομαζομένας δυνάμεις ἐμφύτους μένειν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις τῶν μορίων,
εἰς δὲ τὸ διαμένειν τὴν εὐκрасίαν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν οὐ σμικρὰν γίνεσθαι βοήθει-
αν ἐκ τῶν σφυγμῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρείας σφυγμῶν δέδεικται γράμματι. 35

10. Παρακοὴ δέ τις ἀκολουθήσει τοῖς μὴ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν ἀκριβῶς, οἷς
εἶπον ἐπιδεικνὺς ὑπὸ τριῶν ἡμᾶς ἀρχῶν διοικεῖσθαι. Τάχα γὰρ οἰήσονται μὴ τῆς
τῶν τελείων ζώων διοικήσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν κουόμενων διαπλάσεώς τε καὶ
γενέσεως εἰρησθαι τὰς ἀρχάς. Ἐγὼ δὲ (οὐχ οὕτ)ως ἔφην. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τριῶν
ἀρχῶν διοικεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα ζῶα πεπεῖσθαί φημι, τίς δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διαπλάττουσα 5
τὰ κουόμενα δύναμις ἢ τίς (ἢ) οὐσία, μὴ γινώσκειν. Ὅσοι γὰρ οἴονται τὴν αὐτὴν
εἶναι τῇ τὰ φυτὰ {τε} γεννώσῃ καὶ διαπλαττούσῃ, δοκοῦσί μοι μὴ παρακολουθεῖν
{τῇ τε} τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν, ἦν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ χρείας
μορίων ἐξηγησάμην. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τί πρῶτον ἀπάντων μορίων ἐν τῇ κυήσει
διαπλάττεται βεβαίως εἰδέναι φημί. Νέος μὲν γὰρ ὢν εἰπόμην ἀνδράσιν ἀξιολό- 10
γοις ἡγουμένοις τὴν καρδίαν ἀπάντων πρῶτην διαπλάττεσθαι, προῖων δὲ κατὰ
τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπώπτουσα τὸν λόγον, ὡς πιθανὸν μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῆ γε. Χωρὶς μὲν
γὰρ αἵματος ἀδύνατόν ἐστι γεννηθῆναι τὸ σπλάγχνον τοῦτο, παραγίνεται δὲ αἷμα
διὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μήτραν ἀγγείων, ἐξ οὗ τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει τὸ κουόμενον, ἀλλὰ 15
τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα φαίνεται διὰ φλεβὸς ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀφικνούμενον, εἰς ἧπαρ
πρότερον ἐμφουμένης, εἰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀρτηριῶν, εἴτε πνεῦμα μόνον εἶη

25 ἐκεῖνο om. P Nu 26 ἂν V P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἰς leg. Bou-Pi 29 τῷ V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ
P 30 ἐπεὶ γε V P: ἐπὶ τε corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La; an ἐπὶ γε scribendum? | ἀνθρωπίνων
primum iteravit, deinde cancellavit V 31 τοῖσδαν P V τῶν ἀνθρώπων corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi: τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου corr. La¹ Ga-La | οὕτω P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὕτως V 33 δυνάμεις om. He Bou-Pi
34 σμικρὰν V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: σμικρὰ ex μικρὰ P 10,4 δὲ ὡς V Bou-Pi δ' ὡς corr. Ga-La:
(οὐχ οὕτ)ως correximus; δὲ ἄλλως etiam possis 5 λεχθέντα V Bou-Pi: τεχθέντα corr. Ga¹ Ga-La |
πέπεισθε V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 6 ἢ addidimus | οἷον τε V: οἴονται
corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 7 τε secl. Ga-La; an post γεννώσῃ transponendum? | μὴ secl. Bou-Pi 8 τῇ
τε secl. La¹ Ga-La | τῆ² secl. Bou 9 [οὐ] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 12 ἀληθῆ P Nu: ἀληθές γε V Bou-
Pi Ga-La 13 ἐστι om. V | παραγίνεται V Ka Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γίνεται P | δὲ V P Nu Bou-Pi: δ'
corr. Ga-La 16 ἔσται V ἔσται, [εἴ τε] Bou-Pi: εἴτε corr. Ga-La

source of the natural capacities, like the part in plants where the roots are joined together with the stem; because as long as this ensures the preservation of its own capacity, even if a root or branch dries up, the plant is preserved. But it is not in a similar fashion to this that the capacity of sense perception and motion which comes from the brain exists for each part; for this capacity owes its existence to changing states, not to remaining permanently the same, in the case of both human bodies and whatever living beings are not far from a human being in their nature. In the same manner, the capacity responsible for the motion of the arteries flows from the heart, without however remaining in them, whereas the so-called natural capacities remain innate in the substances of the [bodily] parts. The movements of the pulse also contribute significantly to maintaining a good balance in their substance, as is shown in my treatise *On the Usefulness of the Pulse*.

10. Some misunderstanding will ensue for those who do not pay careful attention to what I said when I showed that we are governed by three principles. For they may think that I used the term ‘principles’ to refer not to the administration of full-grown living beings, but to the formation and generation of embryos in the womb. But I did (not) say (such) a thing. For I declare that I am convinced that the living beings in question are indeed administered by three principles, although I do not know which capacity forms the embryos in the womb is or which (their) substance is. For those who believe that it is the same as that which generates and forms plants seem to me not to understand the art of the constitution of our body, which I explained in *On the Usefulness of the Parts*. I also declare that I do not know for sure which of all the [bodily] parts is formed first during gestation. For when I was young, I followed certain noteworthy men who thought that the heart was formed first of all [bodily parts], but as I grew older, I became suspicious of this judgment, as plausible although certainly not true; for this organ cannot be generated without blood. The blood from which the foetus is created accrues through the vessels in the womb, but this blood clearly arrives at the heart though a vein which first implanted in the liver. But

even if it arrives through the arteries, whether it is only pneuma that is conveyed from the womb to the heart, or whether there is also blood together with the pneuma, the journey will be longer than the one through the veins. For the arteries which extend from the womb to the heart [of the embryo], after they pass through the chorion²⁰ and then surround the bladder, first get upon²¹ a bone located at the lower end of the spine as a whole, and from there they go towards the lumbar vertebrae and the thorax, and through the artery which extends to these bodily parts they bring back to the left ventricle of the heart (whatever part) of the substance is sent out from the womb, be it is only pneuma, as I said, or if there is also blood with it. It thus does not appear reasonable or indeed probable that the heart is created before the chorion and the vessels which bring it blood and pneuma; while it is likewise unlikely that it is formed before the liver, since it is clearly apparent that a vein formed from all the veins present in the chorion arrives at the liver before arriving at the heart. Even more absurd seems to me to be the argument of those who think that the foetal limbs are formed by the heart. For it is logical that whatever formed the heart itself, and before it the arteries and the veins as well, and like them the liver together with them, should also form the rest; some believe this to be the seed expelled into the womb, while others regard the seed as a mere instrument, and that what shapes embryos is something else, more divine, thus proclaiming that they lack any solid knowledge [on the matter].

11. Regarding the so-called humours, namely blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile, I showed what my opinion is in my commentaries on the Hippocratic *On the Nature of Man* and in *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*. Whereas Hippocrates says that the four humours are generated in all bodies, even when they are in good health, certain others claim that blood alone is the humour proper to our nature, with the remaining humours being unnatural. Well, this opinion is also plausible, but Hippocrates' is much more truthful than this. The proof of this is based on an argument already articulated, namely that each of

²⁰ The outermost membrane around the embryo.

²¹ Or: 'mount'.

ἐνὸς κατασκευάζεται προαποδειχθέντος δόγματος, ὡς ἕκαστον τῶν καθαιρόν-
 των φαρμάκων ἐπισπᾶται πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τῶν εἰρημένων τινὰ χυμῶν ἕνα, τὸ μὲν
 φλέγμα, τὸ δὲ χολήν ἤτοι ξανθὴν ἢ μέλαιναν, ἕνια δὲ καὶ συνεπισπᾶται βραχὺ τι 10
 καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων [δ]υσοῖν, ἢ θατέρου μόνον ἢ ἀμφοῖν. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ βούλονται τὴν τοῦ
 καθαρτηρίου φύσιν οὐ τὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι περιεχόμενον ἔλκειν χυμόν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπισπωμένην ὁμοίως ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς φλεψίν, ἀλλοιοῦν εἰς τινα μίαν
 οἰκειάν ιδέαν ἑαυτῇ. Λέλεκται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις, ἀλλὰ
 πλειστάκις, ὕστερον δὲ ποτε καὶ βιβλίον ἐγράφη μοι Περί τῆς τῶν καθαιρόντων 15
 φαρμάκων δυνάμεως, ἐν ᾧ δείκνυται φύσιν ἔχον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔλκειν τινὰ
 χυμόν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ μεταβολὴν τινα βραχεῖαν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι βούλονται κατὰ τὸν
 τῆς ὀλκῆς χρόνον, οὐκ ἀντιλέξομεν, εὐδην δὲ ὡς ἐλάχιστη τις ἔσται, καθάπερ
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ χρόνος βραχυτάτος. Ἐδείχθη δὲ καὶ ὡς οἰκειότατον μόνον εἶη τὸ αἷμα 20
 τοῖς ἐναίμοις ζώοις ἅπασιν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χυμῶν ἀναγκαῖα μὲν ἢ γένεσις, ὀλίγη δὲ
 ἢ χρεια, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναίμων ζώων ἐκάστῳ χυμόν οἰκεῖόν τινα, καθάπερ
 ἡμῖν τὸ αἷμα. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔλκεσθαι τὸν περιεχόμενον ἐν ταῖς φλεψὶ χυμόν ὑπὸ
 τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων ἐκάστου φανερώτατόν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ τοῖς μὲν
 ὑδερικοῖς ὑδραγωγῷ δοθέντος φαρμάκου πλεῖστόν τε κενοῦσθαι τὸ ὑδατῶδες
 ἀνάλογόν τε [τῆ] τούτου κενώσει προσστέλλεσθαι τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος, ἐπὶ 25
 δὲ τῶν ἰκτεριώντων ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι τὴν ἰκτεριώδη χροιάν ἀνάλογον τῇ κενώσει
 τῆς ξανθῆς χολῆς τῷ χολαγωγῷ φαρμάκῳ, εἰ δ' ἔμπαλιν τις πράξειε τὸ μὲν
 ὑδραγωγὸν φάρμακον ἰκτεριῶντι δούς, τὸ δὲ χολαγωγὸν ὑδεριῶντι, ἐλάχιστόν τε
 καὶ μετὰ βίας ἔλκεσθαι τὸν οἰκεῖον τῷ φαρμάκῳ χυμόν ὠφέλειάν τε μηδεμίαν,

8 προαποδειχθέντος suppl. Bou-Pi [π]ροαποδειχθέντος suppl. Ga-La 9 τινὰ V La¹ Ga-La: om. Bou-Pi 11 [δ]υσοῖν suppl. et corr. La¹ Ga-La: om. Bou-Pi δύο V | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 12 οὐ τὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι περιεχόμενον V Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὐ(χ ἕνα) τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι περιεχομένων (μόνον) conī. La¹ | ἔλκειν suppl. Bou-Pi [ἔλ]κειν suppl. Ga-La 14 ιδέαν V Ga-La: ἰδιάν leg. Bou | ἑαυτῇ V Bou-Pi: ἑαυτῆς corr. La¹ Ga-La | [Λέ]λεκται suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 15 Περί suppl. Bou-Pi [Π]ερὶ suppl. Ga-La 17 [Εἰ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [᾽Οσοις] suppl. Bou-Pi 18 τῆς V La¹ Ga-La: τε leg. Bou-Pi | εὐδηνον suppl. Bou-Pi [εὐ]δηνον suppl. Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 19 ὁ χρόνος post καὶ¹ scripsit, deinde cancellavit V | οἰκει[ό]τατον V Ga-La οἰκειώτατον Bou-Pi 20 δὲ¹ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 20–21 ὀλίγη δὲ ἢ χρεια legimus et supplevimus: ὀλίγη δ' ἀ[ρ]βε[ί]α leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La ὀλίγη δὲ [... ἐδείχθη δ]ὲ ὁμοίως leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 21 ἐκάστῳ V Bou-Pi: ἐκάστου leg. La¹ Ga-La 22 ἡμῶν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | οὖν om. Bou-Pi | [ἔλκεσθαι] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [...] Bou-Pi | περιεχόμενον suppl. Bou-Pi περιεχόμεν[ον] suppl. Ga-La 23 [ἔστιν ἐκ] suppl. Ga-La [ἕνεκα τοῦ] suppl. La¹ [...] Bou-Pi 24 πλεῖστόν V La¹ Ga-La: πλεῖστά leg. Bou-Pi 25 [τῆ] τούτου leg. et suppl. Ga-La: τε τῆ τούτου corr. Bou quae τῆ τε τούτου leg. | προσστέλλεσθαι V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 26 ἰκτερι[ώδη] χροιάν suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν ἰκτεριάν ἀχροιάν leg. Bou-Pi qui τὴν ἰκτεριάν ὠχρίαν coniecerunt | τῆ V La¹ Ga-La: τε leg. Bou-Pi 27 τῶν χολαγωγῶν φαρμάκων V Bou-Pi: corr. Ta La¹ Ga-La 28 ὑδραγωγὸν suppl. Bou-Pi ὑδρα[γ]ωγὸν suppl. Ga-La 29 φαρμάκῳ suppl. Bou-Pi φαρ[μάκῳ] suppl. Ga-La | ὠφέλειαν Bou-Pi

the purgative drugs attracts to itself one of the humours in question, one phlegm, another bile, be it yellow or black. Other [drugs], on the other hand, attract in addition a small part of the other two humours as well, either only one or both of them. But there are those who claim that the nature of the purgative drug does not attract the humour contained in the body, but that after attracting equally all the humours contained in the veins, it alters them into some single type appropriate to itself. I have discussed these matters not once or twice but many times, and at some point later on I even wrote a book *On the Capacity of Cleansing Drugs*, where it is shown that each of them has the natural attribute of attracting some humour. And if they claim that a slight change in the humour occurs at the moment of attraction, we will not object, although it is obvious that this will be quite minimal, just as the time [of attraction] itself will be very short. It was also shown that blood alone is the [humour] most appropriate to all sanguineous animals, while when it comes to the other humours, their production is necessary but less so. [It was likewise shown] that for each of the animals which lacks blood there is an appropriate humour, just as blood is [the appropriate humour] for us. That the humour contained in the veins is attracted by each of the purgative drugs is most evident from the fact that when a medicine that carries off water is given to patients with dropsy, a large amount of watery [humour] is evacuated, analogous to the evacuation of the latter [that occurs] so that the swelling of the body may be reduced. In the case of people suffering from jaundice, on the other hand, the jaundiced colour²² is purged proportional to the evacuation of yellow bile by means of the drug that carries off bile. And if again one acted contrariwise, by giving the drug that carries off water to a man suffering from jaundice, and the drug that carries off bile to a man suffering from

22 I.e. yellow.

ἀλλὰ καὶ βλάβην μᾶλλον ἔπεσθαι τῇ κενώσει. Καὶ μέντοι τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων 30
 ἡ[μῶν] οὐχ αἷμα μόνον ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν
 ξανθὴν τε καὶ μέλαιναν γίνεσθαι, δέδεικται [πρὸς] Ἴπποκράτους ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, πότερον δὲ κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον λόγον ἢ γένεσις ἐστί
 τοῖς χυμοῖς τούτοις ἢ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἀναγκαίαν ἔπεται, προσηκόντως ἡμφισβή-
 τηται, πιθανοὺς λόγους λεγόντων τῶν τὸ αἷμα μόνον οἰκεῖον εἶναι χυμὸν ἡγουμέ- 35
 νων. Ἄλλ' εἴτε μόνος οἰκεῖός ἐστιν εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειότερος, ὅτι σε χρὴ τὸ
 περιττὸν τῶν τε χολῶν καὶ τοῦ φλέγματος ἐκκρίνεσθαι προνοεῖσθαι {τε} κατὰ
 τὴν ὑγιεινὴν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ πλεονάσαντες ἐν φλεγματικοῖς ἢ χολοποιοῖς ἐδέ-
 σμασιν αὐξήσωμεν τοὺς χυμοὺς τούτους, εὐδηλὸν ἐστί. Τοῦτ' οὖν ὁμολογούμε-
 νον ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν εἰς τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἔργα βλαβησόμεθα κατ' οὐδετέραν δόξαν, 40
 ἐάν τε στοιχειώδεις εἶναι τοὺς τέσσαρας χυμοὺς λέγωμεν, ἐάν τε τὸ μὲν αἷμα
 μόνον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως γίνεσθαι κατὰ πρῶτον λόγον, ἔπεσθαι δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης
 αὐτοῦ τῇ γενέσει τοὺς ἄλλους τρεῖς χυμοὺς. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτου φαινομένου
 σαφῶς ὡς ἐφ' ὧν ὁ σπλὴν ἦτοι φλεγμαίνων ἢ σκιρούμενος ἢ πῶς ἄλλως
 κακοπραγῶν ἀχροίας ἐργάζεται πρὸς τὸ μελάντερον ἐκτρεπομένης, οὐδὲν εἰς τὰ 45
 τῆς τέχνης ἔργα βλαβησόμεθα, κἂν μὴ συγχωρῇ τις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν μελαγχολικὸν
 ἔλκεσθαι χυμὸν, ἀλλὰ γεννᾶσθαι φάσκει. Ὅτι γὰρ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι δυοῖν θάτερον
 εἰπεῖν, ἤδη τε φαίνεται κἂν τῷ Περὶ μελαίνης χολῆς ἐπιδέδεικται γράμματι μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα περὶ τῆς χολῆς ταύτης ἀναγκαῖον ἐζητήσθαι.

12. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο δεινότερον (δ) ἐργάζονται τινες ἀντιλέγοντες τοῖς συμπερά-
 σμασι τῶν ἀποδείξεων, οὐκ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἠρωτημένους λόγους ἐλέγχοντες, ἔνιοι
 δὲ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἐπιδρομὴν μὲν ἅπαξ ἀναγινώσκον-
 τες, οὐ μὴν ἐπισκέψασθαι γε ἐν χρόνῳ πλείονι βουλευθέντες. Οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ
 τῶν συμπερασμάτων αὐτῶν παρακούουσι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ὁμωνυμία τις ᾖ, 5
 καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μελαγχολικοῦ χυμοῦ. Δύο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς σημαίνεται ταύτης,
 οὐχ ἔν ὡσπερ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἥπατι γεννώμενον

31 [ἡμῶν] suppl. La¹ Ga-La βλάβην leg. Bou-Pi 32 [πρὸς] Ἴπποκράτους suppl. La¹ Ga-La [ὑφ']
 Ἴπποκράτει leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 34 [κατὰ] suppl. Bou-Pi [κατ'] suppl. Ga-La 36 σὲ V Ga-La:
 γὰρ Q Nu Bou-Pi 37 γε post περιττὸν add. Q Nu Bou-Pi | τε² delevimus; om. Bou-Pi Ga-La
 39 τοὺς χυμοὺς τούτους V Ga-La: τινὰ τῶν χυμῶν τούτων Q Nu Bou-Pi | Τοῦτο V: corr. Ga-La
 41 εἶναι om. Q Nu Bou-Pi | τέσσαρας V Bou-Pi: τέτταρας tacite corr. Ga-La | λέγομεν V: tacite
 corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 42 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' tacite corr. Ga-La; δ' Q Nu 44 φλεγμαίνων V: corr. Bou-Pi
 Ga-La | σκιρούμενος V Ga-La: σκιρρούμενος Bou-Pi 47 γενᾶσθαι V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La |
 δυοῖ V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 48 κἂν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 49 ἐξητεῖσθαι V ἐξητᾶσθαι
 La¹ Ga-La: ἐζητήσθαι tacite corr. Bou-Pi 12,1 δεινὸν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: δεινότερον correximus (cf.
 Lat. 100, 5–6: *sed quod peius est quod hunc debeat inquirere reprobationem sillogismi*) | ὁ
 addidimus 3 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 4 γε V Bou-Pi: γ' corr. Ga-La 5 ὁμωνύμως V Bou-Pi:
 corr. La¹ Ga-La (prop. Bou-Pi) 7 ὡσπερ ἔν ἐκ V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La | σημαינוμένου post
 χολῆς add. La¹ Ga-La

dropsy, the humour appropriate to the drug would be attracted in very small quantities and with great difficulty, bringing no benefit whatsoever, while some damage might actually result from the evacuation. That when we are in a condition conforming to nature, it is not only blood that is produced from food and drink but also phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, has been shown by Hippocrates in *On the Nature of Man*. But whether, according to the previous argument, these humours are generated, or if they result from a necessary consequence, has been rightly questioned, since those who consider blood the only humour proper [to the body] put forward plausible arguments. But whether it is the only proper humour, or whether it is more proper than the others, you should clearly take care to evacuate the excess of the [two] biles and the phlegm in line with a healthy diet, so that we do not increase these humours by using an excess of phlegm-producing or bile-producing foods. If we agree on this point, we will not damage the activities of our art, based on either opinion, whether we claim that the four humours relate to the elements, or that blood alone is produced by nature in the first instance, and that the other three humours necessarily follow its production. And even if this clearly shows that in cases where the spleen, when it is inflamed or indurated or suffers other damage, makes pale complexions turn darker, we will not cause damage to the activities of our art, even if someone does not accept that the melancholic humour is attracted by it [i.e. the spleen], but declares that it is generated there [i.e. in the spleen]. That one of these two assertions must be made is already evident, and in the treatise *On Black Bile* I have shown, along with other things, everything that should be looked for in connection with this bile.

12. But (what) some men do is even more terrible, when they contradict the conclusions of the demonstrations without refuting the specific arguments²³ put forward, while others, without putting up with reading patiently, or reading hastily a single time, are unwilling to engage in careful research over a longer period of time. In addition, many of them misunderstand the conclusions themselves, and especially when homonymy is involved, as in the case of the ‘melancholic humour’: for two possible meanings are denoted by this word, not only one, as in ‘black bile’. In fact, the humour produced in the liver which,

²³ Alternative translation: ‘premises’.

χυμόν, οὕτω μὲν ὄντα μέλαιναν χολήν, γενέσθαι δὲ δυνάμενον, ἐὰν ἦτοι χρόνω
 πλείονι διαμείνη κατὰ τὰς φλέβας ἢ τις θερμὴ καὶ ξηρὰ δυσκρασία καταλάβῃ τὸ
 ζῶον, ὀνομάζουσιν ὁμοίως τῇ λέξει τῆς μελαίνης χολῆς μελαγχολικὸν χυμόν, ὡς 10
 δύο σημαίνειν τὴν τοῦ μελαγχολικοῦ προσηγορίαν, τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὅπερ καὶ ἡ
 μέλαινα χολή (μελαγχολικὸς γάρ τοι καὶ αὕτη χυμὸς ὀνομάζεται), τὸ δὲ ἕτερον,
 ὅπερ ἰλὺς τίς ἐστὶν αἵματος, ὁποῖον ἀμόργη μὲν (ἐν) ἐλαίῳ, τρυῆ δ' ἐν οἴνῳ· καὶ
 γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μελαγχολικὸς καλεῖται χυμὸς, ἐπειδὴ φύσιν ἔχει, βραχείας προφά-
 σεως ἐπιτυχόν, ἀκριβῆ τὴν μέλαιναν ἐργάζεσθαι χολήν. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τῶν 15
 ἐδεσμάτων τε καὶ πομάτων τὰ μὲν φλεγματικά, τὰ δὲ μελαγχολικά προσαγορευό-
 μεν. Ἀποδεδειγμένου δ' ἡμῖν ἐν τε τοῖς Περί (τῶν) φυσικῶν δυνάμεων ὑπομνήμα-
 σι καὶ προσέτι τῆς τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων δυνάμεως διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν
 ἀγγείων ἀναφέρεσθαι τε τὴν τροφήν ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας εἰς ὄλον τὸ σῶμα καταφέρε-
 σθαι τε πάλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ποτὲ μὲν τὸν πικρόχολον ἢ μελαγχολικὸν χυμόν, ἐνίοτε 20
 δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα, προπετῶς ἀποφαίνονταί τινες ἀδυνατώτατον εἶναι διὰ τῆς
 ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπὶ τὸν σπλῆνα τεταμένης φλεβὸς ἔλκεσθαι τὸ
 μελαγχολικὸν αἷμα, τροφήν ἐσόμενον τῷ σπληνί (ἢ τοῖς μὲν καθαρτικοῖς φαρμά-
 κοῖς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔλκειν χυμὸν οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν, ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν τρεφομένων
 (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) μορίων ἀδύνατον, ἢ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐκεῖνος οἰκεῖός ἐστι χυμὸς, 25
 ὡσπερ ἔνιοι τὸ αἷμά φασιν;), οὐδ' ὅτι πάμπολλα τῶν ζώων ἄναμα παντάπασιν
 εἰσὶν ἐννοοῦντες, ἃ τρέφεται πάντως ὑπὸ ἐνὸς οἰκεῖου χυμοῦ, ψυχροῦ μὲν ὡς
 πρὸς τὸ αἷμα παραβάλλειν, ἔχοντος δὲ οἰκεῖόν τι καὶ σύμφυτον ἢ ἔμφυτον, ἢ
 ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάζειν ἐθέλῃ, θερμόν, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἥπατός ἐστὶν ἐκάστου
 τε τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ σώματος μορίων. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν καρδίαν οἷον ἐστὶν τῆς ἐν 30
 τοῖς ζώοις θερμασίας εἶναι φημι, γένος τι θερμότητος ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς
 ἡγούμενος ὑπάρχειν, οὗ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα μετέχειν, καθ' ὃν λόγον καὶ
 φυσικῆς καὶ θρεπτικῆς (δυνάμεως) ὀνομαζομένης, εἴτε φύσιν ἐθέλῃ τις καλεῖν,
 εἴτε καὶ ψυχῆν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, εἶναι τε κατὰ τὸ ἥπαρ τοιαύτην μὲν
 ἀρχὴν τῆς φυσικῆς θερμασίας, οἷαν ἔχει καὶ τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην 35

10 τῇ μελαίνῃ χολῇ V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 12 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 13 ἐν¹ add. La¹ Ga-La |
 ἐλαίου V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 15 Οὕτως V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 17 τῶν add. Ga-La 17–18 ὑ-
 πομνήμασιν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 18 τῆς V Bou-Pi Ga-La: (ἐν τοῖς Περί) τῆς corr. La¹ 20 αὐτῶν
 V Bou-Pi: αὐτοῦ corr. La¹ Ga-La 25 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ addidimus (cf. Lat. 102, 6: *que nutriuntur ex ipso*)
 26 πάμπολλα V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 27 εἰσὶν V Bou-Pi: ἐστὶν corr. Ga-La 28 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ'
 corr. Ga-La 29 ἥπατος V La¹ Ga-La: σώματος leg. Bou-Pi | ἐκάστ[ου] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La
 31 θερμότητος V a. corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La: θερμώτατον V p. corr. 32 μετέχειν V: μετέχον Bou-Pi
 μετέχει corr. La¹ Ga-La 33 δυνάμεως add. La¹ Ga-La (cf. Lat. 102, 17: *in virtute que nominatur
 naturalis*) 34 κατὰ V La¹ Ga-La: καὶ leg. Bou-Pi | τοιαύτην V La¹ Ga-La: ἥτοι αὐτὴν leg. Bou-Pi
 35 θεωρίας V a. corr.

although it is not black bile, can nevertheless become such, if it remains too long in the veins or if a bad mixture of hot and dry [quality] predominates in the living being – they call this ‘melancholic humour’, using the same name as the one reserved for black bile, so that the term ‘melancholic’ can have two meanings, one that designates ‘black bile’ (since this too is called ‘melancholic humour’), and the other a kind of blood sediment similar to sludge (in) oil, or dregs in wine; for that too is referred to as ‘melancholic humour’, because it naturally tends, when it finds a simple pretence, to produce genuine black bile. It is in this sense that we designate some foods and drinks ‘phlegmatic’ and others ‘melancholic’. We have demonstrated in the treatise *On Natural Capacities*, as well as in *On the Capacity of Cleansing Drugs*, that the food is carried up through the same vessels from the belly to the entire body, and sometimes the humour that is full of bitter bile or the melancholic humour, and at other times the blood itself is carried backwards from there. Nonetheless, some people hastily declare it quite impossible that the melancholic blood is attracted from the vein which extends from the portal fissure of the liver to the spleen, in order to provide the spleen with food (or is it not impossible for purgative drugs to attract their appropriate humour, and instead impossible for each of the bodily parts nourished (by it)? Or that for all these parts there is just that one single humour appropriate to them, as some call the blood?) without realising that very many living beings are completely bloodless and receive their food entirely from one appropriate humour, [which is] cold compared to blood, yet involves a certain heat of its own – natural or innate or whatever one wishes to call it – that is somewhat similar to the heat of the liver and of each of the other parts of the body. For this reason, I say that the heart is like the hearth of heat in living beings, but I believe that there is another kind of heat in plants, which our body also shares, and in this sense it also shares in the so-called natural and nourishing (capacity), whether one wants to refer to it as ‘nature’ or even ‘soul’, like Aristotle and Plato. I also [believe] that this source of natural heat is in the liver, of the sort that plants have in what is called their ‘rooting’, that is appropriate to

ρίζωσιν, οἰκείαν τῇ οὐσίᾳ αὐτῶν, ἑτέραν δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἐκ καρδίας αὐτῶν χορηγομένην, δι' ἣν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀφῆν θερμὸν φαίνεται, τῆς φυσικῆς οὕτως ὀλίγης οὔσης, ὡς μὴ πίπτειν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν αἴσθησιν. Διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' εἶναι θερμασίαν ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς αὐτοῖς τελείως λέγομεν, ἐπειδὴν τοῖς 40
τε ζῶις αὐτοῖς παραβάλλωμεν αἰσθήσει τε κρίνωμεν τὴν διάγνωσιν τοῦ θερμοῦ, τοῖς τ' ἀποφαινομένοις οὕτω καὶ δοξάζουσιν οὐκ ἀντιλέγομεν, μήποτε τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνστησώμεθα, καὶ τις ἴσως δόξη διαφωνίαν ἀξιόλογον εἶναι, ἡμῶν λεγόντων θερμὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ ζῶα, ψυχρὰ δὲ τὰ φυτὰ, μὴ γινώσκων ὡς, ὅταν μὲν ἀκριβολογῆται τις, ἐπεξέρχεται πᾶν τὸ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ζητούμενον 45
ἄχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐπιστήμης, ὅταν δὲ περὶ τινος ἄλλου πράγματος σκοπούμενος ἐν παρέργῳ περὶ τούτων ἀποφαινῆται, τὸ πρὸς τὴν πρόχειρον αἴσθησιν θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν λέγων ἀρκεῖται.

13. Πλάτων γοῦν αὐτὸς ἔμψυχα μὲν αἰεὶ λέγει τὰ ζῶα, τοὺς λίθους δὲ καὶ τὰς πώας καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ καθόλου φάναι τὰ φυτὰ πάντα τῶν ἀψύχων σωματῶν εἶναι φησιν. Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐν Τιμαίῳ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν ὀλιγίστοις ἀκροαταῖς κατακολουθεῖν ἐπιστημονικοῖς λόγοις δυναμένους ἀποχωρίσας τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκούντων εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐκτετάσθαι λέγη τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, διαφωνίαν οὐ χρῆ 5
τοῦτο νομίζειν εἶναι τάνδρος ἑαυτῷ τάναντία λέγοντος ὡσπερ οὐδ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ Θεοφράστου, τὰ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς γεγραφότων, τὰς δὲ ἀκροάσεις τοῖς ἐταίροις· ὅταν γάρ τι τῶν ἐκφευγόντων ἅπασαν αἴσθησιν δόγμα πολλῶν λόγων δεόμενον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἀκαίρως λέγηται, προσκρούει τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. Οὐκ οὐκ χρῆ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀποφαινέσθαι, πρὶν τοῦ κατὰ βραχὺ διὰ μακρᾶς ἀποδείξε- 10

36 οἰκίαν V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τῆς οὐσίας V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | ἑαυτῶν V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La | αὐτῶν V Bou-Pi τῷ Ga-La qui etiam παντὶ σώματι post τῷ addiderunt: αὐτῷ corr. La¹ 37 θερμὸν φαίνεται V: θερμαίνεται leg. Bou-Pi Ga-La 38 οὕτως V La¹ Ga-La: ὄντως leg. Bou-Pi 39 θερμασίαν V: θερμὴν leg. Bou-Pi θέρμην corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La | ἐν om. Bou-Pi Ga-La | αὐτοῖς τελείως V: αὐτοῖς τελέως leg. Bou-Pi αὐτοτελῶς corr. Ga-La 40 τε² V La¹ Ga-La: γε leg. Bou-Pi | κρίνωμεν V καὶ λόγῳ leg. Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La | δὲ post τὴν add. Bou-Pi | τοῦ θερμοῦ om. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τουτ[έστι] post θερμοῦ leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La: om. V Bou-Pi 41 τοῖς τ' ἀποφαινομένοις οὕτω V La¹ Ga-La: τοῖς τ' ἀποφαινομένοις ὄντα leg. Bou-Pi; an τοῖς δ' ἀποφαινομένοις οὕτω scribendum? | ἀντιλέγομεν V Bou-Pi: ἀντιλέγομεν, (εἰ) corr. La¹ Ga-La 42 ἐνστησώμεθα V Bou-Pi Ga-La (cum distinctione ante καὶ): correximus | δόξει V Bou-Pi Ga-La Nu Ku: correximus | διαφωνίας Ald. Ku 43 τῶν V A Ald Ku La¹ Ga-La: ἡμῶν corr. Ko-Ni Bou-Pi | ἀξιόλογα post λεγόντων primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V | θερμὰ V p. corr. A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀξιόλογα V a. corr. 44 ὅταν μὲν ἀκριβολογῆται τις, ἐπεξέρχεται V La¹ Ga-La: ὅταν μὲν ἀκριβέστερόν τις ἐπεξέρχεται A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | τὸ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ ἀκόλουθον A Ald Ku Nu | ζητούμενον V A Bou-Pi Ga-La: ζητῶν corr. Ni ζητουμένῳ Ald Ku 45 τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐπιστήμης V Ald Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La: (τῆς βεβαίας γνώσεως ἤκειν χρῆ) add. Nu ex Lat. [...] A 46 ἀποφαινῆται om. Ald. Ku 13,4 ἀποχωρίσας Ni Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀποχωρήσας V A Ku 5 λέγη V Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: λέγει A Ald 7 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 8 γε των post γάρ primum scripsit, deinde exstinxit V

their substance. But the heat supplied from the heart to the body, through which a feeling of heat is perceptible to our touch, is different from this, in that the natural heat is so limited that it does not fall within our perceptive capacity. In light of the above, we say that in principle there is no heat in plants themselves, when we compare them to living beings and determine with the help of sensation the existence of heat. Nor do we disagree with those who believe and profess that this is the case, so as not to threaten scientific accuracy and lead someone to think there is a remarkable disagreement when we claim that animals are hot, while plants are cold. For he may not realise that, when one uses the terms accurately, one examines the entire research topic thoroughly in its logical consequentiality until ultimate knowledge is attained, but when, on the other hand, one investigates another topic and discusses matters in passing, it is enough to say that something is hot or cold as regards the immediate sensation.

13. Plato himself always describes living beings as endowed with a soul, and claims that stones, grass, wood and, generally speaking, all plants belong to the class of inanimate bodies. But when in the *Timaeus*, to benefit a very small audience capable of following his scientific arguments, he separates his theory of nature from common opinion and asserts that the world's soul extends throughout the whole world, this should not be seen as a contradiction on the part of a man who disagrees with himself, nor on the part of Aristotle or Theophrastus either, when they composed works for a wider audience but also gave [specialised] lectures for their students. Because the listeners are greatly annoyed when a doctrine which escapes all perception and requires many arguments to be proven is exposed inopportunistly. So one should not form an opinion about such matters without having first progressed gradually by means of a long demonstration towards the conclusion of the entire argument, nor

ως ἐπὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν λίθων καὶ τῶν ὀστράκων καὶ τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῶν κατακαιομένων ἢ σηπομένων νεκρῶν ζῶων τὴν τοῦ κόσμου διήκειν ψυχὴν. Εἰ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οὕτως ἀναφανδὸν ἀκουόντων τῶν πολλῶν ὁ Πλάτων εἶπέ τι τοιοῦτον, κατεγίνωσκον ἂν οἱ παρόντες αὐτοῦ πάντες. Ἐγὼ δ' οὖν, ἀφ' ὧν μὲν κινούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἀφίκετο, δι' ἐτέρων 15 ὑπομνημάτων ἐδήλωσα, μὴ συναποφηνάμενος αὐτῷ ἢ διατεινόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται τὰ τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ εἰκότος αὐτὴν προέρχεσθαι φησιν. Ὅτι μέντοι τὰ φυτὰ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχει καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων αἴσθησιν, ἀληθῆς εἶναι νομίζω, λέγειν δὲ ἀκαίρως τὰ τοιαῦτα φυλάττομαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος. 20 Ἄλλ' ἐὰν ἔρηταί μέ τις, τί πλεονεκτεῖ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ ζῶα, τὴν τε αἴσθησιν λέγω καὶ τὴν καθ' ὁρμὴν κίνησιν, καὶ τὰς γε δυνάμεις, ἃς εἶπον ἄρτι, τὴν τε ἐλκτικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀποκριτικὴν καὶ τὴν καθεκτικὴν τε καὶ ἀλλοιωτικὴν, οὐ ψυχικὰς, ἀλλὰ φυσικὰς ὀνομάζω, μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου μήτε τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην μήτε τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν βλαπτομένην ὀρών, ὅταν δὲ τῆς ἠθικῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ φυσικὸν 25 μέρος, ὁποῖόν τι Πλάτων ἠγεῖται, λέγειν ἀναγκαῖόν μοι γένηται, τινὰ μὲν ἀντικρυς ἐπαινῶ καὶ συναποφαινομαι τάνδρῳ, περὶ τινων δὲ ἄχρι τοῦ πιθανοῦ προέρχομαι, καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐνίων ἀπορῶ παντάπασι, οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ῥοπήν ἐπὶ τῶν διαφωνουμένων ὡς εἶη τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν πιθανώτερον. Περὶ (δὲ) τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων, {ὡσπερ} ὅτι ψυχὴν ἔχομεν, ἐπίσταμαι {ὡσπερ} πάντες 30 ἄνθρωποι, θεώμενοι μὲν ἐναργῶς τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργούμενα, βαδίζόντων καὶ τρεχόντων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ παλαιόντων, αἰσθανομένων τε πολυειδῶς, ἐννοοῦντες δὲ τῶν ἔργων τούτων αἰτίας τινὰς ὑπάρχειν ἕκ τινος ἀξιώματος φυσικοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πιστοῦ τε, καθ' ὃ μηδὲν ἀναίτιως γίνεσθαι νοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ γι-

13 Eij] an ἦ scribendum? 16 μὴ om. V | διατεινόμενος V A Bou-Pi Nu: corr. La¹ Ga-La 17 ἀλλὰ χρῆ V A: ἀλλ' ἄχρι Ald Ku corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 18 αὐτὴν V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτῆς corr. Lu La¹ 19 αὐτοῖς A Ald: αυτοῖς V αὐτοῖς corr. Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 21 τε V Bou-Pi: τ' corr. Ga-La 22 τε V A Ald Ku secl. Nu: γε corr. Jou apud Bou-Pi Ga-La 22–23 τὴν τε ἐλκτικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀποκριτικὴν V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: τὴν ἐλκτικὴν τε καὶ τὴν ἀποκριτικὴν Ga-La 24 ὀνομάζων V A Bou-Pi Ald Ku: corr. Nu Ga-La 27 περὶ τινων V A Ald Ku Ga-La: περὶ τινῶν Nu Bou-Pi | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 28 ἀπορῶν V A Bou-Pi: ἀπορῶ Ald Ku corr. Nu Ga-La | ἔχων A p. corr. Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔχον V A a. corr. 29 ἂν post ὡς add. La¹ Ga-La | {Γαληνοῦ} ante Περὶ add. codd., quod secl. edd. 29–30 Περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν (sic V) δυνάμεων secl. Bou-Pi om. Ald Ku secl. et post πιθανώτερον lacunam indicavit Nu 29 δὲ add. La¹ Ga-La 30 φυσικῶν V L A: ψυχικῶν corr. Ga-La | ὡσπερ¹ secl. Ga-La | ἐπίστανται V L A Nu Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La | ὡσπερ² add. La¹ Ga-La | οἱ post πάντες add. L Nu Bou-Pi 31 καὶ post ἐναργῶς add. L Ald Ku 32 ἔσθ' ὅτε secl. Nu Bou-Pi om. L Ald Ku | καὶ² om. A ante ἔσθ' transp. La¹ Ga-La 33 καὶ post δὲ add. A Nu Ald Ku 33–34 φυσικοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πιστοῦ τε (πιστοῦται V πιστοῦ La¹ Ga-La) V A: πιστοῦ φύσει πᾶσιν ἡμῖν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 34 καὶ post ἀλλὰ add. L Nu

[assert] that the soul of the world extends through stones, vessels, sand and the bodies of dead animals that are entirely burnt or rotted away. For if Plato said something like this bluntly and so openly to a broad audience, all those present would have reprimanded him. But I showed in other writings where he started from to arrive at this opinion, without supporting him in his assertion or maintaining a firm position. Because he himself is not proclaiming in this sense the details of his theory of nature, but he says that he is merely advancing this up to the point of the plausible and the reasonable. That plants, however, have within them a principle of motion and the perception of what is proper and foreign to them, I believe to be true, although I am being even more careful than that man not to discuss such issues inopportunistically. But if someone asks me in what respect animals are superior to plants, I say that it is in respect to [their possession of] sensation and voluntary motion; and I call the capacities I mentioned earlier, namely the attractive, the expulsive, the retentive and the transformative, not psychic but natural, seeing that in no way does this formulation harm either the medical art or moral philosophy. But when it becomes necessary for me to explain the individual character of the natural part of moral philosophy according to Plato's view, I praise some of his doctrines straightaway and declare myself in agreement with this man, but for other doctrines I only endorse them to the point of plausibility, just as I am left in complete uncertainty about certain other issues, having no inclination [to declare] regarding such controversial matters that there is another opinion more plausible than these. (Now), regarding the substance of the psychic capacities, I am aware, (like) all human beings, that we have a soul, since we clearly see the activities performed through our body when we walk and sometimes run or wrestle, as well as when we experience all kinds of sensations; and also since we consider there to be causes for these actions by virtue of a certain natural axiom²⁴ we all accept, according to which we realise that nothing happens without a cause. But because they do not know the cause of these actions, they gave it a name from its

²⁴ Or: 'proposition'.

νώσκειν ἥτις ἐστὶν αἰτία τῶν ἔργων τούτων, ὄνομα θέμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ δύνασθαι 35
ποιεῖν ἃ ποιεῖ, δύναμιν {εἶναι} τῶν γινομένων ἐκάστου ποιητικῆν. Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ
τὴν σκαμμωνίαν ἅπαντές φασι δύναμιν ἔχειν καθαρτικὴν, ὥσπερ τὸ μέσιπλον
ἐφλεκτικὴν γαστρός.

14. Οἱ δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν ὀνομαζομένην θεωρίαν ἐκπονήσαντες, ἄλλος ἄλλο
πέισαντες ἑαυτοῦς, οἱ μὲν ἄσωμάτους τινὰς ἀπεφήναντο δυνάμεις ἐνοικεῖν ταῖς
αἰσθηταῖς οὐσίαις, οἱ δὲ αὐτὰς ἐνεργεῖν τὰς οὐσίας κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστης φύσιν, ἦτοι
γε ἐκ τῆς τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κράσεως γενομένην ἢ ποιᾶς συνθέσεως τῶν
πρώτων σωμάτων, ἃ τινὲς μὲν ἄτομα, τινὲς δὲ ἄναρμα, τινὲς δὲ ἀμερῆ, τινὲς δὲ 5
ὀμοιομερῆ, (τινὲς δ' ἄνομοιομερῆ) φασιν εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν
αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄσώματόν τινα νομίζουσιν οὐσίαν εἶναι, τινὲς δὲ πνεῦμα, καθάπερ
ἄλλοι μὴδὲ εἶναι τινα ὑπαρξιν αὐτῆς ἰδίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς τοῦ σώματος
οὐσίας, ὣν ποιεῖν πέφυκε, τούτων ἔχειν λέγεσθαι δυνάμεις, οὐκ οὐσιῶν τινῶν
ἐκείνων ἰδίαν φύσιν ἐχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐνεργούσης οὐσίας καὶ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ 10
γινόμενα δι' αὐτῆς τε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν δυνάμεις ἔχειν λεγομένης ὣν πέφυκε δρᾶν.
Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις μέσσην τινὰ τάξιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα. Περὶ γὰρ ἄλλων δογμα-
των ἀποφαινόμενος ἀπλῶς, τῶν μὲν ὡς εἰδείην τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθειαν, τῶν δὲ

35 ἢ post ἐστὶν add. L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | γινομένων ἐκάστου ποιητικῆν post αἰτία τῶν primum scripsit, deinde cancellavit V | τῶν iteravit V | θεμένων V L A Ald Ku: corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 36 ἃ ποιεῖ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: om. V A | εἶναι secl. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La; an (ῥήθησαν) εἶναι scribendum? | ἐκάστου V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐκάστων L 37 σκαμμωνίαν A Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: σκαμμωνίαν V L Ald | φασι L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: φασιν V 38 ἐφλεκτικὴν L A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐφλεκτικὸν V 14,1 θεωρίαν post ἐκπονήσαντες transp. L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: θεωρίαν ἐκπονήσαντες V A 1–2 ἄλλος ἄλλο πέισαντες L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἄλλος ἄλλο πέισαντες Ald Ku ἄλλως ἄλλοι πάντες V A τε post πέισαντες add. L 2 ἑαυτοῦς L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτοῦς V A | ἄσωμάτους V L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἄσωκρα^r A | τινὰς L A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὐσίας V | δυνάμεις V p. corr. L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: δύναμιν V a. corr. A | ἐνοικεῖν ταῖς L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔλκειν ταῖς V om. A spatio decem fere litterarum relicto 3 αἰσθηταῖς L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αἰσθητικαῖς V A | δὲ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: δ' V A Ga-La | ἐκάστης corr. Goulston (ex Nu) Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐκάστην L V A Ald Ku; an ἐκάστη scribendum? 4 γε om. L: γ' corr. Ga-La | τεττάρων L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τεσσάρων V δ' A | κράσεως V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: κράσιν L | γενομένην L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γεναμένην A V 5 τινὲς δὲ ἄναρμα om. Ald Ku | δὲ² V L A Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La | δὲ³ V L A Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 5–6 τινὲς δὲ ὀμοιομερῆ om. V A 6 τινὲς δ' ἄνομοιομερῆ add. Ga-La 6–7 ἡμῶν αὐτὴν V L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτὴν ἡμῶν A 7 νομίζουσιν V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ὀνομάζουσιν L 8 μὴδὲ V A Nu Bou-Pi: μὴδ' corr. Ga-La om. L | τινὰ V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὴν L | αὐτῆς ἰδίαν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἰδίαν αὐτῆς V A 9 οὐσῶν V A L: οὐσιῶν corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 10 κατὰ τι V A κατ' αὐτὴν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La 11 αὐτῆς L V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτὴν correximus | δυνάμεις L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: δύναμιν V A 12 εἰς post τούτοις add. Ko Ni Nu Bou-Pi | ἐμαυτὸν post τούτοις transp. V A La¹ 13 ἀποφαινόμενος V A L Nu Bou-Pi: ἀπεφαινόμεν corr. La¹ Ga-La 13–14 εἰδείην–αὐτῆς εἰδείην om. L 13 τῶν² V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὴν A | δὲ V A Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La

ability to accomplish what it accomplishes, that is to say, a capacity for carrying out everything that takes place. Thus, for example, we all concur that scammony has a cathartic capacity²⁵, just as the medlar has the ability to suppress the stomach²⁶.

14. But those who conduct detailed research on the so-called ‘natural theory’ rely on various personal interpretations: some declare that certain incorporeal capacities dwell in sensible substances, others that the substances themselves act according to their particular nature, whether this comes from the mixture of the four elements or from some combination of primary bodies, which some say are atoms, others unjointed, others indivisible, others homogenous particles (and yet others non-homogenous particles). Indeed, some actually think that our soul itself is an incorporeal substance, others a pneuma, just as still others [think] that it has no particular existence on its own, but is the propriety of the body’s substance and is said to possess the capacities of what it is naturally capable of doing; although some of these specific substances have no particular nature, nonetheless the operative substance itself is said to have the capacities of accomplishing what it has been created for in relation to what occurs through it and under its sway. In this debate I took a middle position. For even though for other doctrines I frankly declare that I recognise the truth contained in some, while for others I know nothing of it whatsoever, in the matters I just discussed, I

²⁵ Namely ‘a purgative power’.

²⁶ Or: ‘has the ability to bind the stomach’, i.e. ‘has the ability to cause constipation’.

ὡς ὅλως οὐδὲν αὐτῆς εἰδείην, ἐν οἷς ἄρτι διῆλθον, ἄχρι τοῦ πιθανοῦ προέρχομαι, βέλτιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζων εἴπερ ἐγνώκειν οὕτω περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀποφαίνεσθαι 15
καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων, οὐ μὴν ἀναπείθων ἑμαυτόν, ὡσπερ ἕτεροι, βεβαίαν ἔχειν
γνώσιν ἧν οὐκ ἔσχον ἀπόδειξιν βεβαίαν. Εἰπεῖν οὖν βούλομαι καὶ περὶ τῶν
τοιούτων ἀπάντων, ὅσα τὴν μὲν γῶσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ἔχει πρὸς ὑγείαν
σώματος ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἠθικὰς ἀρετάς, ἐπεκόσμησε δ' ἄν, εἴπερ ἐγνώσθη
βεβαίως, τὰ διὰ τῶν γινωσκομένων ἀκριβῶς ἀποτελούμενα κατ' ἰατρικὴν τε καὶ 20
τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν ἐγὼ φημι χρησίμην τε ἅμα καὶ δυνατὴν εἶναι πᾶσι
τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀσκήσαι, καὶ γέγραπται μοι περὶ τούτων δύο βιβλία, νυνὶ δέ,
ὅπερ ὑπεσχόμην, πράξω, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε ποιησάμενος.

15. Ὅτι μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κράσεως ἅπαντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν
σώματα γίνεται, βεβαίως γινώσκειν φημί, καὶ προσέτι δι' ὄλων αὐτῶν κεραυνυμέ-
νων, οὐχ ὡς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἠγεῖτο, κατὰ σμικρὰ μόρια καταθραυομένων, εἴτε δὲ
τῶν σωματικῶν οὐσιῶν ὄλων δι' ἀλλήλων ἰουσῶν εἴτε τῶν ποιοτήτων μόνων,
οὐτ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φημι γινώσκειν οὐτ' ἀποφαίνομαι, πιθανώτερον δ' εἶναι 5
νομίζω κατὰ τὰς ποιότητας γίνεσθαι τὰς κράσεις. Τὴν γε μὴν ψυχὴν εἰ μὲν
ἀθάνατος οὕσα ταῖς σωματικαῖς οὐσίαις κεραυνυμένη τὰ ζῶα διοικεῖ, γινώσκειν
βεβαίως οὐκ ἐπαγγέλλομαι, καθάπερ οὐδ' εἰ μηδεμία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔστιν οὐσία
ψυχῆς, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι φαίνεται μοι σαφῶς, ὅτι, καθ' ὃ εἰσοικίζεται τοῖς σώμασι,
δουλεῖται ταῖς φύσεσιν αὐτῶν, αἴπερ εἰσίν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐκ τῆς τῶν τεσσάρων 10

14 ὅλως V: ἄλλως A ὡς Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi (ὡς) ὅλως corr. La¹ Ga-La | δ' post οἷς add. La¹ Ga-La |
προέρχομαι Ald Ku: προέρχομαι V A L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 15 νομίζων L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La:
νομίζω V A 16 ἑμαυτόν V A L Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἑμαυτῷ Ald 17 οὐκ V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La:
οὐδ' L | ἔσχον V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔχον A 18 ὅσα V A L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: ὡς corr. La¹
Ga-La 19 ἐπεκόσμησε V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐπεσκόσμησε A 20 τὰ om. L | κατ' V A Ga-
La: κατὰ L Ald Ku Nu Bou 20–21 τε–ἠθικὴν om. L 22 βουλομένοις L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La:
βουληθεῖσιν V A | τούτων V Nu Ga-La: τούτου L A Ald Ku Bou-Pi coni. Nu | νυνὶ L Nu Bou-Pi
Ga-La: νῦν V A | δέ L Nu Bou-Pi: δ' V A Ga-La 23 πράξω V A: προσάξω L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi
προάξω corr. Ga-La | ἐνθένδε V L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐνθένδεν A 15,1 τεσσάρων V: τεττάρων
corr. Ga-La δ' Ald Ku L A Nu Bou-Pi 2 γίγνεται L Ald Ku: γίνεται V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La |
γιγνώσκειν L Ald Ku Nu: γινώσκειν V A Bou-Pi Ga-La 3 ὁ om. V A | μόρια om. L | καταθραυο-
μένων V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: καταθραυμένων L 4 τῶν¹ om. L | οὐσιῶν V A Ald Ku Nu
Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὐσῶν L Ni 5 γινώσκειν Ald Ku Ga-La: γινώσκων A γιγνώσκειν L Nu Bou-Pi lac.
V | οὐτ'² Ga-La: οὔτε Ald Ku Bou-Pi Nu; γινώσκειν οὐτ' om. V (spatio relicto) | δ' V A Ga-La: δέ
Ald Ku L Nu Bou-Pi 6 γίνεσθαι V A Ga-La: γίνεσθαι Ald Ku L Nu Bou-Pi 7 οὐσίαις om. V A
(spatio relicto) | κεραυνυμένη V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: κεραυνῶν ψυχῆς L | διοικεῖ L Ald Ku Nu
Bou-Pi Ga-La: διοικῆ V A | γινώσκειν V A Ald Ku Ga-La: γιγνώσκειν L Nu Bou-Pi 8 ἐπαγγέλλο-
μαι V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀπαγγέλλομαι L Ald Ku | οὐδ' V A Ga-La: οὐδὲ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | ἡ
post ἔστιν add. A 9 κἂν L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La κἀὸ V: καθ' ὃ corr. La¹ Ga-La | εἰσοικίζεται
V A La¹ Ga-La: εἰσοικίζεται L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | σώμασι V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: σώμασιν
V 10 ὡς ἔφην om. V A | τεσσάρων V: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La δ' Ald Ku L A Nu Bou-Pi

concede only the probable, believing that it would be better if I knew them to such an extent as to be able to pronounce about them as I did about others, without however persuading myself, as others have done, that I have certain knowledge of matters of which I have no certain proof. I therefore also want to discuss all such things, knowledge of which is unnecessary for the health of the body or the moral qualities of the soul, but which, were they known with certainty, could have been an additional ornament to those things accomplished thanks to an exact knowledge in the field of medicine and moral philosophy. I say that moral philosophy is both useful and attainable by all those who wish to practise it. I have written two books about these issues, but at present I will only do what I have promised to do, embarking upon the following point.

15. I declare that I am certain that all the bodies around us result from a mixture of the four elements, and in addition through their complete mixture, not, as Empedocles thought, through their fragmentation into tiny particles. But whether all bodily substances interpenetrate each other or just the qualities, I neither say that is it necessary to know nor do I make any firm pronouncement. Yet I think it more likely that the mixtures occur in accord with the qualities. I do not claim to be certain whether the soul is immortal and governs living beings by mingling with bodily substances, just as [I do not claim to know] whether the soul has no substance in itself. But the following seems clear to me, namely that as long as the soul resides in bodies, it is subservient to their natures, which, as I said, result from a mixture of the four elements. And in this respect, I believe

στοιχείων ποιῆς κράσεως γινόμεναι, καὶ κατὰ γε τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην οὐδὲν ἠγοῦμαι βλαβήσεσθαι τινα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῆς καλουμένης ἐμψυχώσεως τε καὶ μετεμψυχώσεως. Ἐπιτήδειόν τε γὰρ εἶναι χρὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ δεξόμενον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλοιωθέντος τε αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἀλλοίωσιν ἐν τῇ κράσει, παραχρῆμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξίνααι, ψυχομένου μὲν σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς κενώσεσι τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἐν 15 ταῖς πόσεσι τῶν ψυχόντων φαρμάκων, ὅταν τε σφοδρῶς ἦ τὸ περιέχον ψυχρόν, ἀμέτρως δὲ θερμαινόμενον κατὰ τε τοὺς πυρετοὺς καὶ τὰς εἰσπνοὰς τῆς φλογὸς ἢ τῶν ὑπερθερμαινόντων φαρμάκων πόσεις. Οὐ μόνον δὲ οὕτως ἀλλοιωθείσης τῆς κράσεως τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρώμεν αὐτοῦ χωριζομένην, ἀλλὰ κάπειδαν τῆς ἀναπνοῆς στερηθῆ, πάντως τινὸς κάνταῦθα γινομένης ἀλλοιώσεως 20 κατὰ τὸ σῶμα. Τηρουμένης οὖν τῆς φυσικῆς εὐκρασίας ἐν τῷ σώματι, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ χωρισθῆναι δοκῶ μοι γινώσκειν ἀδύνατον εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον οὐτ' εἰς τὰς ἰάσεις τῶν νοσημάτων οὐτ' εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς ὑγείας ἐπίστασθαι, καθάπερ οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν· ὀνομαζέτω γὰρ αὐτὴν ἕκαστος ὡς ἂν ἐθέλη, χωρίζων 25 τῆς θεωρητικῆς. Ἐπὶ πλεον δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις ὑπομνήμασι γέγραπται μοι. Τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων ἐπιδεδειγμένων ὅποσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅποια, ζήτησίς τις γίνεται κατ' ἀκολουθίαν, ὅπως φάμεν αὐτὰς ἔλκειν μὲν τὸ οἰκεῖον, ἀποκρίνειν δὲ τὸ ἀλλότριον. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι φαίνεται, πρὶν γνωρίσαι σαφῶς ὁποῖον μὲν τι τὸ οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν, ὁποῖον δέ τι τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἢ τὴν ὁλκὴν τῶν 30 οἰκεῖων ἢ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ γνωρίζειν αἰσθητικῆς δυνάμεως ἔργον εἶναι φαίνεται. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ παρακοῆ τις

11 στοιχείων om. V A | γινόμεναι V A Ga-La: γιγνόμεναι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 12 τινα om. Ald Ku | διὰ om. L 13 τε καὶ μετεμψυχώσεως om. V A | γὰρ om. A | χρὴ τὸ σῶμα V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ σῶμα χρὴ L Ald Ku 14 τε V L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: τ' corr. Ga-La 15 μέντοι V L A Nu Bou-Pi δὲ corr. La¹ Ga-La: μὲν correximus | τοῦ αἵματος post σφοδρῶς transp. V A | ἐν² om. V L 16 τε V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γε L 17 ἀμέτρως δὲ V A La¹ Ga-La: ἀμέτρως τε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 18 πόσεις L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πόσις V A | δὲ V L A Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 19 ὀρώμεν om. A 20 τῆς om. V A | στερηθῆ V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: στερηθείη L Ald Ku | τινὸς κάνταῦθα V La¹ Ga-La: κάνταῦθά τινος L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 21 ἐν om. V A | τῷ σώματι V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τοῦ σώματος A 22 γινώσκειν V A Ald Ku Ga-La: γιγνώσκειν L Nu Bou-Pi 23 ἀναγκαῖον L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀναγκαῖα V A | οὐτ¹ V A Ga-La: οὔτε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | οὐτ² V A Ga-La: οὔτε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | τὴν om. L Ald Ku 24 οὐδὲ L Nu Ald Ku Bou-Pi: οὐδ' V A Ga-La 24–25 εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν V A La¹ Ga-La: εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, πρακτικὴν τε καὶ πολιτικὴν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 25 ἂν ἐθέλη L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: βούλεται V A 27 ὅποσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅποια V A Nu Bou-Pi: ὅποσαι τε καὶ ὅποια εἰσι Ald Ku L ὅποσαι τ' εἰσι καὶ ὅποια corr. Ga-La 28 κατὰ V A L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La | μὲν om. L 29 δὲ V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τε ex τὸ L | γὰρ εἶναι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἶναι γὰρ V A | πρὶν γνωρίσαι V A Goulston (ex Nu) Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: προγνωρίσαι L Ald Ku 30 μέντοι L Ald μὲν V A: μὲν τι τὸ corr. Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | τι¹ om. V A | τι² om. V A 32 τις om. A (spatio relicto)

that no one will be damaged as far as the practice of the medical art is concerned from ignorance of what is called empsychosis and metempsychosis. For the body must be suitable to receive the soul, and when it undergoes a substantial alteration in its mixture, the soul must immediately depart from it, for example when it is strongly cooled through the evacuation of blood and through taking cooling drugs, as well as when the ambient air is very cold, or when the body is heated excessively during fevers, inhalation of flame or the consumption of overheating drugs. And it is not only when the mixture of the body undergoes such a change that we see the soul separate from the body, but also when it is entirely deprived of breath, for in this case too there definitely occurs an alteration in the body. So I believe I understand that as long as the natural balanced mixture is maintained in the body, it is impossible for the soul to depart from it. And for this reason, it is unnecessary to know what the substance of the soul is either for the cure of diseases or for the preservation of health or even when it comes to moral, practical and political philosophy; for one can call it what one will, provided one separates it from theoretical philosophy. I have written more extensively on these topics in other works. And with the number and kind of the natural capacities having been demonstrated, the next research question to undertake as a consequence is the sense in which we say that they attract what is appropriate while expelling what is foreign. Because it seems impossible, before clearly knowing what is appropriate and what is foreign, to be able to materialise the attraction of the appropriate or the rejection of the foreign. And this knowledge seems to be the activity of a sensitive capacity. This is why a possible misunderstanding can arise from this statement – despite the fact that Plato has clearly stated that what plants have is a different kind of sensation – if the auditors

ἔστι, καίτοι σαφῶς εἰρηκότος τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἕτερον εἶναι γένος αἰσθήσεως τὸ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς, οἰομένων τῶν ἀκουόντων εἶναι τινὰ γνωριστικὴν δύναμιν ἐν αὐτοῖς 35 τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων. Τούτων γὰρ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡ διάγνωσις αὐτοῖς, εἴτε καθ' ἡδονὴν εἴτε κατ' ἀνίαν εἴτε καὶ κατὰ τινὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἢ ἀνάλογα ὄντα παθήματα γιγνομένη, τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητικῶν διαγνώσεων οὐ μετεχούσης τῆς φυτικῆς ψυχῆς· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρατῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀκουστῶν οὔτε τῶν ὄσφραντῶν οὔτε τῶν γευστῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀπτῶν ποιότητων ἔχει διάγνωσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν τρέφειν αὐτὴν ἢ μὴ τρέφειν δυναμένων. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τρέφειν δυνάμε- 40 να πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκουσα καὶ κατέχουσα καὶ πέπτουσα καὶ μεταβάλλουσα πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας τοῖς τρεφομένοις οὐσίας (προσίσταται), τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενα τρέφειν οὐ προσίσταται. Ὡστε μοι Πλάτων ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ λέγειν αἰσθησιν ἔχειν τὰ φυτὰ, τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων δηλονότι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ζῶα προσηκόντως ἂν λεχθῆ- 45 ναι, μετὰ τοῦ μηδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κινήσεως ἔστερησθαι. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῆς τοιαύτης γνώσεως ἀναγκαίας οὔσης εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν (τε καὶ ἠθικὴν) φιλοσοφίαν, ἀρκοῦμαι, διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν μόνον ἄχρι τοῦ πιθανοῦ προερχόμενος, ἐπαινεῖν τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ζῶα καλοῦντα τὰ φυτὰ καὶ μετέχειν αἰσθήσεως μόνης φάσκοντα τῆς τῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων διαγνωστικῆς, ἥτις, ἂν ἀκριβῶς σκοπῆς, τοῦ γένους τῶν ἡδέων τε καὶ οὐχ ἡδέων οὔσα φανεῖται. Δι' οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δυνατόν 50 εἰπεῖν ἔλκειν αὐτὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἢ ἐξομοιοῦν ἑαυτοῖς, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀπόλαυσίν τε καὶ τὴν ἐγγινομένην ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡδονήν. Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔφην, ἀρκεῖ πρὸς ἰατρικὴν ἐπίστα-

33 ἔστι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔστιν V ἔσται A | τοῦ om. V A | εἶναι V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔστι L Ald Ku 33–34 τὸ τοῖς φυτοῖς V ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς A L Ald Ku Nu: τὸ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς corr. La¹ Ga-La 35 οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀλλοτρίων τε καὶ οἰκείων A | τε post τούτων add. V A s.l. | μόνων V A: μόνων L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 35–36 εἴτε...εἴτε... εἴτε A La¹ Ga-La ἢ τε...ἢ τε...ἢ τε V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 36 καὶ om. L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | παραπλησίαν L V A Ald Ku: corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La qui etiam παραπλησία (ἐν) conī 36–37 ἀνάλογον ὄντα V A ἀνάλογα τὰ παθήματα L Ald Ku ἀνάλογα παθήματα Nu Bou-Pi: ἀνάλογα ὄντα παθήματα corr. La¹ Ga-La; an ἀνάλογ' ἄττα παθήματα scribendum? 37 γιγνομένη V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γιγνομένων L 38 φυτικῆς L Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: φυσικῆς V A Ald | ἀκουστῶν V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀκουστικῶν Ald Ku 38–39 τῶν ὀρατῶν...τῶν ἀκουστῶν...τῶν ὄσφραντῶν V A Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῆς ὀρατῆς...τῆς ἀκουστῆς...τῆς ὄσφραντῆς L τῆς ὀρατῶν...τῆς ἀκουστικῶν...τῆς ὄσφραντῶν Ald 39 οὔτε τῶν γευστῶν om. V A | ἔχει om. V A 40 μόνων L V A: corr. Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | αὐτὴν om. L La¹ Ald Ku Ga-La | ἢ V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἰ A 41 πέπτουσα V A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πέπτουσα Ku 42 τὰς οἰκείας L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ οἰκεῖον V A Ald Ku | τοῖς τρεφομένοις V A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῆς τρεφομένης Caius (ex Nu) Goulston (ex Nu) Ku | οὐσίας om. V A | προσίσταται add. Ga-La 43 ἔχειν ε σχεῖν A 44 τοῦτο L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὰ V A 45 μηδέ¹ V A Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La: μήτε L Ald | ἑαυτῶν V A Nu Bou-Pi: αὐτῶν Ku Ga-La αὐτῶν L Ald 46 τε καὶ ἠθικὴν add. La¹ Ga-La 47 μόνην V L A Ald Ku: μόνον corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 48 μόνης om. V A 49 ἥτις L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἴ τις V A | σκοπῆς L Nu Bou-Pi: τε σκοπῆ V A τις σκοπῆ corr. Ga-La ἂν ἀκριβῆς σκοπὸς Ald Ku 50 οὐκ V: οὐχ A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 51 ἑαυτοῖς V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἑαυτῆς L 52 ἐν om. A L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | ἀρκεῖ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀρκεῖν V A

think that there is in plants a cognitive capacity regarding what is appropriate and foreign. For these are the only things plants have the capacity to distinguish, whether it arises from pleasure or pain or even affections that are similar or analogous to them, with the vegetative soul not participating in other sensory diagnostics. For it lacks the capacity to distinguish visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory or tactile qualities, but only what can nourish or not nourish. Because it attracts to itself what is capable of nourishing, it retains them, digests them and transforms them into substances appropriate to what is being nourished (accepting all this), while not accepting the things that cannot nourish. Therefore Plato seems to me to be right to say that plants have perception, namely of what is appropriate and what is foreign, and that it is in this respect that they could rightly be called 'living beings', as well as because they are not deprived of motion that comes from themselves. But since this kind of knowledge is not essential for medicine (and moral) philosophy, I am content to proceed only to the level of plausibility for reasons of consequentiality, and to praise Plato for calling plants as well 'living beings' and for saying that they participate in a sense-perception that is the only one capable of distinguishing between the appropriate and the inappropriate, which, if you consider the matter closely, will appear to belong to the genus of the pleasant and not the unpleasant. For it is possible to say that they attract what is appropriate for no other reason than to assimilate it to themselves, or because of the satisfaction and the pleasure that arises in these cases. But, as I said, when it comes to medicine, it suffices to know only the following, namely that [plants] attract what is appropriate, from

σθαι τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς ἔλκει μὲν τὸ οἰκεῖον, ὥπερ καὶ τρέφεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀποκρί-
νει δὲ τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἠθικὴν ἄχρηστος ἢ τῶν
τοιούτων ἀκριβῆς γνώσις, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Πλάτων αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσεν.

53 ἔλκει L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔλκειν V A | ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τρέφεσθαι V A ὥπερ καὶ τὸ
τρέφεσθαι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: ὥπερ καὶ τρέφεσθαι corr. La¹ Ga-La | πέφυκεν om. L Ald Ku Nu
Bou-Pi 53–54 ἀποκρίνει L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀποκρίνειν V A 54 ἔτι V L A Ald Goulston
(ex Nu) Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La; an ἔστι scribendum? 55 οὐδὲ V L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: οὐδ' corr.
Ga-La | ὁ om. V A

which they naturally derive their nourishment, and that they reject what is foreign to them. But an exact knowledge of such matters is even more useless for moral philosophy, which is why Plato made no mention of it.

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