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GALEN

METHOD OF MEDICINE

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**GALEN**  
**METHOD OF MEDICINE**

**BOOKS 1-4**

**EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY**

**IAN JOHNSTON**

**AND**

**G. H. R. HORSLEY**



**HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
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For Reg

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April 2010

## INTRODUCTION

The basic aim of the practicing doctor most simply stated is to preserve the health of those who are healthy (*kata phusin*—"in accord with nature," in Galenic terms) and to restore to health those who have departed from it by suffering injury or succumbing to disease (*para phusin*—"contrary to nature"). Thus medicine has both prophylactic and therapeutic components, a point which Galen himself emphasizes in his *Method of Medicine* (*Methodus medendi*). And it is this *Method of Medicine* (*MM*), comprising fourteen separate books and occupying one whole Kühn volume, that is his systematic and comprehensive account of the therapeutic component. In it he details the principles of treatment of injury and disease following his own classification, illustrated by case reports and punctuated by various theoretical and polemical digressions and social comment. This great work is supplemented by the much shorter *Method of Medicine for Glaucón* (*MMG*), while the prophylactic limb is dealt with primarily in his *On the Preservation of Health*. The *MM* sits atop the theoretical edifice established by a number of Galen's other works, to which he refers repeatedly throughout his therapeutic magnum opus. These are his works on the basic structure of matter, those on physiology, those on anatomy, those on pathology and pathophysiology, those on the clas-

sification and causation of diseases and symptoms, and those on pharmacology.<sup>1</sup> These subjects—that is, basic science, anatomy, physiology, pathology, and pharmacology—have, more or less in this order, remained the components of the Western doctor's basic education to the present day. To them, Galen would, however, add philosophy, especially ethics and logic in the broad sense, components which he would undoubtedly see as unduly neglected in modern times.

Thus the full exposition of Galen's systematic approach to the treatment of the whole range of diseases, his *Method of Medicine*, became established as a work of very considerable and enduring influence for many centuries. It contributed significantly to the compendia prepared by the Western medical writers in the several centuries immedi-

<sup>1</sup> The main components of this foundation, which are considered in greater detail below, and which are available in Kühn, are as follows (references to English translations are given in parentheses where available): *De elementis secundum Hippocratem* (I.413–508K—P. H. de Lacy, 1996), *De naturalibus facultatibus* (II.1–214K—A. J. Brock, 1916), *De temperamentis* (I.509–694K—P. Singer, 1997), *De anatomicis administrationibus* (II.215–731K—C. Singer, 1956, W. H. Duckworth et al., 1962), *De usu partium* (II.1–939K, III.1–366K—M. T. May, 1967), *De locis affectis* (VIII.1–452K—R. E. Siegel, 1975), *De inaequali intemperie* (VII.733–52K—M. Grant, 2000), *De differentiis morborum*, *De morborum causis*, *De symptomatum differentiis*, *De symptomatum causis* (VI.836–80K, VII.1–272K—I. Johnston, 2006), *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* (XI.379–892K, XII.1–377), *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* (XII.378–1007K, XIII.1–361K), *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* (XIII.362–1058K).

ately following Galen's death, men such as Oribasius and Paul of Aegina; it became foundational in the development of Arabic medicine; and, made available particularly by Linacre's Latin translation, it regained its influence in the West during the Renaissance, when Galenism again became the dominant medical philosophy. Peter English, in his 1656 translation of the *MM*,<sup>2</sup> which remains the only "complete" English translation prior to the present one, writes on the title page of his work, which he called Galen's *Method of Physick: Or, his Great Master-Peece, being the very Marrow and Quintessence of all his Writings*:

Wherein He exceeds not only Himself, but also all others, on such a Subject, being not only sufficient thorowly to acquaint any judicious man with all the Principles of Physick or Medicine, but also it is absolutely necessary for directing all Practitioners in all their Physicall Applications and Cures.

So this substantial tome, written in the second century AD, was still, in effect, the therapeutic bible in Western medicine some fifteen centuries later.

Of course, the great development of scientific knowledge, which gathered pace from the seventeenth century on, had a major bearing on all the foundational areas of medical practice listed above. This development, still continuing at an astonishing pace, has rendered the conceptual basis of Galenic medicine obsolete. What has not become obsolete, however, is the method itself—that is, the

<sup>2</sup> Peter English, *Galen's Method of Physick* (Edinburgh, 1656). English concentrates on the practical elements of the work, omitting much of the polemic.

## INTRODUCTION

development of treatment based on an established theoretical and practical foundation. Nor has obsolescence affected the need to consider the means whereby knowledge of medical treatment is acquired and the ethical ramifications of its application. Both are factors to which Galen gives considerable attention in this work and elsewhere.

Galen's *MM* remains, then, a work of great interest, first as a detailed statement of the methodical approach to medicine in general and to treatment in particular and to other aspects of patient care which are not limited to any era; second, for the wealth of historical information it provides on medical practice during a period that saw marked development in this practice; and third as a reflection of social conditions at the time of its writing. Hence, it seemed worthwhile to add a modern English translation of Galen's "Great Master-Peece" to the highly polished and very accurate Latin version of Thomas Linacre and the much freer, incomplete paraphrastic version of Peter English.

### 1. GALEN'S LIFE

Apart from his final years, which remain something of a mystery, Galen's life is well documented and has been traced in a number of modern works, in a few instances as the sole topic<sup>3</sup> and in a greater number of instances as part

<sup>3</sup> Among these may be mentioned the books by G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon* (Lawrence, KA, 1954), and P. Moraux, *Galiene de Pergamene* (Paris, 1985), and the articles collected in V. Nutton in his *From Democedes to Harvey* (London, 1988), and the series of articles by J. Walsh published in the *Annals of Medical History*

## INTRODUCTION

of the introduction to a study of some aspect of his work. Much of the information comes from his own writings in which numerous anecdotes provide factual information as well as insights into the writer's character. The abbreviated account which follows is divided into a series of relatively well-defined periods.

**The Early Years (129–146):** Galen was born in Pergamum in Asia Minor in 129 into a well-to-do and highly respected family. His place of birth is of some relevance in that Pergamum was renowned for its shrine to Aesculapius and for its library, which acted as a considerable attraction to scholars. His father, Nikon, was a wealthy architect of the city, much respected both generally and by his son, in whose initial education he took an active role. His mother, now remembered through her son's unflattering portrayal, seems to have been notable for her intemperate and somewhat violent conduct. Galen himself gives the following contrasting descriptions of his two parents and of his attitude toward the behavior of each:

I was extremely fortunate in having a father who was not in the least irascible, very civilized, very kindly and very courteous whereas my mother was so irascible that she sometimes bit the female servants, always bawling at, and fighting with, my father to an increasing extent—a Xanthippe to Socrates. For

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between 1929 and 1939. For earlier studies, see Ackermann's *Historia Literaria Claudii Galeni* in Kühn, vol. I. Very recent accounts are those in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson (Cambridge, 2008), and by V. Nutton in his *Ancient Medicine* (London, 2004).

myself, seeing set side by side the virtues of my father's actions with the disgraceful affections of my mother, there was an eager following and love of the former but avoidance and hatred of the latter.<sup>4</sup>

Galen was initially schooled directly by his father in the basic disciplines of geometry, mathematics, and arithmetic, as well as in logic and architecture.<sup>5</sup> He was then exposed to the teachings of the major philosophical schools, his father arranging for him, from the age of fourteen, a series of teachers of philosophy. According to Galen's own account these teachers included "a Stoic, a pupil of Philopater," "a Platonist pupil of Gaius," "a pupil of Aspasius the Peripatetic," and "an Epicurean from Athens."<sup>6</sup> Another notable feature is Galen's description of his own aptitude, which displays the high self-regard that seemingly remained intact throughout his life. Thus, in his early years, what stands out is his comprehensive education in philosophy and related disciplines supervised by his father, and the quite contrasting nature of his parents, one respected, one reviled. One might, however, suspect that his mother's intemperate nature found a reflection in Galen's own often quite intemperate writings—it may be that his mother's physical assaults found their counterpart in her son's verbal assaults!<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, V.40–41K.

<sup>5</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.40K.

<sup>6</sup> *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, V.41K.

<sup>7</sup> Galen also expresses here his own uncertainty on this matter: "Moreover, I do not know how I have the nature I have, for it is

**Medical Training (147–157):** The course of his education, and indeed of his life, was changed significantly in his seventeenth year by his father's dreams. In *On the Order of My Own Books*, Galen writes: "Then, persuaded by clear dreams, he made me, in my seventeenth year, train in medicine at the same time as philosophy."<sup>8</sup> There is the interesting question of the extent to which Galen continued his philosophical studies *pari passu* with his now primary study of medicine, both in the early years and throughout his life. This bears on his own repeated claim of the importance of philosophy to medicine and the significance of his knowledge of the former discipline in making him superior in the latter to many (all!) of his contemporaries. In fact, how important the continuing study of philosophy was to Galen and how significant his philosophical contributions were are matters of quite sharp disagreement among modern commentators. On the first point, Lieber provides the following quotation from a work surviving only in Arabic: "Since my youth I have studied logic. Then, when I started to study medicine, I renounced pleasure and disregarded worldly matters . . . I tried to give my whole time to the practice of medicine and to reflecting and meditating on it . . . He who can say that he has done as I did . . . may embrace that great science." On the basis of this, Lieber argues for the preeminence of medicine in Galen's life and studies, but does acknowledge an alterna-

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difficult to say this in the case of adults, let alone children." (*De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, V.40K).

<sup>8</sup> *De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugentianum*, XIX.59K.



tive view, according philosophy and related matters a significant place.<sup>9</sup>

The initial years of Galen's medical education were spent in Pergamum. His first known teacher was the renowned anatomist Satyrus, who had come to the city and was apparently lodging with the Roman architect Rufinus, charged with the restoration of the shrine to Aesculapius. Among his other teachers while still in his home city were Stratonicus<sup>10</sup> and an unknown Pneumatist, as well as two other men about whom more is known: Ephicianus, like Satyrus a Rationalist, and the Empiric Aeschrion. On the former Galen writes: "Ephicianus was one who changed the training to something more Stoic."<sup>11</sup> On the latter he comments: "Aeschrion the Empiric, an old man most experienced in remedies . . . [was] my fellow citizen and teacher."<sup>12</sup>

Probably in 149 (the exact dates are unknown) two events occurred which had a major impact on the course of Galen's life. First, his father died, depriving him of his assiduous educational guide and supervisor. Although this did provide him with a substantial inheritance, it also left him more at the mercy of his irascible mother—factors which may have encouraged him to leave town. Second, his main teacher, Satyrus, returned to Smyrna. For what-

<sup>9</sup> See E. Lieber, "Galen: Physician as Philosopher. Maimonides: Philosopher as Physician," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 53 (1979): 262–85, esp. p. 272 (and nn. 18 and 19).

<sup>10</sup> *De atra bile*, V.119K.

<sup>11</sup> *De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugenianum*, XIX.58K.

<sup>12</sup> *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, XII.356K.

ever combination of reasons, Galen set out on his travels to further his medical education. The actual date of his departure from Pergamum is also uncertain, although Nutton notes that his first surviving medical work was written in Smyrna in 149.<sup>13</sup> In these travels, which lasted until 157, his first port of call was Smyrna, a city also renowned for learning and not far distant from Pergamum. It is probable that Galen spent about a year in Smyrna, studying under Pelops, a noted commentator on Hippocrates.<sup>14</sup> During this time he is said to have attended lectures by the Platonist philosopher Albinus, himself a pupil of Gaius. Galen is thought to have left Smyrna in search of instruction from Pelops' own teacher, Numisianus, possibly after a brief return to Pergamum for family reasons. It is not clear whether Galen actually achieved his objective of studying with Numisianus, either in Corinth or in Alexandria, where he subsequently went. It is likely that Numisianus had left Corinth before Galen arrived and died in Alexandria before Galen had moved on to that city.<sup>15</sup> Galen's stay in Alexandria extended over the five years from 152 to 157. Regardless of whether he actually studied under Numisianus or not, this was the major and culminating pe-

<sup>13</sup> See V. Nutton in *The Western Medical Tradition*, ed. L. I. Conrad et al. (Cambridge, 1995), p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *De musculorum dissectione*, XVIIIIB.926K, and *De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugenianum*, XIX.57K.

<sup>15</sup> Opinions vary on whether Galen actually studied under Numisianus, and if so, where. Apart from Nutton, *Western Medical Tradition*, see Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, p. 17, and Moraux, *Galiene de Pergamene*, pp. 18, 61, as well as *In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum commentarii*, XV.136–37K.

riod of his extended medical training. In particular, that city saw the refinement of his knowledge of anatomy—general, comparative, and surgical—and of pharmacology. Among Galen's teachers, or at least his associates in learning in Alexandria, was Numisianus' son, Heraclianus, whose views on anatomy were seen by Galen as similar to those of Satyrus, his first teacher on the subject. Other possible teachers in Alexandria were the Methodic Julianus and Lycus the Macedonian, against both of whom Galen subsequently wrote short treatises.<sup>16</sup> Finally, it should be noted that Galen is thought to have traveled widely while in Egypt, furthering his knowledge of medications.<sup>17</sup>

**Initial Practice at Pergamum (157–161):** Galen returned to Pergamum from Alexandria in his twenty-eighth year and was shortly thereafter appointed as the doctor to the city's gladiators, a post which was to provide him with many examples of "dissolution of continuity," a category of disease which he claims to have introduced to nosology. He thus completed his period of medical training, long and varied, and began the practice of medicine as his occupation. In this he combined his work among the gladiators with his other medical practice and with continuing study and research. By the time he entered medical practice on his return to Pergamum he had undergone a period of

<sup>16</sup> The treatises are *Adversus ea quae Iuliano in Hippocratis aphorismos enuntiata sunt*, XVIII.246–99K and *Adversus Lycum*, XVIII.196–245K.

<sup>17</sup> For detailed consideration of Galen's time in Egypt, see V. Nutton, "Galen in Egypt," in *Galen und das hellenistische Erbe*, ed. J. Kollesch and D. Nickel (Stuttgart, 1993).

training roughly equivalent to that required for specialist practice in English-speaking countries in modern times (i.e., around ten years) and his credentials were impressive.

Impressive also was his work during his sojourn in Pergamum. On his return from Alexandria, he records how he came to the notice of the Pontifex (High Priest of the Imperial Cult) through demonstrations of his method of treating tendon injuries, hence his appointment as doctor to the gladiator school. By his own account, he continued in this position for at least five seven-month periods.<sup>18</sup> This ongoing appointment afforded him a singular opportunity for the study of surgical anatomy and the management of all kinds of wounds and fractures, and may have contributed to the prominence he was subsequently to give "dissolution of continuity" in his system of disease classification.<sup>19</sup> Precisely why Galen left his apparently flourishing practice in Pergamum remains uncertain. Was it because of ambition, as Nutton suggests?<sup>20</sup> Was it because of unrest, personal or general, in Pergamum? Were other factors involved? Whatever the explanation, Galen left Pergamum around 161 and spent approximately four years, between 162 and 166, in Rome.

**His First Period in Rome (162–166):** Galen's journey to Rome was relatively rapid, although it may have in-

<sup>18</sup> See *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, XIII.599K et seq. A partial translation of this section is given by P. Moraux (1985), pp. 63–65.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, *De differentitis morborum*, XI.1 (VI.871–72K).

<sup>20</sup> See Nutton, *Western Medical Tradition*, p. 62.

volved some study of medicinal plants en route, perhaps in Lemnos and Cyprus.<sup>21</sup> The precise date of his arrival in Rome is also uncertain but was probably either late 162 or early 163. The names of some of the more significant men he was associated with there are recorded in the introductory chapter to *On Anatomical Procedures* as follows:

Then I went home, but not remaining there long, came to Rome where I made many dissections for Boethus. Present with him always were Eudemus the Peripatetic, Alexander of Damascus, now considered worthy to teach the Peripatetic doctrines at the public expense in Athens, and often other men in office like the one who is now Governor of the city of Rome, the Consul Sergius Paulus, a man altogether foremost in matters and doctrines of philosophy.<sup>22</sup>

Although his first stay in Rome was comparatively brief, lasting only until 166, it was eventful in several ways. Three aspects are of particular interest. First, he established himself as a student of the highly regarded Peripatetic philosopher Eudemus, who was in turn to benefit from his pupil's medical expertise, as recorded in detail in Galen's *On Prognosis for Epigenes*.<sup>23</sup> As Nutton remarks, "His cure of his old philosophy teacher Eudemus in the winter of

<sup>21</sup> Galen himself provides some information on these travels in *De alimentorum facultatibus*—see VI.507 and 617K.

<sup>22</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus*, II.218K.

<sup>23</sup> *De praenotione ad Epigenem*, XIV.605K et seq.

162–163 was crucial in establishing him as a fashionable healer."<sup>24</sup> That, together with his triumph over doctors of opposing schools, redounded to his credit and was unquestionably of benefit in establishing his reputation. Second, there was his association with Boethus, flatteringly described in the opening sentences of his *On Anatomical Procedures*.<sup>25</sup> This was an association that encouraged and facilitated the continuation of Galen's own anatomical researches. The first part of one of his greatest works, *On the Use of the Parts*, was completed during this period and sent to Boethus, who had been appointed governor of Palestine in 165.<sup>26</sup> Two notable anatomical achievements made during the decade between 157 and 167 were his recognition of the recurrent laryngeal nerve and his demonstration that the arteries contained blood.<sup>27</sup> Third, as part of an active practice of medicine, he engaged in public demonstrations and debates with members of other sects and schools. While this must have furthered his reputation, it most certainly also made him some enemies.

**His Return to Pergamum (166–168):** In 166, he left Rome and returned to Pergamum, visiting various parts of Greece during his journey. The reasons for his departure, as in the case of those for his prior departure from Perga-

<sup>24</sup> See Nutton, *Western Medical Tradition*, p. 62.

<sup>25</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus*, II.215–16K.

<sup>26</sup> See M. T. May, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, 2 vols. (Ithaca, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 3–4.

<sup>27</sup> The former was made during his time in Pergamum; see *De usu partium*, III.263–345K. For the latter, see *De anatomicis administrationibus*, II.641–50K.

mum, are not clear. Galen himself, in different works written at quite different times, cites two distinct reasons. The first was the difficulty he experienced with his rivals in Rome coupled with improved conditions in Pergamum. The second was the advent of plague in Rome.<sup>28</sup> It may also be that it was always his intention to return to Pergamum when the disturbances in his home city, thought to have contributed to his initial decision to depart, had settled.

**His Second Period in Rome (168–200):** His stay in Pergamum this time was to be very short. In 168 he was summoned by Marcus Aurelius to join the imperial army on campaign in northern Italy. An abandonment of the immediate military objectives resulted in the army's return to Rome in 169, Galen with it. He was to remain in Rome for at least the greater part of his remaining life. The years immediately after his return, specifically 169–176, were to prove most noteworthy in terms of his literary output, seeing the completion of a number of his major and other works, including the first six books of his *MM*. During this time Marcus Aurelius entrusted him with the responsibility for the medical care of his ill-fated son Commodus while the emperor was away from the capital. When Marcus Aurelius again returned to Rome in 176, Galen was made imperial physician, his crowning achievement in terms of gaining powerful patronage.

**The Final Years (200–216/7?):** The details of the final part of Galen's life become increasingly obscure, in no

<sup>28</sup> For the first, see *De praenotione ad Epigenem*, XIV.623 and 648K, and for the second, *De libris propriis*, XIX.15K.

small part because they are not chronicled by Galen himself with the same completeness as the earlier years. Nonetheless, his literary output continued apace, the final years of the century seeing the completion (i.e., the final eight books) of his enduringly influential major work on the practice of medicine, *The Method of Medicine*.<sup>29</sup> Also from late in the century are the two short works which provide valuable information about his own writings, *On My Own Books* and *On the Order of My Own Books*.<sup>30</sup> Earlier speculation had him leaving Rome somewhere around his seventieth year and returning home to his native Pergamum for the remainder of his life.<sup>31</sup> His death was said to have occurred at the age of seventy or seventy-one (i.e., 199–200), based on the Byzantine lexicon, the *Suda*. The thinking now is that he lived well into the third century. The latest date for any of his writings is that for his *On Theriac to Piso*, which, according to Nutton, could not have been earlier than 204 and may have been as late as 207.<sup>32</sup> Where he died is also unknown. He may have remained in Rome or returned to Pergamum for his last years. Nutton gives no credence to the story of his dying at Perama in Egypt while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem—indeed, why would he make such a journey? In conclusion, what can be said at the present time is that he probably died in either 216 or 217 at the age of eighty-seven, but how and where he died remain unknown.

<sup>29</sup> *Methodus medendi*, X.1–1021K.      <sup>30</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.8–48K and *De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugenianum*, XIX.49–61K.

<sup>31</sup> See Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> This is in keeping with the Arabic tradition; see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, p. 226.

2. PREDECESSORS AND  
CONTEMPORARIES

By Galen's time a very considerable body of writing on science, medicine, and philosophy had been amassed by the Greeks and Romans. By his own account Galen had immersed himself deeply in this rich collection of material and regarded himself as proficient in all three forms of knowledge. In many respects his own work is a synthesis and systematic exposition of prior thought in which he espouses a position based on certain well-established theories and rejects other, conflicting views. In medicine he does the former strongly, consistently, and persuasively, the numerous and often convoluted digressions of his presentation notwithstanding. The latter he does with a somewhat intemperate vigor and scorn. Certain individuals he praises, one or two even unreservedly; others he castigates remorselessly.

In his *MM* Galen refers to over fifty individual doctors and philosophers. The writings of many of these men are no longer extant. Further, quite a number of them are mentioned only in Books 1 and 2 and often only in lists of worthies presented as supporters of Galen's polemic against Methodism. There is no specific consideration of their teachings. There is, however, a group of men whose teachings are examined in more or less detail. Some are men whose ideas form the basis of Galen's own theory and practice; others are men whose thinking Galen opposes, often very strongly. What follows is a brief account of the members of the group as a whole and their relevance to Galen's formulations as expressed in his *MM*. The order is chronological and without distinction between doctors,

philosophers, and scientists—in the spirit, perhaps, of Galen's own concept of the doctor being also a philosopher and scientist. The dates given refer to the period of activity of each individual and are necessarily approximate in most cases.

**Euryphon of Cnidos (460–440 BC)** was an older contemporary of Hippocrates. He is said to have accompanied the latter to the court of the Macedonian king Perdikkas II in relation to the treatment of the king's son. The ancients, including Galen, attributed the preparation of the *Cnidian Sentences* and some other "Hippocratic" writings to Euryphon (VII.960K). He was renowned as an anatomist. Galen refers to his treatment of phthisis with women's milk in his *MM* (X.474K) and also in two other works: *On the Good and Bad Juices of Foods* (VI.775K) and *On Marasmus* (VII.701K).

**Herodicus of Cnidos (440–400 BC)** has been confused in a number of instances with Herodicus of Selymbria. The reference to him in the *MM* is, as with Euryphon, in relation to the use of women's milk in the treatment of phthisis (X.474K). Other treatments associated with his name are purging by vomiting and the use of steam baths. Both Euryphon and Herodicus attributed disease to a failure of the proper processing of food with the resultant creation of harmful residues. The former is sometimes credited with formulating the concept of diet.

**Hippocrates of Cos (440–370 BC):** It is now recognized that the Hippocratic corpus was completed over an extended period of time, most probably the two hundred years from approximately the middle of the fifth century BC to the middle of the third century BC, by various and

in some instances unidentified hands.<sup>33</sup> However, setting aside the problems of authorship, authenticity, and uniformity of the doctrines expounded, there is no doubt that Hippocrates, at least as Galen identified him, was the major precursor of the latter's own views. On this point it is noteworthy that a considerable part of Galen's literary output was devoted to commentaries on Hippocratic texts; there are seventeen works in Kühn apart from those thought to be spurious.<sup>34</sup> Properly understood and interpreted—that is, according to Galen himself—Hippocrates provided the foundation for all that Galen embraced in the theory and practice of medicine. In areas of doubt, the uncertainties could be used to Galen's advantage in dismissing aspects with which he disagreed. In respect to Galen's overall attitude to Hippocrates, Lloyd speaks of "the importance of the almost unbounded admiration he [Galen] always expressed, throughout his life, for Hippocrates, his 'guide in all that is good.'"<sup>35</sup>

Three principles of primary importance to Galen were taken from Hippocrates. First, there was the humoral theory of the composition of the body, as expressed in Hippocrates' *Nature of Man*, with its stated opposition to the existing claims of a single basic substance, characteristic of much of pre-Socratic philosophy. Second, there was the

<sup>33</sup> Informative recent studies of the "Hippocratic question" include those of G. E. R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* (Cambridge, 1991) and J. Jouanna, *Hippocrates* (Baltimore, 1999).

<sup>34</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.33–37K.

<sup>35</sup> See G. E. R. Lloyd, "Galen on Hellenistics and Hippocrateans: Contemporary Battles and Past Authorities," in Kollesch and Nickel, *Galen und das hellenische Erbe*, p. 125.

view, whether implicit or explicit, that each individual disease had a causal explanation which should be sought and, if identified, would be of relevance to treatment. Third, and related to the second, there was the allopathic principle underlying treatment. Of more general importance were Hippocrates' perceived emphasis on ethics and his methodology, both of which prefigure Galen's own belief in the essential nexus between medicine and philosophy. To quote Lloyd again, Hippocrates "could be used as a perfect demonstration of how, in methodology, in natural philosophy, even in moral philosophy, the best doctor is also a philosopher."<sup>36</sup> It is also of no small significance that Hippocrates was held in high regard by the two philosophers most admired by Galen, Plato and Aristotle. Two additional points of note are, first, that Galen wrote a work (no longer extant) on the consistency of Hippocrates' views between his *Nature of Man* and his other writings, and second, that he included his short work on the best doctor also being a philosopher in the section under Hippocrates in Galen's *On My Own Books*.<sup>37</sup>

**Plato (390–348/7 BC):** The major figure among Galen's philosophical predecessors, to judge by Galen's own account, is undoubtedly Plato. The broad issues of Galen's debt to Plato, his assessment of the latter's contribution to both philosophy and medicine, and his interpretation and utilization of Plato's theories contain a number of subsidiary issues which are more or less controversial. There is no question, however, about Galen's attitude toward Plato, who enjoys the same preeminent place among his

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>37</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.37K.

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philosophical predecessors as Hippocrates does among the medical. As de Lacy writes:

Plato is repeatedly praised. He is first among philosophers, as Hippocrates is the best of all physicians. Like Hippocrates, he is "divine." He is a member of the "chorus" that is closest to God, whose members are devoted to the pursuit of the highest arts and sciences and are honoured equally with the gods.<sup>38</sup>

Galen undoubtedly made a detailed study of Plato's writings and was directly exposed to his theories through at least two of his teachers. This is apparent from the list in *On My Own Books* of nine works on Plato (only two survive in Kühn); the important *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* and the interesting *The Faculties of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*. Fortunately, several further works have been recovered, at least in part, from other sources.<sup>39</sup>

In summary, the matters on which Plato is of particular relevance to Galen include the following: the concept of the body as composed of the four elemental qualities (hot, cold, dry, and moist), as propounded in the *Timaeus*; the recognition of design in nature, involving the concept of the "Demiurge"; the tripartite division of the soul, involving consideration of the physical correlates of the psychological; and Plato's ideas on causation in general and in medi-

<sup>38</sup> See P. H. de Lacy, "Galen's Platonism," *American Journal of Philology* 93 (1973): 27-33, esp. pp. 32-33.

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 30-31, for a summary of these works and for the possible addition of a further work about Plato's views on the soul.

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cine in particular, as expounded primarily in the *Timaeus* and the *Phaedo*.<sup>40</sup> On a somewhat more minor but nonetheless important issue, Galen's agreement and identification with Plato on the need to give primary attention to matters themselves rather than to terminology is revealed in the following statement from the former's *On Anatomical Procedures*:

But if you are at least persuaded by Plato and myself you will always think little of names, whereas you will be attentive primarily and particularly to the knowledge of matters.<sup>41</sup>

These same sentiments, with or without reference to Plato, are repeatedly expressed by Galen both in the *MM* and elsewhere. Overall, the dialogues of particular relevance in tracing Galen's links to Plato are the *Timaeus*, *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Charmides*, although, as de Lacy has pointed out, at least twelve dialogues are specifically mentioned and quoted from in Galen's writings.<sup>42</sup>

A further point of some significance is the degree of accord between the ideas of Plato and those of Hippocrates, especially on the issues listed. Related to this is the extent

<sup>40</sup> The four references to Plato are, respectively, *Timaeus*, 48B et seq.; *Timaeus*, 28A et seq.; *Timaeus*, 69C-71A, *Phaedrus*, 253 et seq.; and *Timaeus*, 82A, *Phaedo*, 97-100.

<sup>41</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus*, II.581K. According to P. H. de Lacy, "Galen's Platonism," the reference to Plato is either "Statesman 261E" or "the conclusion of the *Cratylus*." C. Singer, in his translation of *De anatomicis administrationibus*, also mentions the *Republic* 533E and the *Sophist* 244.

<sup>42</sup> See de Lacy, "Galen's Platonism," p. 30.

to which Plato's ideas on purely medical matters themselves derive from Hippocrates, and also from Philistion of Locri (*vide infra*). Galen certainly assumes a close correspondence between the ideas of Hippocrates and Plato, at least as they bear on medical matters, and perhaps even a significant dependence of the philosopher on the physician. This is a complex matter. It might be said that Galen's view at least requires a somewhat imaginative reading of Hippocrates if one is to see Plato's concepts clearly prefigured there. An associated question concerns the degree to which Plato's doctrines are differently interpreted when refracted through the prism of later theories, Aristotelian and Stoic in particular, by someone writing in the second century AD.

**Diocles of Carystus (4th century BC):** Although his dates are very uncertain, it can be said that among doctors, he falls somewhere between Hippocrates and the two great Alexandrians, Herophilus and Erasistratus. In some quarters he is regarded as having been a pupil of Hippocrates. He may have been a contemporary of Aristotle and certainly shared with the latter the cardiocentric view of the *hegemonikon*, or soul. He is thought to have written prolifically (around twenty titles are associated with his name), but none of his writings have survived. Galen, however, had access to at least some of them, it would seem. Diocles is classified among the Dogmatics and espoused the concepts of *pneuma* and the four humors (blood, phlegm, and yellow and black bile). He is widely referred to by Galen on a variety of topics. On the matter of treatment, he held the Hippocratic view on the importance of opposites. Particular remedies associated with his name include diet, exercise, bathing, emetics, fomentations,

phlebotomy, and medications. In the *MM* he is mentioned along with a number of early doctors as holding a similar view of the structure of the body to those articulated by Galen in his *On the Elements According to Hippocrates* (X.462K).

**Philistion of Locri (370–340 BC)** is undoubtedly of importance in the early history of medicine and is mentioned twice in the opening two books of the *MM*. However, the degree and nature of his importance to Galen are difficult to assess, given the paucity of available information. There are no extant writings, and references to him in Galen's own works are very few.<sup>43</sup> Galen does, however, link him with the theories of Empedocles and to the so-called Sicilian school of medicine.<sup>44</sup> He is also held by some to have influenced Plato in the composition of the *Timaeus*, which would give him a particular relevance among Galen's antecedents. On the question of causation of disease, his views are probably recorded in the *Anonymus Londinensis* and bear a close resemblance to Galen's own. In summary, it can be said that Philistion related disease causation to the four elemental qualities, to the condition of the body, and to external factors. Of more general relevance are his concepts of innate heat and the important role of *pneuma*. Both are, of course, features of Galen's own physiological and pathological formulations.

<sup>43</sup> See *De usu respirationis*, IV.471K, and *In Hippocratis librum de acutorum victu commentarii*, XV.455K.

<sup>44</sup> See P. J. van der Eijk, *Diocles of Carystus: A Collection of Fragments with Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), introduction, p. ix, n. 2.



**Mnesitheus of Athens (370–330 BC)** is mentioned along with Dieuches on an Athenian votive inscription. Like Diocles, he is regarded as a Dogmatic who adhered to the concepts of humors, *pneuma*, and innate heat, all important factors in Galenic theory. In the *MM* he is mentioned along with Diocles and Dieuches as holding the same view of bodily composition as that described by Galen in *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*. Elsewhere in Galen he is described as skilled in anatomy, knowledgeable about foods and drugs, and believing in the use of phlebotomy.

**Aristotle (355–322 BC):** The place of Aristotle among Galen's predecessors is a somewhat complex one. Certainly he is not accorded the same unqualified respect as Plato and Hippocrates. For example, de Lacy has drawn attention to two passages which clearly display a less than reverent attitude. In the first, Aristotle is linked with Praxagoras as a target of criticism for their jointly held major misconception of the function of the heart—"they were either blind themselves or were addressing a blind audience"—while in the second, where his views are criticized in *On the Semen*, he is twice addressed patronizingly as "dearest Aristotle."<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, it could be argued that an analysis of Galen's works overall would support the view

<sup>45</sup> See de Lacy, "Galen's Platonism," p. 33. The two passages referred to are to be found in *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, V.187–188K, and *De semine*, IV.530 and 553K, respectively. As regards the latter, de Lacy remarks that the phrase "dearest Aristotle" "expresses a certain exasperation at the obtuseness of the person criticized."

that Aristotle's influence was the most significant, at least in matters other than the purely medical.

For example, in Galen's teleological views, which especially inform his major work *On the Use of the Parts*, it is Aristotle's immanent teleology rather than the Platonic "Demiurge" which is most discernible. In his methodology, Galen is clearly and profoundly influenced by Aristotle, particularly by the works of the *Organon*. In his conception of the structure of the body he was firmly committed to the theory of four elemental qualities, which, while not attributable to Aristotle, was held and developed by him. Further, in his formulations of structural levels, which are of considerable importance to the classifications of diseases and symptoms advanced in the four treatises on these subjects and restated in the *MM*, Galen followed Aristotelian concepts, especially the idea of *homoiomeres*. In his consideration of causation he is also clearly influenced by Aristotle, both in the assumption of the validity of the search for causal explanations and in the specific ideas. In his attention to taxonomy, Galen is obviously following Aristotelian principles. He was unquestionably influenced by the psychology of *De anima*, as indeed were almost all who came after Aristotle and grappled with the same subject matter. Finally, the empirical component of his studies and the use of observation of biological phenomena as the basis for theoretical formulation reveal an Aristotelian imprint.

A comparison of Galen's writings on Aristotle with those on Plato and Hippocrates finds that they are fewer and less well preserved. Counting all parts of a commentary on a single Aristotelian work as one book, there are eleven works listed in the section on Aristotle in *On My*

*Own Books*.<sup>46</sup> None of these is extant. Of particular interest are Galen's remarks about his works on logic generally,<sup>47</sup> where, having noted the relative lack of conflict in this subject among Peripatetics as compared to Stoics and Platonists, he makes the following observation, illuminating in terms of his relationship to Aristotle:

I say the philosophers—the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Platonists—differ among themselves in logical theory, although these are again specific in each of the sects. It is surely the case that among the Peripatetics discord is slight, whereas among Stoics and Platonists it is great.<sup>48</sup>

**Praxagoras of Cos (325–275 BC)** came from a notable medical family, although relatively little is known about him and none of his works survive. He has been identified as a follower of Diocles of Carystus and perhaps a teacher of Herophilus,<sup>49</sup> giving him particular relevance in the early studies of anatomy. He espoused theories which attracted Galen's criticism. This was certainly justifiable in relation to the cardiocentric view of mental and emotional function, shared by other notables, including Aristotle, and also to his belief that the arteries carried *pneuma*, a concept developed by Erasistratus in his theories of disease causation. On the positive side, however, he is credited with having made the structural distinction

<sup>46</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.47K.

<sup>47</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.39–45K.

<sup>48</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.40–41K.

<sup>49</sup> See F. Steckerl, *The Fragments of Praxagoras of Cos and His School* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 34 on this matter.

between arteries and veins. His particular similarity to Galen, who identified him as a Dogmatic, was his belief in the importance of seeking a causal explanation for disease. Indeed, he is said to have written a book on the subject.<sup>50</sup> In addition, there are his early studies of the pulse and its abnormalities, another subject substantially developed by Galen, and his incorporation of *pneuma* into theories of physiology and pathology. Praxagoras also expanded on the concept of humors, subdividing the basic four on the grounds of color, taste, and other aspects to make ten. He particularly associated disease with alteration of the humors and specifically fever with putrefaction of humor. In the *MM* he is linked with Hippocrates and Pleistonius among doctors and with Plato and Aristotle as a proponent of the Dogmatic method in respect of treatment (X.261K).

**Pleistonius (300–240 BC)** was possibly also from Cos and was a pupil of Praxagoras, whose theories he embraced. Galen generally refers to him in conjunction with Praxagoras and others of the Dogmatic persuasion, as in the reference to the latter in the *MM* given above. Several views associated with him are that air enters the arteries not only from the heart but also from the whole body, that digestion involves putrefaction, and that water is preferable to wine as an aid to digestion.

**Dieuches (300–200 BC)** is linked with Mnesitheus and Diocles of Carystus particularly as one of the noted medical Dogmatics. Galen writes of him as an anatomist, as someone who wrote on medications, and as using phlebotomy. He is also referred to by Pliny the Elder and by Oribasius on matters of regimen and treatment.

<sup>50</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 5.

**Herophilus of Chalcedon (280–260 BC)**, along with his close contemporary Erasistratus (*vide infra*), has been classified as a Dogmatic, although with Herophilus at least this is not entirely uncontroversial.<sup>51</sup> Both have also been subjects of recent detailed studies and collections of *fragmenta*.<sup>52</sup> Although precise dates have not been established for either, it is probable that Herophilus was slightly earlier. His primary contribution was to anatomy, especially of the nervous system, liver, and heart. From the viewpoint of his importance for Galen, he subscribed to the same physiology based on the four elemental qualities with a significant role for *pneuma*, the latter being importantly implicated in neurological function by Herophilus. He also played a major part in establishing “pulse theory,” a subject enthusiastically and extensively taken up by Galen. In terms of methodology, Herophilus argued for attention to be directed to phenomena but did, it is thought, accept the importance of causal explanation. It may be said that if he was indeed a Dogmatic, he had significant Empiric tendencies and was arguably less committed to detailed causal explanation than Galen was subsequently.

**Erasistratus (260–240 BC)** provides quite a contrast to his fellow Alexandrian in terms of Galen’s later evaluation. While he too made significant contributions to anatomy, mainly with regard to the cardiovascular system and peripheral nerves, in a number of his theoretical formulations he was strongly criticized by Galen. First, in his phys-

<sup>51</sup> H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 115–24.

<sup>52</sup> See *ibid.* for Herophilus and I. Garofalo, *Erasistrati Fragmenta* (Pisa, 1988) for Erasistratus.

iology and pathology he moved away from the concept of four elemental qualities, basing his physiology on a corpuscular theory following, it is said, Straton of Lampsacus. Longrigg writes that Erasistratus “conceived of his particles as very small imperceptible corporeal entities partially surrounded by a vacuum in a finely divided or discontinuous condition.”<sup>53</sup> In his explanation of disease he gave particular importance to blood and *pneuma*, invoking the concepts of *plethora* and *paremptosis* (*vide infra*). In short, what was involved in these presumed pathological processes was an increase in blood in the veins to an abnormal level, causing a spillover into the arteries with a resultant displacement of *pneuma*. Other aspects of Erasistratus’ theorizing to which Galen took exception were his concept of *horror vacui* (or “following toward what is emptied”), his theory of digestion, his departure from the idea of “complete” teleology, and some of his attitudes to therapy. Also, on the issue of causation there were certainly substantial differences, although it may be said that Erasistratus did clearly accept the need for causal explanation.

**Chrysippus (250–205 BC)**: Galen’s attitude to the Stoics in general may be characterized as ambivalent. He has recorded his own early exposure to Stoic doctrines, and indeed, his first written work was said to have been a commentary on a work by Chrysippus: “When I was still a boy and my father first handed me over to someone who taught the logical theory of Chrysippus and the notable Stoics, I prepared in relation to this, notes of the syllogis-

<sup>53</sup> J. Longrigg, *Greek Rational Medicine* (London, 1993), p. 214.

tic books of Chrysippus.”<sup>54</sup> In fact, the five works on the Stoics which Galen lists in *On My Own Books* all bear on logic and related matters.<sup>55</sup> Of the Stoics, it is predominantly Chrysippus who is mentioned in Galen’s writings, although his two predecessors, Zeno of Citium and Cleanthes, as well as the later Stoic Posidonius, are also mentioned.<sup>56</sup> The ambivalence referred to may be revealed by comparing Galen’s observations on Chrysippus in the *MM* with those in *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato*. In the former the Stoic is linked with Hippocrates, Plato, and Aristotle in espousing what Galen himself accepts as the correct explanation of matter, whereas in the latter he is roundly criticized in several passages.<sup>57</sup>

**Asclepiades of Bithynia (120–90 BC)** has been described by Frede as “a pivotal figure” in the Rationalist/Empiricist debate,<sup>58</sup> but he is undoubtedly also pivotal in a

<sup>54</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.43K.

<sup>55</sup> *De libris propriis*, XIX.47–48K.

<sup>56</sup> All three early Stoics are mentioned together in *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, V.283K. Posidonius is quoted contra Chrysippus in the same work (V.397K et seq.).

<sup>57</sup> The passage in the *Methodus medendi* (X.16K) is as follows: “For Hippocrates first put forward the hot, cold, dry and moist, while Aristotle demonstrated [these] after him. And the followers of Chrysippus took these up as already given and did not dispute, but said that all things are mixed from these, and that these affect and act on each other and that Nature is systematic. They accept all the other doctrines of Hippocrates about Nature, apart from there being some small differences between them and Aristotle.” On the criticisms, see de Lacy, “Galen’s Platonism,” p. 33.

<sup>58</sup> See R. Walzer and M. Frede, *Galen: Three Treatises on the Nature of Science* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1985), p. xxix.

wider sense. In essence, Asclepiades represented the culminating articulation of atomistic theories as applied to medicine up to the first century BC. This was a theory that could trace its heritage back through the somewhat disparate strands of Strato of Lampsacus, Heraclides of Pontus, and Epicurus to its origin with Democritus. As with a number of the significant figures already discussed, his writings have not been preserved, although the recent work by Vallance provides a detailed account of his views and intellectual progenitors.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, much of the information derives from Galen himself, who, being totally opposed to Asclepiades’ key concepts, cannot be taken as an impartial source. Asclepiades based his physiology and pathology on the concept of fragile corpuscles (*anarmoi onkoi*) which traveled through channels (*poroi*) not anatomically definable but distributed throughout the body. Diseases occurred when this process was interfered with, in particular when there was impaction (*emphraxis*).

**Themison of Laodicea (90–40 BC)** is, in one place, credited by Galen as being the founder of the Methodic sect (XIV.684K) and as formulating the concept of “communities” (of diseases—X.35K). He may have studied under Asclepiades but may also have been linked with the Empiric Theodas of Laodicea, whom Galen mentions once in the *MM* (X.142K). Themison is credited with developing certain compound medications, particularly utilizing beeswax. Four books attributed to him (but no longer extant) are *Acute Diseases*, *Chronic Diseases*, *Rules of Health*, and *Letters*.

<sup>59</sup> J. Vallance, *The Lost Theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia* (Oxford, 1990).

**Thessalus of Tralles (AD 20–70):** On Galen's description, Thessalus was a charlatan of base origins who practiced a highly dubious form of medicine. He is reviled throughout the *MM* but especially in the first two books. According to Thessalus himself, as revealed in a fragment of a letter to Nero which Galen quotes, he "established a new sect and, as all doctors who came before passed on nothing useful regarding either the preservation of health or the relief of disease, it is the only true sect."<sup>60</sup> He claimed that the craft of medicine could be learned in six months, and by anyone, without attention to the several other disciplines which Galen considered so important (logic, geometry, etc.). Methodism did, then, have a theoretical foundation, being based on the particle/void concept of the structure of matter derived from the Atomists ultimately and from Asclepiades in medicine. Diseases were described as due to either constriction/obstruction or dilatation/flux involving theoretical pores, or a combination of the two (*vide infra*). Moreover, diseases were divided into "communities" which were the basis of treatment. None of Thessalus' writings survive, but he is credited with a substantial body of work, including treatises on the "communities" and on method. These are quoted and referred to disparagingly by Galen, who repeatedly describes both Thessalus and his sect as "methodless" or "amethodical."

**Athenaeus of Attaleia (AD 30–70)** was perhaps the founder of the Pneumatist school of doctors. He accepted the theory of the four elemental qualities (hot, cold, moist, and dry) but gave particular prominence to *pneuma* as

<sup>60</sup> *Methodus medendi*, X.8K.

a fifth "elemental" component of the body. He defined health as equilibrium between *pneuma* and the four elemental qualities and disease as a disequilibrium or imbalance of the five factors (i.e., a *dyskrasia*) rather than of the four only. His theoretical formulations were based on Stoic concepts, and he was linked by Galen with the Stoic Posidonius. Whether he was, in fact, a student of the latter is uncertain, even unlikely. It seems that Galen admired Athenaeus, although there were points of disagreement, both theoretical and practical.

**Philippus of Rome (AD 45–95)** is often mentioned in conjunction with Archigenes, both identified as Pneumatists. Philippus is said to have written extensively on medications, although none of his writings survive. He is mentioned in the *MM* in relation to his ideas on bathing, which Galen opposes.

**Soranus of Ephesus (AD 98–138)** is one of the most notable of ancient doctors, not least because one of his works survives complete (*On Gynecology*), along with fragments of another work (or works)—possibly his *Surgical Operations*. His methods were also detailed by Caelius Aurelianus in a surviving work. Although a Methodic, he does not come in for the same harsh criticism from Galen as other members of the sect (particularly Thessalus). He is briefly mentioned twice in the *MM*, once in a list of Methodics (X.53K) and once as the teacher of Attalus (X.910K).

**Philippus of Egypt (AD 100–170)** is distinguished from Philippus of Rome, although only a single Philippus is listed in the Kühn index. Philippus of Egypt is associated with theories about holding back the advance of age, which is the context of the single reference in the *MM* (X.495K).

**Quintus of Pergamum** (AD 115–145) is described by Galen as a teacher of both Marinus (XV.136K) and Satyrus (II.225K), although in modern accounts he is said to have been a student of the former. Either way, he was a noted anatomist (*vir summe anatomicus*—XIX.22K). Galen also described him as the most outstanding doctor of his time, although recognizing that he diverged from Hippocrates in his views. Quintus was, in fact, banished from Rome on the grounds of malpractice, and apparently died soon after. Galen categorizes him as an Empiric.

**Attalus** (AD 130–170) is described by Galen as a student of Soranus and therefore a Methodic. In the *MM* he features in a case report involving the Cynic philosopher Theagenes. His treatment methods fail to save the patient and are strongly criticized by Galen (X.909–16K). It has been suggested that he may be the same person as Statilius Attalus, personal physician to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

**Justus the Ophthalmologist** (AD 160–180) is mentioned once by Galen in the *MM* (X.1019K), where he is described as treating hypopyon in a particular way. There is no reference to a written account of this technique, which Galen may have witnessed at first hand.

**The Schools or Sects:** The establishment of schools or sects of doctors in the Graeco-Roman world was a gradual development which had its origins in the fourth and third centuries BC and became a prominent feature in the two centuries prior to Galen and during his own time. However, it seems that the sects faded into insignificance in the centuries immediately following his death. Presumably this was in no small part due to Galen himself. The basic division into Rationalist/Dogmatic and Empiric depended

on distinctly different theories as to how knowledge generally was acquired, and particularly how technical knowledge such as medical knowledge was acquired. The key issue was whether it was useful to attempt to explain phenomena on the basis of fundamental theories of the composition and structure of matter as applied to the human body and to incorporate theories of causation into such explanations. To the Rationalists it was. For the Empiric, however, knowledge was limited to observing phenomena, accumulating a body of experience through the observed phenomena, and applying this accumulated experience to the interpretation of new phenomena. Subsequently in medicine, subdivision of the Rationalist position arose based on the different theories of structure and function which underlay practice.

The basic tenets of Rationalism were as follows: (a) to formulate through reason or adopt a theory already so formulated of the structure and function of the human body and the nature of health and disease; (b) to accept the idea of causation, and in particular to accept that all observable phenomena have a cause but that the cause may be hidden from direct observation; (c) to work out what the appropriate remedies are for each disease on the basis of this theoretical foundation. To quote Celsus: "Therefore there are those who, professing to a rational medicine, put forward these things as necessary: a knowledge of hidden causes involving diseases; then of evident [causes]; after these of natural actions and last of inferior parts."<sup>61</sup>

The basic tenets of Empiricism were that there was no need to formulate any foundational theory of structure

<sup>61</sup> Celsus, *De medicina* I, Proemium 13.

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and function and no need to accept causation generally or to look for underlying, hidden causes to explain phenomena. The doctor experienced the phenomena one by one, accumulated the experiences, and acted on this accumulated experience. The particular processes of acquiring the experience and applying it were identified as *peira* (experience), *teresis* (observation), *historia* (inquiry—or in medicine collected case histories), and *metabasis* (inference from analogy). On the negative side, what the medical Empirics opposed is summarized by Frede as follows:<sup>62</sup>

What the Empiricists clearly wanted to reject were formal inferences, either deductive or inductive, in particular inferences by means of which people were supposed to get a grasp on the theoretical truths which underlie what they could observe, and more emphatically those inferences which were supposed to lead to theoretical truths concerning theoretical entities, like the atoms which can only be grasped by reason.

The main schools or sects that developed later were the Methodics and the Pneumatists. Both of these were essentially Rationalist in type, at least to begin with, differing from the existing Rationalists in the nature of their theoretical formulations. Thus Methodism as a medical sect might be said to begin with Asclepiades (*vide supra*), who did base his physiology and pathology on a theory dependent on reason—the previously mentioned view that the body is composed of fragile corpuscles (*anarmoi onkoi*) which move through channels or pores (*poroi*) postulated

<sup>62</sup> Walzer and Frede, *Galen*, p. xxiii.

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by reason but not accessible to observation. In this theory disease was due to a disturbance of the normal situation secondary to abnormal constriction or dilatation of the channels or pores, existing either alone or in combination. These abnormal states were, it would seem, not accessible to observation and therefore could not be experienced, and neither could the causes of the changes. As Methodism evolved, however, through Themison to Thessalus (Galen's *bête noire*) in particular, the theoretical basis was lost sight of and the abnormal states, of which there were only three (constriction, dilatation, and a combination of the two) were regarded as directly observable. Moreover, the trainee doctor could become sufficiently familiar with their manifestations to launch himself into practice within a very short time—the notorious six-month training period. Thus Methodism shed its Rationalist foundation and became a form of Empiricism—truly the Methodics had become “methodless,” as Galen so often states in the *MM*.

Relatively little is known about the Pneumatist school. There is agreement that its founder was Athenaeus of At-taleia, although his dates are unclear and no writings survive, as is the case with other known members, Archigenes of Apamea and Agathinus of Sparta.<sup>63</sup> Some of the writings of Aretaeus of Cappadocia, a contemporary of Galen's, do, however, remain. In adding the role of *pneuma* to that of the four elemental qualities in their considerations of the genesis of health and disease, they display definite links to earlier philosophical thought, particularly to Diogenes of Apollonia and to Stoic physics, as described above. Galen

<sup>63</sup> See M. Wellman, *Die pneumatische Schule bis auf Archigenes in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt* (Berlin, 1895).

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himself incorporated *pneuma* into his physiological and pathological formulations and was, it might be said, sympathetic toward the Pneumatists as a group. Certainly in terms of causation they might be seen as espousing the same basic principles, although differing in specifics, as would be expected. In classification, however, there would clearly be differences. The subjects of Galen's own relation to the Pneumatists, and the extent to which they were defined as a school, would undoubtedly bear further study.

Galen himself did not have any hard-line allegiance to one school or another. He was, he would claim, aware of the advantages and disadvantages of each. Certainly he followed Rationalist principles insofar as his method of medicine was based on a theoretical foundation formulated by reason— notions of the primary elements composing the body, of their anatomical arrangement and the purposes of this, of their physiological functioning, of the range of their various pathological alterations, of the clear definition of terms, of an understanding of the nature and importance of causation, and of the establishment of a comprehensive classification of diseases according to the principle of *diagnosis*. He was, however, also aware of some of the pitfalls of Rationalism as a dogma, writing in his *MM* as follows:

On the other hand, for those who make reason (*logos*) the principle of discovery and order, who propose that this is the one road leading to the goal, there is the necessity to begin from something primary, agreed upon by all men, and in this way then proceed to the rest. They do not in fact do this, but rather the majority take up disputed starting-points, not demonstrating them, and proceed to the rest in

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the same way, laying down the law rather than demonstrating.<sup>64</sup>

Equally, Galen was aware of the importance of experience. In the opening paragraph of his work *On Medical Experience* he writes:<sup>65</sup>

When I take as my standard the opinion held by the most skillful and wisest doctors and the best philosophers of the past, I say: The art of healing was originally invented and discovered by *logos* (reason) in conjunction with experience. And today also it can be practiced excellently and done well by one who employs both of these methods.

Repeatedly in the *MM* Galen refers to the two ways of gaining knowledge: through reason and through experience. Moreover, theoretical formulations, if they are not verified by and in accord with experience, must be rejected, while experience that is not "organized" by reason risks being unsystematic and irrational. One of Galen's major objections to Methodism, at least in the Asclepiadean form, was that it was based on the wrong theoretical foundation. Further, according to Galen, Asclepiades despised experience. The later developments of Methodism, culminating in the work of Thessalus, were clearly more of an anathema to him. In essence the problem was that the Methodics now had no method, as he recurrently states in his *MM*. Somewhat curiously, given the virulence of his criticism of the Methodic sect and Thessalus as its

<sup>64</sup> *Methodus medendi*, X.32K.

<sup>65</sup> See Galen, *On Medical Experience*, in Walzer and Frede, *Galen*, translation after Walzer, p. 47.



self-styled champion, Galen seems to have had no quarrel with Soranus. Nor did he have any major difficulty with the Pneumatists—those differences that are recorded are largely with specific individuals (e.g., Athenaeus) on specific points. The same applies to his differences with the Erasistrateans, although in this case the points of difference are more fundamental. Galen might, then, be best categorized as a small-*e* eclectic, drawing what he saw as relevant from all the schools or sects, and molding it into a method of medicine which is comprehensively expressed in his great therapeutic treatise.

### 3. GALEN'S WRITINGS

Galen's written work is remarkable on at least three counts: its sheer volume, the broad range of its subject matter, and its enduring influence. On the first point, no ancient author of any genre surpasses, or even matches, Galen's prodigious output, although of course much ancient writing has been lost. Also, quantity alone is no guarantee of quality. Nevertheless, Galen's preserved writings account for about 10 percent of all surviving literature in Greek prior to AD 350—and these don't include the considerable proportion of his writings that were also lost, particularly in the fire near the Temple of Peace that occurred in 192.<sup>66</sup> The best early record of Galen's writings is to be found in two of his books, *On My Own Books* and *On the*

<sup>66</sup> See Hankinson, *Cambridge Companion to Galen*, p. 1, and Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, p. 23, regarding the fire. Galen himself refers to the fire in *De libris propriis*, XIX.19K.

*Order of My Own Books*, especially the former. In this, counting multivolume works on a single topic as single treatises, there are 187 separate treatises listed. It is, however, not always clear what constitutes a separate treatise, and not all Galen's writings are included anyway. There are also those works written after Galen wrote *On My Own Books* and works he may have omitted for some reason.

A major portion of Galen's extant writings is preserved today in Carl-Gottlob Kühn's edition of the *Galen Opera Omnia*, first published in the 1820s and most recently reprinted in 1997 in 21 volumes (volumes 17 and 18 are divided into parts A and B; volume 20 is a Latin index separately prepared). In Kühn's edition there are 124 titles. A current listing of these titles marks 23 as spurious and a further 3 as questionable.<sup>67</sup> The genuine works range in length from 3 to 4 pages only (e.g., *On the Causes of Respiration*) to those in excess of 1,000 pages (e.g., *On the Use of the Parts* and the *Method of Medicine* itself).<sup>68</sup> In Ackermann's introduction to Kühn's Galen he lists 100 genuine works, 44 "*libri manifeste spurii*," 19 *fragmenta*, and 18 commentaries on works by Hippocrates.<sup>69</sup> There had been two previous complete Greek editions: the Aldine edition, published in Venice in 1525, and the edition of R. Chartier, published in Paris in 1679. There was also the Giunta edi-

<sup>67</sup> See Hankinson, *Cambridge Companion to Galen*, pp. 391–97.

<sup>68</sup> The references to these works in the Kühn edition are as follows: *De causis respirationis*, IV.465–69K; *De usu partium libri I–XI*, III.1–939K, and *libri XII–XVII*, IV.1–366K; *Methodus medendi*, X.1–1021K.

<sup>69</sup> See Kühn, vol. I, *Historia literaria Cl. Galeni*, pp. lxxvii–clxxxvi.

tion of the Latin Galen, which was published in 1541–1542 with Giovanni Battista da Monte as the general editor. Bylebyl has described this as “perhaps the greatest landmark in the whole movement by Renaissance physicians to bring about a rebirth of ancient Greek medicine in their own time.”<sup>70</sup> Other works are still being discovered, some from Greek and Latin manuscripts and some from Syriac and Arabic sources. López-Férez in 1991 listed 23 such works as well as 26 additional spurious works, while Hankinson in 2008 listed 16 genuine works.<sup>71</sup> The former list does not include all the same titles as the latter. Critical editions of a number of Galen’s works, both those included in Kühn and those from other sources, have appeared in the slowly accumulating *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* series, the first volume of which appeared in 1904 and the most recent in 2001.<sup>72</sup>

Second, the range of subjects covered in Galen’s writings is equally extraordinary. From his first work, some notes on the writings of the Stoic Chrysippus,<sup>73</sup> to the very

<sup>70</sup> See J. J. Bylebyl in F. Kudlien and R. J. Durling, eds., *Galen’s Method of Healing*, Proceedings of the 1982 Galen Symposium (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), p. 173.

<sup>71</sup> J. A. López-Férez, *Galen: Obra, Pensamiento e Influencia* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 326–29; Hankinson, *Cambridge Companion to Galen*, p. 397.

<sup>72</sup> K. Kalbfleisch, *Galen de Causis Contentivis, Scripta Minora*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1904) and D. Nickel, *Galen de Foetuum Formatione* (Berlin, 2001).

<sup>73</sup> Described in *De libris propriis*, XIX.19K; neither Galen’s notes nor Chrysippus’ work are extant.

late, and possibly last, work, *On Theriac to Piso*,<sup>74</sup> he covered the entire range of practical medicine and its basic sciences and made important original contributions. He wrote extensively on the medical schools and sects and produced detailed commentaries on earlier works, particularly those of Hippocrates, as well as writing on theoretical and nonclinical aspects of medicine. On philosophical topics his range was also very wide, although he was particularly preoccupied with the works and ideas of Plato and Aristotle. There were also a number of works on Stoic and Epicurean philosophy as well as on other general philosophical topics. Finally, there was a miscellaneous group of writings which includes works on lexicography, linguistic matters, politics, comedy, education, and writing. Needless to say, such a prodigious output must have precluded detailed revision of individual works, while the nature of book production at the time and Galen’s own somewhat itinerant way of life meant that he did not have all his previous works to hand when writing a new treatise. As a consequence, his writings display repetition, prolixity, and lack of accurate cross-referencing. In addition, given the scope of his work, the depth of the author’s familiarity with and experience in the wide range of topics he covers is, not surprisingly, quite variable. Also, as many have remarked, his writing is strongly tinged with his own high opinion of himself and a correspondingly low opinion of perceived adversaries on whatever topic. While his vigorous and col-

<sup>74</sup> See Kühn XIV.210–94K: this work is listed by López-Férez, *Galen*, as spurious, although Nutton regards it as probably authentic; see Nutton, *Western Medical Tradition*, p. 63.

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orful attacks on his opponents make for entertaining reading, they may come at the expense of reasoned argument. In his *MM* these verbal assaults are directed almost entirely at Thessalus and Methodics generally. All in all, however, his writings are of inestimable value, not only for the ideas they contain and the detailed account of the medical practice of the time which they provide, but also because they constitute an invaluable source of information on the no longer extant works of other writers.

Third, the influence of Galen's writings has been considerable and continuous, extending to the present day, albeit with inevitable peaks and troughs and also differences in how and on whom the influence was or is being felt. Only a few brief comments will be made here on what is a subject of considerable magnitude in its own right. In the later part of the second century, particularly as Galen's career evolved and his written output grew to the substantial proportions mentioned above, the conclusion must be that his was one of the dominant voices (if not the most dominant) on all matters medical throughout the wide area of the Roman Empire. A true evaluation of just how dominant is difficult or impossible to arrive at, given that the major (and almost only) source of information is Galen himself. What can be said is that a measure of the importance of his writings in the several centuries after his death is gained from the extensive inclusion of his ideas and methods in the works of the medical "encyclopedists" of the time that do remain extant—men such as Oribasius (ca. 350–400), Aetius of Amida (ca. 500–550), and Paul of Aegina (ca. 630–670).

By the sixth century Galen's core treatises on the theory

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and practice of medicine had been gathered together in what became known as the Galenic or Alexandrian canon, comprising the following works:

1. On [Medical] Sects—*De sectis ad eos introducuntur* (I.64–105K)
2. The Medical Art—*Ars medica* (I.305–412K)
3. Synopsis on Pulses—*Synopsis de pulsibus* (IX.431–549K)
4. The Method of Medicine, to Glaucon—*Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi* (XI.1–146K)
5. Collection 1 (on anatomy)—On Bones for Beginners (*De ossibus ad tirones*, II.732–78K); On the Anatomy of Arteries and Veins (*De venarum arteriarumque dissectione*, II.779–830K); On the Anatomy of Nerves (*De nervorum dissectione*, II.831–56K); On the Anatomy of Muscles (*De musculorum dissectione*, XVIII.B.926–1026K)
6. On the Elements according to Hippocrates—*De elementis secundum Hippocratem* (I.413–508K)
7. On Mixtures (*Kraseis*)—*De temperamentis* (I.509–694K)
8. On the Physical Capacities (Natural Faculties)—*De naturalibus facultatibus* (II.1–214K)
9. Collection 2 (on diseases and symptoms)—On the Differentiae of Diseases (*De morborum differentitis*, VI.836–80K); On the Causes of Diseases (*De causis morborum*, VII.1–41K); On the Differentiae of Symptoms (*De symptomatum differentitis*, VII.42–84K); On the Causes of Symptoms (*De symptomatum causis*, VII.85–272K)

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10. On the Affected Parts—*De locis affectis* (VIII.1–452K)
11. Collection 3 (on pulses)—On the Differentiae of Pulses (*De differentiis pulsuum*, VIII.493–765K); On Diagnosis by the Pulses (*De dignoscendibus pulsibus*, VIII.766–961K); On the Causes of Pulses (*De causis pulsuum*, IX.1–204K); On Prognosis from the Pulses (*De praesagitione ex pulsibus*, IX.205–430K)
12. On the Differentiae of Fevers—*De febrium differentiis* (VII.273–405K)
13. On Crises—*De crisiis* (IX.550–768K)
14. On Critical Days—*De diebus decretoriis* (IX.769–941K)
15. The Method of Medicine—*Methodus medendi* (X.1–1021K)
16. On the Preservation of Health—*De sanitate tuenda* (VI.1–452K)

Around this time the ongoing process of translation began—a process that was critical for the preservation of a substantial percentage of Galen's remarkable output. At the risk of oversimplification, five stages may be identified in the history of the translation and preservation of Galen's works:

1. The translation of the components of the Alexandrian canon from Greek to Syriac by Sergius of Resaena in the sixth century.
2. The major program particularly attributed to the Christian doctor Hunain ibn Ishâq (died 873), which resulted in the translation of 129 works into Syriac and Arabic during the ninth century.

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3. The progressive translation of the majority of Galen's extant works from Greek, Syriac, and Arabic into Latin which began in the eleventh century with men such as Constantine the African (fl. ca. 1080), Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), and Burgundio of Pisa (d. 1193). This culminated in the veritable explosion of Latin translation which marked the period from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century and involved such notable translators as Niccolò de Reggio (active 1304–1350), Niccolò Leoniceo (1428–1524), and Thomas Linacre (ca. 1460–1524).
4. The preparation of the two versions of the complete works with both Greek and Latin texts, the first by René Chartier in 1679 in Paris and the second by Carl-Gottlob Kühn in Leipzig from 1821 to 1833.
5. The preparation of critical editions of individual treatises and the translation of a goodly number into modern European languages, the latter starting particularly with Daremberg's French translations of 1854 and the former with the beginning of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* at the start of the twentieth century. This movement has gathered considerable pace in the last fifty or so years, such that in the recent *Cambridge Companion to Galen* edited by Hankinson (2008) there are no fewer than 89 translations since 1950, although some are of the same work.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> See Hankinson, *Cambridge Companion to Galen*, pp. 391–403.

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Before giving a brief overview of the *MM* itself, it is useful to consider the key works which provide the theoretical basis for Galen's great practical text—works which for the most part (but not altogether) coincide with those comprising the Alexandrian canon listed above. In fact, Galen refers to over forty of his own works in the course of his *MM*. There is, however, a smaller subgroup, the constituents of which are frequently referred to. These are the works most pertinent to the theoretical basis of Galen's method or system of medicine generally and treatment in particular or, in the case of the works on medications and his *On the Preservation of Health*, to its application. These works, listed in note 1 above, include *On the Elements according to Hippocrates* (which details his views on the elemental composition of the body); the anatomical works, *On Anatomical Procedures* and *On the Use of the Parts*; the physiological works on *krasis* and its abnormalities and on the physical or natural capacities; and the work of pathology *On the Affected Parts*. The most frequently cited works are, however, those on medications—that on the composition and potency of a wide range of simple medications and the two long treatises on compound medications, one on the relationship to the parts to which they are applied and one on the classes of such medications. There is also mention of a probable earlier work on medications that has not survived. Reference to his work *On the Preservation of Health* is frequent and to the lost work, *On Demonstration*, infrequent. There are also several references to the work on medical nomenclature recovered from the Arabic.

In addition to these works, the four treatises on the

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classification and causation of diseases and symptoms should also be regarded as important components of the theoretical foundation of his system of medicine and are frequently referred to. In fact, this group is perhaps the most important of Galen's other works as far as the *MM* is concerned, for two reasons. First, the key definitions (*vide infra*) which form a significant part of these four short treatises are of critical importance for his *MM* and are restated, albeit in a somewhat less systematic and more discursive manner, in the opening two books of that work. Second, the system of classification of diseases set out in his work *On the Differentiae of Diseases* forms the basis for the arrangement of the work on treatment. In summary, then, Galen makes quite clear, in the course of his *MM*, exactly which of his works the practitioner must be thoroughly familiar with if he is to put the method to use successfully in his own practice.

### 4. GALEN'S METHOD

In his *MM* Galen aims to establish a rational methodology which would allow the doctor to select the appropriate treatment for a particular disease in a particular patient and to modify this treatment in a rational manner according to the course of events. However, the *MM* is certainly not a therapeutic recipe book simply listing treatments for the whole range of diseases set out in an *a capite ad calcem* arrangement. And although it does contain anecdotal observations, case reports, and various polemical and other digressions, among all these "distractions" it does articulate a well-conceived methodology. This methodology is,

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moreover, necessarily based on a sound theoretical foundation—one which can only be established by a thoroughgoing knowledge of the basic medical sciences. To acquire this, the methodical practitioner must acquaint himself with a group of treatises, predominantly Galenic but also those of other notables, such as Hippocrates and Plato. Galen refers to the components of this group of treatises repeatedly in the course of his *MM*.

The initial requirement for the doctor who would practice this method is an understanding of the basic structure of the human body. This involves two levels: the fundamental components and their organization into recognizable structures. Galen is quite unequivocal in his position on the fundamental components. They are the four elemental qualities (hot, cold, moist, and dry), which are related on the one hand to the four elements (fire, water, air, and earth), and on the other hand to the four humors (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile) (see Figure 1). He espoused, then, a continuum theory of matter—a theory which can be traced back to Empedocles. Galen quite clearly identified the originators of his received concepts of basic structure as Hippocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and especially the first. His own statement of the theory is to be found primarily in his *On the Elements according to Hippocrates* and *On Hippocrates' Nature of Man*. Both are works in which he elaborates on Hippocrates' own *Nature of Man*. In the opening paragraph of his work *On Mixtures (Temperaments; vide infra)* he writes: "Animal bodies are a mixture of hot, cold, moist, and dry and these qualities are not mixed equally in each case. In ancient times this was satisfactorily demonstrated by the best doctors and philosophers. There is also a work of mine covering the apparent

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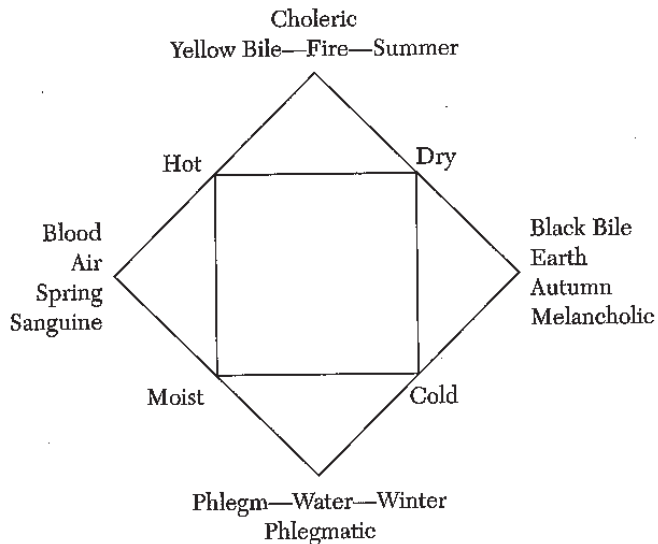


Figure 1. A diagrammatic representation of the Hippocratic humoral system based on his *On the Nature of Man*—following H. Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1961.

facts of the case. It is the one in which I investigate the elements according to Hippocrates."<sup>76</sup>

What Galen implacably opposed were Atomist theories, which postulated that matter in general was composed of minute discrete particles, all similar, existing and moving in an empty space or void—theories originating

<sup>76</sup> *De temperamentis*, I.509K.

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with Leucippus (460–420 BC) and Democritus of Abdera (440–380 BC). These primary entities, the elements, were taken to be indestructible, immutable, and impassable in themselves, forming the identifiable structures of the world by their unending associations and disassociations. This was the theory first applied specifically to medicine by Asclepiades of Bithynia (ca. 120–90 BC). It was a theory unequivocally repudiated by Hippocrates, and so by Galen.

At the macroscopic level of the animal body, the four elemental qualities were conceived of as being inherent in the anatomical structures identifiable by dissection. In general, for Galen there were essentially two forms of organization of these anatomical structures—*homoiomeres*, or uniform parts, and organic (i.e., instrumental) parts or organs. Examples of the former are muscle, bone, and cartilage; examples of the latter are heart, liver, and lungs. The structure and arrangement of the bodily components, themselves composed of the four elemental qualities inherent in their substance, are set out in Galen's various major and minor anatomical treatises. In his *On the Use of the Parts* he considers not only the structure but also the function of all the organic parts and articulates his Aristotelian teleology. Specifically, and contrary to the Erasistratean position, his view is that every part of the body has a particular function.<sup>77</sup> On the subject of gross anatomy, although Galen made significant discoveries in his own right, he drew heavily on the prior work of Aristotle and the two great Alexandrian anatomists, Herophilus and Erasistra-

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, *De usu partium*, Book 4, chapter 15 (May, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, vol. 1, p. 232).

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tus, however much he may have differed from the latter on the issue of the physiological functioning of the anatomical structures identified.

The key components of Galen's own physiological scheme are set out in three works multiply referred to in his *MM: On Mixtures (Kraseis)*, *On the Natural Faculties (Physical Capacities)*, and *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato*. However, a full appreciation of Galen's views on physiology requires the study of quite a number of other, shorter treatises—for example, those on the pulse and respiration. The essential elements of his physiology, required for an understanding of his overall method of medicine, are as follows. All parts of the body, whether *homoiomeros* or organic, have a certain *krasis*, or mixture of the four elemental qualities. Although this *krasis* may vary from part to part and from individual to individual, there is an optimum "state" (or perhaps range of "states") in each case which is necessary for the healthy functioning of the part or the organism as a whole. This "state" may be described as a "condition" (*diathesis*), "constitution" (*kataskeue*), "state" (*hexis*), or "state" (*schesis*), and the homeostatic (to borrow a modern term) mechanisms of the body are designed to maintain all parts and organs within the range of a satisfactory *krasis* in terms of their functions/actions.

Next, it is important to recognize that the animal body is divided into three major functional systems:

1. The brain, spinal cord, and nerves, both cranial and spinal; these are responsible for motor and sensory functions.
2. The heart and arteries; these are responsible for the

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vital force and preservation of the innate heat (*vide infra*).

3. The liver and veins; these are responsible for the nutrition of all the bodily parts.

Other structures are subsidiary to and dependent on these main systems and their components. Further, the working of such a system is dependent on its *dunamis* (capacity, faculty, power), and there may be more than one *dunamis* per system. Galen recognizes the imprecision of his fundamental concept of *dunamis*, writing in his *On the Natural Faculties (Physical Capacities)*:<sup>78</sup>

The so-called *haematopoietic* faculty in the veins, then, as well as all the other faculties, fall within the category of relative concepts; primarily because the faculty is the cause of the activity, but also, accidentally, because it is the cause of the effect. But if the cause is relative to something—for it is the cause of what results from it, and of nothing else—it is obvious that the faculty also falls into the category of the relative; and so long as we are ignorant of the true essence of the cause which is operating, we call it a faculty.

Nonetheless, the concept of *dunamis* is critical to Galen's physiology. Initiated by their capacities, the various structures carry out their functions (*energeiai*), which become manifest in their actions (*erga*). For example, the stom-

<sup>78</sup> *De naturalibus facultatibus*, Book I, chapter 4 (II.9–10K); translation after A. J. Brock, *Galen on the Natural Faculties*, LCL (with minor modifications).

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ach, which Galen often uses to exemplify a mechanism or concept and which is a component in the third (vegetative, nutritive) system, “attracts” the ingested food through its attractive capacity, retains it while it is being processed through its retentive capacity, alters it in this process through its alterative capacity, and then passes it on through its expulsive capacity. The nutriment, so processed in the stomach, then moves on to the liver (the headquarters, as it were, of the nutritive system), and the process of transformation into blood is set in motion. This allows the food to provide nutrition for the other structures of the body. This triad of *dunamis* (capacity), *energeia* (function), and *ergon* (action) is, then, one critical component of Galen's physiology.

Two other factors that are also of major importance are *pneuma* (or really *pneumas*) and innate heat. In the *MM* Galen states that there are three *pneumas*, one associated with each of the three major systems identified above. There is a psychic *pneuma*, a vital *pneuma*, and a physical *pneuma*. Ultimately these *pneumas* are derived from the inspired air and are distributed by the arterial system but may undergo modification before being distributed within their respective systems. Thus the *pneuma* is “processed” in the *rete mirabile* at the base of the brain (a structure which Galen did not realize was absent in the human) before becoming the psychic *pneuma* and entering the brain to be distributed by the nerves. For health, the system of *pneumas* needs to be functioning in a normal way.

“Innate heat” is another key concept which Galen inherited from his ancient authorities, in this instance Hippocrates and particularly Aristotle. He considered this innate heat to have its seat in the heart and arteries and to be



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supplied in the formation of the fetus, as the following statement indicates:

We do not posit masses and pores as elements in the body, nor do we declare that heat comes from motion or friction or some other cause. Rather, we suppose the whole body breathes and flows together, the heat not acquired or subsequent to the generation of the animal, but itself first, original and innate. This is nothing other than the nature and soul of life so that you would not be wrong in thinking heat to be a self-moving and constantly moving substance.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, the innate heat is located centrally in the heart, its maintenance is aided by respiration, and it is distributed to the rest of the body through the arteries. However, unlike the other aspects of Galenic physiology previously mentioned, it does not play a large role in his treatment methods as described in the *MM*.

Galen details his views on pathology in three works referred to in the *MM* as required reading for students of that treatise. In the first two works he sets out his pathophysiology, which is based on the concept of *dyskrasia*. In general terms, a *dyskrasia* may arise from a change in the balance of the elemental qualities occurring within the substance of the involved part itself from either internal or external causes or from an inflow of material (flux) which alters the balance, or from a combination of both. He divides the *dyskrasias* into those that are "regular" and those that are "irregular." In the regular *dyskrasias* there is uni-

<sup>79</sup> *De tremor, palpitatione, convulsion et rigore*, VII.616K.

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formity in the imbalance of the four elemental qualities that involves the part or the whole. There are eight possible *dyskrasias* of this sort: four "simple" *dyskrasias*, in which there is a preponderance of one elemental quality (hot, cold, moist, or dry) only, and four "compound" *dyskrasias*, in which there is a preponderance of one of the four possible combinations (hot and moist, hot and dry, cold and moist, cold and dry). These regular *dyskrasias* are described in the work on *krasis* itself (*De temperamentis*), which also describes the normal physiology, in the work *On the Causes of Diseases*, and in the final book (Book 6) of *On the Preservation of Health*. The irregular *dyskrasias*, which are the subject of a short treatise entitled *On Irregular Dyskrasias*, are those in which more than one form of *dyskrasia* exists in different parts of the patient at the same time. He notes in this work that there is an unspecified number of such *dyskrasias*. Importantly, also, in Galen's scheme, *dyskrasias* are the agents of disturbances of the soul, i.e., mental symptoms and diseases. In the third work, which is his major treatise on anatomical pathology, *On the Affected Parts*, Galen begins with two books on issues of diagnosis considered particularly from a topographical viewpoint. The remaining four books then deal with diseases according to an anatomical division.

A further group of treatises of particular importance for the foundation of his method are the four works on the classification and causation of diseases and symptoms. They are important for the following four reasons.

1. They set out definitions of the essential terms for the *MM*: health (*hygieia*), disease (*nosos*), affection (*pathos*), symptom (*symptoma*), condition (*diathesis*),

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- function (*energeia*), and according to/contrary to nature (*kata phusin/para phusin*).
2. The two works on differentiae of diseases and symptoms establish a comprehensive classification of the conditions that require treatment.
  3. The two works on causation of diseases and symptoms analyze the mode of causation of these abnormalities on the premise that every change from accord with nature to contrary to nature has one or more causes, recognizable (at least potentially) by either reason or observation.
  4. There are descriptions of a wide variety of diseases and symptoms which help the doctor's understanding of the mechanisms of the diseases he must treat.

Next, and penultimately, there are the three substantial treatises on pharmacology—one on the *krasis* and potency of a large number of simple medications and two on compound medications, one of which is organized according to the classes of materials and the other according to the affected places for which they are to be used.<sup>60</sup> Apart from the obvious need for knowledge of the basic makeup and availability of the medications, the methodical doctor must have a knowledge of their various potencies, means of application, ease of penetration into tissues, and side effects.

The final book that Galen refers to repeatedly in the

<sup>60</sup> These are, respectively, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* (XI.379–892K and XII.1–377K), *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* (XII.378–1007K and XIII.1–361K), and *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* (XIII.362–1058K).

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MM is his work *On the Preservation of Health*. In the opening paragraph of the present introduction, the division of the doctor's function into prophylactic and therapeutic components is noted as a point of emphasis for Galen. Obviously this work is primarily concerned with the prophylactic, but both prophylaxis and treatment depend on the same theoretical foundation, so it can be seen as a necessary complement to his *MM* in the comprehensive functioning of the doctor. Moreover, in his *On the Preservation of Health*, there is no small amount of pathological and therapeutic information.

In summary, then, in working by method (that is, Galen's method), the doctor comes to the patient with a firm commitment to a continuum theory of matter in his understanding of the structure of the human body. He is equipped also with a thorough grounding in anatomy and physiology. The sick patient is going to be suffering from one (or perhaps more) of the diseases from among the three classes of Galen's basic classification: a disturbance of *krasis* of a part or the whole; an organic disease involving size, number, conformation, or position; or a dissolution of continuity affecting either an *homotomerous* or an organic part. A diagnosis needs to be made which includes the nature of the disease and the part or parts affected. Possible causal factors need to be identified and evaluated. Other factors must be taken into account—factors such as the patient's age, habitus, and customs and the place and climatic conditions. As far as possible an assessment should be made of the individual characteristics of the patient when healthy, although Galen recognizes the inevitable inexactitude in such an assessment.

Having made this comprehensive evaluation, the doc-

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tor must arrive at the sum total of therapeutic indications. If there is only one indication—for example, cooling for a hot *dyskrasia*—the matter may be relatively simple. If there are multiple indications, an order of priority needs to be established. Treatment measures can then be initiated. When medications are to be used, their compositions and potencies must be known. The overriding objectives in each of the three classes of diseases are, respectively, as follows:

1. Restoration of a normal *krasis* in the simple or compound *dyskrasias*, usually through the exhibition of opposites.
2. Restoration of an accord with nature in organic parts that are contrary to nature in terms of size, number, conformation, or position—at least if the change is sufficient to interfere with function. This may involve surgery or other measures, depending on circumstances.
3. Restoration of continuity or union where there is dissolution of continuity or union. This may involve surgical measures directly with appropriate post-operative care (e.g., immobilization in a fracture) or treatment by medications and other measures in cases such as infected wounds or chronic ulcers.

In addition, symptoms consequent to the primary disease can be treated with symptomatic measures. Examples are the symptoms that may accompany fevers, which Galen covers in Book 12 of his *MM*. If the treatment measures are proving ineffectual, or even harmful, the situation can be reevaluated theoretically (i.e. the concept of the disease mechanism and its causation) and on the basis of prior ex-

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perience. Then new approaches to therapy can be devised until the desired outcome is achieved. It is also of importance for the doctor to make an accurate assessment of prognosis as far as possible, both to inform the patient and to guide the treatment. This, in its briefest essence, is Galen's method of medicine as articulated in the work of that name.

### 5. THE METHOD OF MEDICINE (*MM*)

This is the work that sets out Galen's method of medical practice most completely. Buried in the middle of Book 9 of this treatise, Galen makes the following statement about his composition of the *MM*:

You shouldn't be surprised, then, that although I bear witness to Hippocrates' discovery of the therapeutic method, I myself turned my hand to writing this particular treatise. I came to this book, as I said a little earlier, not because the method itself was entirely undiscovered but because it was lacking in some respects, since I found that none of my predecessors had completed the method. Indeed, some did not know it at all while those who did know it were unable to add what was lacking. (633K)

Of course, much ancient writing has been lost, and medical treatises are no exception. But certainly in what we have remaining there is no comparable systematic exposition of a complete method of medical practice. The *MM* is complete not in the sense of considering all diseases in a "head to heel" arrangement but insofar as the underlying theory is established and the method formulated on

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the basis of this theory in relation to all classes of disease in Galen's own classification. Paradigmatic conditions are considered and principles are illustrated by case reports. The underlying message is that if the student is able to gain a thorough grasp of these principles, clarified by the examples of their application, he will then be able to confront any disease which comes before him in a reasoned and effective manner. The *MM* reads like a handbook for an experienced practicing doctor—a postgraduate text rather than a text for medical students, which would fit with its variable and somewhat restricted use in later teaching establishments.

The work itself has a somewhat curious initial history, having been written in two parts whose composition was separated by an interval of approximately twenty years. The first part, comprising Books 1–6 and dedicated to Hiero, was probably completed in the first half of the 170s, a decade of great literary production for Galen. We know essentially nothing about Hiero, the dedicatee, although Nutton speculates that he “must be assumed to have been an extremely competent practitioner, and we are told by Galen that he had a detailed knowledge of anatomy and a long-standing and intimate acquaintance with Galen and other doctors.”<sup>81</sup> One may assume also that Hiero studied with Galen and accompanied him on his rounds, at least in some instances. The second part, comprising Books 7–14, was dedicated to Eugenianus, also a doctor and friend who, like Hiero, seems to have witnessed Galen at work. The reason given by Galen at the beginning of Book 7 for

<sup>81</sup> V. Nutton in Kudlien and Durling, *Galen's Method of Healing*, p. 5.

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his initial abandonment of the project—that Hiero had died while abroad—is hardly likely to have been the whole story. The date of composition of the second part is uncertain but is quite probably in the 190s (even the late 190s) and after the writing of the three major works on pharmacology, which are frequently referred to throughout these last eight books.

So the two parts were separated in time of composition by approximately two decades. Nevertheless, the transition between them is relatively seamless,<sup>82</sup> and the overall structure of the work is such that the later part takes up where the first part left off in terms of Galen's scheme of classification, with only a minor preamble to the new dedicatee. The earlier part finishes with the completion of the books on the treatment of diseases of dissolution of continuity which affect both *homoiomerous* and organic parts. The later part starts with disorders of *krasis* which essentially affect *homoiomerous* structures and concludes with disorders of organic parts involving particularly abnormalities of magnitude, number, position, and conformation. Three points of note are: (a) the overall sequence of theory, dissolution of continuity, *dyskrasias*, and diseases of organic parts; (b) the particular attention given to fevers in the section on *dyskrasias*; (c) the impression of poor organization and haste of composition of the final two books, which may simply indicate the author's wish to bring the massive work to completion as he advanced through his seventh decade or, perhaps, that he was in-

<sup>82</sup> One noticeable difference is the more practical and less polemical tone of the later-written part, and perhaps a higher proportion of case reports.

tending to deal with these matters at greater length in a planned work on surgical treatment, this being a major component of treatment of many (although by no means all) of these problems. The contents of the subdivisions are summarized below, while the subject matter of each chapter of each book is outlined in the synopses of content preceding each volume.

**Section 1: Theory (Books 1 and 2):** The first two books establish the theoretical foundation of Galen's system of medicine generally and his method of treatment more specifically. This involves stating the definitions of the basic concepts and entities: health, disease, affection, condition, symptom, function, and action. Galen considers the important aspects of causation, touches on the basic division between *homotomeres* and organic parts, and gives some account of the theory of the four elemental qualities and the role of their imbalance (*dyskrasia*) in the creation of disease. He also refers to his classifications of diseases and symptoms. A particular feature of these two books is their polemical nature, incorporating vicious and at times *ad hominem* attacks on individuals and sects whose theories run counter to Galen's own. Such attacks are especially directed at Thessalus and the Methodic sect, but the followers of Erasistratus and the Empirics are by no means immune. The polemic is adorned with bravura literary flourishes and is accompanied by lamentation about the overall decline of the standards of medical practice in general.

**Section 2: Diseases Due to Disorder of Continuity (Books 3–6):** Book 3 begins with a consideration of "indication" (*endeixis*), a factor which is fundamental to treatment decisions. There is also some consideration of how

knowledge is acquired—it must either be through reason or through experience. Galen deals in order with the management of simple wounds, wounds or ulcers with a cavity, tissue loss (in particular skin loss), overgrowth of flesh (exuberant granulation tissue), and the ichors (serous fluids) that may flow from a wound. Book 4 is primarily concerned with the management of chronic wounds and ulcers in both superficial and deep structures. The concepts of *kakoethia* (chronicity, "malignancy") and *kakochymia* (a bad state of the humors) are introduced. Also stressed is the need to insure that the tissue underlying or surrounding a wound or ulcer is in good condition if healing is to be achieved. Several specific components of treatment—particularly purging and phlebotomy—are discussed in detail. In the opening section of Book 5 Galen focuses on the essential processes of the healing of wounds and ulcers (dissolution of continuity): bringing about union (conglutination), creating new flesh (enfleshing), reduction of excess flesh, and scar formation (cicatrization). The management of hemorrhage from various sites is considered in the later chapters. Finally, there is detailed discussion of the treatment of wounds and ulcers in the respiratory structures—the upper and lower airways and the lungs themselves. In Book 6 there is consideration of inflammation in wounds and ulcers, its effects, and its management. Then, sequentially, Galen deals with the treatment of wounds of nerves/sinews, ligaments, the abdomen, fractures of long bones, and skull fractures.

**Section 3: Diseases Due to *Dyskrasia*, Including Fevers (Books 7–12):** *Dyskrasias* are diseases of *homotomeres*. The concept of *dyskrasia* depends on the theory of the four qualities (hot, cold, moist, and dry) as the elemen-

tal components of structure. In theory, there is *eukrasia* and there are eight possible *dyskrasias*—four “simple” *dyskrasias*, involving a preponderance of one only of the four qualities, and four “compound” *dyskrasias*, involving a preponderance of one of the nonexclusive pair of qualities—that is, hot and moist, hot and dry, cold and moist, and cold and dry. In Book 7 the treatment of *dyskrasias* in general is considered, with particular focus on the *homotomerous* components of the stomach as an example. In general terms, *dyskrasia* can be due to a change occurring primarily within the affected structure itself or to inflowing material adversely affecting the proper balance (*krasis*) of the qualities. Book 8 begins with a detailed consideration of fever, which is identified as a particular form of hot *dyskrasia*. Stoppage of the skin pores is seen as a key factor in the causation of fever. The last sections of Book 8 are devoted to the first kind (*differentia*) of fever—the ephemeral fever. The essential features of this are that it has only a single paroxysm and the total duration of the fever is one day. In Book 9, Galen turns to continuous (synochial, nonintermittent) fevers, which may also be termed polyhemeral. These fevers have a single continuous paroxysm extending over a number of days. A crucial factor in their causation is putrefaction of humors. Important in the management of such fevers are the patient’s strength or capacity (*dunamis*), the use of phlebotomy, and the taking of cold water. Book 10 returns to a general consideration of the treatment of fevers. There is particular focus on the role of fasting in causing and prolonging such fevers. Several case reports are provided to illustrate and support Galen’s arguments. In the concluding chapters of Book 10 attention is given to hectic fevers. Book 11 is primarily

concerned with the treatment of continuous fevers caused by putrefaction of humors. The essential component of their treatment is opposition—for example, the opposition of cold to heat. The differences in the three kinds of fever—ephemeral, polyhemeral due to putrefaction of humors, and continuous—are outlined and their implications for treatment discussed. Specific and detailed consideration is given to the treatment of putrefaction. Book 12 is devoted to the symptoms which may accompany fevers and their management. The two main symptoms considered are syncope and pain.

**Section 4: Diseases Due to Abnormal Swellings/ Diseases of Organic Parts (Books 13–14):** Book 13 is almost entirely about inflammation—how it is caused and, in particular, how it is to be treated. Which part is inflamed has an important bearing on treatment. Several different parts are considered: liver, spleen, head (brain and eye). Book 14 begins with the treatment of erysipelas, starting with the features that distinguish it from inflammation. Scirrhus and edematous swellings are then considered, followed by the treatment of the specific swellings involving the penis (priapism) and tongue. Other swellings discussed include “malignant” pustules (*anthrakes*), glandular (scrofulous) swellings, and abscesses. There is then consideration of diseases due to either excess or deficiency. The main example of the former is obesity. Examples of the latter include congenital absence of tissue (missing digits, hypospadias) and focal or general atrophy. The final three chapters concern, respectively, the treatment of various kinds of warts, hair problems (alopecia, baldness, *ptilosis*), and the eyes (pterygium, chalazion, cataract). At the very end there is a brief mention of the

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treatment of gastrointestinal worm infestations. Nutton's comment on Book 14—that it “resembles a very hasty combination of stray thoughts and lacks any strong central core, either thematic or paradigmatic”<sup>83</sup>—is entirely apt.

Galen's *MM* is, then, a systematic account of medical treatment and its underlying theory and methodology. By no means every disease is considered, nor is every remedy or form of treatment. The assumption is that if the student has grasped the principles and their method of application, if he knows how to further his own knowledge and expertise by a judicious mix of theoretical formulation and practical experience, and if he has access to Galen's pharmacological texts and the other specific treatises mentioned above, and if he studies them assiduously, he is equipped to practice medicine in a rational and successful fashion.

What subsequently happened to this great tome on the practice of medicine? Certainly many of Galen's methods were preserved in the writings of the medical encyclopedists during the several centuries immediately following his death. The fate of the work as a whole from then on may be briefly recounted in relation to the sequence given below. The *MM* was included in the Syriac and Arabic translations listed as the first two stages of the translation/preservation process. Specifically, it was included in Sergius' translations in the sixth century and in those of Hunain ibn Ishâq in the ninth century. It was then translated into Latin by all three of the eleventh- and twelfth-century translators, as follows: (a) by Constantine the African from the Greek as the *Megategni*, which was a paraphrastic trans-

<sup>83</sup> See Nutton, in Kudlien and Durling, *Galen's Method of Healing*, p. 8.

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lation of the whole work; (b) by Gerard of Cremona as the *De ingenio sanitate*, which was a translation from the Arabic of the whole work; (c) by Burgundio of Pisa as the *Terapeutika*, which was a translation from the Greek of Part 2 (i.e., Books 7–14) minus the last part of Book 14.

Subsequent translations have been few in number and mostly partial. They are listed below in chronological order.

1. The important translation of the whole work from Greek into Latin by Thomas Linacre. This went through fifteen printings between 1519 and 1609 and was, with minor modifications, used for the Latin versions in the collected works edited by Chartier and Kühn.
2. The translation of Books 3–6 into English by the surgeon Thomas Gale, printed in London in 1586.
3. The translation of the whole work into English (albeit with parts of each chapter omitted—essentially the polemical passages and other digressions) by Peter English, printed in Edinburgh in 1656.
4. Four translations of parts of Books 1 and 2 into German as dissertations presented between 1898 and 1900 (three in Berlin and one in Kiel).<sup>84</sup>
5. The translation of Books 1 and 2 into English with detailed commentary by R. J. Hankinson, published in 1991.
6. The translation of Books 1 and 2 into French by J. Boulogne, published in 1992.

<sup>84</sup> For bibliographical details of these three short dissertations, see J. Boulogne (2009), p. 35.

7. The translation of the whole work into French by J. Boulogne, published in Paris in 2009.

## 6. TERMINOLOGY

Despite Galen's repeated protestations that names are not important and that it is only matters that matter, he devotes considerable attention to the definition of a group of key terms in the opening two books of his *MM* and particularly in his four treatises on the classification and causation of diseases and symptoms and his work on nomenclature specifically, all of which are referred to on a number of occasions in his *MM*.<sup>85</sup> It is essential for the doctor to have a clear concept of what actually constitutes health and disease and their concomitants if he is to perform his prophylactic and therapeutic tasks adequately. What follows is a series of definitions of and comments on the important terms in Galen's method, divided into three sections: basic definitions, transliterated terms, and other, translated terms of significance.

### *Basic Definitions*

**Health** (*ὑγίεια*): First, for Galen, health is something that positively exists; it is not just the absence of disease. He attacks the Methodic Olympicus in Book 2 of the *MM* (X.137K) because he takes the latter position. Two definitions of health are offered by Galen in his *On the Dif-*

<sup>85</sup> The last is *De nominibus medicis*; see M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, *Galen über die medizinischen Namen* (Arabic text, German translation, Berlin, 1931).

*ferentiae of Diseases*; one is functional and the other structural, as follows:<sup>86</sup>

1. Health exists when the functions (*energeiai*) of the body are in accord with nature (*kata phusin*).
2. Health exists when the constitution (*kataskoeue*) of the organs by which the body functions is in accord with nature (*kata phusin*).

However, understanding of these definitions depends on the definitions of the constituent terms: function, constitution, and accord with nature. In terms of Galen's own concepts of structure and function, the definition of health in the pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae* is perhaps more enlightening: "Health is a *eukrasia* in accord with nature of the primary humors in us or the unhindered functioning of the natural capacities (*dunamets*). Health is a *eukrasia* of the four primary elemental qualities from which the body is composed (i.e., hot, cold, moist, and dry)."<sup>87</sup> Whether there is also a third, intermediate condition between health and disease is an issue not addressed in either the *MM* or the four treatises on diseases and symptoms. It is, however, considered at some length in Galen's *Art of Medicine* (I.307–313K).

**Disease** (*νόσος, νόσημα*): Like health, disease for Galen is a specific entity. Again, both structural and functional definitions are offered in the treatise *On the Differentiae of Diseases*—disease is "either some constitution contrary to nature or a cause of damaged function" (VI.837–8K). Disease, then, occurs when the balance of

<sup>86</sup> *De differentiis morborum*, VI.836–37K.

<sup>87</sup> *Definitiones medicae*, XIX.382K.



the primary constituents of the body, whether these be the four elemental qualities or humors, or something else (e.g., particles and pores on the Methodic scheme), are disturbed to such an extent as to harm function. However, function can also be harmed by structural changes at a macroscopic level, as in organic diseases where there are abnormalities of size, number, position, or conformation, or where there is dissolution of continuity.

**Affection** (πάθος, πάθημα): In Urmson's modern definition relating particularly to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, V.21 (1022b15–21), an affection is "what happens to anything that undergoes, suffers or experiences anything."<sup>88</sup> In this sense an affection is not necessarily pathological. Indeed, the distinction between health, disease, and affection is not altogether clear despite Galen's statement to the contrary.<sup>89</sup> Nor is the distinction between affection (*pathos*) and condition (*diathesis*; *vide infra*) clear, although it might be said that the former is a change in progress while the latter is an established change.

**Symptom** (σύμπτωμα): Galen provides a detailed definition of "symptom" in Book 1 of his *MM*, which prompts Hankinson to write: "This (i.e. symptom) is a type of [condition/*diathesis*], that is of a body or part of a body constituted in a certain way, but one which has no causal bearing on any of the *energeiai* (i.e. functions). It will be apparent from this that a *symptomata* differs from its contemporary homophone, either in its general or its medically exact use (although in many cases it reasonably ap-

<sup>88</sup> J. O. Urmson, *The Greek Philosophical Vocabulary* (London, 1990), p. 126.

<sup>89</sup> *De symptomatum differentiis*, VII.44K.

proximates to the former, as Galen's examples suggest)."<sup>90</sup> However, in his *On the Differentiae of Symptoms* Galen states unequivocally that "the specific characteristic of a symptom is this: it is contrary to nature."<sup>91</sup> This suggests a closer correspondence with modern usage than Hankinson claims, and is in fact how the term is used in the *MM*. In effect, a definition might be that a symptom is a condition contrary to nature that does not adversely affect function. Two other, related terms are *ἐπιγέννημα* (epiphenomenon) and *συνδρομή* (syndrome). As neither is used to any extent in the *MM*, they are not considered here.

**Condition** (διάθεσις): A modern English dictionary definition of the term "diathesis," very definitely in current medical use, is as follows: "A particular condition or habit of the body, esp. one predisposing to certain diseases."<sup>92</sup> This would serve for Galen's use and might favor simply transliterating the term which, for him, is a key element of several of the other definitions. We have, however, opted for "condition" as the translation. Three statements by Galen on the term follow:<sup>93</sup>

1. "For each thing that exists is in some sense in a condition, whether it is healthy, diseased, or neither."
2. "Sometimes an affection arises from a certain cause

<sup>90</sup> See R. J. Hankinson, *Galen on the Therapeutic Method: Books 1 and 2* (Oxford, 1990), p. 152.

<sup>91</sup> *De symptomatum differentiis*, VII.51–52K.

<sup>92</sup> *The Chambers Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2008).

<sup>93</sup> The three sources are, respectively, *De symptomatum differentiis*, VII.43K, *Methodus medendi*, X.63K, and *De locis affectis*, VIII.25K.

but in some way is not yet a stable condition if the cause is separated. Sometimes it has already come about or is still coming about. Often, when the cause has gone, the coming about ceases and it is already a stable condition.”

3. “There is nothing else to be cured by doctors apart from the condition of bodies.”

**Constitution** (κατασκευή): Although translated by us as “constitution,” *kataskewe* is more or less equivalent to *diathesis*. Thus, in the *MM* Galen writes: “If health is some condition or constitution in accord with nature, so disease will be some condition or constitution contrary to nature.”<sup>94</sup>

**State** (ἔξις): The distinction between “state” and “condition” is clearly expressed by Aristotle as follows:<sup>95</sup> “A state differs from a condition by the latter being easily changed whereas the former is longer lasting and more difficult to change. States are also conditions but conditions are not necessarily states. For those who are in states are also in a certain condition in some way on account of these, but those who are in a certain condition are not always also in a state.”

**Capacity** (δύναμις): This is a particularly important term in the *MM*. Not only is it used frequently, but it is also found in three distinct contexts. First, it is found in the strictly “physiological” sense, as in Galen’s important and fundamental (to the *MM*) work, *On the Natural Faculties* (*Physical Capacities*). Second, it is used in relation to a pa-

<sup>94</sup> *Methodus medendi*, X.52K.

<sup>95</sup> Aristotle, *Categories* VIII.9a8–13.

tient’s ability to tolerate a particular treatment, and third, it is used in relation to the strength, power, or potency of medications. The term is given detailed consideration by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* V.12, where he writes:<sup>96</sup> “Capacity, then, is the source, in general, of a change or movement in another thing or in the same thing *qua* other, and also the source of a thing’s being moved by another thing or by itself *qua* other.” Phillips says of Galen’s use of *dunamis* in his *On the Natural Faculties* (*Physical Capacities*):<sup>97</sup> “The notion of *dunamis* in this book is very pervasive and mostly verbal, being a development in medicine, not of *dunamis* as known in *Ancient Medicine*, but of the Aristotelian *dunamis* as potentiality contrasted with *energeia*, activity or actuality, also Aristotelian.” Galen himself recognizes the difficulty, writing in his work *The Faculties of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*:<sup>98</sup>

Many of the wise are openly in confusion on this matter, having an incorrect understanding of “capacity.” They seem to me to wrongly conceive of “capacity” as something which dwells in substances, as we do in houses, not being aware that the effective cause of each thing that comes about is conceived of in relation to something else, and that there is some name for this cause as of such a thing that is separate and per se. But in it, in relation to what is brought

<sup>96</sup> *Metaphysics* 1019a18–21. Translation after W. D. Ross, in J. Barnes, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation* (Princeton, 1984), vol. 2, p. 1609.

<sup>97</sup> E. D. Phillips, *Aspects of Greek Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 176.

<sup>98</sup> *Quod animi mores*, IV.769K.

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about from it, the "capacity" is of what is brought about, and because of this we say that substance has as many capacities as it has functions (*energeiai*).

**Function** (*ἐνέργεια*): This term is taken to represent the functional expression of the capacity (*dunamis*). LSJ lists one meaning as "physiological function," with reference to a passage in Galen's *On the Preservation of Health*. This is taken to be the sense intended in Galen's series of definitions foundational to his method in the *MM*. The relevant passage reads as follows:<sup>99</sup>

Certainly one must not, therefore, determine those who are healthy and those who are diseased simply by strength or weakness of functions, but one must attribute "in accord with nature" (*kata phusin*) to those who are healthy in contrast to "contrary to nature" (*para phusin*) to those who are diseased; that is, for the former to be a healthy condition (*diathesis*) in accord with nature effecting functions, and for the latter to be a diseased condition (*diathesis*) contrary to nature harming function.

Debru has argued that "the concept of function (from the Latin *functio*) does not occur in antiquity in the sense with which it has been used since the seventeenth century."<sup>100</sup> It is, however, clearly the modern concept of the term "function" that applies to what Galen is describing. Linacre, for example, in his translation of the *MM* and of

<sup>99</sup> *De sanitate tuenda*, VI.21K.

<sup>100</sup> A. Debru, "Physiology," in Hankinson, *Cambridge Companion to Galen*, p. 265.

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the four treatises on the classification and causation of diseases and symptoms, uses *actio* and *functio* interchangeably for *energeia*.

**Action** (*ἔργον*): We have taken *ergon* to be the action carried out by the performance of the function. On function expressed in action, Galen writes in Book 1 of the *MM*: "For it is agreed, then, in this case, by all men and not only doctors but also by those they meet, that it is [the eye's] action (*ergon*) to see. And whether I say 'action' (*ergon*) or 'function' (*energeia*) certainly makes no difference now in this case."

On the interrelation of these three terms, Galen writes:<sup>101</sup> "I shall call the action (*ergon*) what has already been brought about and 'filled up' by the function (*energeia*) of these, for example the blood, flesh, and nerve. I term the active movement the function and the capacity (*dunamis*) the cause of this." Brock, in the introduction to his translation of Galen's *On the Natural Faculties (Physical Capacities)*, summarizes the use of the three terms as follows:<sup>102</sup> "Any of the operations of the living part may be looked on in three ways, either (a) as a *dunamis*, faculty, potentiality; (b) as an *energeia*, which is the *dunamis* in operation; or (c) as an *ergon*, the product or effect of the *energeia*."

**Use** (*χρεία*): This is not a term used to any significant extent in the *MM*. Nevertheless, it is important for an understanding of Galen's anatomical views, forming as it does part of the title of one of his major works on the subject, *On the Use of the Parts*. May's clear definition, which in-

<sup>101</sup> *De facultatibus naturalibus*, I.2.

<sup>102</sup> Brock, *Galen: On the Natural Faculties*, pp. xxx–xxxi.

cludes the distinction between “use” (χρεία) and “function” (ἐνέργεια), is as follows: “The Greek χρεία of the title . . . does not mean function as one might naturally suppose. Function is more nearly ἐνέργεια or ‘action’ in Galen’s terms. Χρεία means for him rather the suitability of a part for performing its action, the special characteristics of its structure that enable it to function as it does.”<sup>103</sup>

**Accord with nature, nonaccord with nature, contrary to nature** (κατὰ φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, παρὰ φύσιν): The first and third of these terms are of particular importance in Galen’s basic definitions. The slightly cumbersome translations are used to identify and emphasize the technical nature of these terms and are preferred over such possible alternatives as “normal/abnormal” and “natural/unnatural,” although in certain nondefinitional contexts one or other of these pairs may be used. The middle term above—“nonaccord with nature”—is not used in either the *MM* or the four treatises on diseases and symptoms. It is, however, prominent in Galen’s *Art of Medicine*. The following passage from the pseudo-Galenic *Medical Definitions* clarifies the meanings of these terms and the relationship between them, and also further clarifies Galen’s concepts of health and disease.

Health is that which is in accord with nature. Disease is that which is contrary to nature. What is “natural” (φύσει) but neither “in accord with nature,” nor already “contrary to nature,” is like someone being very thin, or dry, or thick-set, or fat, or sharp-

<sup>103</sup> See May, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, vol. 1, p. 9.

nosed, or grey, or snub-nosed, or grey-eyed. Those who are thus are not in a condition “in accord with nature” for they have gone beyond “balance” but neither are they “contrary to nature” for they are not hindered in function. Something that is “non-natural” (οὐ φύσει) is neither “contrary to nature,” nor “in accord with nature,” nor “natural.” Examples are those who have *leuke*, leprous warts, warts and the like. Such people are not “in accord with nature” as they are outside what accords with nature, but they are not “contrary to nature” as they are not impeded in the functions that accord with nature. These things are not, however, “natural” in that they are not present *ab initio*, i.e. from the initial genesis. They remain, therefore, “non-natural.” What is “non-natural” by definition is close to what accords with nature and what is contrary to nature.<sup>104</sup>

*Transliterated Terms* (\* indicates terms still in use)

**Adiapneusis** (ἀδιαπνευστία): Failure of transpiration/perspiration.

**Diapedesis**\* (διαπήδησις): Transudation from blood vessels to tissues. The modern definition is “the passage of blood or any of its formed elements through the intact walls of blood vessels” (S).

**Hegemonikon** (ἡγεμονικόν): This refers to the authoritative or commanding faculty or capacity of the soul as the center of consciousness and neurological function generally. There was prolonged uncertainty as to whether

<sup>104</sup> *Definitiones medicae*, XIX.384–85K.

it was located in the brain or the heart—although Galen had no doubt it was in the former, *contra* Aristotle, among others.

**Homoiomere/homoiomeros** (ὁμοιομέρεια/ὁμοιομερής): Essentially the term means “having parts like each other”—that is, of consistently uniform structure. It is a term of Aristotelian origin (*Parts of Animals*, II, 648a6–655b27). Galen’s definition in *MM* is that “a part is *homoiomeros*, as the name itself also clearly shows, which is divisible into similar parts throughout, like the vitreous and the crystalloid and the specific substance of the eye” (X.48K). In his *On the Differentiae of Diseases*, he lists arteries, veins, nerves, bone, cartilage, ligaments, membranes, and flesh as *homoiomeros* structures and makes it clear that these are components of organic bodies and are themselves formed from the primary elements (VI.841K).

**Ichor\*** (ἰχώρ): Used in the sense of “serum” or “serous or sero-purulent discharge.” It closely corresponds to the modern definition as “a thin watery discharge from an ulcer or unhealthy wound” (S). The same term has therefore been retained without italicization in our translation.

**Kachexia\*** (καχεξία): This is taken as a general term indicating a “bad state of the body” (see Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* III.21). In this sense it differs from the more specific modern usage to describe “a general weight loss and wasting occurring in the course of a chronic disease or emotional disturbance” (S).

**Kakochymia/euchymia** (κακοχυμία/εὐχυμία): This is taken to be a pair of terms used nonspecifically to indicate respectively any unhealthy or healthy state of the four humors.

**Kakoethical** (κακοήθης): This term is retained in the

sense of “chronic,” “intractable,” or “incurable.” LSJ’s gloss for medical purposes is “malignant” and is used, for example, by both Jones and Lloyd in Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* VI.4. We have avoided this rendering, given the modern connotation of the epithet when applied to an ulcer.

**Krasis/eukrasiadyskrasia\*** (κράσις/εὐκρασία/δυσκρασία): The basic meaning of *krasis* is “blending” or “mixing.” In Galen’s physiology and pathophysiology this has a specific application to the four elemental qualities. *Eukrasia* exists when the *krasis* or mixing of these qualities lies within the normal range; *dyskrasia* refers to an abnormality of the mixing and is a major cause of disease.

**Parempptosis** (παρέμπτωσις): The basic meaning of “influx” or “entrance” is applied, in the pathophysiological theory of Erasistratus, to the spillover of excess blood in the veins into the arteries through minute “anastomoses.” This interferes with the passage of *pneuma* and has an important role in the causation of disease, particularly inflammation.

**Pikrocholic/melancholic\*** (πικρόχολος/μελαγχολικός): *Picrocholic* means full of yellow bile or “bilious”—i.e., adversely affected by yellow bile, the presumed consequences of which are nausea and irritability. *Melancholic* means full of black bile or “melancholic”—i.e., adversely affected by black bile, the consequences of which are depression of the spirits and sadness.

**Plethora\*** (πληθώρα): Basically an excess of blood in the veins. Galen devotes a monograph to the topic (*De plenitudine*, VII.513–583K). For Erasistratus this term (and therefore the process it refers to) has a particular significance as the forerunner to *parempptosis* (*vide supra*).

**Pneuma** (πνεῦμα): In ancient physiology (e.g., Hippocrates) this term had a number of meanings. Particularly with Erasistratus it was used to describe an air- or spirit-like material, derived from the inspired air, which traveled in the arteries either alone (Erasistratus) or with blood (Galen) and was distributed throughout the body. In Galen's system there were three forms of *pneuma*, one associated with each of the three "systems" described in section 4 above (see also *MM* XII.839–40K). *Pneuma* became particularly important in the physiological and pathophysiological theories of the Pneumatist school. For a succinct summary of the concept, see the introduction to May's (1968) translation of Galen's *On the Use of the Parts*, vol. 1, pp. 46–49.

**Proegoumenic/prokatartik** (προηγούμενος/προκαταρτικός): The following two brief definitions are taken from the commentary on the four books on the classification and causation of diseases and symptoms prepared by J. du Bois and published in Paris in 1539.<sup>105</sup> (a) *προηγούμενος*—that is, preceding or internal—is an affection or movement outside nature occurring in the animal itself. (b) *προκαταρτικός*—that is, evident and external, which, approaching externally, forcefully alters and changes bodies.

#### Translated Terms

**Community** (κοινότης): The literal meaning is "shar-

<sup>105</sup> J. du Bois, *Methodus sex librorum Galeni in differentiis et causis morborum et symptomatum in tabellas sex* (Paris, 1539), p. 4.

ing in common" or "community." In Methodic theory the term is specifically applied to the three "communities" or "generalities" of diseases: (a) constriction of the pores with obstruction; (b) dilatation of the pores with flux; (c) a combination of constriction and obstruction.

**Constriction/dilatation** (στέγνωσις/εὐρύτης): Particularly applied to the postulated states of the "theoretical" pores of Methodic theory but also used in their general sense.

**Contingent/accidental** (κατὰ συμβεβηκός): A term used with *κατ' ἑαυτό*. We have translated this as "contingent" or "accidental" in the senses 2–4 listed under "accidental" in the *OED*—this despite Urmson's objection.<sup>106</sup>

**Differentia** (διαφορά): Frequently used in the *MM*, and particularly in the four treatises on diseases and symptoms with the specific meaning the term carries in logic and taxonomy. When used thus it is rendered "differentia." In other contexts the standard (i.e., nontechnical) meaning of "difference" is used.

**Dissolution of continuity** (λύσις συνεχείας): A fundamental term in Galen's classification of diseases describing one of the three classes. Throughout Galen's works there is some variation in the components of the term—e.g., *διαίρεσις* or *διαφθορά* instead of *λύσις*, and *ἔνωσις* instead of *συνέχεια*.

**Element** (στοιχείον): Galen uses this term both in the specific sense of a primary structural component of matter (the sense broadly that has endured in modern science) and in the more general sense of a fundamental com-

<sup>106</sup> See Urmson, *Greek Philosophical Vocabulary*, pp. 85–86.

ponent of any system (compare *On the Differentiae of Diseases*, VI.840K and VI.836K, for the respective uses). Galen was in no doubt what the primary elements (or elemental qualities) of matter were, and also how important it was for the doctor to know this. The pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae* offers the following definition, which summarizes Galen's position: "An element is that from which, as primary and most simple, all things arise and to which, as most simple and least, all things are resolved. So Athenaeus the Athenian says in his third book. The elements of medicine are, as certain of the ancients understood, hot, cold, moist and dry, from which, appearing primary, simplest and least, man is put together, and to which, as appearing last, simplest and least, man is resolved into" (XIX.356K).

**Humor** (*χυμός*): The following definition, from the *Definitiones medicae* (XIX.457-8K), is applicable to Galen's most common use of the term: "Humor in Hippocrates is invariably applied to the humors in the body which make up our structure—that is, blood, phlegm and the two biles, yellow and black. In Plato and Aristotle the gustatory quality which each of these has in us is also termed humor. These are the qualities of sharpness, dryness, harshness, acridness, saltiness, sweetness and bitterness."

**Indication/indicator** (*ἔνδειξις, σκοπός*): *Endeixis* is an important term in Galen's method and has been a particular point of discussion in recent times. Galen himself describes it in the *MM* as "a reflection of the consequence" and gives detailed consideration to the term in the opening section of Book 3. In essence, his use of "indication" appears to be close to the present usage as defined in

Stedman (S): "The basis for initiation of a treatment for a disease . . . may be furnished by a knowledge of the cause (causal indication), by the symptoms present (symptomatic indication), or by the nature of the disease (specific indication)." It is the last that Galen is particularly concerned with. The term "indicator," which is sometimes used to translate *σκοπός* rather than the more usual "aim" or "objective," is taken to apply to what furnishes the basis for the indication and/or is the target of the indicated treatment.

**Innate heat** (*ἔμφυτον θερμόν*): This is a feature of all animal bodies while they are living. In sanguineous animals its source is in the heart, from which it is distributed to the other parts of the body. Galen's views on innate heat were derived from Hippocrates and Aristotle. For those men, it was formed at the time of the organism's initial development but was maintained and cooled as required by respiration. Others (notably Erasistratus and Asclepiades) considered that body heat was not innate but acquired from outside sources.

**Pore** (*πόρος*): In Galen's usage this term generally applies to channels that are macroscopic and visible, such as the bile ducts or urethra, as distinct from the "theoretical" pores postulated by Asclepiades. To quote Vallance: "Galen uses the word in a variety of ways, some of which look remarkably close to those he attributes to Asclepiades. But most often Galen's pores are visible passages: the urethra (or ureter), for instance, the 'bile-ducts', the windpipe, the 'spermatic ducts', the ethmoid passages, the 'optic passage' and the 'acoustic passage'. Galen is always keen to set himself up as someone who does not believe what he can-

not see by experiment and observation, and he frequently qualifies *πόρος* with *αίσθητός*.<sup>107</sup>

**Putrefaction** (*σήψις*): The process of decay or fermentation. In the *MM* the term is generally found in one of two contexts: in reference to abnormal change in a humor and in reference to presumed inflammatory change in a wound or ulcer. "Putrefaction" is used in both contexts, although "sepsis" would serve in the second case and even "digestion" perhaps in the first.

**Superfluity** (*περίττωμα*): What is over and above, particularly after the digestion of food. We have almost invariably rendered *περίττωμα* as "superfluity"; other possibilities include "residue," "surplus," and even "excretion" or "excrement."

## 7. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

### *Fachprosa (Technical Prose) as an Expression of Literate Greek within Atticism*

The term "Atticism" refers to the concerted and influential attempt by men of high education, beginning in the first century BC but predominantly from late in the first century AD onward, to prescribe what was acceptable Greek (and Latin) style. By this they meant that Attic grammatical norms (syntax, orthography, morphology, phonology, lexicon) in use in the fourth and fifth centuries BC were to be the yardstick of true cultural attainment in Greek in the Roman imperial period. Despite the dismissive comment

<sup>107</sup> Vallance, *Lost Theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia*, pp. 50–51.

by Galen's contemporary the *rhetor* and Atticizing ideologue Phrynichus of Byzantium, not all doctors were uneducated (*ἀμαθής*) when it came to writing. Galen is one of several men of the imperial period who fell into that group of highly educated, Atticizing writers of technical treatises in Greek whose work could be described stylistically as prose that belongs to a layer in between popular speech and highly literary Greek.<sup>108</sup> It is not that he was not capable of producing the latter—indeed, in one of the styles he employs in *MM* he does just that. Rather, his chosen task, medical treatises produced for doctors (not for laymen), determined the style to be adopted: *Fachprosa*. This involved a certain linguistic pragmatism.<sup>109</sup> As with so much else, Galen was in no doubt about his capabilities in Greek; but he saw that his goal was to provide clear instruction for the next generation of doctors, not to be an ideologue for Atticism.

In seeking to determine the consistency of Galen's achievement as a "pragmatic Atticizer," we must recognize the problem of accepting Kühn's text as authoritative in matters of orthography, morphology, and even syntax. It may also have to be allowed that some of the MSS for the text of Galen have "tidied up" what later copyists perceived to be Atticizing or non-Atticizing inconsistencies. Even allowing for this, however, it emerges that Galen is

<sup>108</sup> For "Zwischenschichtsprosa," see L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament*, *Studia Graeca Upsaliensia* 5 (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 188–92.

<sup>109</sup> See W. Herbst, "Galenus Pergamensis de Atticissantium studiis testimonia collecta atque examinata." Dissertation, Leipzig, 1911.



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not a "hard-line" Atticistic ideologue in his writing. Yet some features of his language use may not be able to be settled definitively; one of these may be his concern for aspect.

Several factors may account for variation and inconsistency, including haste in dictation reflecting an inadvertent slipping into more current, colloquial (i.e., "normal"-register) language. It is also possible that the amanuensis copying at Galen's dictation is responsible for some of the orthographic inconsistencies. Galen will have pronounced his Greek as a man of his period, for significant vowel shifts in Greek had occurred some centuries earlier. The amanuensis may not have made consistent allowance for this in transcribing at Galen's dictation, and these features then failed to be picked up at a checking of the text once copied out.

### *Stylistic Variatio as a Mark of Galen's Erudite Control of Greek*

It is not merely in his use of technical terminology and syntax that Galen provides variety for his reader; at a broader level, he alters his style quite distinctively. The highly technical vocabulary is largely confined to the dominant stylistic mode: no-nonsense instruction in medical treatment. Some of this specialist terminology is of course retained in his second style, the numerous case histories he includes to illustrate the treatment he has given to patients. These passages are frequently invested with human interest, but always serve a greater purpose: to illustrate how successful Galen was in his treatment of patients, and often in explicit contrast to other doctors. Extended polemical sec-

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tions (largely in Books 1 and 2) have their own highly wrought stylistic features, but not the technical language which would largely be the preserve of doctors. The polemical portions of the work constitute Galen's third style in *MM* and are replete with rhetorical characteristics such as would be found in any writer of the Second Sophistic who wished to display his cleverness to the coterie of intellectual peers and those who aspired to that: orators like Dio Chrysostom (fl. AD II), biographers like Philostratus (fl. AD III), essayists like Lucian (fl. AD II), and some of the Church fathers like Basil and his brother Gregory (fl. AD IV). Galen is highly literate, highly erudite, but what he is composing does not require him to be highly literary. The polemical sections merely display that he can achieve this where appropriate.

The dominant mode of medical instruction is what qualifies Galen to be thought of as a writer of *Fachprosa*. The other two styles he employs provide a change of pace and variety. His indubitable interest in style and in the use of rhetorical features in the period is put into service to his goal: achieving his didactic purpose in a forthright and clear manner. However, it would be quite wrong to imagine that those other styles were irrelevant to his overarching didactic aim. These other styles, and particularly the case histories, are a means to an end: they engage the reader in a different manner and maintain interest in the topic being presented. The intent of the polemic is to confirm for the reader (if there were any serious doubt!) that Galen is in a direct line of descent from Hippocrates as *the* medical authority par excellence: he has no peer in his own time or in the recent past. This authoritativeness is reinforced throughout the *MM* (but perhaps more frequently

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in Books 7–14, which resume and complete the treatise after a twenty-year hiatus) by his multitude of cross-references to his other works. The intent of the polemic is to sweep away the approaches taken by his rivals from different philosophical schools within medicine; above all this means the Methodics. Once the ground is largely cleared in the first two books, he can then proceed to his course of instruction, dealing in succession with ulcers/wounds, fractures, fevers, etc. The case histories illustrate the application of his instruction to real-life situations—though, unsurprisingly for a man of Galen's powerful ego, apart from a single exception at 7.8 (504.4–506.9K), we only hear about his successful treatments.

*Variatio* is a crucial feature of the *MM*: to maintain the reader's engagement throughout such a long treatise, Galen includes variety at a macro as well as a micro level. Macro is the stylistic changes already mentioned. Micro-level *variatio* includes such features as word choice (at least eight different words are used to refer to “book” or “treatise,” for example), word order, ringing the changes on syntactic constructions, literary quotations and allusions, the occasional inclusion of asides, and short digressions.

Instruction in medical procedure is the style which dominates *MM* after the polemical and more explicitly philosophical first two books. Galen gives some relief from it by inserting case histories and occasional (but rarer in the later books) passing polemic. After Book 2 the default style is the instructional one. In view of the advice being provided about treatment of medical conditions, two features may be highlighted.

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1. Deliberate impersonalization: Galen refers to himself in the first-person singular comparatively rarely, and more frequently uses plural for singular, except to say “I undertook this particular treatment.” When he is cross-referring, or referring to what doctors should do, he frequently uses the perfect or aorist passive third person: “this has been discussed” = “I have discussed this.” Impersonal verbs are visible everywhere. *χρή* is much more common than *δεῖ* or *ἀναγκαῖον* (*ἔστίιν*), which both nevertheless still occur in instructional contexts.
2. Direct instruction: This is often couched less directly. Imperatives occur, but third-person imperatives, imperatival infinitives, hortatory subjunctives, and potential optatives are all quite common as different stylistic ways in which Galen imparts his advice about medical and related procedures.

Case histories in the work bring life to the theory and give substance to the instructional sections. It would be an exaggeration to say that Galen does this for light relief from the theory. However, it is undeniable that there is an element of self-promotion about it. The spread of the case histories across the books is uneven: none in Books 1–4 (none would be expected in Books 1 and 2, given their subject matter), only one in each of Books 11 and 13, but several in each of Books 5–10, 12, and 14. This suggests that at a certain point Galen began to include them; i.e., they were an afterthought, not part of the original conception of the work. But they tail off somewhat as he comes toward the concluding books of the treatise: most of those in books 12 and 14 are relatively brief. Perhaps this may be under-

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standable when we recall that Galen was now an old man, intent on completing a major treatise covering many diverse topics, a treatise which had been subject to a hiatus of many years. The total number of case histories is fifty-two. The length varies considerably, from a line or two to several pages in Kühn. The brevity or allusiveness of some may mean that they should scarcely qualify as case histories, but simply as instances which he has witnessed or attended to and chooses to mention in passing. Sometimes more than one is provided to illustrate the particular medical treatment he is discussing; but by no means every topic is allocated one. Only occasionally does one follow straight on from another. A few case histories are included to show how Galen's medical opponents failed to treat patients properly, leading to their death: e.g., 6.2 (390.4–12K), 13.15 (909.10–916.3K). The case histories are, incidentally, one of the main sources for the extrapolation of social history in the *MM*. Not that this was the intent; their pedagogical contribution to the treatise was the rationale for their inclusion.

Philosophical polemic is a third style encountered in the *MM* and is mainly directed at Thessalus, but also includes Olympicus and other Methodics in general. Galen does criticize the Empirics and the Dogmatics as well, though not as harshly as the Methodics. His criticism of Thessalus and the Methodic School is especially trenchant in Book 1, and its vapor trail is to be found throughout the *MM*.

The continuing appeal of Methodic medicine to doctors, from its rise probably in the first century BC and over the next two centuries into Galen's time, clearly irked Galen very considerably, and it may be more than their

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wrongheadedness which offended him. He claims to be defending the great ones of the past (Hippocrates above all) who are derided by the Methodics, but it may just as much be the very continuing popularity of the Methodic *hatresis* in medical circles—there were still known Methodic doctors in the sixth century AD—that got under his skin. To call a group after its founder often amounted to casting aspersions on it, and Galen's invention (apparently) of the epithet *Thessaleios*<sup>110</sup> as a way of referring to the Methodics is a typical instance. Θεσσαλέιος occurs thirty-three times in *MM*, but not evenly spread across the fourteen books. Galen employs the adjective in five other places outside *MM*; apart from this, it occurs nowhere else in Greek literature. The device of the posthumous attack on his philosophical and medical opponents is an indication of how strong their influence remained in Galen's time—so alive to Galen were those long dead! The Methodics were more disparate than Galen's broad-brush polemic suggests, and his attack on Thessalus is a device to demonize all his contemporaries who identified with that school.

Features of particular note in polemical sections include the use of the sarcastic superlative to mock Galen's opponents. Particularly visible is ἀμεθοδώτατος (most amethodical), e.g., 1.3 (27.5K), 5.10 (346.11–16K), 6.4 (421.5K). Galen uses this pun on numerous occasions—overmuch, indeed, almost to the point of cliché—against the Methodics in general and Thessalus in particular. Other superlatives employed sarcastically of Thessalus in-

<sup>110</sup> Not to be confused with *Thessalios*, the adjective connected with Thessaly.

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clude ἀναισχυντότατος (most shameless), γενναϊότατος (most noble), θαυμασιώτατος (most wondrous), σοφώτατος (most sapient). Ridicule of Thessalus' books is another distinctive motif, e.g., 1.2 (18.11K).

Thessalus ὁ δεύτερος Ἀσκληπιός (the second Asclepius) at Book 3.7 (208.13K) is an especially telling piece of mock adulation. The claim to have written his treatise at Asclepius' dictation in Egyptian Thebes, coupled with the point that Asclepius had a son called Thessalus, goes only some way toward making the point. The complex development of Book 1.2 is the main reason for proposing that, while most of the work was produced by dictation, some of it may have been written out by Galen himself. The close interlocking of the various kinds of rhetorical features, the conceits, word choice, etc., point to this as a very carefully conceived showpiece, perhaps an actually written-out section once delivered as a display piece at a public lecture. This is Galen showing off his literary credentials as he begins.

Why does Galen bother to attack someone long dead whose work he regards as so flawed? He may be seeking to undermine what he regards as Thessalus' continuing pernicious influence among contemporary doctors in the second half of the second century, for the Methodic school was undoubtedly still very active, as Soranus' profile demonstrates. Alternatively, Galen uses the attack on another doctor as a device by which he can draw attention to his own achievement. This becomes clear during the course of Book 1.2, when we see how many of his own works Galen refers to: ten of them. This has a twofold effect for the reader/listener. First, Galen lauds and refers to the medical and philosophical great men of the past and implicitly places himself in their company by referring to his own

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treatises. Second, this feature is an apologetic device at the very outset of the work to emphasize to his readers that he is the absolutely right—indeed, the only possible—person equipped by his practical experience and theoretical knowledge to write such an all-encompassing work on medicine.

### *Book Divisions, Quotations, Cross-References*

MM is no haphazard jumble put together on the run, even though there are portions which suggest a lack of coherence, e.g. Book 14. It is clear that Galen invested considerable thought in the arrangement of his material. The very fact that Galen returned to the treatise late in the second century after a two-decade hiatus indicates that he had conceived the entire work as a coherent treatment of the subject, as a unity. Furthermore, the book divisions are his. The addresses to his two successive patrons are an indication of this. He addresses Hiero in Books 1, 2, and 3; then, in Book 7, we find his first address to Eugenianus by name as dedicatee of the second half of the work. Galen addresses him by name again in Books 8 and 10, all mentions occurring in the initial chapter of a book and, with one exception, in the opening couple of sentences of that book. Despite the long break in the execution of the work as a whole, it does not appear that he revised the first six books when he resumed the task of completing the treatise: some intentions foreshadowed there were not fulfilled in the last eight books.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Nutton, in Kudlien and Durling, *Galen's Method of Healing*, pp. 4, 7–8.

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A further indication of the separation into discrete books by Galen himself is provided at 6.5 (425.15K). Galen refers here to his third and fourth books of the present treatise, which have already been criticized by others for longwindedness (*μακρολογία*). Although it cannot be ruled out that this comment was added by Galen when writing a later book and acknowledging a reaction to his prolixity in earlier ones, it is more likely that it shows the books were initially distributed piecemeal, not the whole treatise (or not even Books 1–6) at one time. Why Books 3 and 4? These are the “beginnings of treatment” by Galen following the introductory two books, whose focus was mainly polemic and philosophy.

The numerous cross-references to his other treatises are not primarily for show, except in Book 1, when they are used as part of establishing his authority to expose Thessalus and the Methodics. Galen clearly expects the reader to have read his theoretical works before the *MM*, which is the culmination (but not a summary) of his earlier treatises.

Quotations and allusions are of several kinds. He cross-refers to other parts of the present treatise, e.g., 5.7 (335.13–16K), an instance of foreshadowing a matter to be dealt with later. He also refers to other works by himself, e.g., 1.2 (14.11–15.11K). In this section he refers to ten of his other treatises, giving titles. Third, Galen refers to numerous works by others. Some are general, passing mentions; others are quotations, sometimes brief but occasionally quite extended, especially in the case of Hippocrates. Positive quotations include particularly the numerous references to Hippocrates but also to Plato and Aristotle.

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Negative quotations and references mainly concern Methodist works, especially those of Thessalus.

### *Figurative Language*

Similes occur in some quantity, but several are rather stereotyped. Examples include 1.4 (35.3K, “but like the Euripus they ebb and flow [in their arguments]”); 1.9 (71.6K, “It would be terrible that it were permissible for them to speak incorrectly like tyrants while we are not allowed to use [correct] Greek”). The *ὡς τύραννος* (like a tyrant) simile occurs several times of doctors. Extended figures may begin with a simile; for example, 5.15 provides a lengthy simile of walking along a road on two legs or limping on one; likewise, in 9.6, a person who wishes to achieve the goal of the medical craft must use both “legs”: method in the theories in general and practice in them individually.

Metaphors are not very frequent, though a few are memorable. Several are quite extended. Examples include 1.1 (6.4, 6K, three Italian doctors and their pupils make an admirable *khoros*), 1.2 (10.15–11.9K, extended agonistic figure in the polemic against Thessalus), 2.3 (88.3K, the language of fighting is employed a good deal here, and elsewhere), 7.2 (459.1–5K, Hippocrates’ works need good farmers who will sow, achieve increase, and bring his work to completion). Most previous doctors destroyed his seed. Galen sees himself as a farmer cultivating what Hippocrates had sown.

Rhetorical features of all kinds abound. Very frequent are alliteration, anaphora, crasis as well as elision, ellipse, litotes, parataxis. Reasonably common are hendiadys, hy-

perbole (especially in polemical sections). Not common are chiasmus, hiatus, hyperbaton. Rare are euphemism, homoioteleuton, kyklos, rhetorical questions (but especially in polemical sections). Galen quite frequently uses "triples" (three infinitives, three nouns, etc.) as a stylistic feature to clarify or reinforce his point; perhaps this is a kind of hyperbolic hendiadys, though to give three examples of anything is a long-standing rhetorical device.

It has been claimed that Galen's rhetorical skills "do not enhance his stature as a doctor or as a man."<sup>112</sup> Yet it is unthinkable that any person from Greco-Roman antiquity who was well educated and highly trained in any branch of learned study would not employ unquestioningly all the armory that was available to him. This is exactly what Galen does whenever he deems it appropriate. While the display pieces are rhetorically memorable, we should not get them out of proportion in *MM*, for their function is to serve a much larger and more serious goal: by exposing in such damning fashion the weaknesses of other schools (above all the Methodics), he can then maintain his readers' focus firmly on the explication of his own method of medical treatment.

## 8. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

In preparing a translation of a work such as Galen's *MM*, it is worthwhile to consider the nature of the likely readership. In our view, now and for the foreseeable future, the main group of readers will be those with a serious focus on the history of ancient Western science and medicine. Doc-

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

tors with a more general interest in early medicine may also find this a work of interest, although the number of doctors well trained in classical languages must now be very small compared with even the quite recent past. For classicists without a long suit in ancient philosophy, Galen is likely to be of relatively little interest. His oeuvre is not high literature, nor does it offer the linguistic stimulus of documentary texts. Of course, he comes into his own as an exponent of *Fachprosa*, as outlined in the previous section.

On the matter of the text, the present work does not have the ambition to be a true edition of *MM*. Our base text is Kühn, but this has been altered in a number of ways.

First, we have tacitly updated the text from the early nineteenth-century German orthographic conventions in use in Kühn's day. The vast majority of these will not even be noticed by the reader but include certain aspects of accentuation, the iota subscript, and the breathing mark (especially over double medial *rho* (-ῥῥ-)). In this class, too, is our tacit correction of obvious typographical errors in Kühn<sup>113</sup> and similar errors transmitted through the TLG #5 electronic copy of Kühn. There is not a multitude of these, and they have not been introduced without due consideration of whether the different spelling may reflect a different MS reading. So, for example, we have rarely attempted to "tidy up" the text for consistency, since there is considerable variety in the use of Atticistic features.

<sup>113</sup> E.g., 2.5 (104.16K) εὐλόγως, 3.4 (196.3K) ἐπιπάττειν, 3.9 (217.12K) τὸ νῦν ἠκαμένον, 4.2 (240.2K) ὑπερκειμένων, 4.7 (304.4K) ἀπεπτήσαντες, 4.7 (304.13-14K) τὸν . . . λόγον. All references in the present volume are to Kühn vol. 10, comprising the *MM*, unless a particular volume is specified.

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Changes applied to our text in this category total somewhere between 2,500 and 3,000, and can vary considerably between different books (280-plus for Book 5, about 150 for Book 6).

In a separate category are changes we have applied in capitalization and punctuation. Thus, we mark the start of direct speech, the first letter of a book title, or a technical term (e.g., Ἐμπειρικός) with a capital letter. Alterations to punctuation are more conservative of Kühn's practice, but where sense appears to be held back by his punctuation, then we have intervened. The reader will see, too, that we have inserted paragraph breaks into the Greek text; these align as closely as possible with where we judge new paragraphs are appropriate in the English translation. In this regard, readers should take it as a sign of our general reluctance to alter too much of the Kühn punctuation when they encounter something other than a period (usually a semicolon) at the end of one of our paragraphs in the Greek.

Our third category of changes is much smaller: textual emendations. At the suggestion of Vivian Nutton, we have looked at the readings of the British Library MS (twelfth century) of *MM*. This is a MS full of interest for a variety of reasons, but we have limited ourselves to noting readings which in our view are clearly superior to those in the MSS on which Kühn's printed text is based. This MS, which we have abbreviated as B in the textual notes, exhibits many other differences, e.g., in word order and in orthography; but we have very rarely noted these unless they are of consequence for another reason. So the reader should understand that we are not attempting to provide here a full collation of B against K(ühn). This is a MS which will un-

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doubtedly repay fuller study in another context. We have also given consideration to the alterations to the text of Books 1 and 2 proposed by R. J. Hankinson in his 1991 translation and philosophical commentary. He made use of two Paris MSS, and a number of his emendations to Kühn's text based on those MSS (or his own conjectures) have been attractive to us and accepted. In some of these cases, these two MSS (P1 and P2) align with B against K. The reader who has access to Kühn may notice that there are a fair number of places where the Latin text (abbreviated KLat in this volume) is not a translation of K but is clearly drawing on other MSS reflecting different readings.

The sheer number of these changes taken together means that it is inevitable that we have overlooked some features which should have been altered. In the first category the alterations are nearly all of a mechanical kind; the second involves a blend of the mechanical with some judgment; the third requires judgment virtually alone. The decisions we have made about how to present the text reflect our view of who our primary reader is, as outlined above. Our aim, then, is an improved and serviceable text, but a finally authoritative Greek text has not been our goal here.

On the matter of the translation, we have made use of the previous translations listed on pp. lxxvii–lxxviii, apart from nos. 4 and 6. Linacre's complete Latin translation went through fifteen versions/printings between the time of its first appearance in 1519 and its last printing in 1609. Brock, in the introduction to his 1916 translation of Galen's *On the Natural Faculties*, has described Linacre's translation of that work as "marked by minute accuracy and elegant Latinity." There is no need to alter this de-

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scription when referring to Linacre's translation of the *MM*.<sup>114</sup> We have made use of the 1542 printing and the 1562 version of the *MM* in the *Galenii Omnium Operum Sexta Classis* published in Venice. The former has useful original marginal notes which include comments on the text. Thomas Gale's early English version has been of help, particularly with the surgical descriptions in Book 6. Peter English's seventeenth-century English translation has been frequently consulted. His opening note to the "gentle reader" is of some interest in relation to the recognition of the continuing importance of the work to the middle of the seventeenth century:

I have but a few words to say to thee now. Only I desire thee to entertain this book as thy darling, as being matchlesse in its kind. It is not only absolutely necessary for directing thee in any practice of Physick, but also without the knowledge of it, it is impossible to administer any Cure safely, unlesse it be at randome, like a blind man throwing his staffe at a Dog.

Given this work's focus on the practical aspects of Galen's *MM* (Peter English omits much of the polemical material), we have found it helpful for clarification of procedures and methods and for the English translation of practices and medications. Hankinson's recent translation of Books 1 and 2 has, with its detailed commentary, helped to clarify

<sup>114</sup> As mentioned earlier, it is basically Linacre's translation which appears along with the Greek text for the *MM* in the two collections of Galen's works due respectively to René Chartier (1679) and Carl-Gottlob Kühn (1821–1833).

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some of the more general philosophical issues addressed in these opening books. Boulogne's 2009 French translation appeared only after completion of our own translation, but we have been able to look through it, particularly to examine points of difficulty.

On the translation itself, the general objective is that characteristically claimed by translators: to provide a smoothly readable version in the language of the translation while remaining faithful to the language of the original—an objective much easier to state than to achieve! Moreover, in our even approaching such an aim, Galen's Greek presents certain specific and substantial problems quite apart from the problems of the text itself. In our view there are two particularly intrusive problems. The first is how to deal with Galen's complex sentence construction—what Hankinson has called his "syntactically and paratactically involved style." The second problem is how to deal with what are, in effect, technical terms of critical importance in Galen's own system of medicine, especially when these reflect structural and functional concepts now outmoded. To make matters worse, some of these terms remain in use today, albeit with a somewhat different meaning in some cases. A subsidiary and related problem is how to deal with the names of diseases, symptoms, medications, and other treatment methods—that is, whether to retain the original Greek term transliterated, use the Latin version, or attempt to find the correct English equivalent.

In brief, in our attempt to render Galen's elaborate Greek *Fachprosa* into modern English that may be read with relative ease (bear in mind that this is a medical textbook), we have adopted several specific strategies. First, we have been prepared to split up Galen's long and involved sentences and to change the order of the clauses



where this seemed to improve clarity without unduly sacrificing fidelity to the original. Second, we have not attempted to translate every Greek particle, particularly as they can often be functionally replaced by punctuation in creating a modern English version. Third, we have given ourselves some license in dealing with the voices, moods, and tenses of the Greek verbs where not to do so would result in an English sentence that reads awkwardly. Nevertheless, despite these three "liberties," we have attempted to provide an English translation that can be matched with the Greek without undue difficulty.

Finally, a word on the title. There have to date been several English renderings, beginning with Peter English's *Method of Physick*. We have opted for *Method of Medicine* over the two other recent renderings, *Method of Healing* and *On the Therapeutic Method*, because in the former the term "healing" strikes rather an odd note and in the latter the work is much wider in scope than a text on therapeutics, covering, as it does, the whole range of medical practice. It is, in effect, the equivalent of a combination of a modern textbook on medicine with one on surgery. In his recent translation, referred to above, Boulogne has titled the work *Méthode de traitement*, which is, perhaps, the most literal translation and would have been our first alternative after *Method of Medicine*.

## 9. DISEASES AND SYMPTOMS

**Abscess** (*ἀπόστημα*): This includes the modern pyogenic abscess but is not confined to this. Galen classifies it as a disease of "excess." See also *MM*, 984K ff., where treatment by incision is mentioned.

**Alopecia** (*ἀλωπεκία*): Described as being like mange in foxes (LSJ). It is similar in description to the modern disease of the same name. In the *MM* (Book 14, Chapter 18) it is linked with other varieties of hair loss (baldness, ophiasis). Galen distinguishes between these on causal grounds (1014K ff.).

**Alphos** (*ἀλφός*): Listed in LSJ as "dull-white leprosy, esp. on the face." It is not leprosy in the modern sense but a form of skin pigmentation, possibly psoriatic. Galen classifies it as a *dyskrasia* of *homotomerous* bodies due to inflow of a substance. See also *Ce*, 5.28.19.

**Anesthesia, dysesthesia** (*ἀναισθησία, δυσαισθησία*): Loss of sensation and disordered sensation—probably quite close to modern usage. Galen lists the former as a symptom due to a cold *dyskrasia*.

**Aneurysm** (*ἀνεύρυσμα*): In the *MM* Galen describes the false aneurysm that may form after an arterial wound.

**Anthrax** (*ἀνθραξ*): Listed in LSJ as "carbuncle or malignant pustule"; the possibility of smallpox is raised. Other sources (e.g., *EANS*) describe it as an infected wound. Whether there is any connection with anthrax in the present sense is unknown.

**Apepsia, bradypepsia, dyspepsia** (*ἀπεψία, βραδυπεψία, δυσπεψία*): Absence or failure of digestion, slowed digestion and disordered or impaired digestion.

**Apnea, dyspnea, orthopnea** (*ἄπνοια, δύσπνοια, ὀρθόπνοια*): Failure of respiration, disordered or difficult respiration, and difficulty breathing when lying flat—all as in modern usage.

**Apoplexy** (*ἀποπληξία*): Sudden collapse with paralysis; presumably close to modern usage as a descriptive

term. Ascribed to a cold *dyskrasia* by Galen. See M, p. 510 for Aretaeus' description and her comment on this.

**Arthritis** (ἀρθρῖτις): A nonspecific term for diseases of the joints, possibly inflammatory and possibly including gout.

**Ascarides** (ἀσκαρίδες): A form of intestinal worm infestation—see G, *MM* 1004, 1014, and 1021K.

**Ascites** (ἀσκίτες): A form of dropsy as a collection of abnormal fluid. For a definition see XIX.424K.

**Atheroma** (ἀθήρωμα): A tumor full of gruel-like matter—see G, *MM*, 985K and XIX.440K for a definition.

**Atonia** (ἀτονία): Weakness or debility of a generalized or focal type—see G, VI.853–54K.

**Atrophy** (ἀτροφία): A nonspecific loss of substance; similar to modern usage—see G, VI.89K.

**Avulsion** (ἀπόσπασμα): This is taken as being similar to modern usage—a tearing away with separation, as with a tendon from a bone.

**Boil** (δοθιήν): A boil or small abscess.

**Bubo** (βουβών): Glandular swelling in the groin; the equivalent to modern inflammatory lymphadenopathy or lymphadenitis.

**Cancer** (καρκίνος): An eroding sore or ulcer. Used by Galen as a term to describe a superficial abnormality attributed to black bile—see G, VI.874–75K.

**Cardialgia** (καρδιαλγία): Heartburn—described by Galen as “a sensory symptom of the opening of the stomach distressed by mordant humors.” (G, VII.135–36K).

**Catalepsy** (κατάληψις): A term with several meanings, including collapse, rigidity, and mental disturbance. For a definition and varieties, see G, XIX.414K (as κάτοχος).

**Cataract** (ὕπόχυμα): Taken to be closely equivalent to modern usage—see G, *MM*, 119, 990, 1019K, and VII.89 and 95K.

**Catarrh** (κάταρρος): A nasal discharge or flux from the head—see G, VII.107K and XIV.742K.

**Cephalalgia** (κεφαλαλγία): A nonspecific term for headache or pain in the head—see G, VII.58K.

**Ceria** (κηρία): Tapeworm—listed in the *MM* with helminthes and ascarides (1004K).

**Chalazion** (χαλάζιον): A small cyst growing on the eyelid. The term is now used for a tarsal cyst—see G, VI.862–63K.

**Cholera** (χόλερα): A disease marked by simulative diarrhoea and vomiting. See G, XIV.730K and XIX.421K and also M, p. 340, who includes Celsus' description.

**Coloboma** (κολόβωμα): Refers to a part lost by mutilation. The term has now come to mean any defect, whether congenital, pathological, or artificial (S).

**Coma** (κάμα): A reversible loss of consciousness. Possibly equivalent to κάρος and λήθαργος.

**Consumption** (φθίσις): Wasting—usually due to pulmonary tuberculosis. See Gr, pp. 177–97.

**Convulsion** (σπασμός): Listed by Galen along with apoplexy, epilepsy, and tremor as a primary *dyskrasia* of cold (VI.850K). Si writes: “The Greek term *spasmos* meant both a continued contraction by a tetanic stimulus and an alternating violent contraction and relaxation of skeletal muscle. Both types of movement are also symptoms of epilepsy” (p. 245).

**Coryza** (κόρυζα): Like catarrh, a flux from the head. The two terms are frequently found together.

**Cynanche** (κυνάγχη): A nonspecific term for an acute infection involving the structures of the throat—i.e., tonsils, uvula, pharynx, larynx, and epiglottis.

**Delirium** (παρακοπή, παραφροσύνη): Probably similar to the modern sense; i.e., confused, agitated, and excited behavior. Described by Galen at VII.60K.

**Dislocation** (ἐξάρθρωσις): Grouped by Galen with *παράρθρωσις* as a disease involving change of position—see G, VI.870K and VII.36K.

**Dropsy** (ὕδρεος): Edema, presumably of various kinds. Related by Galen to maldistribution of nutritive materials—see G, VII.62K.

**Dysentery** (δυσεντερία): Probably a nonspecific term to indicate frequent watery stools, possibly containing blood and mucus (similar to present usage). For Galen's classification, see VII.246–47K.

**Ecchymosis** (ἐκχύμωσις): An extravasation of blood into the skin or superficial tissues, as in current usage—see G, *MM*, 232K.

**Edema** (οἴδημα): This appears to be a general term for a type of swelling defined by its characteristics on palpation and not limited to local or generalized fluid collections. Galen lists it as a disease of *homoiomerous* bodies due to inflowing material (VI.849K).

**Elephas** (ἐλέφας): Taken to be the same as ἐλεφαντίασις. This is not elephantiasis in the modern sense. It may refer to true leprosy—see Gr, pp. 168–76.

**Empyema** (ἐμπύημα): An internal collection of pus, as in present usage.

**Encanthis** (ἐγκανθίς): A fleshy tumor at the inner angle of the eye. See Galen, *On the Use of the Parts*, Book 10, Chapter 11, and Ce, 7.7.5.

**Epilepsy** (ἐπιληψία): Similar to present usage. See G, VIII.193K ff. for Galen's identification of three types of epilepsy.

**Epinoctis** (ἐπινοκτίς): A form of pustule that is painful at night—see Ce, 5.28.15.

**Eruption** (ἐξάνθημα): A general term for skin eruptions, as in present usage.

**Erysipelas** (ἐρυσίπελας): A disease characterized by skin discoloration (redness, yellowness). The modern erysipelas is defined as “a specific, acute, superficial cutaneous cellulitis caused by  $\beta$ -haemolytic streptococci and characterized by hot, red, oedematous, brawny and sharply defined eruptions usually accompanied by constitutional symptoms” (S). Galen considers erysipelas in Book 13 of the *MM* (946K ff.). Gr writes: “The term erysipelas in Greek medical parlance designates various diseases that ‘redden the skin’ and also diffuse, purulent inflammations of internal organs, but in its commonest sense it designates a group of skin diseases with hot, painful reddish swelling, now thought to be streptococcal dermatitis” (p. 129). See also G, VI.849K.

**Eschar** (ἐσχάρα): A scab on a wound, as in modern usage.

**Fatigue** (κόπος): In Galen this is a wide-ranging concept. In *On the Preservation of Health* he writes: “There are seven opinions on the concept of fatigue”; he lists three simple forms and four compound forms—see G, VI.189K ff.

**Fever** (πυρετός): As in modern usage but without the actual measurement of temperature. The various types of fever are the subject of Books 8–12 of the *MM*.

**Fracture** (κάταγμα): As in modern usage, and consid-

ered in Book 6 of the *MM* as an example of dissolution of continuity.

**Gangrene** (*γάγγραινα*): Taken as approximately equivalent to the modern use—"extensive necrosis from any cause" (S). See G, XI.135K (definition), VII.22 and 75K, and VII.720 and 726K.

**Gout** (*ποδάγρα*): Presumably the same disease as that to which the term is presently applied. See Gr, pp. 72–73.

**Headache**: See Cephalalgia.

**Heatstroke** (*ἔγκανσις*): Presumably the same meaning as now. Interpreted by Galen as a hot *dyskrasia*.

**Hemiplegia** (*παρὰπληγίχ, παραπληξία*): For a definition, see G, XVI.826K and XVIIA.332K; see also *MM* (638K). According to LSJ the term is also used for "madness, derangement."

**Herpes** (*ἔρπηξ*): A skin affliction of uncertain nature. For Galen's definition, see XI.74K and XIX.440K. For the relationship to erysipelas, see *MM*, Book 14 (1004–5K). For herpetic ulceration, see *MM*, 83K.

**Hydrops**: See Dropsy.

**Hypopyon** (*ὑπόπυος*): In general this means tending to suppurate or be mixed with pus—see G, XII.804K and XIV.774K. In the *MM* it is mentioned specifically in relation to the eye (1019K).

**Hysteralgia** (*ὑστεραλγία*): Pain of uterine origin—see G, *MM*, 83K.

**Ileus** (*εἰλεός*): Used as a general term for dysfunction of the retentive capacity in relation to the gastrointestinal tract—see G, VII.69 and 220K. Listed in LSJ as "intestinal obstruction" but may also include the paralytic ileus of modern usage.

**Induration** (*σκίρρωσις*): Ancient usage is probably

not far removed from the current sense—"the process of becoming extremely firm and hard, or having such physical features" (S). See G, XI.718, 720 and 726K and XIII.933 and 950K (in relation to inflammation).

**Inflammation**: See Phlegmone and Phlogosis. Inflammation is discussed by Galen in detail in Book 13 of the *MM* and is there characterized by firmness, tension, redness, and a throbbing sensation as well as a tendency to go on to suppuration. All are key features of inflammation as understood today. What is different is the concept of mechanism, which Galen identifies as an influx of blood primarily.

**Inguinal hernia** (*ἐντεροπλοκήλη* [containing bowel] and *ἐπιπλοκήλη* [containing omentum]): See G, VI.870K.

**Insomnia** (*ἀγρυπνία*): Linked with coma by Galen as a symptom of the sensory component of the soul (VII.58K). Both, he says, are "due to involvement of the 'primary sense' itself which is . . . common to all sensations."

**Lepra** (*λέπρα*): Not leprosy but an unidentified skin disease associated with scaling and depigmentation—see Gr, pp. 162–63. Attributed to black bile and linked with *alphos* and *leuke*—see G, XIV.757K ff. and XIX.427K.

**Lethargy** (*λήθαργος*): As in present usage but may include drowsiness and forgetfulness. See G, *MM*, 929–31K and M, pp. 502–3.

**Leuke** (*λεύκη*): A skin disease named for its color (or lack thereof)—see G, VII.75 and 226–28K and Gr, pp. 165–67.

**Leukophlegmatic dropsy** (*λευκοφλεγμασία*): A form of dropsy. See G, XIV.746K. Galen describes it as be-

ing caused by a distribution of phlegm through the whole body (G, VII.224K).

**Lithiasis** (λιθίασις): Listed in LSJ as “the disease of the stone.” It is clearly identified by Galen in the *MM* (917K) as being linked with the genitourinary system.

**Marasmus** (μαρασμός): Wasting or withering—see G, VII.315 and 317K. Also applied to a type of fever—see G, VII.326K.

**Melancholia** (μελαγχολία): A melancholy state attributed to an excess of black bile. A cold, dry *dyskrasia*—see G, I.522K; as a symptom, see G, VII.203K.

**Meliceris** (μελικηρίς): A cyst or wen resembling a honeycomb—see G, VI.863K, VII.35K and *MM*, 985K.

**Narke** (ναρκή): A symptom rather than a disease, which is defined as “a combination of disturbed sensation and disturbed movement involving the whole body or the limbs and due to cooling or compression” (G, VII.108–9K). Classified as a cold *dyskrasia*—see also *MM*, 917K and XIX.424K.

**Nephritis** (νεφρίτις): Taken as a nonspecific term for kidney disease.

**Noma** (νομή): A form of spreading ulcer—*MM* 326K. The term is now confined to a gangrenous stomatitis (cancrum oris) and a similar process involving the labia majora (S).

**Odontalgia** (όδονταλγία): Toothache.

**Ophiasis** (οφίασις): A bald patch on the head of serpentine or winding form; attributed by Galen to nutritional failure and linked to leuke and alopecia—see VII.63K.

**Ophthalmia** (ὀφθαλμία): An inflammatory disease of

the eye with discharge, possibly severe conjunctivitis—see M, pp. 1006–19 but particularly p. 1016.

**Otalgia** (ὠταλγία): Earache—see G, XVIIIB.261K for a definition and also VII.58K and *MM*, 83K.

**Palpitation** (παλμός): Classified by Galen as a form of disordered movement—see VII.159K ff.

**Paralysis** (παράλυσις): Similar to the modern sense but includes sensory as well as motor functions—see Si, pp. 227–28.

**Peripneumonia** (περιπνευμομία): See Pneumonia.

**Phagadaena** (φαγάδαινα): A form of eroding ulcer—see G, *MM*, 83K.

**Phlegmone** (φλεγμονή): The standard term for inflammation and inflammatory swellings. It is the major topic in Book 13 of the *MM*. The term *phlegmon* remained in medical use until recently to denote a localized inflammation.

**Phlogosis** (φλόγωσις): A descriptive term for the fiery red heat of inflammation. Galen suggests it was also used as a term for inflammation itself—see *MM*, Book 13.

**Phlyktaina** (φλύκταινα): A term for a blister or pustule that has burst and is ulcerated—see Ce, 5.28.15 (he calls it “the worst kind of pustule”).

**Phrenitis** (φρενίτις): Inflammation of the brain. Termed by Si “delirium with fever”—see his discussion on pp. 270–72. M (p. 508) states that “Aretaeus’ treatment of phrenitis indicates that this was essentially symptomatic febrile delirium but may have included meningitis and cerebritis.”

**Phthoe** (φθόη): Taken as equivalent to phthisis—see G, VII.29 and 279K.

**Phyma** (φύμα): Tumor or tubercle; Gr (p. 188) writes: "The word *phyma* corresponds primarily to our terms 'abscess' and 'tubercle', but also functions as the name for certain forms of cancer and hydatid cyst." See G, VI.849K.

**Plague** (λοιμός): Essentially the same meaning as currently—"any disease of wide prevalence and/or excessive mortality" (S). The Great Plague of Athens (430–427 BC) described by Thucydides (2.47–54) may have been, as M suggests (p. 325), a mixed epidemic. More recent evidence suggests it was typhoid fever. The plague in Rome referred to by Galen may have been true bubonic plague (due to *Pastuerella pestis*—see M, p. 363).

**Pleuritis** (πλευρίτις): Pleurisy, although Gr (p. 131) suggests the description may apply to lobar pneumonia. See G, VIII.326K and XIX.420K (definition).

**Pneumonia** (περιπνευμομία): A term for inflammation of the lungs, which may equate with the modern lobar pneumonia—see G, VII.174K and Gr, p. 131.

**Polyp** (πολύπους): Similar to the modern meaning referring to a nasal polyp—see G, VII.106K.

**Priapism** (πριαπισμός): Persistent enlargement/erection of the penis without sexual desire, as in current usage—see G, VI.869K.

**Psora** (ψώρα): A skin disease of uncertain nature associated with itching—see G, VII.849–50K.

**Pterygium** (πτερόγιον): Similar to modern usage in describing hypertrophied bulbar conjunctival tissue growing from the medial canthus of the eye to the edge of the cornea or beyond—see G, VI.862K.

**Ptilosis** (πτίλωσις): A disease of the eyelids in which

the edges become inflamed and swollen and the eyelashes fall out—see G, MM, 1004 and 1014K.

**Rhyas** (ρύας): An eye disease associated with continuous watery discharge—see G, VI.870 and MM, 1002K.

**Rigor** (ρίγος): May be equivalent to rigor in the modern sense; described by Galen as an "irregular shaking and agitation of the whole body"—see G, VII.145K and MM, 1002K.

**Rupture** (ρήγμα): A rupture, tearing, or laceration of tissue—see G, MM, 160 and 232K.

**Sarcocele** (σαρκοκήλη): A form of scirrhus involving the testes—see G, VII.729 and MM, 1004K.

**Satyriasis** (σατυρίασις): Priapism with sexual desire—perhaps due to an inflammatory disease involving the genitalia. See M, p. 518 and pp. 610–11, who includes ancient descriptions.

**Sciatica** (ισχιάς): A term for a symptom probably similar to modern usage; i.e., pain in the back and hip radiating into the leg. In ancient times likely to have been mainly due to hip disease—see G, VI.849K and M, p. 493.

**Scirrhus** (σκίρρος): Listed in LSJ as a "hardened swelling or tumour, induration." This is similar to modern usage; i.e., "obsolete term for any fibrous indurated area, especially an indurated carcinoma" (S).

**Scrofula** (χοιράς): Cervical lymphadenopathy, probably of tuberculous origin—see Gr, pp. 178, 196.

**Shivering** (φρίκη): Corresponds to the modern usage. Grouped by Galen with the disordered movements—see VII.147K.

**Sicus** (σύκωσις): An ulcer resembling a fig ripe to the point of bursting, particularly on the eyelids—see MM, 82K.

**Spasm** (σπάσμα): A complex term; listed by LSJ in one sense as “sprain or rupture of muscle.”

**Sphacelus** (σφάκελος): A form of gangrenous necrosis particularly involving bone.

**Staphyle** (σραφυλή): Refers, as a disease, to inflammation of the uvula with swelling—see G, VII.263K and MM, 82K.

**Staphyloma** (σταφύλωμα): Listed by LSJ as a “defect in the eye inside the cornea”—see G, VII.734K, XIX.435K, XIX.439K, and Ce, 7.7.11.

**Steatoma** (στεάτωμα): A sebaceous tumor, perhaps equivalent to the modern sebaceous cyst in some instances—see G, VII.22K (cause), MM, 985K (treatment) and XIX.440K (definition).

**Swooning** (λιποψυχία): Probably identical in meaning to λιποθυμία and meaning fainting in the modern sense—see G, VII.136 and 194K (causes) and M, p. 510, who includes Aretaeus’ description and mentions that the term remained in use through the eighteenth century.

**Syncope** (συγκοπή): A sudden, generalized collapse—much like the present use of the term but with broader connotations, See G, VII.127K and MM, 805K for causes, and Si, pp. 251–53 for detailed consideration.

**Tenesmus** (τεινεσμός): A vain attempt to evacuate *per rectum*. The meaning seems very similar to the modern definition: “painful and ineffectual straining to empty the bowels” (S).

**Tetanus** (τέτανος): A term that currently applies to the acute neurotoxicity due to infection with *Clostridium tetani* which is marked by intense muscle spasm, including severe involvement of the masseter muscles (“lockjaw”). Tetanic spasms more generally refer to prolonged muscle

spasm due to repeated rapid stimuli. It seems probable that the ancient descriptions of tetanus do refer to the effects of *C. tetani* infection.

**Torpor** (κάρος): Like coma, a reversible loss of consciousness which may include deep sleep.

**Tremor** (τρόμος): As in the present usage. It was classified by Galen as a symptom due to a disturbance of the motor component of the psyche.

**Ulcer** (έλκος): This is a problematic term. It was used by Galen to refer in a general way to dissolution of continuity involving a surface, whether external or internal. It ranges in application from a fresh wound through a chronic and possibly infected wound to what would now be referred to as an ulcer, which may arise in various places due to various causes. The term may also refer to ruptured vesicles or pustules (i.e., “sores”). Where the context allows, the appropriate specific term is used in our translation. Where the statement is general, it is translated as “wound and ulcer” or “wound or ulcer.”

**Warts**: Three varieties, as follows; (a) thin-necked or pedunculated (ἀκροχορδών); (b) sessile (μυρμηκία); and (c) a large warty excrescence (θύμος).

**Wound** (ἔλκος): See Ulcer.

## 10. MEDICATIONS

**Absinth** (Absinthium): See Wormwood.

**Acacia** (ἀκακία): *Acacia arabica*; also *A. nilotica*, *A. pontica*, and *A. maritima*; drying agent; D, I.133; G, XI.814K; Ce, pp. xv–xvi.

**Agrimony** (εὐπατόριον): *Agrimony eupatorium*; used for wounds and ulcers; D, IV.41; G, XI.79K; Cu, pp. 12–15.

**Alexanders** (*ἱπποσέλινον*): *Smyrnium olustratum*; Cretan alexanders; D, III.78; G, XII.128K.

**All-heal** (*πάνακες*): *Ferulago galbanifera*; several varieties, e.g., of Hercules, of Aesculapius; many uses; D, III.55–57; G, XII.95K; Cu, pp. 10–11; T, 9.7.2.

**Aloe** (*ἀλόη*): *Aloe vera*, *A. vulgaris*; bitter aloes; hemostatic, for wound conglutination, purgative, component of eye salves and ear lotions; D, III.25; G, XI.822K; Ce, p. xviii.

**Alum** (*στυνπερία*): Also alumen; a term for a group of alum or ferrous sulfate-containing substances; strong drying agent; D, V.123; G, XII.236K; for a detailed list of varieties, see Ce, pp. xviii–xix.

**Ambrosia**: Term for a compound antidote (among other things); for the potion, see G, XI.824K, XIII.64K, and XIV.149K; D, III.129 lists *Artemisia compestris* under Ambrosia.

**Andron, troche of**: A multi-component troche or pastille compounded by Andron from pomegranate flowers, oak gall, myrrh, birthwort, vitriol, fissile alum, and Cyprian misu marinated in sweet wine—see *EANS*, p. 80.

**Aphrogala** (*ἀφρόγαλα*): Frothed milk; G, X.468K.

**Aphronitron** (*ἀφρόνιτρον*): Listed by LSJ as a “form of native sodium carbonate” but in L&S as an “efflorescence of saltpeter (potassium nitrate)”; various uses; D, V.131; G, XI.695–96K and XII.210–13K.

**Apomel** (*ἀπόμελι*): Listed in LSJ as a mixture of water and honey—a kind of “inferior mead” but elsewhere as a vinegar/honey mixture, e.g., “a kind of decoction prepared of honey or an honeycomb mixed with vinegar, and boiled a short time” (Chambers, *Cycl. Supp.* 1753 in *OED*); possibly equivalent to oinomeli (D, V.16) or oxymeli (D, V.22).

Galen's description in *De sanitate tuenda* VI.274K is in keeping with the LSJ description.

**Aristolochia** (*ἀριστολοχία*): Plants from the genus *Aristolochia* (birthwort); the root yields an irritant glucoside used in poultices; D, III.4–6; G, XI.683K and 835–36K; Ce, p. xxi.

**Aromatic reed** (*κάλαμος ἀρωματικός*): *Acorus calamis*; sweet flag; rhizome dried and eaten or oil pressed from it; D, I.17; G, XI.405–6K and XII.6K ff.; Ce, p. xvi.

**Artomel** (*ἀρτόμελι*): Plaster or poultice of bread and honey; G, X.692 and 781K.

**Asparagus** (*ἀσφάραγος*): *Asparagus officianalis* or *acutifolius*; the stem may be eaten directly; a decoction is prepared from the root; D, II.152; G, XI.841K; Cu, pp. 28–30.

**Asphalt** (*ἄσφαλτος*): Asphaltos, bitumen, pitch; different sources; D, I.99; G, XII.375K.

**Ass's milk** (*ὄνου γάλα*): G, VI.682K ff. and XII.265K.

**Athanasia** (*ἀθανασία*): a compound antidote—for details of various recipes, see *EANS*, pp. 57–58; G, XIII.203K and XIV.148K.

**Balsam** (*βάλασαμον*): *Balsamodendron opobalsamum*; Balsam tree; D, I.18; G, XI.846K and XII.554K; used as aromatic herb—*Chrysanthemum balsamita*, costmary; Ce, p. xxvii; Cu, p. 94.

**Barley** (*κριθή*): *Hordeum sativum*; various forms—groats, meal, cake, water; D, II.108, 109; G, VI.501K and XII.44K.

**Bdellium** (*βδέλλιον*): Aromatic gum from *Balsamodendrum africanum* (LSJ); also seed from the Palmyra



palm and the Doum palm; D, I.80; G, XI.849K ff; Ce, p. xxii.

**Bean** (κύαμος): *Vicia faba*, *Kuamos hellenikos*; also *Nehumbium speciosum* (the Egyptian bean); D, II.127, 128; G, XII.49K and, for powers of the Egyptian bean, VI.532K.

**Beeswax** (κηρός): *Cera*; used as a discutient, emollient, and enflashing agent; D, II.105; G, XIII.411K; Ce, p. xxvi.

**Bread and honey cataplasm/poultice**: See Artomel.

**Brimstone** (θείον): Sulfur, used either burned or unburned; D, V.124; G, XII.903K.

**Cadmia** (καδμεία): Calamine; for preparation and uses, see D, V.84 and G, XII.219–20K; Ce, p. xxiii.

**Cankerwort** (ἐλατίνη): *Linaria spuria*; D, IV.40; G, XII.873K.

**Caper** (κάππαρις): *Capparis spinosa*; D, II.204; G, XII.9K ff.

**Cardamom/cardamomum** (κάρδαμον): *Lepidarium sativum*, cress; *Eletarria cardamomum*; seeds from Malabar and Sri Lanka produce aromatic oil; D, II.185; G, XII.11–12K; for various external uses, see Ce, p. xxv.

**Castor** (κίκι): *Ricinus communis*; castor oil (*cicinium oleum*); D, IV.164 and for oil I.38; G, XI.649K; Ce, p. xxvi.

**Castoreum** (καστόρειον): Material derived from testes of beavers; used in eye and ear salves; D, II.26; G, XII.337–41K; Ce, p. xxv.

**Catmint** (καλάμινθος): *Nepeta cataria*; various uses, including as diuretic; D, III.43; Ce, p. xlv; Cu, p. 201.

**Celery** (σέλινον): *Selinon agrion* (*Ranunculus repens*), *Selinon keraion* (*Apium graveolens*); D, III.74 and 75; G, XI.834K and XII.158K.

**Celtic spikenard**: See Nard; D, V.67; for powers, G, XII.85K; for use on liver, G, XIII.209K.

**Centaur** (κενταύριον): *Centaurea salonitata*; for the different forms, see D, III.240–42; G, XII.19–20K; Ce, p. xxv–xxvi; Cu, pp. 76–77, 167.

**Cephalicum** (κεφαλικόν): A compound remedy for the head; G, XIII.541K ff. and XIV.765K.

**Cerussa**: See Lead (a).

**Chalcanthum** (χάλκανθος): Copperas water; used for flatworm infestation; D, V.114; for source, powers, and uses, see G, XII.238K ff.

**Chalcitis** (χαλκίτης): copper ore; used for erysipelas and herpes; used in eye medications; D, V.115; G, XI.688K and XII.241K; Ce, p. xvi.

**Chalk, washed** (τίτανος): Used as a drying and cicatrizing agent; D, V.150.

**Chamomile** (χαμαιμήλον): *Matricaria chamomilla*; earth apple; G, XI.562 and 833K; for preparation and uses, see Cu, pp. 67–68.

**Chaste tree seed** (ἄγνος): *Vitex agnus-castus*; used as purgative, for headache, and in poultices; D, I.135; G, XI.807–9K.

**Chian mastich**: See Mastich.

**Cinnamon** (κίναμωμον): *Cinnamomum cassia/verum*; D, I.13; G, XII.26K; Ce, xxvi–xxvii.

**Colocynth** (κολοκύνθη/ος): *Lagenaria vulgaris*; D, IV.178; G, XII.34K.

**Copper, burned** (χαλκός κεκαυμένος): Possibly cuprous oxide; D, V.87; G, XII.242K; Ce, p. xvii, for various preparations of copper.

**Copper, flake** (λεπίς χαλκοῦ): Flakes of cuprous oxide prepared by hammering; D, V.89; Ce, p. xxvii.

**Copper, flower** (ἄνθος χαλκοῦ): Grains of cuprous oxide prepared by quenching heated copper; D, V.88.

**Coriander** (κορίαννον): *Coriandrum sativum*; used as diuretic and externally; D, III.71; G, XII.36K ff; Ce, p. xxvii.

**Cretan alexanders**: See Alexanders.

**Crocus**: See Saffron.

**Cucumber** (σίκνος): *Cucumis sativus*; D, II.162; G, XII.121–22K; Cu, p. 102.

**Cumin** (κύνιον): *Cuminum cyminum*; D, IV.178; G, XII.52K and XIII.119K.

**Cyperus** (κύπερον, κύπερος): *Cyperus rotundus*; D, I.4; G, XII.54, 472, 961K; T, 4.10.5.

**Date palm** (βάλανος φοίνικος): Fruit of *Phoenix dactylifera*; from Egypt; D, I.148; G, XII.151K.

**Diaspermaton**: Medication made from seeds; analgesic and hypnotic; G, MM, 372K and XIII.978K.

**Dill** (ἄνηθον): *Anethum graveolens*; D, III.67; G, XI.832K and XIII.316K; Cu, pp. 105–6.

**Diphryges** (διφρυγής): Baked clay from copper mines (LSJ); sulfide and oxide of copper mixed with iron and zinc ores; used for cleansing and treatment of abscesses; D, V.120; G, XII.214K ff.

**Dropwort** (οἰνάνθη): *Spiraea filipendula*; oenanthe; D, III.135 (oinanthe as *Pedicularis tuberosa*).

**Egyptian thorn** (ἄκανθα Αἰγυπτία): Egyptian acanthus; D, I.133; T, 9.1.2.

**Endive** (ἔντυβος): *Chicorium endivia* (chicory), *C. intybus*; used for eye inflammations, erysipelas; D, II.160; G, VI.628K and XII.119K; Cu, p. 115.

**Epithymum** (ἐπίθυμον): *Cuscuta epithymum*; dodder of thyme; D, IV.179; G, XI.875K; Cu, p. 108–9.

**Euphorbium** (εὐφόρβιον): *Euphorbia resinifera*; spurge; D, IV.165 (for several varieties); G, XI.879K and XIII.270K ff.

**Fenugreek** (τῆλις): *Trigonella foenum-graecum*; used in various mixtures; D, II.124; G, VI.537K and XII.141K; Ce, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

**Fleawort** (ψύλλιον): *Plantago psyllinum*; D, II.151; G, XI.740K; Ce, p. xlvi; Cu, pp. 128–29.

**Frankincense** (λιβανωτός, λίβανος): Gum of *Boswellia carteri*, *B. sacri*; D, I.81; G, XII.60K; Ce, p. xxxix.

**Galena** (μολύβδαινα): See Lead (b).

**Goatwort** (τράγιον): *Tragium columnae* or *Hypericum hircinum*; D, IV.5.

**Grapevine** (ἄμπελος): *Vitis vinifera*; Ampelos oinophoros; D, V.1.

**Hazelwort** (ἄσαρον): *Asarum europeium*; European wild ginger; D, I.9; G, XI.840K.

**Hellebore** (ἐλλέβορος): *Veratrum album*, *Helleborus niger*, *H. officianalis*; white and black hellebore; purgative and emetic; D, IV.150–52; G, XI.874K; Ce, pp. lviii–lix.

**Hematite** (αιματίτης): D, V.144 and 145 for sources and preparation.

**Hemlock** (κωνεῖον): *Conium maculatum*; D, IV.79.

**Henbane** (ύοσκάμος): *Hyoscyamus albus*, *H. niger*; D, IV.69; Cu, pp. 150, 152.

**Higry-pigry** (πίκρα): *Hiera picra*; made from aloes and canella bark; G, XIII.129, 131K.

**Honey** (μέλι): Widely used alone or in mixtures; D, II.101; G, XI.671K ff. and XII.70K.

**Horehound** (πράσιον): *Marrubium vulgare*; D, III.119; G, XII.107K; Ce, p. xliii; Cu, p. 158.

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**Houseleek** (ἀείζων): *Sempervivum arboretum*; D, IV.89–90; G, XI.740, 813K; Cu, pp. 160–61.

**Hyssop** (ὑσσωπος): *Hyssopus officianalis*; G, XII.149K; Cu, pp. 156–57.

**Illyrian iris** (ἰρις Ἰλλυρικῆ): D, I.1; G, XI.135K; Ce, p. xxxvii.

**Iris** (ἰρις): *Iris pallida*; wide range of uses; D, IV.22; Ce, p. xxxvii.

**Isis** (ἰσις): May refer to different things, including types of plasters—see EANS, p. 446.

**Ladanum** (λήδανον): *Cistus creticus*; D, I.128; G, XII.28; Ce, p. xxxviii.

**Lead** (μόλυβδος): Five forms listed in Ce, p. xlvi, as follows (a–c referred to by Galen in MM): (a) *Cerussa* (ψιμόθειον), white lead (lead acetate), used for recent wounds, D, V.103; G, XII.243K (powers and uses), XIII.416K (preparation). (b) *Galena* (μολύβδαινα), lead sulfate, hemostatic, D, V.100. (c) Litharge (λιθάργυρος), *spuma argenti*, treated lead oxide, D, V.102. (d) *Plumbum album*, possibly tinstone. (e) *Plumbi stercus*, lead slag, lead dross, D, V.97.

**Linseed** (λινώσπερμον): *Linum usitatissimum*; Flax; D, II.125; G, VI.549K and XII.62K.

**Litharge** (λιθάργυρος): See Lead (c).

**Mandrake** (μανδραγόρας): *Mandragora officianalis*; used as soporific and anodyne; D, IV.76; G, XI.751K and XII.67K; Ce, pp. xli–xlii; also listed in LSJ as belladonna (*Atropa belladonna*), T, 6.2.9.

**Manna** (μάννα): Manna of frankincense; same powers as frankincense but weaker; D, I.83; G, MM, 887–88K and XII.845K.

**Mastich** (σχήνος): *Pistacia lentiscus*; also termed len-

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tiscum; used for ulceration, dysentery, hemorrhage; D, I.89; G, XII.135K, XIII.35K and for Chian mastich, XII.68 and 180K; Ce, p. xxxix; T, 9.1.2.

**Melikraton** (μελίκρατον): Mulse; mixture of honey with milk, water, and wine, or honey and water (hydromel); Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* V.41; G, VI.741K.

**Mercury** (λινοζώστις): Possibly *Mercurialis annua*; D, IV.191; G, XII.63K and XIV.760K.

**Misy** (μίσιον): Misy, copperas; a copper ore found in Cyprus; D, V.117; G, XI.688K and XII.241K.

**Mustard** (σίναπι): Used in plasters; D, II.142; G, I.682K and XI.870K; Ce, p. liv.

**Myrobalanos** (μυροβάλανος): *Balanos myrepsica*; Ce, p. xxii.

**Myrrh** (σμύρνα): *Commiphora myrrha*; different sources, various uses; D, I.77; G, XII.81 and 127K; Ce, p. xliii.

**Myrtle** (μυρσίνη): *Myrtus communis*; used as a cooling agent and in plasters; D, I.155; G, MM, 330K and XII.81K ff; Ce, p. xliii.

**Nard** (νάρδος): *Nardostachys jatamansi* and other varieties; also called spikenard; D, I.6–8; G, XII.84–85K and XIII.209K; Ce, p. xlv.

**Navelwort** (κοτυληδών): *Cotyledon umbilicus*, *C. sterilis*; G, XII.41K and XIII.386K.

**Nightshade** (στρύχνος): Several species (four listed in LSJ); according to Spencer (Ce, p. lv), all yield scopolamine; D, IV.72–74 (*Physalis alkengi*, *Withania somnifera*, *Datura stramonium*).

**Oak gall** (κηκίς): *Galla*; used externally as astringent, erodent, and excedent; produced in some species of oak by the gall fly; D, I.146; G, XII.24K ff.

- Oil of balsam:** See Balsam.
- Olive oil** (ἐλαιον): D, I.30 and 31.
- Omphacium** (ὀμφάκιον): Juice of unripe olives and grapes; cleaning agent for wounds and ulcers; G, VI.426K and XI.788K.
- Opium** (ὄπιον): Poppy juice, opium; D, IV.65; G, XIII.269K.
- Oporonax** (ὀποπάναξ): Gum of *Oporonax hispidus*; Hercules' woundwort; used in various mixtures; D, III.55; G, XII.94K ff.; XIII.62; Ce, p. xlv.
- Oregano** (ὀρίγανον): An acrid herb; several varieties; D, III.32–34; G, XIV.140K; Ce, p. xlv; Cu, pp. 182–83.
- Oxymel** (ὀξύμελι): A vinegar/honey mixture; D, V.22 (for preparation); G, VI.271ff.
- Oxyrhodinum** (ὀξυρρόδιον): Vinegar and oil of roses mixture; D, I.29; G, XI.559K.
- Panax** (πανάκεια): *Panaces*, all-heal; an emollient mucilage; G, XI.863K; Ce, p. xlv.
- Papyrus** (πάπυρος): *Cyperus papyrus*; used for fistulae, wounds, and ulcers; D, I.115; G, XII.94K; Ce, p. xlvi.
- Pasion, troche of:** Prepared from copper flake, burned copper, sal ammoniac, alum, and verdigris heated in the sun with frankincense then added—see *EANS*, p. 627.
- Pennyroyal** (βλήχων): *Mentha pulegium*; D, III.36; G, XI.882K; Ce, p. xlii.
- Pepper** (πέπερι): *Piper nigrum*, *P. album*, and *P. longum*; D, II.189; G, XII.97K (uses of all three forms); Ce, p. xlvii.
- Pine** (πεύκη): *Pinus pinea* and other varieties; various products (cones, resin) and uses; D, I.86–88; Ce, p. xlvii.

**Pitch** (πίσσα): Used as emollient and in preparation of plasters; D, I.94 and 95; G, XI.734K and XIII.709K.

**Plantain** (ἀρνόγλωσσον): *Plantago major*; D, II.153; G, XIII.320K; Ce, p. xlvii–xlviii; Cu, pp. 224–25.

**Polyeides, troche of:** Prepared from aloes, alum, calcanthum, myrrh, pomegranate flowers, and bull gall ground in dry wine—see *EANS*, p. 682.

**Pomegranate** (ρόα/ροιά): *Punica granatum*; for various forms (including the rind), see D, I.151–54; G, VI.603K and XI.847K.

**Pompholyx** (πομφόλυξ): Impure zinc oxide; D, V.85; G, XII.234–35K; for use as an emplastic, G, XII.634K; for use in the eyes, G, XII.699K.

**Poppy** (μήκων): *Papaver somniferum*, *P. rhoeas* (wild poppy), *P. argemone* (prickly poppy); D, IV.64–66; G, VI.548K and XII.74K; Ce, p. xlv–xlvi.

**Propolis** (πρόπολις): Bee glue; a resinous substance gathered by bees for use in hive-building; used for nerve wounds and other things; D, II.106; G, XII.108K.

**Ptisan** (πτισάνη): A medicinal drink made from barley; see Galen's *De ptisana*, VI.816–31K, and for powers and uses, G, XV.452K.

**Purpura** (πορφύρα): Dye from the purple fish (genus of *Murex* gastropods); D, II.4; G, XII.344 and 348K.

**Purslane** (ἀνδράχνη): *Portulaca oleracea*; D, II.151; G, VI.634K, XI.740, 751K; Cu, pp. 231–32.

**Quince juice** (μηλον κυδώνιον): *Cydonia vulgaris*; multiple uses; D, I.160; G, VI.602K and XII.76K.

**Radish** (ραφανίς): *Raphanus sativus*; D, II.137; G, XII.111K (powers and uses).

**Rosaceum** (ρόδινος): Rhodinum; for preparation, see D, I.53; also G, XI.538K.

**Rue** (πήγανον): *Ruta graveolens*; D, III.52, 53; G, XI.809K; Ce, p. li.

**Rupos** (ρύπος): Grime from different sources—baths, wrestling halls, gymnasia; D, I.34–36.

**Safflower** (κνήκος): *Cnicus* sp. or *Carthamus tinctorius*; D, IV.190; G, XI.610–12K.

**Saffron** (κρόκος): *Crocus sativus*; D, I.25; G, XII.48K; Ce, pp. xviii–xxix.

**Sagapine** (σαγάπηνον): Probably *Ferula persica*; also its gum; D, III.95; G, XII.117K; Ce, p. li.

**Scammony** (σκαμμωνία): *Convolvulus scammonia*, *C. farinosus*; used in purging mixtures and with barley in poultices; D, IV.171; G, IV.760K; Ce, p. liii.

**Scolopendrium** (σκολόπενδριον): *Scolopendrium officinale*; hart's tongue; D, III.121; G, XI.746K; Cu, pp. 145, 147.

**Sinopian earth** (Σινωπική μίλτος): A red earth found in Cappadocia; D, V.111.

**Sorrel** (όξάλις): *Rumex acetosa*, *R. patienta*, *R. crispis*; curled dock (όξύλάπαθον); D, II.140; G, VI.794K and XV.405K.

**Spikenard**: See Nard.

**Stinging nettle** (άκαλήφη): *Urtica pilulifera*; D, IV.94; G, VI.639K, XI.817K; Ce, p. lviii; Cu, pp. 202–3.

**Storax** (στύραξ): *Storax officinalis*; used for promoting suppuration and for treating wounds; D, I.79; G, XI.767K and XII.131K; Ce, p. lvi.

**Sycamore** (συκόμορον): Fruit of the sycamore fig (*Ficus sycomorus*); D, I.181.

**Tamarisk** (μυρίκη): *Tamarix tetrandia* (Greece); *Tamarix articulata* (Egypt); used as a repressive and cooling

agent; D, I.118; G, XI.746K (use of root); G, XII.80K ff.; Ce, p. lvii; Cu, pp. 281–82.

**Terebinth** (τερέβινθος/τέρμυθος): *Pistachia terebinthus*; terebinthus; resin from turpentine tree; D, I.91; G, XII.113–14 and 137K; Ce, p. lvii.

**Thapsia** (θαψία): *Thapsia garganica*; a strong counterirritant; D, IV.157; G, XI.885K.

**Thyme** (θύμον): *Thymbria capitata*; Cretan thyme; D, III.44; G, XI.887K ff.

**Tragacanth** (τραγάκανθα): *Astragalus gummifer*, also *A. aristatus*, *A. parnasei*, *A. creticus*; D, III.23; G, XII.143K and XIII.10K.

**Turpentine**: See Terebinth.

**Verdigris** (ιός): Basic cupric acetate; D, V.91; G, XII.218K.

**Vetch** (όροβος): *Vicia ervilia*; meal of bitter vetch; D, II.131.

**Vinegar** (όξος): Used alone or in mixtures (e.g., oxymel); D, V.21–25; G, XII.90K (medicinal powers).

**Wax**: See Beeswax.

**White lead** (cerussa): See Lead (a).

**Wild lettuce** (θριδακίνη): *Lactuca scariola*; D, II.166; G, XI.887K; Cu, pp. 170–71.

**Wine** (οίνος): For the variety of wines, see D, V.7–82 and G, VI.334–39K.

**Wormwood** (άψίνθιον): *Artemisia absinthium*, also *A. pontica* and *A. maritima*; absinthium; carminative and diuretic; D, III.26; Ce, p. xv; Cu, pp. 307–13.

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Kühn (= K) vol. X has provided the base text for ours printed here.

The Latin text printed in K (abbreviated by us as KLat in this volume) was produced three hundred years before K was printed, and so is not a translation or a correction of K's Greek text. It clearly draws on other MSS than those used by K, reflecting different readings in the Greek. This may sometimes alert us to a problem in K; but generally we have not privileged the Latin translation over K's Greek text.

For a list of MSS of the *MM*, see Diels.<sup>115</sup> The following manuscripts are referred to in our textual notes with the abbreviation listed.

B—British Library MS Add. 6898 (London; 12th cent.)<sup>116</sup>

P1—Parisinus Gr. 2160 (Paris; 14th cent.)

P2—Parisinus Gr. 2171 (Paris; 15th cent.)<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Hermann Diels, *Die Handschriften der Antiken Ärzte* (Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1970 reprint), pp. 91–93.

<sup>116</sup> We are not attempting to provide here a full collation of B against K. B exhibits many other differences, e.g., in word order and in orthography, and it is interesting for other reasons as well. But we have very rarely noted these.

<sup>117</sup> We have not directly consulted the two Paris MSS. We have made use of some of their readings for Books 1 and 2 as they are reported by Hankinson, *Galen on the Therapeutic Method*, App. I, pp. 235–37.



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Boulogne (2009) 11, 31, draws upon these three MSS for his translation and also upon three others as well as two fragmentary MSS. We have included no references to these other five in our textual notes.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ce Celsus. *De Medicina*. Translated by W. G. Spencer. Loeb Classical Library. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935–1938.
- CMG Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
- Cu Nicholas Culpepper. *The English Physician Enlarged (Culpepper's Herbal)*. London: Folio Society, 2007 [1653].
- D Dioscorides. *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, translated by John Goodyer [1653]. Edited by R. T. Gunther. New York: Hafner, 1968 [1933].
- EANS *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists*. Edited by P. T. Keyser and G. L. Irby-Massie. London: Routledge, 2008.
- G Galen. References to the *MM* are indicated by the Kühn page number; references to other Galenic works are indicated by the Kühn volume and page numbers. His three major pharmacological treatises are *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, XI.379–892K and XII.1–377K; *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, XII.378–1007K and XIII.1–361K; *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, XIII.362–1058K.

## ABBREVIATION

- Gr M. D. Grmek. *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- L&S C. T. Lewis and C. Short. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993 [1879].
- LCL Loeb Classical Library.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. (1940), with revised suppl. by P. G. W. Glare. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- M C. C. Mettler. *The History of Medicine*. Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1947.
- OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*. 12 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978 [1933].
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## SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS

### BOOK I

1. Following the dedicatory remarks to Hiero, which include Galen's explanation for his delay in providing the requested *Method of Medicine*, he laments the decline in standards among doctors in general and the lack of discrimination among patients in their selection of a doctor. He singles out Thessalus and the Methodics as the extreme example of this decline in standards, particularly when compared to the era of the great schools of Cos and Cnidus.

2. Galen begins his virulent attack on Thessalus, mixing ad hominem arguments with derisory remarks on his teaching, which compares so unfavorably with that of the ancients. The sustained polemic is peppered with literary allusions and references to previous luminaries in medicine and the natural sciences, as well as to other philosophers and logicians.

3. The attack on Thessalus now focuses on the issue of classification, particularly the gross oversimplification of dividing diseases into two major classes only (fluxion and obstruction), with a nebulous third class combining the two. Galen broadens the discussion to classification generally and again brings in, as his allies, his two most admired

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philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, and others to aid him in his contemptuous dismissal of Thessalus.

4. This chapter completes the first salvo of the attack on Thessalus by examining the two ways of acquiring knowledge, reason and experience. In identifying the fundamental element in his system as the "communities," Thessalus (according to Galen) has used neither and is quite unable to demonstrate the existence or nature of his supposed "communities" in any satisfactory way.

5. Having dispatched the upstart Methodics, Galen now begins to establish the foundation of his own method of treatment. First, he defines the starting point, and second, he examines the key concepts on which the method is based, beginning with health and disease. A digression ensues on the issue of naming generally.

6. Consideration is given to some of the distinctions important in the theoretical basis of Galen's method: between functioning actively and being affected passively, between the different applications of the term "part" in relationship to the whole, and between *homoiomeres* and organs. The eye is used here, as elsewhere, as an example.

7. Starting from the axiom that nothing happens without a cause, Galen examines the nature of causation in diseases. In considering this, it needs to be clearly recognized that health and disease must fall within the same class. Thus, if health lies in functions that are in accord with nature, then disease must lie in functions that are contrary to nature. The same applies if health is defined as a condition that is in accord with nature. Galen embarks on a further attack on the Methodics, particularly Julianus, for their failure to define disease and to distinguish disease

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from affection. The key point for Galen himself is that the conditions of bodies are the causes of diseases acting by impairing functions and so are the proper objects of treatment.

8. There is, however, a third class apart from conditions and functions, which is that of causes affecting conditions. When a disease is present because of damaged function consequent upon an altered condition, the cause responsible for the altered condition may be either still operative or no longer so. Galen makes the distinction between diseases and symptoms. The latter are due to changed conditions that are neutral in terms of function. A distinction is also made between internal and external antecedent causes.

9. After a further digression directed at Olympicus, Galen identifies the four things that exist in relation to the body which may or may not be in accord with nature: functions, constitutions/conditions, the things which precede the first two, and the things which are consequent upon them. Most of the chapter is, however, about the confusion of the Methodics regarding terms and definitions.

## BOOK II

1. Galen lists those things that are contrary to nature (abnormal) in his conceptual scheme: damaged functions, conditions responsible for the damage, causes of the conditions, and the symptoms that follow them. Although there may be some doubt where "disease" is located in this scheme, this is not critical. What is critical is to apply treatment to eradicate the condition in the particular case.

Time should not be wasted on sterile terminological dispute. Nevertheless, agreement on terminology is necessary for effective communication of ideas and specifically for teaching.

2. Galen gives examples of the different ways in which diseases are named. This provides insight into apparent anomalies in nomenclature. He refers to his treatises on the differentiae of diseases and symptoms. These, he says, must be studied before the present treatise on treatment can be effectively utilized.

3. First Galen stresses the need to know the elemental composition of the body. Then he gives further description of those things that are contrary to nature (causes, diseases, and symptoms, in this case), providing examples of each and giving thought as to how they are to be distinguished.

4. To understand, categorize, and classify diseases, it is necessary to know what causes normal function and what disturbs it. Two examples are given—taste and touch. Arguments, even ridicule, are directed against the Methodics and Erasistrateans, as well as the Empirics to a lesser extent. Galen concludes by considering abnormalities in the balance of the four elemental qualities (*dyskrasias*), either singly or in combination, as causes of abnormal function, and the principles of restoration of normality by reestablishing the correct balance.

5. The bedrock of the Dogmatic or Rationalist tradition in medicine is the knowledge of its theoretical basis—the physical components of the body, functions, conditions, causes, etc. Of course, experience plays a role, but not to the exclusion of theory, as the Empirics claim. In addition,

demonstration and reasoned argument are essential. It is this theoretical foundation that is the starting point for devising and evaluating the various forms of treatment. The other schools are ridiculed for their failure to recognize this. The chapter ends with a further lamentation about present-day doctors, whom Galen thinks, in the majority of cases, are more concerned with wealth and reputation than the pursuit of truth.

6. Galen asserts that the first and essential step in establishing a rational method of medicine is to determine the total number of diseases and to classify them appropriately. This requirement is ignored by the other schools, particularly the Methodics. Galen refers especially to his four treatises on diseases and symptoms and the division therein of diseases into the *dyskrasias* of the *homoiomeres*, disorders of conformation, number, magnitude, and position of the organic parts, and dissolution of continuity—that is, six classes of diseases in all.

7. The method of medicine, and specifically of treatment, to be set out by Galen is based on indication (*endeixis*). This is a theoretical construct independent of experience. To discover cures for each of the diseases, it is necessary to know precisely what “disease” is. Before getting to the point, Galen embarks on a long digression about the distinction between what is one in form and what is one in number and how names are devised and applied in different circumstances. The argument is particularly directed against Themison. The purpose of the argument for Galen is to establish that the key concepts in his scheme, such as disease, condition, symptom, and affection, actually exist in bodies and can be related to indication.

## BOOK III

1. Galen states that indication (*endeixis*) is the starting point for the discovery of cures for all diseases. However, it is only the starting point, and in many instances is known to laymen. What the doctor adds is knowledge of how to carry out what the indication indicates. According to Galen, this knowledge is acquired either by experience, which takes time, or by theory—there is no third path. In whatever way it is acquired, it also involves knowing what can and cannot be achieved by the measures available.

2. Galen considers first a wound in a fleshy part. A simple wound requires union; a wound with a cavity requires filling of the cavity plus union. How to achieve these objectives can only be known by either experience or reason; there is no other way, as Thessalus and his followers claim. Galen emphasizes this point in relation to enfleshing medications, particularly the compound medication cephalicum. Harmful treatments, especially oil in a wound with a cavity, are also considered, as are the different responses of different patients to the same medication. Some principles of the preparation of multicomponent medications are outlined. Both the Methodics and the Empirics come in for further criticism when their methods are compared to Galen's method of treatment.

3. The cure of hollow wounds (i.e., those with a cavity) is discussed. The two primary requirements for filling of the cavity are healthy (i.e., *eukratic*) underlying flesh and the inflow of blood in the right quantity and of the right quality. Problems arise if there are superfluities making the wound moist or filthy. Drying medications are needed to deal with thin superfluities and purifying medications to

deal with thick superfluities. Specific medications are considered.

4. The basic treatment of the uncomplicated wound without a cavity or skin loss is conglutination. Fleshy structures will maintain the union of their own accord; hard and dry structures need something to keep them together—e.g., encircling bandages, sutures, or fibulae. Drying medications may also be used. Wounds need to be dried, cleansed, and drawn together where possible. If there is a cavity, it needs to be filled with flesh. Some consideration is given to the nature of medications used in wound healing.

5. Galen states that treatment of the wound with tissue loss needs regeneration of flesh, which in turn needs blood. The problem of regenerating skin is considered. Galen takes it to be impossible to regenerate skin as such, so the need arises to make the regenerated tissue sufficiently like skin to be able to perform the functions of skin. For this, there are medications that are drying and contracting. Some specific examples are considered.

6. The overgrowth of flesh in a wound or ulcer is considered. The therapeutic aim is removal of excess flesh, and the means are medications that are strongly drying. These are similar to the medications that are cleansing and scar-inducing. Examples are given. Only those working by Galen's method are able to make the appropriate changes in treatment to meet different circumstances.

7. In contrast, the so-called method of the Methodics is lacking when it comes to deciding on the treatment for wounds, in particular because it doesn't take into account the nature of the affected part. According to Galen, treatment must also be tailored to the individual patient, espe-

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cially their *krasis*. The Empiric has some awareness of this, albeit nontheoretical, whereas the Methodic has none.

8. The need to ensure that the underlying flesh is in good condition (i.e., *eukratic*) when attempting to heal a wound is stressed. Cleansing and removal of excess flesh can be achieved by medications alone. Other important factors are considered, such as the multiple potencies of some medications which can, in fact, be conflicting, the *krasis* of the surroundings, and the season. In addition, more moist natures require more moist medications, and so on.

9. In deciding on the treatment of a wound, the key factors are the *krasis* of the whole body, of the affected part, and of the ambient air, and the nature of the affected part. These may be in opposition to one another. Galen discusses how to deal with this and how to decide on the order of treatment if several factors are involved—e.g., an inflamed and contaminated wound with a cavity. The matter of treating the most dangerous condition first is considered.

10. A summary is given of the differentiae of wounds, with particular attention to differences of form, magnitude, and chronicity. Galen makes a plea for accurate terminology in describing a wound. He emphasizes that the chronicity of a wound per se indicates nothing specific. The need to establish an outflow for ichors from a wound is considered.

## BOOK IV

1. Galen continues the discussion of dissolution of continuity as a class of diseases variously named according to

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the part involved. He begins with some general remarks about simple and compound conditions. The causation of wounds and ulcers (*helkos*) and the basic requirements for their cure are considered. The importance of the underlying flesh being in a good state (*eukratic*) is emphasized.

2. How to treat abnormalities in the underlying flesh that will prejudice the treatment of the overlying wound or ulcer is outlined. The treatment of swellings associated with wounds or ulcers is described, as is the place of excision in facilitating healing. The need to prevent the flow of bad humors into the affected part and the need to reestablish balance in terms of the four qualities for healing to take place are both discussed.

3. According to Galen, the primary indication for treatment doesn't come from the *prokatarktic* (external antecedent) cause; it comes from the condition. Also, causes can't be treated if they are no longer operating. The distinction between therapy and prophylaxis is made. Empirics may take the *prokatarktic* cause as part of the syndrome and include it in considerations of treatment—an example is a scorpion sting. *Prokatarktic* causes do contribute to diagnosis. Galen criticizes the Empirics and stresses that *prokatarktic* causes have nothing to do with indications. The case of an ulcer arising from an abscess is considered. Further consideration is given to the distinction between therapy and prophylaxis.

4. Two long quotations from Thessalus on the treatment of *kakoethical* (chronic and intractable) ulcers are given. Thessalus' method of treatment comes under heavy criticism from Galen, not surprisingly. He berates Thessalus for taking chronicity as an indication. He then presents a very detailed criticism of Thessalus' approach to the di-

agnosis and management of wounds and ulcers. According to Galen, Thessalus is deeply ignorant of the use of medications in the treatment of ulcers. A hypothetical case of a *kakoethical* ulcer is considered. Galen returns to his own basic contention: the primary indication is taken from the condition. A criticism of Methodic terminology is offered.

5. Ulcers described as *kakoethical* are considered. The key features are chronicity and difficulty of cure. Chronicity is not, however, an indicator of treatment. It is a sign of the bad condition of the affected part and/or a generalized *kakochymia*. Chronicity is a sign, *kakochymia* is a condition, and evacuation is the treatment. He gives a series of quotations from Hippocrates on chronicity in wounds and ulcers. The possible role of varices is considered. The importance of purging the whole body is stressed. Measures are described for producing suppuration when this is desirable. The significance of associated bruising in regard to treatment is discussed, as is the place of incision. In summary, there is one general cure for wounds and ulcers, and there is no therapeutic indication to be taken from chronicity. According to Hippocrates, drying is the fundamental component of treatment for all wounds and ulcers. Further criticism is directed at Thessalus regarding the treatment of ulcers.

6. There is additional discussion of the Hippocratic teaching on the treatment of wounds and ulcers. In identifying the therapeutic indications, a key factor is the severity of the disease or condition. Galen considers the differing roles of phlebotomy and purging, as well as the specifics of purging in the treatment of wounds and ulcers. The distinction is made between the upper and lower body cavities (chest and abdomen) in relation to purging. The

Hippocratic position on phlebotomy in the treatment of chronic wounds and ulcers is defined—in particular, his recommendation to create a flow of blood from a recent wound as a way of preventing inflammation. A general statement on medications to draw away other humors is provided.

7. There is further discussion of the origins of the indications for treatment. The importance of the position and conformation of the affected part as indicative factors is stressed. Differences in the nature and timing of treatment for ulcers in the stomach and esophagus are considered. Some differences between internally and externally administered medications are identified. Various medications are described. The method of application of medications for ulcers of the mouth and pharynx is described, as are the particular features of medications for the trachea. The treatment of ruptures and ecchymoses is detailed.

ΓΑΛΗΝΟΥ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΙΚΗΣ  
ΜΕΘΟΔΟΥ  
METHOD OF MEDICINE



## BIBAIION A<sup>1</sup>

1K 1. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ με πολλάκις, ὦ Ἱέρων<sup>2</sup> φίλτατε, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς νῦν ἐταῖροι παρακαλοῦσι θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον αὐτοῖς γράφαι, ἐγὼ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπους ὠφελῆσαι καθ' ὅσον οἶός τέ εἰμι προαιρούμενος, ὅμως ἄκνουν τε καὶ ἀνεβαλλόμεν ἑκάστοτε διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας, ἄμεινον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ νῦν αὐτὰς διελεῖν, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῆς πραγματείας, ἔχουσι γάρ τι χρήσιμον εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα ῥηθῆσεσθαι.

2K κεφάλαιον μὲν οὖν ἀπασῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ κινδυνεύσαι | μάτην γράφαι, μηδενὸς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀλήθειαν σπουδάζοντος, ἀλλὰ χρηματὰ τε καὶ δυνάμεις πολιτικὰς καὶ ἀπλήστους ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις ἐζηλωκότων ἐς τοσοῦτον ὡς μαίνεσθαι νομίζειν εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ γένοιτο σοφίαν ἀσκῶν ἡντιναοῦν. αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ὄντως σοφίαν, ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, οὐδ' εἶναι νομίζουσι τὸ παράπαν ἰατρι-

<sup>1</sup> K; ΠΡΩΤΟΝ (om. BIBAIION) B

<sup>2</sup> Ἱέρων B

## BOOK I

1. Since you, my dearest Hiero,<sup>1</sup> [have called upon me] 1K many times, and now also certain other colleagues are calling upon me to write a method of medicine for them, and since I especially wished to oblige you [all], and no less also made a choice to help those who will come after us, as far as I am able, but have, however, been hesitating and delaying each time for many reasons, it seems to me better to go over these reasons now, before I begin the treatise, as they do have some relevance to what is going to be said.

The chief reason of all is the risk of writing in vain, as almost nobody nowadays is, one might say, eager for truth. 2K Instead, people strive after money, political power, and an insatiable enjoyment of pleasures to such an extent that they would consider someone mad if he were to gain expertise in any area whatsoever. They think the truly primary form of wisdom, which is knowledge of matters divine and human, doesn't exist at all. However, they do

<sup>1</sup> On Hiero, to whom the first six books are dedicated, V. Nutton, in F. Kudlien and R. J. Durling (1991), p. 5, writes: "[He] must then be assumed to have been an extremely competent medical practitioner, and we are told by Galen that he had a detailed knowledge of anatomy and a long-standing and intimate acquaintance with Galen and other doctors."

κῆν δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ ῥητορικὴν ἀριθμητικὴν τε καὶ μουσικὴν ἀπάσας τε τὰς τοιαύτας τέχνας εἶναι μὲν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ γε<sup>3</sup> τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν ἰέναι δικαιοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τῶν πάντων δοκούντων με φιλεῖν ἔνιοι πολλάκις ἐπετίμησαν ὡς πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὴν ἀλήθειαν σπουδάζοντι καὶ ὡς οὐτ' ἔμαντῶ<sup>4</sup> μέλλουσι χρησίμῳ γενήσεσθαι παρ' ὄλον τὸν βίον οὐτε ἐκείνοις, εἰ μὴ σχολάσαιμι μὲν τι τῆς τοσαύτης περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν σπουδῆς, προσαγορεύοιμι δὲ περιερχόμενος ἕωθεν, εἰς ἑσπέραν τε συνδειπνοῦμι τοῖς δυναμένοις· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ προσάγεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας πιστεύεσθαι,<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κρίνοντας ἐκείνην, ἀπάντων δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἀσχολουμένων, ἕωθεν μὲν ἐν προσαγορεύσεσι κοινῇ, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἤδη σχιζομένων, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰς δίκας οὐ μικροῦ τινος ἔθνους, ἐπὶ δ' αὖ τοὺς ὀρχηστάς τε καὶ τοὺς ἠμιόχους ἐτέρου πλείονος, οὐκ ὀλίγου δὲ τινος ἄλλου τοῖς κύβοις, ἢ τισιν ἔρωσιν, ἢ λουτροῖς, ἢ μέθαις, ἢ κόμοις σχολάζοντος, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις ἡδοναῖς τοῦ σώματος, ἐς ἑσπέραν δὲ κοινῇ πάντων αἰθῆς συναθροιζομένων εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, κάπειδαν ἐμπλησθῶσιν οἴνου, οὐ λύρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιφερομένης, ἢ κιθάρας, ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ὧν ἀπτεσθαι πάλαι κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας συνόδους καλὸν ἐνεόμιστο καὶ δεινῶς αἰσχρὸν τούναντίον ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λόγων τινῶν ἀνακοινουμένων, οἷους ἐν τοῖς συμ-

3K

accept that medicine, geometry, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, and all such arts do exist, but they don't think it worthwhile to pursue them, at least not to their fulfillment. But also, even some who seem particularly well-disposed toward me have often reproached me for having an excessive zeal for truth. [They say] that, throughout my whole life, I shall never be of use, either to myself or to them, unless I take some time off from such a pursuit for truth and go around greeting people in the early morning and dining with those who are powerful in the evening. It is [they say] from these activities that craftsmen are approved of, accepted and trusted. It is not from their particular attainment, for there are no judges of that because they are occupied for the whole day, spending the early mornings in salutations in public, and, after that, when they have already split up, a not inconsiderable crowd goes off to the forum and the law courts, another crowd, larger again, goes off to dances and chariot races, while another crowd, by no means small, spends its time in dicing, amorous adventures, bathing, drinking, carousing, or indulging in certain other pleasures of the body. However, when evening falls, they all come together again for symposia. There, when they have drunk their fill of wine, neither the lyre nor cithara, nor any of the other musical instruments is passed around in a circle—instruments which, in ancient times, were thought of as good to make use of at such gatherings (the opposite being taken as particularly shameful), nor do they put forward arguments such as occurred at the sym-

3K

<sup>3</sup> γε *om.* B      <sup>4</sup> οὐτ' ἔμαντῶ B; οὐθ' ἑαντῶ K

<sup>5</sup> καὶ φιλεῖσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας B (*om.* καὶ προσάγεσθαι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι)

ποσίοις συνέγραψαν ἡμῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ γινομένους, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλου τῶν καλῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ προπιπνόντων μὲν ἀλλήλοις, ἀμιλλωμένων δὲ περὶ μεγέθους ἐκπωμάτων. ἄριστος γὰρ ἐν τούτοις οὐχ ὁ πλείστων ἀψάμενος ὀργάνων μουσικῶν ἢ λόγων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλ' ὁ παμπόλλας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκπιῶν κύλικας·

4K ὥστ' ἔμοιγε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἔω | δοκοῦσιν ἔτι μεθύειν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὄζουσιν οἴνου σαφῶς οὕτως ὡς ἄρτι προσενηνεγμένοι. ὥστ' εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴν νοσεῖν ὑπάρξωνται, μετακαλοῦνται τῶν ἰατρῶν<sup>6</sup> οὐ τοὺς ἀρίστους, οὐς γε μηδὲ πάποτε κρίναι προϋθυμήθησαν ὑγιαίνουτες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς συνηθεστάτους τε ἅμα καὶ κολακευτικωτάτους, οἳ καὶ ψυχρὸν δώσουσιν, ἢν αἰτηθῶσι, καὶ λούσουσιν, ἢν κελυσθῶσι, καὶ χιόνα καὶ οἶνον ὀρέξουσιν καὶ πᾶν ὑπηρητήσουσιν τὸ προσταπτόμενον ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδα, ἔμπαλιν ἐκείνοις τῶν ἰατρῶν τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδαις, οἳ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἠξίουσαν ἄρχειν ὡς στρατηγοὶ στρατηγουμένων καὶ βασιλεῖς ὑπηκόων, οὐκ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ δεσπόζεσθαι, καθάπερ Γέται καὶ Τίβιοι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Θρᾶκες ἀργυρώνητοι. οὐκ οὐχ ὁ κρείττων τὴν τέχνην, ἀλλ' ὁ κολακεύειν δεινότερος ἐντιμότερος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, καὶ τούτῳ ἅπαντα βάσιμα καὶ πόριμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεψῆγασιν αἱ θύραι τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ πλουτεῖ τε ταχέως οὗτος καὶ πολὺ δύναται, καὶ μαθητὰς ἔχει τοὺς ἐκ κοιτῶνος καλοῦς<sup>8</sup> ὅταν ἐξωροὶ γένωνται.

posia which the ancients recorded for us, nor do they do anything else noble. Instead, they drink toasts to one another, competing over the size of their drafts. For the best among them is not the one who plays most musical instruments or engages in most philosophical arguments, but the one who quaffs the most and the biggest bowls of wine.

So to me, at least, the majority of such men still seem drunk around dawn, and some of them smell so clearly of wine it is as if they had just now been plying themselves with it. As a result, when they become sick, naturally they do not call in the best doctors, whom they never showed themselves eager to pick out when they were healthy. Instead they choose those doctors to whom they are most accustomed and who are, at the same time, those most inclined to flattery. These doctors will give them cold water if they ask for it, and will bathe them if they demand it, and set out snow and wine, and will comply with every order, like slaves—quite the opposite to those Aclepiadian doctors of ancient times who thought it right to rule the sick, like generals rule armies and kings rule subjects rather than be ruled and dominated like Getae, Tibians, Phrygians, or Thracians who are bought with silver. Thus it is not the man who is better at the craft [of medicine] but the man who is cleverer at flattery who is more honored among them. For him, everything is accessible and provided; the doors of houses stand open to such a man. He quickly becomes rich and very powerful, and has pretty boys from the bedchamber as his students when they become too old.

4K

<sup>6</sup> τῶν ἰατρῶν *om.* B, *recte fort.*

<sup>7</sup> Γέται καὶ *om.* B

<sup>8</sup> B, P1; πολλοῦς, K

5K καὶ τοῦτο κατανοήσας ὁ Θεσσαλὸς | ἐκείνος οὐ τὰ  
 ἄλλα μόνου ἐκολάκευε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλου-  
 σίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μῆσιν ἕξ ἐπαγγείλασθαι διδάξειν  
 τὴν τέχνην ἐτόίμως ἐλάμβανε μαθητὰς παμπόλλους.  
 εἰ γὰρ οὔτε γεωμετρίας οὔτε ἀστρονομίας οὔτε δια-  
 λεκτικῆς οὔτε μουσικῆς οὔτε<sup>9</sup> ἄλλου τινὸς μαθήματος  
 τῶν καλῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἰατροὶ γενήσεσθαι δέονται,  
 καθάπερ ὁ γενναιότατος ἐπηγγείλατο Θεσσαλός, ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ μακρὰς ἐμπειρίας χρῆζονσι καὶ συνηθείας τῶν  
 ἔργων τῆς τέχνης, ἔτοιμον ἤδη προσιέναι παντὶ τῷ<sup>10</sup>  
 γενησομένῳ ραδίως ἰατρῷ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σκυτοτόμοι  
 καὶ τέκτονες καὶ βαφεῖς καὶ χαλκεῖς ἐπιτηδῶσιν ἤδη  
 τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς ἰατρικῆς, τὰς ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 λιπόντες τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ῥῶπον διατιθέμενοι  
 καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἐρίζουσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ γρά-  
 φειν ἄκνουν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον, ἣν εἰσηγήσαντο  
 μὲν ἄνδρες παλαιοί, τελειῶσαι δ' ἐπεχείρησαν οἱ μετ'  
 αὐτούς.

καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἔρις ἦν οὐ σμικρά, νικῆσαι τῷ  
 πληθει τῶν εὐρημάτων ἀλλήλους ὀριγνωμένων τῶν ἐν  
 Κῶ καὶ Κνίδῳ· διττὸν γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἦν τῶν  
 6K ἐπὶ | τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, ἐπιλιπόντος τοῦ κατὰ  
 Ῥόδον· ἤριζον δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἔριν ἐκείνην, ἣν  
 Ἡσίοδος ἐπῆγει καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἰατροί, Φιλι-

<sup>9</sup> μουσικῆς οὔτε *om.* B

<sup>10</sup> τῷ B; *om.* K

Because that man Thessalus<sup>2</sup> recognized this, he not only used to flatter the rich in Rome in various ways but also, by promising to teach the craft in six months, readily attracted a great number of students. For if those who would become doctors have no need of geometry, astronomy, dialectic, music, or any of the other noble disciplines, as the most high-minded Thessalus proclaimed, and further, if they have no need of extensive experience in, or familiarity with, the practices of the craft, there is now a ready way forward for anyone who wants to become a doctor easily. Because of this, cobblers, carpenters, dyers, and blacksmiths may now leap into the practices of medicine, forsaking their own original crafts. And these men, when they have displayed their meagre talents, also contend for preeminence. This is why I myself have been hesitant to write about a method of medical treatment—a method which the ancients introduced, and which those who came after them have tried to bring to completion.

In past times, too, there was no little contention as those in Cos and Cnidus strove to prevail over each other in the number of their discoveries. There were still two groups of Asclepiads in Asia, even when the one on Rhodes had failed.<sup>3</sup> And the Italian doctors, Philistion, Empedo-

<sup>2</sup> Thessalus, fl. first century AD, is the main target of Galen's vituperation throughout the work but particularly in this first book. He may be taken as having established the Methodic sect.

<sup>3</sup> Galen accepts the orthodox view of two founding schools of medicine in the Aegean in the fifth century BC. There is no real information on a further, distinct school at Rhodes.

στίων τε καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πανσανίας καὶ οἱ τούτων ἑταῖροι καὶ τρεῖς οὗτοι χοροὶ θαυμαστοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλωμένων ἐγένοντο ἰατρῶν πλείστους μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀρίστους χορευτὰς ὁ Κῶος εὐτυχήσας εἶχεν, ἐγγὺς δ' ἔτι τούτου<sup>11</sup> καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κνίδου, λόγου δ' ἦν ἄξιος οὐ σμικροῦ καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς τούτων οὔτε ἕωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων ἐφοίτα θύρας προσαγορεύσων αὐτοὺς οὔτ' εἰς ἐσπέραν δειπνησόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἡσίοδος φησιν,<sup>12</sup>

Εἰς ἕτερον γὰρ τίς τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζει<sup>13</sup>  
πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρόμμεναι ἠδὲ  
φυτεύειν,

7K οὕτω κάκεινοι διὰ παντὸς ἤριζον ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἀροῦν ἢ φυτεύειν γῆν, σμικρότερα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῦ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν γένους καὶ Ἀσκραίῳ πρέποντα ποιητῆ, ἀλλ' ἀσκεῖν καὶ αὔξειν αἰεὶ<sup>14</sup> καὶ τελειοῦν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ | τέχνην. νυνὶ δ' ἀπόλωλε μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ ἔρις, ἢ σμικρὸν ἔτι καὶ ἀμυδρὸν αὐτῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν· ἐπικρατεῖ δ' ἡ πονηρὰ καὶ ὁ ἀποτρέψων οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ὁ ἰασόμενος, ὥσπερ Ἡσίοδος,

Μηδέ σ' Ἔρις κακόχαρτος ἀπ' ἔργου θυμὸν  
ἐρύκοι.

<sup>11</sup> B; τούτῳ K      <sup>12</sup> K; ἐποίησεν B, P1, P2

<sup>13</sup> B; χατίζων K      <sup>14</sup> αἰεὶ om. B

cles, Pausanias and their colleagues<sup>4</sup> contended with them also in that noble kind of rivalry which Hesiod praised. So there were these three admirable troupes of doctors vying with each other. The Coan [school] achieved success by having the greatest number of pupils and the most able, but the [school] from Cnidus was not far behind it, while that from Italy was worthy of no little regard. But none of these frequented the doors of the rich, either to greet them in the early morning, or to dine with them in the evening. Rather, as Hesiod says,

For someone who is in need of work looks to another, a rich man, who is eager to plow and plant.<sup>5</sup>

And so those men were continually contending with each other, not to plow or sow the earth, for these things are too trivial for Asclepiads although suitable for the Ascrean poet, but to practice, constantly strengthen, and try to bring to perfection the craft of Apollo and Asclepius. Nowadays, however, noble rivalry has perished, or rather 7K only a small and faint part of it still exists among men. Worthless contention is dominant and there is nobody who will avert or remedy it. As Hesiod [says]:

Do not let Strife, rejoicing in evil, curb your will to work.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Philistion: a contemporary of Plato and teacher of Eudoxus. None of his original writings survive. Empedocles (ca. 492–432 BC) was from Acragas in Sicily. He is renowned primarily as a philosopher, although he is also regarded by some as the founder of the Sicilian school of medicine. Pausanias was a pupil of Empedocles. <sup>5</sup> *Works and Days* 21–22. <sup>6</sup> *Works and Days* 28.

αὕτη γὰρ ἡ Ἔρις, ὡς ὁ θεϊότερος αὐτῶν πάλιν Ἡσιόδου ποιητῆς φησιν.<sup>15</sup>

Ἡ δ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

2. Ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἔριδος ἔκμανεῖς ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐκείνος Ἱπποκράτει τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀσκληπιάδαις ἐπιτιμᾷ, καὶ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης θέατρον ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ βίβλοις πληρῶν, ἐπ' ἐκείνου κρίνεται καὶ νικῆ καὶ στεφανοῦται κατὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπάντων, ἀνακηρυττόμενος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἔν τε τῷ Περὶ τῶν κοινοτήτων ἐποίησε καὶ τοῖς συγκριτικοῖς, ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑβρίζων οὐ παύεται, καθάπερ, 8K οἶμαι, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐπιστέλλει Νέρωνι, | κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν εὐθέως γράφων αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὕτως·

Παραδεδωκὸς νέαν αἵρεσιν καὶ ὡς μόνην ἀληθῆ διὰ τὸ τοὺς προγενεστέρους πάντας ἰατροὺς μηδὲν παραδοῦναι συμφέρον πρὸς τε ὑγείας συντήρησιν καὶ νόσων ἀπαλλαγῆν.

ἐπὶ προήκουτι δὲ τῷ γράμματι προϊῶν φησιν ὡς Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ἐπιβλαβὴ τὴν παράδοσιν πεποίηται, ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀφορισμοῖς ἀντιλέγειν, ἀσχημοσύνην ἀσχημονήσας μεγίστην, καὶ δείξας ὅτι μηδ' εἰσήχθη πρὸς τινος εἰς τὴν Ἱπποκράτειον θεωρίαν μηδ' ἀνέγνω παρὰ διδασκάλου<sup>16</sup> τὰ συγγράμματα

<sup>15</sup> φησιν *om.* B

<sup>16</sup> διδασκάλων B

For on this Strife, as the poet even more divine than Hesiod says:

At first she armed herself only slightly, but then, raising her head to the heavens, trampled the earth.<sup>7</sup>

2. Driven mad by this contention, that Thessalus criticizes Hippocrates and the other Asclepiads and, filling the general stage of the inhabited world with his books, he is judged against that man, and conquers. He is crowned over all the ancients, and proclaims himself champion. He did this very thing, then, in the works *On Communities* and *On Comparisons*.<sup>8</sup> Nor does he stop committing outrages in all the other works, like, I suggest, through those [writings] he sent to Nero when he starts right away with these 8K very words:

I have established a new sect and, as all doctors who came before passed on nothing useful regarding either the preservation of health or the relief of disease, it is the only true sect.<sup>9</sup>

As he proceeds in the letter, he says that Hippocrates had created a tradition that was harmful. He even dared to criticize the *Aphorisms*, and so brought the greatest disgrace on himself, and showed that he had neither been introduced by anyone to the Hippocratic theory, nor had he read his writings with a teacher. Nevertheless, such a man

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad* 4.442–43.

<sup>8</sup> None of Thessalus' writings are extant. We are mainly reliant on the notably antagonistic Galen for information about him.

<sup>9</sup> This is taken to be a direct quotation following Linacre, although no reference is given and no source is extant.

αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅμως ὁ τοιοῦτος ἑαυτὸν οὐκ αἰδέϊται στεφανῶν. διό μοι δοκῶ κάγω, καίτοι γε οὐκ εἰθισμένος ἐξελέγχειν πικρῶς τοὺς σκαιοὺς, ἐρέειν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ὕβρεως.

9K τί πειρᾷ διαβάλλειν ὃ οὗτος τὰ χρηστὰ διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐνὸν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς ἀληθέσιν, εἰ φιλόπονός τέ τις εἴης καὶ ἀληθείας ἔραστής; τί δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀμαθία συμμάχῳ κέχρησαι κατὰ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν βλασφημίας; μὴ τοὺς ὁμοτέχνους τῷ πατρί σου κριτὰς καθίσσης ἰατρῶν, 9K τολμηρότατε Θεσσαλέ· νικήσεις | γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς<sup>17</sup> καὶ καθ' Ἱπποκράτους λέγων καὶ κατὰ Διοκλέους καὶ κατὰ Πραξαγόρου καὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων παλαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας παλαιούς,<sup>18</sup> διαλεκτικούς, ἐπιστημονικούς, ἀληθῆς καὶ ψευδῆς διακρίνειν ἡσκηκότας, ἀκόλουθον καὶ μαχόμενον ὡς χρῆ διορίζειν<sup>19</sup> ἐπισταμένους, ἀποδεικτικὴν μέθοδον ἐκ παίδων μεμελετηκότας, τούτους εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσάγαγε δικαστάς, ἐπὶ τούτων τολμήσον Ἱπποκράτει τι μέμψασθαι, τούτων κρινόντων ἐπιχείρησόν τι τῇ μιαρᾷ καὶ βαρβάρῳ σου<sup>20</sup> φωνῇ πρὸς Ἱπποκράτην διελθεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐ χρῆ φύσιν ἀνθρώπου πολυπραγμανεῖν· ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς εἰ καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρήσειέ τις, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε κακῶς αὐτὴν ἐζήτησεν ἐκείνος καὶ ψευδῶς ἀπεφῆνατο σύμπαντα.

<sup>17</sup> νικήσεις γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς K (ἐν ἄρῳ ἐπ' B); καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς κριτὰς χρώμενος νικήσας γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς P1, P2; καὶ γὰρ

feels no shame when he awards himself the crown. Accordingly, I think it falls to me to say something to him regarding his insolence toward the ancients, although it is certainly not my custom to refute harshly those who are foolish.

Why, my man, do you try to discredit those things that are good in order to be thought well of by the multitude, when it is possible to excel in those things that are true, if you are diligent and love the truth? Why do you make use of the ignorance of your listeners as an ally in the slander of the ancients? Do not, most brazen Thessalus, appoint your father's fellow craftsmen as judges of doctors. With these 9K men you will, indeed, triumph when you speak against Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, and all the other ancients. Bring, rather, to the seat of judgment the men of old—men who were skilled in dialectic and capable of knowledge, who were practiced in distinguishing truth and falsehood, who knew how to differentiate consequence and contradiction as they ought, and men who had given careful attention to the demonstrative method from childhood. Dare to find some fault with Hippocrates in front of them. Attempt, with your uncouth and barbaric voice, to proceed against Hippocrates when those men are in judgment, first, on the grounds that man should not busy himself about the nature of man, and next, on the grounds that, even if he were to concede that he should, Hippocrates had sought it in the wrong way and had, in fact, spoken altogether falsely.

αἰθοῦν ὄν κρέταν χρώμενον νικήσας Ἄρ<sup>σο</sup> αἰθοῖν conj. Hankinson

<sup>18</sup> ἄνδρας ἰατροὺς παλαιούς B

<sup>19</sup> γνωρίζειν B

<sup>20</sup> σου om. B

τίς οὖν ἔσται κριτής; εἰ βούλει, Πλάτων, ἐπειδὴ  
 τούτων γοῦν οὐκ ἐτόλμησας λοιδορεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ φύγοιμ' ἄν, οὔτε τὸν Σπεύ-  
 σιππον οὔτε τὸν Ξενοκράτην· τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ καὶ  
 παρακαλέσαιμί σε κριτὴν ὑπομείναι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ  
 Θεόφραστον· εὐξαίμην δ' ἄν σε καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Χρύ-  
 σιππον ἅπαντάς τε τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλέσθαι κριτάς. |  
 10K οὐδεὶς τούτων, ὃ τολμηρότατε Θεσσαλέ, τῶν Ἱππο-  
 κράτους κατέγνω περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου δογμάτων, ἃ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἀνεγνωκέναι μοι δοκεῖς οὔτ', εἴπερ  
 ἀνέγνως, συνιέναι καὶ εἰ συνήκας δέ, κρίναι γοῦν  
 ἀδύνατον ἦν σοι, τραφέντι μὲν ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι παρὰ  
 πατρὶ μοχθηρῶς ἔρια ξαίνοντι. μὴ γὰρ ἀγνωεῖσθαι  
 μοι δόκει τὸ θαυμαστόν σου γένος καὶ τὴν αἰδιμόν  
 σου παιδείαν, μηδ' ὡς ἐν κωφῷ θεάτρῳ λοιδορεῖν  
 Ἱπποκράτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παλαιούς· ἀλλὰ τίς  
 ἂν καὶ πόθεν, ἐκ ποίου γένους, ἐκ ποίας ἀνατροφῆς, ἐκ  
 ποίας παιδεύσεως, ἐπίδειξον πρότερον, εἴθ' οὕτως  
 λέγε, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον μαθῶν, ὃ θρασύτατε, ὅτι  
 λέγειν οὐκ ἐφέιται πᾶσι δημοσίᾳ ἐν οὐδεμῇ τῶν  
 εὐνομουμένων πόλεων, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐπίσημός ἐστι καὶ  
 γένος ἔχει καὶ ἀνατροφὴν δεῖξαι καὶ παιδείαν ἀξίαν  
 τοῦ δημηγορεῖν, τούτῳ συγχωροῦσιν ἀγορεύειν οἱ  
 νόμοι· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἔχων ἐπιδείξαι τολμᾶς ὃ  
 γενναϊότατε κατηγορεῖν Ἱπποκράτους, καὶ καθίζεις  
 μὲν ἐν ταῖς ληρώδεσί σου βίβλοις δικαστὰς τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας, ἀποφαίνῃ δ' αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀναμείνας ἐκείνους  
 11K καὶ στεφανοῖς σεαυτὸν, ἐνίοτε μὲν κατὰ πάντων | τῶν

Who, then, will be a judge? Plato, if you wish, since at  
 least you have not dared to revile him. Nor would I shun  
 those who were his pupils, Speusippus and Xenocrates.  
 And I would call upon you to submit to Aristotle as judge,  
 and Theophrastus with him. I would pray for you to choose  
 both Zenō and Chrysippus as judges, and all those who  
 were their followers. None of these men, most audacious 10K  
 Thessalus, condemned the teachings of Hippocrates on  
 the nature of man which, to begin with, you do not seem to  
 me either to have read or, if you have read them, to have  
 understood. And if you did understand them it would, at  
 the very least, be impossible for you to judge them since  
 you are someone brought up in women's quarters with a fa-  
 ther who, in his sorry plight, carded wool. Don't, I tell you,  
 make it seem that your wondrous family or your famous  
 education are unknown, or that you revile Hippocrates  
 and the other ancients, as in a theater of the deaf, but first  
 reveal who you are and where you are from; that is, from  
 what kind of family, with what kind of upbringing, and with  
 what kind of education, and then speak like this, having re-  
 alized first, my overweening friend, that it is not permitted  
 to everyone to speak publicly in any of the well-ordered  
 cities. Only to the man who is outstanding and shows he  
 has a family, upbringing, and education worthy of speaking  
 in the assembly do the laws grant the right to speak in pub-  
 lic. But you, my most noble fellow, who can show none  
 of these things, dare to accuse Hippocrates and in your  
 ridiculous books you place the Greeks as judges, yet you  
 obviously do not wait for them but award yourself the  
 crown, sometimes over all doctors and sometimes simply 11K



ιατρῶν, ἐνίοτε δὲ κατὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς Ἑλλήνων. τοῦτο γάρτοι τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστι τόλμημα τοῦ σοφωτάτου Θεσσαλοῦ, νικῆσαι μὲν ἅπαντας ἰατρούς, αὐτὸν ἀγωνιστήν, αὐτὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, αὐτὸν κριτὴν γενόμενον ἐφεξῆς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας εἰς ἀγῶνα προσκαλέσασθαι, ῥήτορας, γεωμέτρας, γραμματικούς, ἀστρονόμους, φιλοσόφους, εἶτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καταστάνα, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐριουργῶν ἐρμηνείᾳ χρῆσάμενον, ἀξιούν ἅπαντων εἶναι πρῶτον· ἰατρικὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀπασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν πρωτεύειν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἅπαντας νενικηκέναι. τοῦτο μόνον ἐκ τύχης ἀληθῶς συνελογίσαστο Θεσσαλός· εἰ γὰρ ἰατρικὴ μὲν ἀπασῶν ἐστὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ἀρίστη, πρῶτος δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Θεσσαλός, εἶη ἂν οὕτω γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος καὶ Σωκράτους δηλονότι καὶ Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὓς ὁ Πύθιος ἐπήνεσεν ἢ ὡς ἀγαθοὺς, ἢ ὡς σοφοὺς, ἢ ὡς Μουσῶν θεράποντας, ἢ ὡς Διὸς ὑπηρέτας, ἢ ὡς ἄλλο τι θεοφιλὲς ἔχοντας.

12K ἄγε δὴ λοιπὸν ὕμνους ἀδόντων ἅπαντες Θεσσαλοῦ, καὶ γραφόντων ἐπινίκια μέλη, καὶ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ θέατρον γενέσθω, καὶ παρελθὼν ἀδέτω τις ὡς παρὰ τοῖς ἰστοῖς τραφεῖς ἐνίκησε μὲν Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ῥήτορας, ἐνίκησε δὲ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας, ἐστεφάνωται δὲ κοινῇ κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ῥητόρων, φιλοσόφων, νομοθετῶν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ γεωμετρῶν ἔτι καὶ γραμματικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν

over all Greeks. For surely it is amazing effrontery on the part of the surpassingly sapient Thessalus, to overcome all doctors by making himself competitor, organizer and judge. And then, too, he calls other Greeks to the contest—rhetoricians, geometricians, grammarians, astronomers and philosophers—and standing among them and speaking in the style of wool workers, he deems himself worthy of being first among all of them since he places medicine first of all the arts, and he judges himself to have vanquished all doctors. On the first point only does Thessalus reason correctly, but quite by chance. For if medicine is the most noble of all the arts and Thessalus is the most noble of its practitioners, he would, in this way, be first of all men and obviously greater than Socrates, Lycurgus and the others, or those whom the Pythian praised as noble, or wise, or attendants of the Muses, or servants of Zeus, or possessing in any other way favor from the gods.

Well then, let everyone sing victory songs about Thessalus. Let them write epinician lyrics, and let the theater of the civilized world be his public. Let someone come forward to sing of how he, Thessalus, reared beside the looms, overcame Demosthenes, Lysias and the other orators, overcame Plato, Socrates and the other philosophers, overcame Lycurgus, Solon and the other lawmakers, and has been crowned publicly over all men—orators, philosophers and lawmakers. If I were to mention by name geometricians, as well as grammarians and musicians after

ὀνομαστὶ μνημονεύοιμι μετὰ τὰς τηλικαύτας νίκας,  
 ὑβρίζειν δόξω τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὅπου γὰρ Λυκοῦργος  
 καὶ Σόλων καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Πυθαγόρας  
 ἐνίκηθησαν, ἦπου ἄρα καλὸν ἔτι μνημονεύειν Ἰππάρ-  
 χου καὶ Ἀρχιμήδους καὶ Ἀριστοξένου καὶ Ἀριστάρ-  
 χου καὶ τινῶν ἐτέρων τοιούτων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων, ὡς ἂν  
 εἴποι Θεσσαλός; ἀλλὰ τίς ἡμῖν οὕτω μεγαλόφωνος  
 ποιητὴς ὃς ἄσεται ταῦτα; τίνας Ὀμήρου νῦν εὐπορή-  
 σομεν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τὴν Θεοσσαλίαν ὑμνήσοντος  
 νίκην; ἢ τίνας μελοποιῶν κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἄσωντος  
 ὑψηλῶς ἐν διθυράμβοις ὡς πάλαι τὸν Διόνυσον, οὕτως  
 νῦν τὸν Θεσσαλόν; ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδενὸς χρῆζομεν,  
 13K Ἀρχιλόχου δέ τινας ἢ Ἰππώνακτος ἰάμβους γραφόν-  
 των, ἢ τινος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραγικῆς σκηνῆς, ὃς ἐρεῖ  
 πρὸς αὐτόν·

Μέν' ὦ ταλαίπωρ' ἀτρέμα σοῖς ἐν δεμνίοις,  
 ὄρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν δοκεῖς σάφ' εἰδέναί.

ὄνειρον Ὀρέστειον διηγῆ Θεσσαλέ. ὅποι<sup>21</sup> τοῦτο τὸ  
 θέατρον, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Ἴπποκράτην; τίνας οἱ κριταὶ  
 καθεδούνται; τίνας οἱ ἀγωνοθετοῦντες; ἄρα βούλει  
 πρώτου Πλάτωνος ἀναγνώμεν τὴν ψῆφον; ἴσως γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἀναίτη τοιοῦτον ἐλέσθαι κριτὴν· ἀλλὰ τοῖ φησιν  
 οὗτος αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι·

<sup>21</sup> B; οἶον K

such victories, I shall seem to insult the man. For where  
 Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, Socrates, and Pythagoras have  
 been conquered, is it then still a good thing to mention  
 Hipparchus, Archimedes, Aristoxenus, and Aristarchus  
 and certain other such men who are entirely worthless, ac-  
 cording to Thessalus? But which of us is so grandiloquent a  
 poet that he might sing to us of these things? What Homer  
 shall we find available now to hymn the victory of  
 Thessalus in hexameters? Or what lyric poet, who will sing  
 now of Thessalus in this way as, in ancient times, Pindar  
 sang sublimely of Dionysus in dithyrambs? Or is it none of  
 these men we need, but rather an Archilochus or Hip-  
 ponax writing iambics, or one of those from the tragic stage  
 who will say to him:

13K

Rest quiet in your bed, miserable one,  
 for you see none of the things you think you know  
 clearly.<sup>10</sup>

You describe an Orestian dream, Thessalus. Where is  
 this theater in which you vanquish Hippocrates? Who are  
 the judges who will be sitting? Who are those presiding at  
 the contest? Do you wish us to recognize the vote of Plato  
 first? Perhaps you do not refuse to select such a man as  
 judge. But surely he says in these very words:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Euripides; *Orestes* 258–59.

<sup>11</sup> See *Phaedrus* 270C–D. There are some minor textual varia-  
 tions between the text as it appears in Plato and that given by  
 Galen.

Ψυχῆς οὖν φύσιν ἀξίως λόγου κατανοῆσαι οἶει  
δυνατὸν εἶναι ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου φύσεως;

Εἰ μὲν Ἴπποκράτει τῷ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν δεῖ τι  
πιθέσθαι, οὐδὲ περὶ σώματος, ἄνευ τῆς  
μεθόδου ταύτης.

Καλῶς γάρ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, λέγεις· χρὴ μὲν πρὸς τῷ  
Ἴπποκράτει τὸν λόγον ἐξετάζοντας σκοπεῖν εἰ  
συμφωνεῖ.

Φημί.

Τῷ τοίνυν περὶ φύσεως σκοπεῖν τί ποτε λέγει  
Ἴπποκράτης τε καὶ ὁ ἀληθῆς λόγος; ἄρ' οὐχ  
ᾧδε; δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ὅτου οὖν φύσεως,  
πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀπλοῦν ἢ καὶ πολυειδές ἐστιν  
οὐδὲ περὶ βουλευσόμεθα,<sup>22</sup> | αὐτοῖ τε εἶναι  
τεχνικοὶ καὶ ἄλλους δυνατοὶ ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ  
ἂν μὲν ἀπλοῦν ἦ, σκοπεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ,  
τίνα πρὸς τί πέφυκεν εἰς τὸ δρᾶν ἔχον, ἢ τίνα  
εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ὑπὸ του· ἐὰν δὲ πλείω εἶδη ἔχη,  
ταῦτα ἀριθμησάμενον, ὅπερ ἐφ' ἐνός, τοῦτο  
ιδεῖν ἐφ' ἐκάστου, τὸ τί ποιεῖν αὐτὸ πέφυκεν,  
ἢ τὸ τί παθεῖν ὑπὸ του.

ἤκουσας, ὦ γενναϊότατε, Πλάτωνος ὁμοίᾳ μεθόδῳ  
τὰ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀξιούντος εὕρισκιν, οἷα περ  
Ἴπποκράτης τὰ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα· πότερον ἔτι βούλει  
πολλὰς πολλαχόθι αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλέξω  
σοι ῥήσεις, ἐν αἷς ζηλοῖ τὸν Ἴπποκράτην πάντων

<sup>22</sup> B; βουλευσόμεθα K

[Socrates:] Do you think, then, it is possible to  
understand the nature of the soul in a way that  
is worth discussing without understanding the  
nature of the whole?

[Phaedrus:] If, in fact, we must put our trust in  
Hippocrates, one of the Aesclepiads, we have no  
understanding of the body without this method.

[Socrates:] You are right, my friend. We ought to  
examine closely the argument in addition to  
Hippocrates to see if it is consistent.

[Phaedrus:] I agree.

[Socrates:] Moreover, in the considerations about its  
nature, what do Hippocrates and the true  
argument state? Is it not this? Regarding the  
nature of anything whatsoever we must think first  
whether that thing about which we wish to be  
expert ourselves, and to be able to make others so,  
is simple or multiform. Then, if it is simple, we  
must consider its capacity, whether it is by nature  
able to act, and on what, or whether it is acted  
upon, and by what. If, on the other hand, it is  
multiform, we must enumerate the forms and  
consider with reference to each of them, whether  
it has the nature to act, and on what, or to be  
acted upon, and by what.

You have heard, my very high-minded friend, that Plato  
thought it worthwhile to discover what pertains to the soul  
by a similar method to that which Hippocrates used for  
what pertains to the body. Do you still want me to pick  
out for you the numerous passages in many places of his  
treatises in which he commends Hippocrates particularly,

15K μάλιστα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ γεγονότων; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πραγματεία πεποιηκώς, ἐν ἧ̄ περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ἐπισκέπτομαι, εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναπέμψω τὸν βουλόμενον; ἀποδέδεικται γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, πᾶν σαφῶς ἢ περὶ πλείστα τε καὶ μέγιστα δόγματα συμφωνία τῶν ἀνδρῶν μεταβᾶς δὲ τὸν ἕτερον ἤδη σοι καλέσω χορὸν μάρτυρα, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου, τὰς Ἱπποκράτους ἀρχὰς τῆς φυσιολογίας τιθέμενον; ἢ ἀλλά τοι καὶ περὶ τούτου δέδεικται μοι δι' ἑτέρων ὑπομνημάτων, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἕτερα τρία τὰ Περὶ κράσεων, εἰθ' ἐξῆς ἕτερα δύο, τὸ μὲν Περὶ τῆς ἀνωμάλου δυσκрасίας, ἐκ τῆς Περὶ κράσεων ἔτι πραγματείας ὑπάρχον, ἄλλο δὲ Περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ Περὶ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων τρία ταῦτ' οὖν εἶπερ ἀναγνοίη τις, ἐπιγνώσεται σαφῶς ἐξηγητὴν ὄντα τῶν περὶ φύσεως λογισμῶν Ἱπποκράτους Ἀριστοτέλη. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων διαφορᾶς, ὅποσα τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποια, καὶ περὶ συμπτωμάτων ὡσαύτως, ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάτερον αἰτιῶν, Ἱπποκράτης μὲν πρῶτος ἀπάντων ὧν ἴσμεν ὀρθῶς ὑπάρξασθαι φαίνεται, μετ' αὐτὸν δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπὶ

<sup>12</sup> *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis libri ix*, V.181–805K. There is a translation by P. H. de Lacy in CMG V.4.1.2 (Berlin, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> The works are as follows: *De elementis secundum Hippocratem libri iii*, I.413–508K (translation by P. H. de Lacy, CMG

among all those who came before him? I have done this in another work in which I undertake a review of the teachings of Hippocrates and Plato, and to which I refer anyone who wishes [to learn more].<sup>12</sup> For the accord between the two men has, I think, been very clearly demonstrated in most, and the most important, of their doctrines. Shall I now go on and call for you another troupe as witness, that from the Peripatos, to confirm the Hippocratic principles of natural science? But I have, in fact, provided demonstration about this in other treatises, of which one is *On the Elements according to Hippocrates*; and next, the three books of *On Krasias*; and next, two others, the one *On Anomalous Dyskrasia*, which takes its point of origin from the work *On Krasias*, and the other *On the Best Constitution of the Body*, and, in addition to these, the three books of *On the Physical Capacities*.<sup>13</sup> If, indeed, someone were to read these, he would clearly realize that Aristotle expounded the arguments of Hippocrates on nature. And in particular, concerning the differentiae of diseases, how many there are and of what kinds, and likewise concerning symptoms, as well as the causes of both diseases and symptoms, we are aware that Hippocrates seems to be the first of all those whom we know to have made a correct start while, after him, Aristotle set things out to the fullest ex-

15K

V.1.2, Berlin, 1996); *De temperamentis libri iii*, I.509–694K (translation by P. N. Singer, 1997); *De facultatibus naturalibus libri iii*, II.1–214K (translation by A. J. Brock, 1916, LCL); *De optima corporis nostri constitutione*, IV.737–49K (translation by R. J. Penella and T. S. Hall, *BHM* 47, 1973, pp. 282–95); *De inaequali intemperie*, VII.733–52K (translation by M. Grant, 2000).

πλείστον ἐξηγήσατο· εἴσεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁ βουλευθεὶς ἀναγνῶναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὑπομνήματα μοι γεγραμμένα.

16K ὥστ' εἶπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου κριταὶ καθίσαιεν, Ἴπποκράτης μὲν, οἶμαι, νικήσει, Θεσσαλὸς δ' ὡς ἀναίσχυντός τε καὶ ἰταμὸς ἐκβληθήσεται. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλοσόφους εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσ-  
αγαγόντες ἐπιτρέψαιμεν καὶ τούτοις τὴν ἰψήφον, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ τίθενται δογμάτων, ἐκ τούτων Ἴπποκράτην στεφανώσουσι. τὸ γὰρ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν Ἴπποκράτης μὲν πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο, μετ' αὐτὸν δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπέδειξεν.

ἔτοιμα δ' ἤδη παραλαβόντες οὐκ ἐφιλονέκησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Χρῦσιππον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τὰ σύμπαντα κεκράσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰς ἄλληλα πάσχειν καὶ δρᾶν καὶ τεχνικὴν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἅπαντά τε τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ φύσεως Ἴπποκράτους δόγματα προσίενται, πλὴν περὶ μικροῦ τινός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ διαφορὰ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη. λέγοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτους ὀρθῶς ὡς Σύμπνον καὶ σύρρον ἐστὶν ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ πάντα συμπαθέα τὰ τῶν ζῶων μόρια, προσίενται μὲν ἀμφοτέρωι τουτί, διαφέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ τὰς μὲν ποιότητος μόνας τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη δι' ἀλλήλων ἰέναι καὶ κεράνυσθαι πάντη, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς οὐ ταύτας

tent.<sup>14</sup> And anyone who is willing to read the treatises I have written on each of these matters will also know about them.

The consequence is that, if those from the Peripatos were to sit in judgment, I believe Hippocrates would gain the victory, while Thessalus, so shameless and reckless, would be thrown out. If, on the other hand, we were to bring forward philosophers from the Stoa to the council chamber and entrust the vote to them, on the basis of the doctrines they themselves have put forward, they will crown Hippocrates. For Hippocrates was the first to propose [the elemental qualities of] hot, cold, dry and moist and, after him, Aristotle proved them.

And the followers of Chrysippus, when they accepted these things already to hand, were not embroiled in contention. Rather, they say that all things are compounded from these [four elemental qualities], and that these things are affected by and act on each other, and that nature is proficient. And they approve all the other doctrines of Hippocrates regarding nature, apart from one minor point which is a difference between them and Aristotle. For when Hippocrates correctly says that "the whole body is animated by one spirit and flows together," and that "all the parts of living creatures have an affinity," both accept this very point. However, they differ in this: Aristotle held that the qualities alone interpenetrate each other and are mixed together completely, whereas those from the Stoa

<sup>14</sup> The four books referred to are *De differentiis morborum*, VI.836–80K, *De morborum causis*, VII.1–41K, *De symptomatum differentiis*, VII.42–84K, and *De symptomatum causis*, VII.85–272K. There is a translation of all four by I. Johnston, (2006).

μόνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο διορίζεσθαι περιττὸν ἰατρῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀρκεῖ μόνον ὁμολογηθέντα εἰς τὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἔργα τὰ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἀποδεικνύμενα, καὶ ὡς αἱ ποιότητές τε καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις | ἐν τοῖς κεραυννυμένοις ὄλαι δι' ὄλων ἀναμίγνυνται, δέδεικται μοι πρόσθεν ἤδη καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι δεήσει, δειχθήσεται. ὥστε καὶ κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Στοᾶς ἢ Ἱπποκράτους νικᾷ φυσιολογία καὶ πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς φυσιολογίας ἅπαντες ἐπιδεικνύουσιν οἱ προειρημένοι φιλόσοφοι μὴ δύνασθαι τινα καλῶς ἰάσασθαι τὰ νοσήματα, πρὶν ὄλου τοῦ σώματος ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν φύσιν.

17K  
 18K  
 ἀρ' οὖν ἐνίκησεν ἂν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων, οἱ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπάσης φυσιολογίας Ἱπποκράτην προῦστήσαντο; τί δέ, εἰ τοῖς γεωμέτραις, ἢ τοῖς ἀστρονόμοις, ἢ τοῖς μουσικοῖς, ἢ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἐπιτρέψειε τὴν κρίσιν; ἀρ' οἰόμεθα καὶ τούτους Ἱπποκράτην παρελθόντας ἕτερόν τινα στεφανώσειν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ' ἄλλον τινα πέπεισμαι τὰ πρωτεία λήψεσθαι, καὶ πάντων ἡκιστα τὸν ἰταμώτατον Θεσσαλόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἠτίμησεν οὐ γεωμετρίαν, οὐκ ἀστρονομίαν, οὐ μουσικὴν, οὐ ῥητορικὴν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ὥστε ταύτη γ' ἐν ἐχθρῶν θεάτρῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ ἀγὼν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἴσως τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰς | τὸ θέατρον ἐκάθισεν, οὓς γε αὐτὸς φθάνων ἐχθροὺς ἐποίησατο, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ γυμνασθείσι φιλοσόφοις, ὡς ἂν ἀληθῶν

suppose that not these qualities only but also the substances themselves [are mixed completely].<sup>15</sup> I have already shown previously that it is redundant for the doctor to make this distinction, and that it is quite sufficient for the practice of medicine to agree with what both [Hippocrates and the Stoics] have demonstrated, which is that the qualities and the capacities in those things that have been mixed are thoroughly blended together throughout. And I will show this again now if need be. As a consequence, according to Plato, as well as to the Peripatetics and the Stoics, the natural science of Hippocrates triumphs, and much more, all the previously mentioned philosophers have shown, on the grounds of natural science, that it is impossible for anyone to cure diseases properly without considering the nature of the body in its entirety.

So then, would Thessalus, when he is competing for first prize, have triumphed among those philosophers who made Hippocrates the champion of their whole natural science? What if he were to entrust the judgment to geometers, astronomers, musicians, or orators? Do we think that these men, too, would pass over Hippocrates and crown someone else? I am not persuaded that anyone else will take first place, least of all the absolutely reckless Thessalus. Nobody has disdained geometry, astronomy, music and rhetoric like this man, so the contest would take place in a theater of those antagonistic to him. But perhaps he would not have brought these people together in the theater—people whom he had made his enemies in advance—but would entrust the judgment only to philoso-

<sup>15</sup> See Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione* 1.10 (328a, 26–28), and Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De mixtione in Supplementum Aristotelicum*, 2.473.

τε καὶ ψευδῶν λόγων τὸ κριτήριον ἤσκηκόσιν, ἐπι-  
τρέψειε τὴν κρίσιν. ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ  
Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Χρύσιππον ὡς ἀγυμνάστους ἐν τῇδε  
παρέλθωμεν, οὐχ εὐρήσομεν ἑτέρους. εἰ τοίνυν οὔτε  
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ὑπομένει δικαστὰς ὁ  
Θεσσαλὸς οὐθ' οἱ διαλεκτικώτατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων  
οἴσουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ὑπὸ τίνων ἔτι κριθήσεται  
νικᾶν; τίνες πληρώσουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ θέατρον; τίνες  
ἀναγορεύσουσιν; τίνες στεφανώσουσιν; αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν  
δηλονότι, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ<sup>23</sup> βίβλοις ταῖς  
θαυμασταῖς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ κρίνας καὶ  
στεφανώσας καὶ ἀναγορεύσας.

3. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ὑπενόησε τοῦτο αὐτὸ τιμῆν αὐτῷ  
γενήσεσθαι<sup>24</sup> καὶ μνήμης ἀφορμῆν, εἰ λοιδορησάμε-  
νος τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἀναγκάσειεν ἡμᾶς ἀντι-  
λέγειν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' οὕτω γε καὶ Ζωῖλος ἔνδοξος τὴν  
Ἄμφιππον μαστίζων εἰκόνα καὶ Σαλμωνεὺς τὸν Δία  
19K μιμούμενος καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐπιτρίπτων  
ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τοὺς βελτίονας οὐκ αἰδουμένων, ἢ καὶ  
τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς λοιδορουμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴν  
οὐτοί γε δόξαν ὑπελίποντο σφῶν αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ζηλοῖ  
νοῦν ἔχων ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τὸν Ὀμηρομάστιγα Ζω-  
ῖλον οὔτε τὸν παραπλήγα Σαλμωνέα, καίτοι τοῖς μὲν  
φιλολοιδοροῖς ζηλωτὸς ὁ Ζωῖλος, τοῖς δ' ἱεροσύλοις ὁ  
Σαλμωνεὺς. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; καὶ γὰρ οἱ βαλαντιοτόμοι

<sup>23</sup> B; ἑαυτοῦ K

<sup>24</sup> B; τοῦτ' αὐτῷ τιμῆν γενήσεσθαι K

phers trained in dialectics since they are practiced in the way of judging between true and false arguments. But if we are to pass over the followers of Plato, Aristotle, and Chrysippus as being unpracticed in this matter, we shall not find others. If Thessalus does not submit to judges from other disciplines, and those philosophers most skilled in dialectics will not cast their vote in his favor, by whom will he be judged the victor? Who will fill the theater for him? Who will proclaim him in public? Who will crown him? Clearly he will have to do these things himself. And this is what he did in those marvelous books of his in which he judges, crowns and proclaims himself [victor].

3. But perhaps he supposed this very thing would bring him honor and provide the starting point of his being remembered—that having abused the best men, he would compel me to speak against him. In fact, it was just in this way that Zoilus found fame for whipping the image of Homer, Salmoneus for imitating Zeus, and that by no means small crowd of cunning men who either did not respect their betters, or who even reviled the gods themselves. But, in truth, these men left behind no good opinion of themselves. Indeed, no sensible man envies either the Homer-whipping Zoilus or the mad Salmoneus. And yet, Zoilus is admired by abusers and Salmoneus by the sacrilegious.<sup>16</sup> But what of this? For cutpurses also admire

19K

<sup>16</sup> Zoilus of Amphipolis was a fourth-century Cynic philosopher who wrote several critical works, none of which is extant. Most notable was the work "Against Homer's poetry." Salmoneus, the son of Aeolus, is said to have imitated Zeus by driving around in a chariot making a noise like thunder and flinging torches as lightning. Tradition has it that Zeus hit him with a real thunderbolt for his troubles.

τὰ τῶν βαλαντιοτόμων ζηλοῦσι καὶ οἱ προδόται τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἂν σχοίη χορὸν οἰκείου ἐν ᾧ στεφθήσεται. καὶ εἴπερ ἔγραψε Θεσσαλὸς ὡς ἐν μαγειροῖς καὶ βαφέυσιν καὶ ἐριουργοῖς καὶ σκυτοτόμοις καὶ ὑφάνταις τε καὶ κναφεύσιν ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἀποίσεται τὴν νίκην καὶ καθ' Ἴπποκράτους καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡμῶν ἀντείπειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καθίζει δικαστὰς, ἐκ τῶν πάντων δ' ἐστὶ δῆπου καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος καὶ Χρῦσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πάσας μόνος ἀποστρέφοιτο τὰς ψήφους, ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔνεσται δίκην ἐφέσιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι τι. κἂν γὰρ Ἴπποκράτης καταφρονήσῃ, μικρότερον ἑαυτοῦ νομίσας ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς Θεσσαλόν, ἀλλ' ἴσως Ἐρασίστρατος οὐ καταφρονήσῃ, ἰ καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον Ἡρόφιλος, καὶ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον Ἀσκληπιάδης ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν ἔχοντες τι φύσει φιλόνηκον οὐ καταφρονήσουσι τῆς ὕβρεως, ἣν εἰς ἅπαντας ἅμα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑβρίζει Θεσσαλός, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μέσον τε προᾶξουσιν, ἐπιδείξουσί τε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς βίβλους ἀμαθίας ἐσχάτης μεστὰς, ὃς τοσαῦτά τε καὶ τηλικαῦτα γράφας βιβλία καὶ τοσαύτας ληρήσας ἐπὼν χιλιάδας, ἀπόδειξιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδαμόθι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς τύραννος κελεύει δύο μόνον εἶναι τὰ πάντα κατὰ δίαίταν νοσήματα, ῥοῶδες καὶ στεγνόν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι διαφορὰν τινα νοσημάτων εἴρηκεν, ἐγνωσμένην μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰατροῖς, ὡς ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀλλ'

20K

the deeds of cutpurses and traitors admire the deeds of traitors, and, quite simply, there is no man who does not have his own troupe among whom he will be crowned. In fact, if Thessalus wrote as though competing among cooks, dyers, wool workers, shoemakers, weavers, and fullers, he would carry off the victory against Hippocrates as well, and none of us would have spoken against this. However, since he makes all men sit as judges, and presumably Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Chrysippus are among them, he alone would no longer garner all the votes, although perhaps he would be able to take one of them on in a court of appeal. But even if Hippocrates were to feel scorn, considering it beneath his dignity to compete with Thessalus, well perhaps Erasistratus will not be disdainful, much less Herophilus, and even less than these men, Asclepiades and many other of the more modern doctors who are by nature somewhat fond of contention and will not be contemptuous of the insolence which Thessalus directs simultaneously at all the Greeks. Rather, they will advance him to a central position and will make a display to the Greeks of all his books, full as they are of the utmost ignorance—a man who wrote so many books and of such length, and who said so many foolish things. But no demonstration did he attempt to articulate anywhere at all in his own writings. Instead, like a tyrant, he decrees that all diseases are of two kinds only, in terms of regimen—fluxion and obstruction.<sup>17</sup> He did not realize that he had spoken of one differentia of diseases, and one known to previous doctors, as I shall

20K

<sup>17</sup> See the Introduction, section 2, for a summary of Methodic theory.



οὐδεὶς ἦν οὕτως ἀπαιδευτος ὡς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτὰ νομίζειν εἶναι τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τῆς θεραπείας τὴν ἔνδειξιν ἐξ ἐκείνων λάμβάνειν ὑπερβὰς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ σφάλμα τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ σμικρὸν μὲν ᾧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, σμικρότατον, ὃ καὶ παιδάριον ἐν ἐλευθέροις μαθήμασι τετραμμένον εὐθέως γνωρίσειεν· ὁμοῦς δ' οὖν τοῦτο τὸ σφάλμα τὸ |  
 21K σμικρὸν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπήρειν αὐθαδεΐας αὐτὸν ὥστε νομίζειν εὐρηκέναι τι μέγα καὶ σεμνόν.

ὁμοίως<sup>25</sup> εἰ καὶ τις εἰπὼν πᾶν ζῶον ἢ λογικὸν ὑπάρχειν ἢ ἄλογον, ἄλλο τι νομίζει καὶ μὴ διαφορὰς εἰρηκέναι ζῶων, ὡσαύτως οὖν τούτῳ κἀκείνου ῥηθέντος, ἅπαν ζῶον ἢ θνητὸν ἐστὶν ἢ ἀθάνατον· ἢ γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν διαφορῶν ἀντίθεσις ὅλη κατὰ πάντων λέγεται τῶν εἰδῶν· ἅπαν οὖν ζῶον ἢ ἄγριον ἐστὶν ἢ ἡμερον· ἅπαν οὖν ζῶον ἢ ὑπόπουν ἐστὶν ἢ ἄπουν· ἅπαν οὖν ζῶον ἢ κερασφόρον ἐστὶν ἢ ἄκερον· καὶ οὐδέν γε τιμιωτέραν ἐτέρας ἐτέραν ἀντίθεσιν ἐν ταῖς διαφοραῖς ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν, οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ὑπάρχουσιν ἅπανσι τοῖς κατὰ μέρος. ἀλλ' οὐ χρὴ περὶ ζῶων ἐρωτηθέντας ὅποσα τὰ πάντα ἐστὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι μίαν ἀντίθεσιν διαφορῶν· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἔσται δύο τὰ πάντα, καὶ οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἢ λογικὸν καὶ ἄλογον, ἢ θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον, ἢ ἄγριον καὶ ἡμερον, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἀντιθέσεων. εἰ δὲ τὰς διαφορὰς ἔασας τις, ὡσπεροῦν<sup>26</sup> ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἵππον ἀποκρίνατο καὶ βοῦν καὶ κύναι  
 22K καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἀετὸν τε καὶ μέλιτταν καὶ | μύρμηκα καὶ

show. But none of these doctors was so uneducated as to think that the differentiae of diseases are the diseases themselves, or to take from them the indication for treatment, passing over the substance itself. But, O Zeus and you gods, this error by Thessalus is simplistic, absolutely simplistic, such that even a young child, educated in liberal studies would immediately recognize it. Nevertheless, it was this simplistic error that raised him to such a degree of insolence that he thought he had discovered something important and significant.

21K

It is just as if someone were to say that every animal is either rational or irrational, thinking he had stated something other than the differentiae of animals. Similar to this is the statement that every animal is either mortal or immortal. For in each case a complete antithesis of differentiae can be posited concerning all the kinds; for example, that every animal is either wild or tame; that every animal either has feet or is without feet; that every animal is either horned or hornless. And, in fact, among the differentiae, it is not at all possible to find one antithesis that is more important than another, or that inheres in all these individually. But one should not, when asked how many kinds of animals there are in all, respond with one antithesis of differentiae for in this way everything will be two [in kind] in all, but no longer rational or irrational, or mortal or immortal, or wild or tame, or any one of the other antitheses. If, however, someone were to leave aside the differentiae, as is, in fact, right, and were to reply "horse," or "cow," or "dog," or "man," or "eagle," or "bee," or "ant," or

22K

<sup>25</sup> conj. nos; ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ; ὃ μοι ὡς εἰ B

<sup>26</sup> B, P1, P2; ὡς οὖν K

λέοντα καὶ πρόβατον, ἅπαντά τε τᾶλλα κατ' εἶδος ἐπέλθοι ζῶα, δῆλον ὡς οὗτος ὀρθῶς ἀποκεκριμένος ἐστὶ τῷ πυθμένῳ ὅποσα τὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ ζῶα κἂν εἰ πολλὰ μὲν διέλθοι τῷ λόγῳ ζῶα, πάντα δ' ἐξαριθμησασθαι μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι λέγει, καὶ οὕτως ἂν εἴη δεόντως ἀποκεκριμένος.

ὁμοίας οὖν οὕσης τῆς ζητήσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀριθμοῦ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἰατροῖς, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰπόντων ἑπτὰ τὰ πάνθ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτά, τῶν δ' ἐλάττω τούτων ἢ πλείω, πάντων δ' οὖν εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶδη βλέπόντων, οὐκ εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν οὕτως ἀπαιδέυτος οὐδ' ἀμαθῆς λογικῆς θεωρίας ὡς διαφορὰν εἰδῶν εἰπεῖν αὐτ' οὐσίας· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐκπηδήσας Θεσσαλὸς ἐπιτιμᾷ τηλικούτοις ἀνδράσιν, οὐ γένος ἔχων εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἀνατροφήν, οὐ παιδείαν οἷαν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος, ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους, ὁ δὲ Πλάτωνος, ὁ δὲ Θεοφράστου γενόμενος ὁμιλητής, ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῇ λογικῇ θεωρίᾳ γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν. ὡς οὖν εἴ τις ἐρωτηθεὶς ὅποσα τῆς φωνῆς τὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ στοιχεῖα, 23K δύο φήσειεν ὑπάρχειν, ἦτοι γὰρ φωνῆεν εἶναι φήσει πάντως ἢ σύμφωνον ὅπερ ἂν εἴη στοχεῖον φωνῆς, ἀληθές μὲν εἶρηκεν, οὐ μὴν πρὸς γε τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν, οἶμαι, τρόπον ὅστις ἂν ὅποσα τὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ νοσήματα διελέσθαι βουληθεὶς ὑπερβῆ μὲν εἰδός τι λέγειν νοσήματος, οἶον ἦτοι φλεγμονήν, ἢ σκίρρον, ἢ οἴδημα, διαφορὰς δ' εἴπη μόνας, εἴτ' οὖν στεγνὸν καὶ ροῶδες, εἴτ' ἀραιὸν καὶ

“lion,” or “sheep,” and went on to all the other animals according to species, clearly he would have answered correctly someone who asked how many kinds of animals there are in all. And even if he were to cover many animals in the discussion but were to say that it is not possible to enumerate all of them, he has still answered as he should.

Similar, then, was the inquiry into the number of diseases carried out by all the doctors of old, some of them saying there were seven in all, and others saying there were fewer or more than these, but all of them looking toward the kinds in terms of substance and not in terms of differentiae. For none of them was so poorly educated or so ignorant of logical theory as to speak of the differentiae of kinds as opposed to substance. Thessalus, however, springing forth from the women's quarters, censures such men, although he himself has neither the breeding worth speaking of, nor the education, nor the learning that each of them [possessed], one a pupil of Aristotle, another of Plato, another of Theophrastus, or any other of those men trained in logical theory. It is as if someone who was asked how many elements of speech there are in all were to say there are two because, he will claim, whatever is an element of speech is, in all cases, either a vowel or a consonant. He has said something true but he has not, in fact, answered the question. In the same way, I think, if someone who wished to distinguish of what sort all the kinds of diseases are, were to pass over what is spoken of as the kind of disease, like inflammation, induration, or edema, and were to speak of differentiae alone, like obstruction and fluxion,

23K

πυκνόν, εἴτε σκληρόν καὶ μαλακόν, εἴτε συντεταμένον καὶ κεχαλασμένον, ἀληθὲς μὲν εἶρηκεν, οὐ μὴν πρὸς γε τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἀπεκρίνατο. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ πᾶσα διαφορὰ προστιθεμένη τῷ γένει συντελεῖ τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ εἶδους γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ γένους οἰκείας ἢ διαιρέσεως· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν εἰδοποιοὶ μόναι τῶν διαφορῶν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πᾶσαι περιτταί. ζῶον μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖται διαφοραὶ τὸ θνητόν καὶ ἀθάνατον, ἄλογόν τε καὶ λογικόν, ἡμερόν τε καὶ ἄγριον, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· μαλακὸν δὲ καὶ σκληρόν, καὶ βαρὺ καὶ κοῦφον, καὶ ἀραιὸν καὶ πυκνόν, καὶ μέγα καὶ μικρόν, οὐ ζῶον, ἀλλ' οὐσίας εἰσὶ διαφοραί.

24K | καὶ τοίνυν εἰ μὲν προστεθῆτε τῷ ζῳ τὸ μαλακὸν καὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ἢ τὸ πυκνὸν ἢ τὸ ἀραιόν, ἢ τὸ μικρόν ἢ τὸ μέγα, πλείον οὐδὲν εἰς εἶδους γένεσιν συντελέσει· εἰ δ' ἦτοι λογικὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον, ἢ λογικὸν καὶ θνητόν, εἴη ἂν τὸ μὲν εἶδει θεός, τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος· οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰ προσθεῖς τῷ λογικῷ ζῳ διττὰς οἰκείας διαφοράς, τὸ πεζὸν καὶ τὸ δίπουν, εἶδος ἐργάση τι καὶ οὕτως, τὸν ἄνθρωπον·

ὅθεν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν οὐδενὸς τῶν ὄντων εἰδοποιὸς εὑρεῖν διαφορὰς ἄνευ τοῦ τὸν ὀρισμόν, ἢ τὸν λόγον τῆς οὐσίας ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ περιγράψασθαι. δεύτερον δ' ἐπὶ τούτου σφάλμα τοῖς ἀγυμνάστοις περὶ λόγον, ἐπειδὴν ἐξευρήσουσι μίαν τιὰν διαφορὰς ἀντίθεσιν, εἶδος τι τοῦ προβεβλημένου γένους ὑπολαμβάνειν εὑρηκέναι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φωνῆς στοιχείων ἐλέγετο. φωνῆν γὰρ τις εἰπὼν καὶ

or like rarefaction and condensation, or like hardness and softness, or like tension and relaxation, he has said something true but has not, in fact, answered the question. For first, not every differentia that is added to the genus contributes something to the creation of the species, but only whatever differentia is derived from the appropriate division of the genus. These alone are species-forming among the differentiae, while all the others are superfluous. For the appropriate differentiae of [the genus] "animal" are mortal and immortal, irrational and rational, tame and wild, and other such things. Soft and hard, heavy and light, rarefied and dense, and large and small are not differentiae of "animal" but of "substance." Therefore, if softness or hardness, or denseness or looseness of texture, or smallness or largeness is added to "animal," this will contribute nothing more to the creation of the species. If, however, rational and immortal, or rational and mortal [are added], this would be, on the one hand, the species "god" and, on the other hand, the species "man." In like manner, if you were to add to "rational animal" two appropriate differentiae, footed and bipedal, you will also, in this way, make a species, [namely] "man."

24K

On these grounds, it is impossible to discover species-forming differentiae of any being without defining precisely its boundary or the basis of its actual substance. Second, in regard to this, an error is made by those untrained in reasoning who, whenever they discover some one antithesis of differentia, suppose they have discovered some species of the proposed genus, as was said a little earlier with regard to the elements of speech. For someone who

σύμφωνον οὕτω τὰ πάντα στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀνθρώπου  
 φωνῆς εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ δύο τὰς πρώτας γενικὰς δια-  
 φοράς· εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν φωνήεντα τέμνων αὖθις εἰς μακρὰ  
 25K καὶ βραχέα καὶ δίχρονα, τὰ σύμφωνα ἴδ' εἰς ἡμίφωνα  
 τε καὶ ἄφωνα, καὶ αὖθις τὰ μὲν μακρὰ διχῆ, καθάπερ  
 οὖν καὶ τὰ βραχέα, τὰ δ' αὖ δίχρονα τριχῆ καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 τὰ ἄφωνα πρώτον μὲν εἰς δασέα καὶ ψιλὰ καὶ μέσα,  
 καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον αὖθις τριχῆ, τὰ δ' ἡμίφωνα  
 πάλιν, εἰ καὶ τὰτα κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τέμνοι τομῆν, ἵνα  
 μὴ μακρολογῶ περιττῶς, οὕτως ἂν ἐξεύροι<sup>27</sup> τὰ τέτ-  
 26K ταρα καὶ εἴκοσι στοιχεῖα τῆς φωνῆς ἢ χρώμεθα. τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς ἔστι τῶν στοι-  
 χείων τῆς φωνῆς τὰ μὲν φωνήεντα, τὰ δὲ σύμφωνα,  
 τεχνικὸν οὕτω ποιεῖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπι-  
 στήμονα συμπάντων τῶν στοιχείων· ἀλλ' ἔαν διελό-  
 μενος εἰς βραχέα καὶ μακρὰ καὶ δίχρονα, βραχέα μὲν  
 εἶναι φῆ δύο, τό τε ε καὶ τὸ ο, μακρὰ δ' ὁμοίως δύο, τό  
 τε η καὶ τὸ ω, δίχρονα δὲ τρία, τό τε ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ι καὶ  
 τὸ υ, τεχνικὸν οὕτω ποιήσει τὸν ἀκούσαντα περὶ τῶν  
 φωνηέντων ἀπάντων· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν συμ-  
 φώνων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὅστις ἐπιχειρεῖ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν  
 νοσημάτων ἀριθμοῦ, πόσα τὰ σύμπαντ' ἔστιν, οὐ χρὴ  
 τοῦτον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καταμεῖναι διαφορᾷ, τέμνοντα δ'  
 αὐτὴν ἐπεξεῖναι, μέχρι περ ἂν ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἐσχάτων  
 26K εἰδῶν ἀφίκηται ἢ τῶν μηκέτι τμηθῆναι δυναμένων εἰς

says "vowel" and "consonant" has not yet mentioned all  
 the elements of human speech but only the two primary,  
 generic differentiae. If, however, he were to divide vow-  
 els further into long, short, and dichronous, and to divide  
 25K consonants into semivowels and mutes, and then further  
 divide the long and short [vowels] into two and the di-  
 chronous [vowels] into three, and moreover, if he were to  
 divide first the mute consonants into aspirated, unaspi-  
 rated and intermediate, and divide each of these again into  
 three, and the semivowels again, and if he were also to di-  
 vide these according to their proper division, so that I do  
 not go on at unnecessary length, in this way he would dis-  
 cover the twenty-four elements of speech we use. Just to  
 say this alone—that some elements of speech are vowels  
 and some are consonants—does not yet make the listener  
 proficient or accurately knowledgeable about all the ele-  
 ments. But if, having divided [the vowels] into short, long  
 and dichronous, he were to say that there are two that are  
 short (*epsilon* and *omikron*), and likewise that there are  
 two that are long (*eta* and *omega*), and three that are  
 dichronous (*alpha*, *iota* and *upsilon*), he will in this way  
 make the listener proficient regarding all the vowels. And  
 similarly too, he will make the listener proficient regarding  
 the consonants in the same way.

In this way, therefore, whoever attempts to make a  
 statement about the number of diseases, how many there  
 are in all, should not stop at the first differentia but go on  
 dividing differentiae until he comes to one of the lowest  
 species (*infimae species*), one of those which cannot be fur-  
 26K

<sup>27</sup> τέμνοι . . . ἐξεύροι B (τέμνοι ex KLat secet et ἐξεύροι ex  
 inveniati conj. Hankinson); τέμνους . . . ἐξεύροις K, P1, P2

ἕτερον εἶδος. ὅτι δ' οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου γεγυμνασμένου μεγάλως ἐν τῇ διαιρητικῇ μεθόδῳ, μαθεῖν ἔνεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἅπαντα ἀναγνόντι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Φιλήβου Πλάτωνι γεγραμμένα περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης μεθόδου, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὸν τε Σοφιστὴν ἀναλεξαμένῳ καὶ τὸν Πολιτικόν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ χαλεπώτερον φανέεται τὸ πρᾶγμα<sup>28</sup> τὸ πρῶτον Περὶ μορίων ζώων Ἀριστοτέλους ἀναγνόντι· πειράται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς διαφορὰς ἀπάσας ἐξαριθμήσασθαι τῶν ζώων, ἀπορίας τε παμπόλλας κινήσας, μόγις ὑπόπτως τε καὶ δεδιῶς<sup>29</sup> ἀποφαίνεσθαι τι τολμᾷ.

εἴτ' Ἀριστοτέλους τε καὶ Πλάτωνος οὕτω μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν εἶναι νομιζόντων εἰς τὰς οἰκείας διαφορὰς ἀκριβῶς τὰ γένη τέμνειν καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Θεοφράστου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἐξεργάζεσθαι πειρωμένων τὸν τρόπον, ὡς οὐπω κατωρθωμένον οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις, ὁ τολμηρότατος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπλῶς ἀποφηνάμενος ἀξιῶ πιστεύεσθαι δύο τὰ πάντ' εἶναι κατὰ δίαίταν νοσήματα τὰ γούνη ἀπλᾶ καὶ πρῶτα καὶ οἶον  
27K στοιχεῖα, ἢ τρίτον γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄλλο γεννᾶται τῷ λόγῳ σύνθετον, ἐπιπεπλεγμένον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. ἀλλ' εἴπερ μεθόδῳ τιμὴ ταύτ' ἐξεύρες, ὡσπερ οὖν ἀλαζονεύη, τί οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔφρασας αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον, ἢ

<sup>28</sup> K, B; γράμμα P1, P2;

<sup>29</sup> B; δειλῶς K

<sup>18</sup> The relevant passages are *Philebus* 12 (LCL, Plato VIII, p.

ther subdivided into another species. It is possible for someone who so wishes to read first something written by Plato about such a method at the beginning of the *Philebus*, and, after that, to read through the *Sophist* and the *Politicus*,<sup>18</sup> to learn that doing this is not a matter of chance but [can only be done] when a man has been thoroughly trained in the method of division. The matter will seem rather more complex to someone who has read the first book of Aristotle's *On the Parts of Animals* for he tries, in that [work], to enumerate all the differentiae of animals and, when he is disturbed by the very many difficulties, he barely ventures to give an opinion, [and does so] provisionally and with trepidation.<sup>19</sup>

Aristotle and Plato thought it was such a major and difficult task to divide the genera accurately into the appropriate differentiae, just as Theophrastus did after them, and the other philosophers who tried to bring the method to completion, that it hasn't yet been successfully accomplished by those men. Nevertheless, the extraordinarily overbold Thessalus thinks he is worthy of credence when he pronounces baldly that all diseases are of two kinds according to regimen—at any rate, those that are simple and primary, and elements, as it were, for another third kind  
27K arises compounded from these according to the theory, having been made up from both of them. But if, by some method, you have discovered these things, as in fact you boast, why have you not also told us about it, but instead, in

242ff), *Sophist* 218C–232B (LCL, Plato VII, pp. 270–318), and *Politicus* throughout.

<sup>19</sup> See Aristotle, *De partibus animalium* 642b5ff and notes c and d in the LCL Aristotle XII, pp. 78–79.

κατὰ τοῦνομα τὸ σεμνόν, ᾧ προσαγορεύεις σαντόν, ἀμεθοδώτατε καὶ προπετέστατε, τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐποίησω, μηδ' οὖν μηδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῆς ἐφαιψάμενος, ἀφ' ἧς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἄρξασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς οὐτινοσοῦν πράγματος ἐξευρήσειν εἶδη τε καὶ διαφορὰς οἰκειάς; Περὶ παντὸς γάρ, ὦ παῖ, μία ἀρχὴ ἀρίστη, εἰδέναι περὶ οὗτου ἢ ζήτησις, ἢ πάντα ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνάγκη, Πλάτων πού φησιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ διαιρεῖν μόνον ὀτιοῦν ἀξιῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄρχεισθαι τοῦ ζητουμένου τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι σκέμμα τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν κἀνταῦθα τί ποτέ ἐστιν νόσημα καὶ τί σύμπτωμα καὶ τί πάθος ἀκριβῶς εἰπόντα, καὶ διορισάμενον ὅπῃ ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ὅπῃ μὴ ταῦτόν, οὕτως ἤδη πειρᾶσθαι τέμνειν εἰς τὰς οἰκειάς διαφορὰς αὐτά, καθ' ἣν ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι μέθοδον ἢ εἴπερ ἑτέραν τινὰ βελτίω | 28K τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων γεγραμμένης ἐξεύρες, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρότερον ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ δεῖξαι καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς ἰστοῖς τραφεὶς ὑπερεβάλετο μὲν Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Πλάτωνα μεθόδοις λογικαῖς, κατεπάτησε δὲ Θεόφραστον τε καὶ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ, φανερώς δ' ἐξήλεγξε τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτῶν ἅπαντας, οὐδὲ τίνα ποτ' ἐστὶ τὰ πρῶτα νοσήματα γινώσκοντας, τὸν Ἡρόφιλον ἐκείνον τὸν διαλεκτικόν, καὶ τὸν συμφοιτητὴν αὐτοῦ Φιλότιμον, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ Πραξαγόραν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ σὺν τούτοις τε καὶ πρὸ τούτων Ἐρασίστρατον, Διοκλέα, Μνησίθεον, Διευχῆ, Φιλιστίωνα, Πλειστό-

complete opposition to that revered name with which you name yourself, you, a man most unmethodical and rash, made an assertion without having grasped even the very origin itself from which it is essential for anyone who intends to discover the species of anything at all and their proper differentiae to begin? For, as Plato says somewhere, "in everything, my boy, there is one best starting point, which is to know what the search is about, otherwise everything inevitably goes wrong."<sup>20</sup> And he (Plato) thinks it right for us to take our starting point from the actual substance of what is being sought, not only in relation to dividing anything whatsoever, but also always to use this kind of starting point in relation to everything.

Here too it is necessary to say precisely what a disease is, and a symptom, and an affection, and to distinguish in what way each of the things spoken of is the same and in what way not the same, and only then endeavor to divide them in this way into the proper differentiae according to the method which the philosophers taught us. Or, if you have discovered some other, better method than that which they have written about, you should first resolve the issue, and then show and teach the Greeks how someone raised among the looms has surpassed Aristotle and Plato in logical methods, and has trampled underfoot both Theophrastus and the Stoics in dialectics, and has clearly refuted all their students who do not even know what the primary diseases are—men like Herophilus the dialectician, his fellow pupil Philotimus, his teacher Praxagoras, the follower of Aesclepius, and their contemporaries and predecessors Erasistratus, Diocles, Mnesitheus, Dieuches, Phil-

28K

<sup>20</sup> See both *Sophist* 242B and *Phaedrus* 237B–C. This is not an exact quotation.

νικον, αὐτὸν Ἴπποκράτην. τὸ δ' ἀπλῶς ἀποφήνασθαι δύο εἶναι τὰ πάντα πάθη κατὰ δίαιταν, οὐ μέθοδον, οὐκ ἀπόδειξιν, οὐ πιθανὴν πίστιν, οὐ παραμυθίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσθέντα, πλὴν εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς βλασφημήσαντα, προστάττοντός ἐστιν ἔργον, οὐ διδάσκοντος.

ἔστω, σιωπῆς, ἐκ ποίας εὔρες αὐτὰ μεθόδου λογικῆς· ἀλλὰ τοι κἂν κριτήριόν γέ τι τῶν λόγων τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχρῆν σε παρασχέσθαι. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ εὐρέιν  
 29K τὸ ζητούμενον | αἱ λογικαὶ μέθοδοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσι, τοῦ δὲ πιστώσασθαι τὰ καλῶς εὐρημένα δύο ἐστὶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις κριτήρια, λόγος καὶ πείρα. πρὸς γοῦν τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα διὰ τί τῷδέ τιτι τῷ πυρέττοντι συνεχώρησας ὕδατος πιεῖν ψυχροῦ, δύο εἰσὶν ἀποκρίσεις, ἡ μὲν ἑτέρα γένεσίν τε καὶ φύσιν ἐκδιδάσκουσα πυρετοῦ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῶν νόσων καιροῦ διεξιούσα, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὕδατος ψυχροῦ φύσιν ἐξηγουμένη, κάπειδ' αὐτὰ διεξέληθ, πειρωμένη διδάσκειν, ὡς τῷ τοιῷδε νοσήματι κατὰ τὸν τοιόνδε καιρὸν εὐλογόν ἐστιν ἴαμα γενέσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ψυχρόν· ἡ δ' ἑτέρα τῶν ἀποκρίσεων οὐδενὸς τούτων τῆς φύσεως ἐφαυμένη καταφεύγει πρὸς τὴν πείραν, ἐν τοιῷδε νοσήματι καὶ καιρῷ τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐωρᾶσθαι φάσκουσα πολλάκις ὠφελεῖν, ἔχρῆν οὖν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν Θεσσαλὸν ἤτοι πείραν ἢ λόγον ἐφ' οἷς ἀποφαίνεται κριτήριον ἐπάγειν, οὐχ ὡς τύραννον ἡμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀξιούντα πιστεύεσθαι χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως. Καὶ τίνα, φασίν, ἀκούειν ἀπόδειξιν ἀξιούς; οὕτω γὰρ ἀντε-

istion, Pleistonicus and Hippocrates himself. The bald pronouncement that all affections are two in terms of regimen, setting out neither method, nor demonstration, nor persuasive argument, nor solution, nor anything else at all apart from slander of the ancients, is the work of one who gives orders and not of one who teaches.

So be it. You are silent as to the kind of logical method by which you discovered these things. At least you should have supplied some basis for judging the truth of your arguments. For, on the one hand, logical methods have the power to discover what is sought while, on the other hand, there are, for all men, two criteria for believing in things that have been correctly discovered—reason and experience. Indeed, to someone who asks why you agreed to a drink of cold water for a person with a fever, there are two replies. The one teaches about the genesis and nature of fever, about the appropriate times in diseases, and, in the same way, explains the nature of cold water and, whenever it goes over these things, attempts to teach how, in this particular disease in relation to this particular time, it happens that cold water is the reasonable treatment. The other response touches on nothing about the nature of these things, but has recourse to experience, asserting that, in this particular disease at this particular time, cold water has often been seen to be of help. So then, in my view, Thessalus must focus on either experience or reason as the criterion in giving his account of these things and not, like a dictator, order us around, thinking it right that we should trust him without demonstration. "But," they say, "what kind of demonstration do you think it right to hear?"—for

29K

30K ρωτῶσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δικαίως γε τοῦτο  
 ποιοῦσιν, οὐδ' εἰς ἔννοιάν | ποτε παρελθόντες ἀποδεί-  
 ξεως, ὡς ἂν οὔτε γεωμετρίας οὔτ' ἀριθμητικῆς οὔτε  
 διαλεκτικῆς οὔτε ἀναλυτικῆς οὔθ' ὅλως λογικῆς τινος  
 ἀψάμενοι θεωρίας. ἀποκριτέον οὖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς Ὀψὲ  
 πάννυ μανθάνειν ἐφίεσθε τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, καὶ  
 ὡς οὐκ ἐνδέχεται χρόνῳ βραχεῖ λεπτῆς γνώμης δεο-  
 μένη παρακολουθήσασθαι θεωρία μῆτ' ἠσκημένους ἀκού-  
 εω ἀκριβῶν λόγων ἐν διαστροφῇ τε πολυχρόνῳ γε-  
 γονότας. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν ἀποπέμψωμεν, ὡς μηδὲ  
 συνιέναι δυναμένους ἀληθῶν μαθημάτων, μήτιγε δὴ  
 μαθεῖν ἢ κρίναι καλῶς.

4. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἠσκημένων τε ἅμα παρακο-  
 λουθεῖν ἀποδείξει καὶ φύσει συντεῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὄνους  
 Θεσσαλείους ἐπαγγελλόμεθα διδάσκειν, ἐπὶ τὸ προ-  
 κείμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἴωμεν, εὐθὺς ἅμα τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ  
 τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου καὶ ὧν ἐσφάλησαν οἱ  
 πλείστοι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὴν  
 ἐξηγούμενοι τὰς αἰτίας· εἰς γὰρ τοὶ τὴν βεβαιότεραν  
 31K πίστιν τῶν ἀληθῶν οὐδὲ τοῦτο σμικρὸν φαίνεται συν-  
 τελεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εὐλαβηθῶμεν ἀμφοῖν | ἅμα  
 μεμνησθαι, μεθόδου τε λογικῆς καὶ πείρας ἀλόγου·  
 πρόκειται γὰρ οὐ περὶ πάσης εὐρέσεως ἰαμάτων εἰ-  
 πέειν νῦν, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς κατὰ μέθοδον· ὥσπερ καὶ  
 περὶ γε τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς ἡμῶν τε δι' ἑτέρον γράμματος  
 εἴρηται καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς<sup>30</sup> Ἐμπειρικοῖς καλουμένοις  
 ἰατροῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξείργασται. καὶ οὕτως ἂν εὐξαί-

<sup>30</sup> τοῖς B, P1, P2; om. K

so his followers question us in turn. And, indeed, they do  
 this with reason, never having arrived at any notion of 30K  
 demonstration, since they would not have come to grips  
 with geometry, arithmetic, dialectics, analysis, or logical  
 theory of any kind. I must reply to them, then, [by saying]:  
 “You are aiming to learn very late in the day what demon-  
 stration is, and it is not possible to follow in a moment a  
 theory which requires a fine intelligence, nor for those  
 who are practiced in long-term distortion to listen to pre-  
 cise logic.” Let us, then, dismiss these people as not having  
 the capacity to understand true studies, much less to learn  
 and judge properly.

4. Let us proceed instead in the company of those who  
 are both trained to follow exposition and are naturally in-  
 telligent (for we certainly do not profess to give instruction  
 to those asinine Thessaleians) to what was proposed at the  
 outset, and immediately, along with the teaching of the  
 therapeutic method, expound the reasons why the major-  
 ity of doctors, when they attempt to discover this method,  
 slipped into error, because this seems to bring about, to no  
 small extent, a stronger confidence in the truth. First, let  
 us take care not to pay attention to both things simulta- 31K  
 neously, i.e. logical method and irrational experience, for it  
 is not proposed to speak now about the whole discovery of  
 cures, but only that which relates to method just as I have  
 also spoken about the empirical [discovery of cures] in an-  
 other work,<sup>21</sup> and this has been dealt with more fully by the  
 so-called Empiric doctors themselves. And so I would pray

<sup>21</sup> As R. J. Hankinson (1991) has pointed out, this is more  
 likely to be *De empirica subfiguratione* than *De experientia  
 medica*. Both works are translated in R. Walzer and M. Frede  
 (1985).



μην καὶ τοὺς Λογικοὺς ἅπαντας ἰατροὺς ἔχεισθαι τοῦ προκειμένου, καὶ μὴ συγχεῖν, μηδὲ ταράττειν, μηδὲ συνάγειν εἰς ταῦτον ἀναλογισμὸν τε καὶ πείραν, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον ἰδίᾳ μεταχειρίζεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖσθαι τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ πόσον εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς τέχνης συννεργεῖ.

τὸ τοίνυν μεθόδῳ τι ζητεῖν ἐξευρεῖν ἀντίκειται μὲν τῷ κατὰ τύχην τε καὶ αὐτομάτως· ἔστι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον μετὰ τινος ὁδοῦ καὶ τάξεως, ὡς εἶναι τι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ζητήσῃ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς τᾶλλα σύμπαντα, μέχρι περ ἂν ἀφίκηται τις ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ προκειμένον ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας καλῶς ποιοῦντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς οὔτε τῆς εὐρέσεως οὔτε τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀναγκαῖα τάξις ἐστὶ παρ' ἰατροῖς· ἀτεχνον γάρ τι καὶ ἄλογον ἢ πείρα καὶ τύχης ἀγαθῆς δεόμενον εἰς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων εὐρεσιν. ὅσοι δὲ λόγον ἠγεμόνα τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τάξιν, ὁδὸν τε μίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἄγουσαν ὑπέθεντο, τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον μὲν ἦν ἀπὸ πρῶτου τινὸς ἀρξαμένοις ὁμολογουμένον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως ἤδη μετιέναι πρὸς τὰ λοιπά· ποιουσί γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ πλείστοι διαφωνουμένας λαμβάνουσιν, οὐκ ἀποδείξαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον μετέρχονται, νομοθετοῦντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀποδεικνύντες. ἅπαντα δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἀποδείξεως ἐπεσκεφθαι πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε τοῖς ζητουμένοις ἐφίστασθαι καὶ τολμᾶν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν

that all the Rationalist doctors too will hold themselves to the proposition, and not confound or confuse or bring together as one, analogy and experience, but try out each individually, and consider what power each has, and how much it contributes to the goal of the craft.

Thus, to seek to discover something by method stands in opposition to doing so by chance and spontaneously, for such an approach requires a certain path and order so that there is something first in the search, and then something second, and third, and fourth and so on with respect to all the other [steps] in sequence until one arrives at the very thing that was proposed at the outset. Those who employ the empirical approach are doing the right thing when they agree that, for them, there is no necessary order either of discovery or teaching. Experience is something that is unsystematic and irrational, and requires good fortune for the discovery of those things being sought. However, those who made reason and order their guides to discovery, and took as foundational that there is a single path leading to the objective are constrained by a necessity to start from some first point agreed upon by all men, and only then progress toward the rest. However, the majority do not do this but rather take disputed starting points and, without having provided demonstration, go on in like manner to the rest, laying down the law instead of providing demonstration. All such things happen to them because they have not given prior consideration to demonstration. And yet, at the same time, they apply themselves to what is being sought and dare to use demonstrations to support

32K

πίστιν αὐτῶν ἀποδείξουσιν, ὁμοίον τι ποιούσιν ἀνθρώπῳ μετρεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντι σφαῖραν, ἢ κύβον, ἢ κῶνον, ἢ κύλινδρον, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, οὔτε γεωμετρίας οὔτε λογιστικῆς ἐπιστήμονι θεωρίας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πῆχυν, ἢ παλαιστήν, ἢ πόδα παρεσκευασμένῳ, κᾶπευτα ἀγανακτοῦντι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπόδειξιν ζητοῦντας, |  
 33K ἢ καὶ σιωπᾶν ἀξιούντας. ὡς γὰρ κάκει γελοῖος ὁ φάσκων ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου, τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας τῶν περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν πεντάποδος, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπαρχούσης, τῆς δ' ἐτέρας δωδεκάποδος, οὐ τριάκοντα ποδῶν γίνεσθαι τὸ ἐμβαδόν, ἀλλὰ τετταράκοντα, καὶ τούτων μηδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχων εἰπεῖν, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα γελοῖος ὁ ἀποφηνάμενος μὲν ὅτι οὖν, ἀποδείξαι δ' οὐ δυνάμενος.

ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ<sup>31</sup> τῆς κατὰ τὸ τρίγωνον ἀποδείξεως, οὐ γὰρ ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦ παραδείγματος, ἀπεληλεκόσιν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου τοὺς ἀπαιδέτους Μεθοδικούς, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ προκείμενον ἐκ δυοῖν τούτων ἐπεραίνεται προτάσεων, μιᾶς μὲν τῆς τὸ περιεχόμενον χωρίον ὑπὸ τε τῆς πεντάποδος καὶ δωδεκάποδος, ἐξηκοντάπουον γίνεσθαι, δευτέρας δὲ τῆς ἡμισυ τὸ<sup>32</sup> τρίγωνον ἐκείνου τοῦ χωρίου λεγούσης καὶ δεικνυούσης ὑπάρχειν, ἑκατέρα δὲ πάλιν τούτων ἐτέρων τινῶν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἐδέετο προτάσεων, εἴτ' ἐκείναι πάλιν ἐτέρων, ἄχρι περ ἂν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας ἀνέλθωμεν, αἱ οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἀλλήλων,<sup>33</sup> οὐδὲ δι' ἀποδείξεως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσι τὴν πίστιν, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καπὶ τῶν τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην  
 34K ἀποδεικνυμένων | ἀπάντων εἰς πρώτας τινὰς ἀναποδεί-

their belief. They act like someone who tries to measure a sphere, cube, cone, or cylinder, or some other such thing, but has no knowledge of either geometry or logical theory, and provides himself with neither cubit, span, nor foot rule, and then becomes vexed with those who seek a demonstration, or think he should be silent. For just as someone would be ludicrous who asserts that, in the case of a right-angle triangle, if one of the sides enclosing the right angle is five feet, as it might happen to be, and the other is twelve feet, the area is not thirty feet but forty feet, and to say this is so without giving any demonstration, so here too, someone who declares anything whatsoever without being able to provide a demonstration would be laughable.

So in the demonstration regarding the triangle—for there is no need for us to resile from the example since we have already expelled the uneducated Methodics from the discussion—the proposition itself was reached from these two premises: the first is that the area enclosed by the five feet and the twelve feet is sixty feet, and the second is the claim that the triangle is half that area, and showing that it is. However, each of these again requires certain other premises for demonstration, then those others again, until we come to those premises that are primary, which no longer have their proof from one another or from demonstration, but from themselves. The same applies too, I think, in the case of demonstrations in the medical craft. In all instances, there must be reduction to certain primary

<sup>31</sup> ἐπὶ B; *om.* K

<sup>32</sup> τό B; *om.* K

<sup>33</sup> αἱ οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἀλλήλων B; αἰδὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλων K

κτους προτάσεις καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν πιστὰς ἀνάγεσθαι  
 χρῆναι πάντα. καὶ εἴπερ οὕτως ἅπαντες ἐπεχείρησαν  
 εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου, πάντως ἄν  
 που καὶ συνεφώνησαν ἀλλήλοις, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀριθμητι-  
 κοὶ τε καὶ γεωμέτραι καὶ οἱ λογιστικοὶ μαθεῖν γούν  
 ἔστι παρ' ἐκείνων εὐθύς κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁποῖον μὲν τι  
 δηλοῦται πρὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομάτων οἷς μέλλουσι  
 χρῆσθαι, τίνας δὲ προτάσεις ἀναποδείκτους παραλή-  
 ψονται πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ἄσπερ δὴ καὶ ἀξιώματα κα-  
 λοῦσιν, οἷον ὅτι γραμμῆν μὲν ὀνομάζω μῆκος ἀπλα-  
 τές, ἐπιφάνειαν δὲ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχον,  
 καὶ τρίγωνον μὲν τόδῃ τι, τετράγωνον δὲ τόδῃ τι, καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἕκαστον· εἶθ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις  
 ἀξιώμασι χρήσοιτο, προειπὼν ὡς τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ  
 ἀλλήλοις ἔστιν ἴσα, καὶ ἐὰν ἴσοις ἴσα προστεθῆ, τὰ  
 ὅλα ἴσα ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη πειρᾶται δεικνύναι τὰ  
 θεωρήματα, μηδὲν τούτων ἕξωθεν ὦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέ-  
 θετο προλαμβάνων. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ὡς  
 οἴσθα καὶ αὐτός, Ἰέρων κράτιστε, πόθεν ἤρξαντο τῆς  
 35K εὐρέσεως ἢν εὐρηκέναι φασὶν ἐρωτώμενοι | τοσοῦτον  
 ἀποδέουσι τοῦ λέγειν ἀναποδείκτους τε καὶ ἅπασιν  
 ὁμολογουμένας ἀρχάς, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀποκρίνεσθαι σύμ-  
 φωνον ἑαυτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξευρίσκουσιν, ἀλλ' Εὐρίπου  
 δίκην ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω μεταβάλλονται, τὰναντία τιθέ-  
 μενος ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τοῦ λόγου προϊόντος ὦν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ὑπέθετο.

φαινομένας γούν εἰπὼν εἶναι τὰς κοινότητας ὁ σο-  
 φώτατος Θεσσαλός, ὀλίγον ὕστερον οὐ μόνον οὐδένα

and undemonstrable premises, and from these all things  
 must draw their proof. Indeed, if everyone attempted to  
 say something about the therapeutic method in this way,  
 they would be in harmony with each other in every re-  
 spect, just like the arithmeticians, geometers, and logi-  
 cians. At any rate, it is possible to learn from such men  
 right from the outset what is signified by each of the terms  
 they are going to use, and what undemonstrable premises  
 they will assume with respect to the argument, which in ac-  
 tual fact they call axioms. For example, I call a length with  
 no breadth a "line," while what has length and breadth  
 only, I call a "surface," and this a "triangle," and that a  
 "quadrilateral," and each of the other things likewise.  
 Then one might also use such axioms, putting forward the  
 proposition that those things equal to the same thing are  
 also equal to each other, and that, if equals are added to  
 equals, the totals [so created] will be equal and, after this,  
 attempt to demonstrate the theorems, assuming before-  
 hand nothing outside those things which were proposed at  
 the outset. Most doctors, as you yourself also know, my  
 dearest Hiero, when asked to say where they began the  
 discovery of what they have discovered, are to such an  
 extent deficient in stating indemonstrables and starting  
 points agreed by all that they can make no reply that is con-  
 sistent among themselves but, as the argument proceeds,  
 they ebb and flow like the Euripus, each one postulating  
 things that are the opposite of those things he postulated at  
 the beginning.

At all events, that most sapient Thessalus says the  
 "communities" are apparent, yet a little later says not only

τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἰατρῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτάς φησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν πρῶτον γεννήσαντα Θεμισώνα· τούτῳ γὰρ οὖν δὴ μόνῳ παραχωρεῖ καθάπερ πατρὶ τέκνα γνήσια τὰς τερατώδεις ἐκείνας κοινότητας. εἶθ' οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ διηρέθησαν, οὔτε τὰς αὐτὰς εἰσηγούμενοι κοινότητας οὔθ' ὅλως ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογοῦντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν, ὥσπερ σοὶ καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἀπέδειξα παρόντων αὐτῶν τῶν Μεθοδικῶν·

36K ἴσως δ' ἂν που καὶ γράψαιμι κατὰ πολλὴν σχολὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε τοσοῦτον εἰς τὰ προκείμενα προσήκει λαβεῖν, ὡς ἐχρήν ἀρχηγὸς αἰρέσεως καθισταμένους αὐτοὺς ἐξηγήσασθαι πρότερον ἐφ' ὅτου πράγματος ἕκαστον | τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἐμπειρικοὶ ποιοῦσι, φαίνεσθαι μὲν λέγοντες τὰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ὑποπίπτοντα, γινώσκεσθαι δὲ τὰ μνημονευόμενα, φαίνεσθαι δ' ἅμα καὶ γινώσκεσθαι τὰ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ὑποπεσόντα καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως ὑποπίπτοντα. πρότερον οὖν οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ φαίνεσθαι λέγουσι τὰς κοινότητας ὡς αἰσθήσει γνωριζόμενας, ἢ καὶ τὰ διὰ λόγου λαμβανόμενα φαινόμενα καλοῦσιν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπειρίας οὐ πᾶν τι συγχωροῦσιν οὐδὲν τῶν τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ δοκούντων ἐγνώσθαι φαινόμενον ὀνομάζειν· οἱ δ' αὖ παλαιοὶ φιλόσοφοι διττὸν γένος εἶναί φασιν τῶν φαινομένων, ἐν μὲν, ὅπερ

<sup>22</sup> Themison of Laodicea (ca. 90–40 BC) is regarded, on some-

that no previous doctors have seen them, not even their originator Themison;<sup>22</sup> but that, in fact, to him alone did those monstrous “communities” yield, like legitimate offspring to their father. Then all those who followed differed from each other, and from Thessalus, neither proposing “communities” that were the same, nor agreeing in any way with each other in relation to any one single point, and this is exactly what I have frequently demonstrated to you when the Methodics themselves were present.

But perhaps, when I have plenty of time, I could, I suppose, write about their disagreements, but now, at least, it is appropriate just to deal with what pertains to the matter lying before us, which is that it is necessary for those who set themselves up as the founders of a sect to show first to what matter they relate each of the terms. This is what the Empirics do when they say that those things which fall under the senses are apparent, whereas those things that are remembered are known, and that those things that at some time previously fell under the senses and now likewise fall under the senses are, at one and the same time, apparent and known. So, then, do [the Methodics] themselves say that the “communities” are apparent as being known by perception or do they also call apparent those things accepted through reason? For the Empirics absolutely do not accept that any of those things which seem to be known by reason alone are to be called apparent. The philosophers of old, in turn, say there is a twofold class of things that are apparent (phenomena): one component

what inconclusive evidence, as the “founder” of Methodism and is said to have written four books, one of which was titled *The Method*.

καὶ τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ὁμολογεῖται, τῶν αἰσθήσει τινὶ διαγνωσσκομένων, οἷον λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος καὶ σκληροῦ καὶ μαλακοῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων νοήσει κατὰ πρῶτην ἐπιβολὴν ἀναπόδεικτον, ὡς τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὑπάρχειν ἴσα, καὶ ἐὰν ἴσοις ἴσα προστεθῆ, καὶ τὰ ὅλα ἴσα γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπὸ ἴσων ἴσα ἀφαιρεθῆ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἴσα εἶναι. τοῦ τοιούτου γένους εἶναι φασι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀναιτίως γίνεσθαι καὶ πάντ' ἐξ ὄντος τινός, ἐκ δὲ | τοῦ μηδὸς ὄντος οὐδέν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ φθείρεσθαι μηδὲν εἰς τὸ τελῶς<sup>34</sup> οὐκ ὄν, καὶ τὸ περὶ παντὸς ἀναγκαῖον ἢ καταφάσκειν ἢ ἀποφάσκειν, ἕτερα ἃ τε τοιαῦτα πολλά, περὶ ὧν ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς πραγματείαις ἐπισκέπτονται, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ εἰς ὅσον οἷόν τε σαφέστατα διὰ τῶν Περὶ<sup>35</sup> ἀποδείξεως ὑπομνημάτων εἴρηται.

37K

περὶ τούτων ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀρχαῖς, ἃς δὴ καὶ λογικὰς ὀνομάζομεν, ἀμφισβητούσιν ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐρίζοντες· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἄχρι γούν τοσούτου σωφρονούσιν, ὡς ἀπιστεῖν ἀποδείξει πάση, γινώσκοντες, οἴμαι, κἂν μὴ λέγωσιν, ὡς αὐτὸ γούν τοῦτο βεβαίως ἐπίστανται, τὸ μηδὲν ἀποδειχθῆναι δύνασθαι, τῶν λογικῶν ἀρχῶν ἀπιστουμένων· ὅσοι δ' ἄχρι τοσούτου σκαιοὶ καὶ ἀνόητοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ὡς μηδὲ αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρακολουθεῖν, ἀποδεικνύειν μὲν πειρῶνται, τίνες δὲ εἰσι καὶ ποῖαι καὶ πόσαι τῶν

<sup>34</sup> τελῶς B, P1, P2; τέως K

<sup>35</sup> B; ὑπέρ K

(and here there is agreement with the Empirics) comprises those things discerned by a sense, such as whiteness or blackness, hardness or softness, hot or cold, and such-like, while the other comprises those things which fall under the intellect at their first apprehension and are indemonstrable—for example, things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, and that if equals are added to equals the wholes are equal, and that if equals are subtracted from equals the remainders are equal. They also claim that the nonexistence of anything without a cause is part of such a class, and that everything comes from some existing thing, while nothing comes from something that does not exist at all. So too, [they say that] nothing is destroyed to what is completely nonexistent, and that it is necessary for everything to be either confirmed or denied, and many other such propositions which they consider in their treatises on logic, and which I have also spoken of with the greatest possible clarity through the treatise *On Demonstration*.<sup>23</sup>

Some philosophers, since they are contentious, dispute about these things subsumed under such principles which, indeed, we call logical as well. But they are, at least, sufficiently sensible to distrust all demonstration, knowing, I think, even if they do not say so, enough to be assured of this very point—that nothing can be demonstrated when the logical principles are not to be trusted. However, those who are actually so foolish and unintelligent as not to follow this very position, do attempt to provide demonstrations. There are, however, certain kinds and numbers of

<sup>23</sup> Galen's major work on logic, *De demonstratione*, is no longer extant.

37K

ἀποδείξω ἀρχαὶ μῆτε γινώσκω μῆτε ζητεῖν ἐθέλει  
 μῆτ' ἄλλου διδάσκοντος ἀκούειν ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπλῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι καὶ φθέγγεσθαι ῥήματα μῆδ' ὅ  
 38K τι σημαίνει σαφῶς εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι. εὐλόγως οὖν  
 ἑκατοντάβιβλοι πραγματεῖαι γράφονται | τοῖς ἀπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν, ἅμα μὲν ζητοῦσι καθ' ὅτου πράγματος ἕκαστον  
 τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐπέφερον, ἅμα δ' οὐχ  
 εὐρίσκουσιν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ᾧ συμφωνήσει πάντα τὰ  
 κατὰ μέρος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. τίνες γὰρ οὖν αἱ  
 φαινόμεναι κοινότητές εἰσιν, ἢ πῶς φαινόμεναι, λέ-  
 γειν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὐδ' ἂν πολλαπλασίους ἄλλας γρά-  
 ψωσι βίβλους. ἦτοι γὰρ αἰσθήσει πάντως ὑποπίπτει  
 χρῆ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἢ νοήσει κατὰ μίαν ἐπιβολὴν  
 ἀθρόως, ἑκάτερα χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως· εἴ τι δ' ἐκπέτω-  
 κεν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μίαν προσβολὴν εἰς γνώσιν ἦκειν,  
 εὐθὺς μὲν τοῦτο καὶ διαπεφώνηται πάντως καὶ ἀπο-  
 δείξεως δεῖται καὶ τέχνην οὐδεμίαν ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου  
 πράγματος ἄρχεσθαι προσήκει.

ταῦτ' οὖν εἰ μὲν ἐγυμνάσαντο κατὰ τὰς λογικὰς  
 μεθόδους, αὐτοὶ τ' ἂν ἤδισαν ἡμῶν τε οὐκ ἂν μάτην  
 κατέτριβον τὸν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀμα-  
 θεῖς ὄντες, ἐξ ἀπονοίας ἐτόλμησαν ἀποδείξει χρῆσα-  
 σθαι, πρὶν ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστιν ἀπόδειξις μαθεῖν, ἀναγ-  
 καίον ἤδη τοὺς τοιούτους ἅπαντας σφάλλεσθαι καὶ  
 ληρεῖν μακρὰ, καὶ μῆδὲ τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἀποδεικνύουσιν  
 ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναλίσκειν μάτην τὸν χρόνον. μῆ  
 39K τοίνυν αὐτοῖς | μῆδ' ὡς ζώοις λογικοῖς ἔτι διαλεγώ-  
 μεθα, μῆδ' ἀντιλέγωμεν μακρὰ, πρὶν ἂν ἐθελήσωσι

principles of demonstration that they are unwilling either  
 to know or to seek [to know], or to allow themselves to  
 learn from some other teacher. Rather, they simply make  
 assertions and utter words without being able to say clearly  
 what they signify. With good reason, then, do their acolytes  
 write hundred-volume treatises as, at one and the same  
 38K time, they seek to discover to what matter Thessalus ap-  
 plies each of his terms, but fail to discover any such thing  
 with which all the particular terms stated by him are con-  
 sistent. They are not able to say what the apparent "com-  
 munities" are, or how they are apparent, [and could] not,  
 even if they were to write many times as many other books.  
 For something that is apparent must either fall completely  
 under perception or completely under reason at its first ap-  
 prehension, in each case apart from demonstration. And if  
 something has failed to come to the intellect in one appre-  
 hension, it is immediately both questionable in every way  
 and in need of demonstration. In no art is it appropriate to  
 start from such a thing.

Now in regard to this, if these men had undertaken  
 training in logical methods, they would have known this  
 themselves and would not have wasted our time in vain.  
 But because they are untrained and ignorant, and due to  
 their laziness dared to make use of demonstration before  
 they even learned what demonstration is, it is inevitable  
 that all such men actually err and talk a lot of nonsense,  
 and do not even follow those who provide correct dem-  
 onstrations, but fruitlessly squander their time. Let us not,  
 therefore, discourse any more with them as though with  
 39K rational creatures, nor speak against them at great length

μαθῆν οἷόν τι πράγμα ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις, ὅπως τε δέῃ τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς αὐτῇ χρήσασθαι γεγυμνάσθαι.

5. Καὶ σοὶ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ἤδη ἅπαντα ποιήσομαι, χρώμενος ταῖς μεθόδοις ἃς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ὑπομνήμασι κατεστησάμην. ὅτι τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ πάσης ἀποδείξεώς εἰσι τὰ πρὸς αἰσθησίην τε καὶ νόησιν ἐναργῶς φαινόμενα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ζητουμένων εἰς λόγον χρή μεταλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ νομα, δι' ἐκείνων ἀποδέδεικται· νυνὶ δ' ὅπως μὲν ἢ εὐρίσκειν, ἢ ἀποδεικνύειν προσήκει, λέγειν οὐ πρόκειται, τοῖς δ' ἤδη μεμαθηκόσι τε καὶ ἡσκηκόσιν ἅμα μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τινα καρπὸν τῶν πόνων εὐκαιρότατον, ἐξευρόντας οὐ σμικρὸν πρᾶγμα τὸ νῦν ἡμῖν προκείμενον· ἅμα δ' εἴ τινας ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆς μεγίστης τέχνης εἰσίν, ἢ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγίνεται, προγυμνάσαι καὶ τούτους εὐλογον ἐν τοῖς σμικροτέροις· τούτου γὰρ χρή μάλιστα κατὰ πάσας τὰς μεθόδους ἀντέχεσθαι, τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι κατ' αὐτὰς | ἐπὶ πολλῶν πολλάκις προβλημάτων μικροτέρων, 40K πρὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς μείζουσι.

ἢ δ' οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἔστω διδασκαλίας, ἢν ἂν εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσαμεθα, ζητούντες τε τὴν τέχνην αὐτοὶ καὶ ποδηγούντες ἑτέρους μηδέπω διεστραμμένους οὕτως ὥστ' ἐπεὶ πρόκειται θεραπείας εὑρεῖν ἀπάντων τῶν νοσημάτων, ἀναγκαῖον ἐπίστασθαι πρότερον ὅποσα τὰ σύμπαντά ἐστιν· ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ μήτε διαφορὰς μήτε εἶδη δυνατὸν ἐξευρεῖν γένους μηδενὸς ἄνευ τοῦ βεβαίως αὐτὸ τὸ τεμνόμενον ἐπί-

before they are willing to learn what sort of thing demonstration is, and how someone intending to use it properly must be trained.

5. I shall now set out in order for you the whole argument using the methods which I established in my work *On Demonstration*. It was shown in those writings that the origins of every demonstration are the things clearly apparent to sensation and reason, and that, in the case of all things being inquired into, it is necessary to assign a name to the argument. At the moment, I don't propose to say how it is appropriate either to discover or to demonstrate. Rather, I propose in part to give some of the fruits of my labors that are most seasonable for those who have already learned and practiced [these things], because I have discovered that what lies before us now is no insignificant matter. In part, also, I propose that, if some are to set their hearts on the greatest art, which is that relating to the soul of man, it is reasonable for them to train first in the lesser arts. One must hold fast to this [rule] particularly in all the methods: to exercise oneself in these methods frequently in the many minor problems before attempting those that are major. 40K

Let us make this, then, the starting point of the true teaching, which we ought to have done right from the beginning if we are seeking the art ourselves and guiding others, who have not yet been perverted, in such a way. Since what is proposed is to discover treatments for all diseases, it is essential to know beforehand how many [diseases] there are in all. But because it is impossible to discover either the differentiae or the kinds of any genus without certain knowledge of the actual thing being divided, we must

στασθαι, χρή δῆπου καὶ νῦν ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστι νόσημα τῷ λόγῳ διελθεῖν, ἵν' οὕτως ἐπιχειρήσωμεν ὀρθῶς αὐτοῦ τῇ διαιρέσει.

41K πῶς οὖν ἐξεύρωμεν αὐτὸ ὀρθῶς μεθόδῳ; πῶς δ' ἄλλως ἢ ὡς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἀποδείξεως ἐλέγετο; τῆς ἐννοίας πρότερον ὁμολογηθείσης, ἥς χωρὶς οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν εὐρεθῆναι τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ προκειμένου πράγματος· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἐννοίαν ὁμολογουμένην ἅπασιν ἐλέγομεν χρῆναι λαμβάνειν, ἢ οὐδ' ἂν ἀρχὴν δεόντως ὀνομάζεσθαι. τίς οὖν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογουμένη περὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἐννοία; καὶ κατὰ τίνος  
 41K μάλιστα φέρουσιν ὑποκειμένου πράγματος | τοῦτ' ἰσχυρῶς τὸ νοσεῖν; ἀρ' οὐκ ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἀνεμπόδιστοι ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ἀπάντων ὧσι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μορίων, ὑγιαίνειν τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τηρικαυτὰ φασι καὶ οὐδὲν οἴονται δεῖσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἔργων τοῦ σώματος ὀλιγοῦν αἰσθάνονται σφισιν ἢ κακῶς ἢ μηδὲν ἔτι γινόμενον, ἠγοῦνται γε νοσεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μέρει τοῦ σώματος, οὗ τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν ὀρώσι βεβλαμμένην, ἰατρῶν τε συμβούλῳ χρῶνται περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως ὀρώ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῷ τε τῆς ὑγείας καὶ τῷ τῆς νόσου χρωμένους ὀνόματι, καὶ τὴν ἐννοίαν ἣν εἶπον ἅπαντας διασφύζοντας ἐπὶ τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπάντων. καὶ γὰρ ὑγιαίνειν ἐκείνον ὑπελήφασιν ὅτι μηδεμία βέβλαπται μηδενὸς ἐνεργεῖας μορίου, καὶ νοσεῖν ὅτι βέβλαπται· καὶ ὑγιαίνων οὗτος

also now, of course, go over what "disease" is by way of a concept, so that in this way we might attempt a correct division of it.

How, then, are we to find this out correctly by method? How else than by what was said in [my work] *On Demonstration*? First, the concept must be agreed upon: without this it is not possible for the substance of the matter being proposed to be discovered. As for the concept itself, it has been my practice to say that we must accept the one agreed upon by all, otherwise it would not be possible to name a suitable starting point. What concept concerning disease is agreed upon by all men? And to what underlying thing especially do they apply this particular term "disease"? Is it not the case that, whenever there are no impediments to the functions of all the parts of the body, under these circumstances people say they are healthy and think they have no need of doctors whereas, whenever they become aware that any one whatsoever of the natural actions of the body is occurring either badly or not at all, they consider themselves to be diseased, at least in that particular part of the body whose function they see to be damaged, and they do have recourse to medical consultation regarding the treatment? I see all men using the terms "health" and "disease" in this way, and this is the concept which I stated all men maintain in the case of these very names and, as well as these, no less in the case of all the names and terms which are etymologically related to them. For they also consider that person to be healthy in whom no function of any part [of the body] is damaged, and someone to be diseased in whom there is damage. And this person, in whom

41K



42K ὀνομάζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ᾧ πάντα τοῦ σώματος τὰ μόρια κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ νοσῶν ᾧ βέβλαπταί τι καὶ οὐδεὶς ὄλως Ἑλλήνων οὐτ' ὠνόμασεν ἄλλως οὐτ' ἐπ' ἄλλο τι πρᾶγμα φέρεται τῶν εἰρημένων ὀνομάτων | ἕκαστον, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐδείξαμεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξηγήσει, καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τούτου μέμνησά μοι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα, διότι τὰς μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξηγήσεις ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνηθείας ποιησόμεθα, καθότι κὰν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγετο· τὰς δὲ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς τοῦ πράγματος εὐρέσεις τε καὶ ζητήσεις καὶ ἀποδείξεις οὐκέτ' ἐκ τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκούντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν λημμάτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐν ἐκείνοις εἴρηται.

λαβόντες οὖν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογουμένην ἅπασιν, ὡς ἐν τῇ θεραπευτικῇ μεθόδῳ τοῦτ' εἴη τὸ προκείμενον, ὑγίαν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τοῖς νεοσσηκόσι σώμασι, τουτέστι τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας τῶν μορίων, εἴ ποιν<sup>36</sup> βεβλαμμένοι τύχοιεν, ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη ζητήσομεν ὅποσα τὰ σύμπαντά ἐστι κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἀλλήλοις παρακείμενα πρᾶγματα, μή ποιν τύχωμέν τινα τοῦ λόγου προϊόντος ἢ νοσήματα νομίσαντες, ὅταν ἢ παραπλήσια τούτοις, ἢ ὑγίαν, ὅταν καὶ τῇ ταύτης φύσει πλησιάζη. προκεχειρίσθω δέ τινα μόρια σαφηνείας ἔνεκεν, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν περανθήσεται |

43K πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμός· ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ

<sup>36</sup> εἴ ποιν P1, P2; εἴπερ K

all the parts of the body function in accord with nature, is called healthy compared to them, and someone in whom there is damage, diseased; and on the whole, none of the Greeks either name differently, or apply each of the terms mentioned to some other matter, as I showed in great detail in the explanation of medical terms.<sup>24</sup> I urge you to bear this point particularly in mind throughout the entire discussion because I shall make the interpretation of names on the basis of the customary usage of the Greeks, as I said in the work *On Demonstration*. But bear in mind too that the discoveries, investigations, and demonstrations of the actual substance of the matter no longer come from the opinions of the many. Rather, they come from premises based on knowledge, the manner of discovery of which was spoken of in those [writings].

Therefore, having taken as a starting point that which is agreed by all, what is proposed in *The Method of Medicine* is that health is to be provided for bodies that have become diseased; that is to say, to restore the functions of the parts to normal wherever they should happen to have been damaged. After this, I shall examine how many other things there are in all that are closely related in terms of "position," lest we should somehow happen, as the argument progresses, to think that some of them are diseases whenever they resemble them, or health whenever they approximate to the nature of this. Let us, however, pick out certain parts [of the body] for the sake of clarity, through which our argument will be developed to a conclusion.

First of all [let us select] the eye, for there is agreement 43K

<sup>24</sup> Presumably *De nominibus medicis*, translated into German from the Arabic by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht (1931).

οὖν ἐπὶ τούτου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐκ ἰατροῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἔργον αὐτῷ τὸ βλέπειν. εἴτε δ' ἔργον εἶπομι κατὰ τὸν λόγον, εἴτ' ἐνέργειαν, οὐδὲν ἔν γε τῷ νῦν διαφέρειν κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ βλέπειν εἶποι τις ἔργον εἶναι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν βλέψιν, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τὴν ὄρασιν, ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἄλλως ὀνομάσῃ, διαφέρειν καὶ γὰρ εἰ σολοικίζων ὀνομάσοι, πρὸς γε τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιστήμην οὐδὲν τοῦτο βλέπτει, μόνον εἰ καθ' ὅτου πράγματος φέρει τοῦνομα, διηγήσοιτο σαφῶς, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ κύρος τῆς διδασκαλίας. ὀνομαζέσθω τοῖνυν ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν τὸ μόριον τοῦ σώματος, οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα διαφέρουν εἴτε μέρος εἴτε μόριον εἶποι τις· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν ἢ τοῦ παντός συμπληρωτικόν, ἐκεῖνο μόριόν τε καὶ μέρος ὀνομάζεται, τοῦ ὅλου δηλονότι σώματος, οὗ συμπληρωτικὸν ὑπάρχει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρὸς τι τὸ μέρος· ὅλου γὰρ καὶ παντός ἔστι τὸ μέρος, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὅλον πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν τε καὶ μορίων ἀναφορὰν ὀνομαζέται, | καὶ ἔστιν ὥσπερ τὸ δεξιὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀριστερὸν καὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πᾶν πρὸς τὸ μέρος καὶ τὸ μέρος πρὸς τὸ πᾶν. εἴ τις οὖν ταύτην φυλάττων τὴν ἔννοιαν αἰρείται μέρος λέγειν, οὐ μόριον, ἢ εἴ τις ἔμπαλιν οὐ μόριον, ἀλλὰ μέρος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν εὔρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμποδίζει, δείκνυσι δ' αὐτὸν ὀψιμαθῆ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνῆς· ὡς πέρ γε καὶ εἴ τις ὅλου καὶ τὸ πᾶν διορίζει, καὶ οὗτος ἀγνοεῖ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον.

44K

in this case by all men, not only doctors but also anyone at all, that its action is to see. Whether I say action or function in the course of the argument makes no difference, at least for the moment. In the same way, if someone should say that "looking" is the action of the eyes, or the "act of sight," or "vision," or the "act of seeing," or whatever else one might wish to call it, it makes no difference. Even if someone were to apply names incorrectly, it causes no harm to the actual knowledge of the matter, as long as the name being applied to a particular matter is set out explicitly, for in this lies the validity of the teaching. Let the eye, then, be called a part of the body, insofar as it makes no difference here if one says some component (*meros*) or part (*morion*). For whatever constitutes an essential part of the whole is called a part or a component, the whole, clearly, being the body of which it is an essential part. In this [body] the part is in relation to something because it is also the part of a totality and of a whole so that, in my view, the whole and the totality are so named with reference to its own parts or components. And just as the right is named with reference to the left, or the left to the right, so also the whole is named with reference to the part, or the part to the whole. If someone, while adhering to this concept, chooses to say "component" (*meros*) and not "part" (*morion*), or conversely "part" (*morion*) and not "component" (*meros*), as far as I'm concerned this presents no hindrance to the discovery of the matter but shows him to be laggard in learning the language of the Greeks. Similarly, if someone makes a distinction between the whole (*holos*) and the totality (*pan*), he, too, is ignorant of the Greek language.

44K

εἴρηται δ', ὡς οἴσθα, περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων χρήσεως ἐπὶ πλέον ἐτέρωθι, καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον εἰς τὸ προκείμενον δίειμι, τοῦτ' ἐνδεικνύμενος μόνον, ὡς οὐ χρὴ περιέλλεσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις διαφερομένους ἤδη καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ τούτου δ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὁρᾷς ἀγυμνάστους, οὐ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μόνον τοὺς νῦν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους· ὀλίγοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἴσασι διακρίνειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφωνίας τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἀλλ' ἐδείχθη καὶ ἡ τούτου μέθοδος ἐν τῇ λογικῇ θεωρίᾳ, καὶ νῦν ἦκει καιρὸς αὐτῆς, | εἴ πέρ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε. 45K  
 τίς δ' ἦν ἡ μέθοδος; ἀπὸ<sup>37</sup> τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρξασθαι διαφορᾶς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ δεῖξαι λόγου χάριν ἀλλήλοις παρακείμενα τέτταρα πράγματα, κάπειθ' ἐξῆς ἀποδείξει βεβαιώσασθαι τὸ μήτε πλείω τούτων εἶναι μήτ' ἐλάττω τὰ κατὰ τὸ προκείμενον σκέμμα περιεχόμενα· μετὰ τοῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πραγμάτων ἴδιον ὄνομα θέμενον, οὕτω περαίνειν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον, οὐκέτ' οὐδαμῶς μετατιθέντα καὶ μεταφέροντα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς διαφυλάττοντα καθ' οὐπὲρ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτίθηται πράγματος. καὶ γὰρ σαφῆς οὕτως ἡ διδασκαλία γίνεται καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ὁμωνυμίας σοφισμάτων ἐκτός, καὶ ῥαδίως ἐξελέγχεται τὰ μᾶτην προσκείμενα καὶ διὰ ταχέων εὐρίσκεται τὰ

<sup>37</sup> ἀπό B; ἢ ἀπό P1, P2, K; ἢ ἀπό conj. Hankinson

More has been said elsewhere, as you know, on the use of terms,<sup>25</sup> so now I shall go over the matter just as far as is necessary, showing only this—that we must not be distracted by names, nor should those who differ in these names be thought to differ also in the matters themselves. And, as one might say, you see that everyone is unpracticed in this very matter, and not only the doctors of our own day, but also most of the philosophers. Few of these men know to distinguish the disagreements on names from those on the matters. But the method for this was shown by logical theory and now is the proper time to apply it, if, indeed, 45K  
 any one time is better than another. What, in fact, is the method? It is to start from the differentiae of the matters and not from the differentiae of names, and to show, for the sake of argument, that there are four matters closely connected to each other, and then, in sequence, to confirm by demonstration that there are neither more nor fewer than these comprising the subject lying before us. Only then, when a specific name is assigned to each of the matters, do we in this way draw the whole argument to a conclusion point by point without changing or transferring any of the names in any way, but strictly preserving them for the particular matter to which they were assigned from the beginning. And so, in this way, the instruction becomes clear and free of captious arguments over similar names. Things proposed unnecessarily are readily refuted and

<sup>25</sup> See R. B. Edlow (1977).

λείποντα, καὶ τὰ τε διαφανούμενα καὶ τὰ συμφωνούμενα μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐρμηνείαις ἀκριβῶς γνωρίζεται.

6. Δεγέσθω δὴ πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀναλαβοῦσιν. ὄψις μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνέργεια, διάλεξις δὲ γλώττης, βᾶδις δὲ σκελῶν· ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια πάλιν αὕτη κίνησις δραστηκῆ·  
46K τούτων δ' | αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν κίνησις ἐξάλλαξις τοῦ προϋπάρχοντος, ἡ δραστηκῆ δὲ ἡ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡσπέρ γε καὶ παθητικῆ κίνησις ἡ ὑπό<sup>38</sup> τινος τῶν ἕξω οἶον ἡ μὲν πτήσις ἐνέργεια τοῦ ζῴου τοῦ πτηνοῦ<sup>39</sup> καὶ ἡ βᾶδις τοῦ βαδιστικοῦ· τὸ δ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου φερόμενον, ὡς ἀμβίβειν τόπους, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάσχειν ἐστίν. ἐνήργησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ βαδίσας ἐκ Πειραιέως ἐπὶ Σούνιον, ἐκινήθη γὰρ δραστηκῶς, τουτέστιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν· ἔπαθε δὲ ὁ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ Σούνιον ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως, ἠνέχθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς νεώς.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξάλλαξιν εἶπον εἶναι τοῦ προϋπάρχοντος τὴν κίνησιν, ἐξαλλάττεται δὲ διχῶς τὸ προϋπάρχον, ἢ κατὰ ποιότητα, ἢ κατὰ τόπον, ἡ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τόπον ἐξαλλαγή αὐτοῦ φορὰ ὀνομάζεται, ἡ δὲ κατὰ ποιότητα μεταβολή, ἀλλοίωσις.<sup>40</sup> ὥστε εἶναι φορὰν μὲν ἐξάλλαξιν,<sup>41</sup> ἢ ἀλλαγὴν, ἢ μεταβολὴν τοῦ προϋπάρχοντος,<sup>42</sup> ἐξεπίτηδες γὰρ ἐχρησάμην πολλοῖς ὀνόμασιν, αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐνδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἔνεστι παμπολλοὺς ὀρισμοὺς ποιεῖν ἐνὸς πράγματος, ἐν ταῖς

<sup>38</sup> B; ἀπό K      <sup>39</sup> B; τοῦ πτηνοῦ (om τοῦ ζῴου) K

<sup>40</sup> ἡ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τόπον ἐξαλλαγή αὐτοῦ φορὰ ὀνομάζεται, ἡ δὲ κατὰ ποιότητα μεταβολή, ἀλλοίωσις K; τὴν μὲν

omissions rapidly discovered. Also, particularly, inconsistencies and consistencies in such explanations are accurately recognized.

6. So then, let me say this as I resume the argument. Sight is the function of the eyes, speech of the tongue, and walking of the legs. Again, the function itself is active movement, and the movement of these very things is a change of the previously existing thing. Active movement  
46K arises from the thing itself, just as passive movement arises from something else external. For example, flying is the function of what flies and walking of what walks, but to be carried by something else, e.g. to change place, is not to function but to be affected. Thus, someone who walks from Peiraeus to Sunium functions because he goes forward actively—that is to say, both from himself and by virtue of his own nature—whereas someone who sails from Peiraeus to Sunium is affected because he is carried by the ship.

When I said that movement is a change of the previously existing thing, what previously existed can change in two ways—either in qualities or in position. Change in position is called motion, while change with respect to qualities is called alteration. So motion can be change, or interchange, or exchange, or transfer in relation to a preexisting position. I have deliberately used many terms since I want this particular point to be clear: that it is possible to create many definitions for the one thing, which differ only in the

οὖν κατὰ τόπον ἐξαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ, φορὰν ὀνομάζω, τὴν δὲ κατὰ ποιότητα, μεταβολὴν, καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν B

<sup>41</sup> B; ἢ ὑπάλλαξιν post ἐξάλλαξιν add. K

<sup>42</sup> B; τόπου post προϋπάρχοντος add. K

47K φωναίς μόνον, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι διαφέροντας, ἀλλοίωσιν δὲ ἢ μεταβολὴν κατὰ τὸ ποιόν, ἢ ἀλλαγὴν τῆς προϋπαρχούσης ποιότητος, ἢ ὑπαλλαγὴν κατὰ τὸ ποιόν, ἢ ὑπάλλαξιν ποιότητος, ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἄλλως ἐλπίσῃς μάλιστα συνήσειν τοῦ λεγομένου τὸν ἀκούοντα· τὸ γὰρ πολυειδὲς τῆς ἐρμηνείας εἰς τοῦτο ἔστω σοι χρήσιμον. ἢ μὲν οὖν ὄψις, αὖθις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἰτέον, ἐνέργεια τοῦ μέρους ἐστίν· ὁ δ' ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ ζώου μόριον, οὐδὲν γὰρ, ὡς εἴρηται, διαφέρει μόριον εἰπεῖν, ἢ μέρος. ὄργανον δὲ ὀνομάζω μέρος ζώου τελείας ἐνεργείας ἀπεργαστικόν, οἷον ὀφθαλμὸν ὄψεως καὶ γλώτταν διαλέκτου καὶ σκέλη βαδίσεως· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀρτηρία καὶ φλέψ καὶ νεῦρον, ὄργανά τε καὶ μόρια ζώων ἐστί. κατὰ ταύτην γοῦν τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ πρὸς ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρισθῆσαν, ὁ μὲν οὖν ὀφθαλμὸς ὀνομασθήσεται καὶ μόριον ζώου καὶ μέρος καὶ ὄργανον· ὁ δὲ κερατοειδὴς χιτῶν μόριον μὲν καὶ μέρος, ὄργανον δ' οὐ· κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ ῥαγοειδὴς καὶ ὁ ἀραχνοειδὴς καὶ ὁ ἀμφιβληστροειδὴς· ἕκαστος γὰρ τούτων πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα μόριόν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμοῦ, διότι δ' οὗτος προσώπου, 48K διὰ τοῦτο κάκεῖνοι κατὰ δεύτερον ἤδη λόγον· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου, διότι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶ μόριον.

<sup>26</sup> On the anatomical terminology relating to the eye, see Celsus VII.7.13B–C (LCL Celsus, *On Medicine III*, pp. 346–48)

words and not in the concepts. Alteration, on the other hand, is a change with respect to quality, or a change of a 47K previously existing quality, or an exchange in respect to quality, or a variation of quality, or however else you might particularly hope the listener to understand what was said, for let the diversity of the referring be useful to you for this purpose. Sight then—for one must go back to the eyes once more—is a function of the component (*meros*), while the eye itself is a part (*morion*) of the animal for, as has been said, it makes no difference to say part (*morion*) or component (*meros*). I call an organ a component (*meros*) of an animal which performs a complete function: for example, the eye [effects] sight, the tongue speech, the legs walking, and in like manner, an artery, a vein and a nerve are both organs and also parts of animals. At all events, in accordance with this use of terms defined not only by us alone but also by the Greeks of old, the eye will be called a part (*morion*) of an animal, and a component (*meros*), and an organ, whereas the external “tunic” (cornea, sclera) is a part (*morion*) and a component (*meros*) but not an organ, and it is the same for the choroid membrane, the arachnoid membrane and the retina, for each of these is primarily and particularly a part (*morion*) of the eye. But because the eye is part of the face, these are also parts of the face in 48K a secondary sense, in the same way as they are also parts of the whole body because the face is a part of the whole body.<sup>26</sup>

and Galen, *De usu partium*, Book 10 (translation by M. T. May, 1968, vol. 2, p. 463ff). For Aristotle on the part-whole relationship, see *De caelo* 302a31–32, 302b25, *De generatione animalium* 715a10–11, 722a18–21, and *Meteorologica* 388a13–20.

ὁμοιομερές δέ ἐστι μόριον, ὡς καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτὸ σαφῶς ἐνδείκνυται, τὸ διαιρούμενον εἰς ὅμοια πάντα μόρια, καθάπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ θ' ὑαλοειδὲς καὶ τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς καὶ τῶν χιτώνων ἡ ἴδιος οὐσία. δέικνυται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκεῖ μόνων ἡμῖν ὧν<sup>43</sup> εἰς τὰ παρόντα δεόμεθα μνημονεῦσαι· δεόμεθα δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον μόριον ἐπιδείξαι πλείω πράγματα, διαφέροντα μὲν ἀλλήλων, οὐχ ὁρώμενα δὲ ἐνίοις τῶν ἰατρῶν· ἔφαμεν δὲ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν εἰς τε τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὀρθῶς, οὐδὲρ ἔνεκα καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ μετεχειρισάμεθα, καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν προκειμένην μέθοδον ἀναγκαιότατον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄργανον ὀφθαλμός, ἐνέργεια δ' ἡ ὄψις· ἐν δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μορίων ὁμοιομερές τε καὶ πρῶτον ὄργανον ὄψεως, τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς ὑγρόν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγοις ἀποδέδεικται· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ δεόμενον ἀλλοιωθῆναι πρὸς τινος τῶν | ἕξωθεν χρωμάτων, ἢ ἴδῃ τὸ ζῶον. ἀλλοιοῦσθαι δ' οὐκ ἡδύνατο, μὴ καθαρὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ διαφανὲς γινόμενον· οὕτω δ' εἶναι καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ διαφανὲς οὐκ ἡδύνατο χωρὶς τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ<sup>44</sup> κράσεως· ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων τοιοῦτον ὃν οἶόν περ ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ κρᾶσιν· ὥστ' εἴ τι τούτων ἐξαλλαχθεῖη μεγάλως, ἢ οὐκ ὄψεται τὸ ζῶον, ἢ κακῶς ὄψεται.

<sup>43</sup> μόνων ἡμῖν ὧν B; μόνου ἐπειὲν ὧν K

<sup>44</sup> B; αὐτῆς K

A part (*morion*) is a *homoiomere* if it is divisible in its entirety into like parts, as the name itself clearly indicates, just as, in the eye, the transparent vitreous and crystalline, and the specific substance of the tunics are. These are things that were shown in greater detail in my treatise *Anatomical Procedures*<sup>27</sup> although here it is enough just to speak of those things which we need to recall for our present purpose. We need to show that the things pertaining to each part are many, and they differ from each other, and are not observed by some doctors. I said that this is useful in the correct employment of names, which is why I also dealt with it now; and of course, it will also be shown that it is absolutely essential to the very method being proposed. The organ is the eye while sight is the function. One of its parts is *homoiomereous* and is the primary organ of sight, which is the crystalline humor (lens), as has been demonstrated in my works on these, since this is what needs to be altered by one of the colors externally for the animal to see. However, it cannot be altered unless it is perfectly clear and transparent, and it cannot be clear and transparent like this apart from the mixture that now constitutes it. For it was shown that each existing thing is as it is because of the mixture of hot, cold, moist, and dry, so that, if any of these [qualities] is altered greatly, the animal will either not see, or will see badly.

<sup>27</sup> There is, in fact, very little on the eye in *De anatomicis administrationibus*, the work referred to here; see II.443–44K. The eye and the mechanism of sight is dealt with in considerable detail in Book 10 of *De usu partium*, as mentioned in the previous note.

ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω γινώσκομεν, ἀρχόμενοι ζητεῖν τὴν τέχνην, οὐδὲ χρῆ τῶν ἔπειτά τι μελλόντων ζητεῖσθαι προλαμβάνειν ὡς ἐπισταμένους, οὐδ' ἐγὼ τούτου χάριν ἐμνημόνευσα τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρυσταλλοειδοῦς μοι δεδειγμένων ἐν ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν νῦν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι σαφηνείας. ὁρῶντες γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐνεργοῦντα, καὶ αἰθίς μὴ βλέποντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑγίαιν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ νόσον ἢ πάθος ἢ ὅ τι βούλει καλοῦντες, οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρει πρὸς γε τὰ παρόντα, ζητοῦμεν ἐξῆς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς βλάβης αἰτία.

50K

7. Πόθεν, φήσεις, ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθόντες; ἐξ ἴ ἀναποδείκτου μὲν ἀξιώματος, ὁμολογουμένου δὲ πᾶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν νόσησιν ἐναργὲς ὑπάρχει. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ; τὸ μηδὲν χωρὶς αἰτίας γίνεσθαι τούτου γὰρ μὴ συγχωρηθέντος, οὐδὲ ζητεῖν δυνάμεθα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ βεβλάφθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἢ ἀπολωλέναι παντελῶς· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν πρὸς νόσησιν ἐναργῶν ἐστὶν, ὑποθέμενοί τινα τῆς βλάβης ὑπάρχειν αἰτίαν, ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν αὐτὴν ἀφικνούμεθα. ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, εἴ τε διάθεσιν τινα σώματος, εἴ τε πως διακείμενον σῶμα προσαγορεύειν ἐθέλοις, οὐδὲν μὲν εἰς γε τὰ παρόντα διαφέρει πάντως δ' οὖν ἦτοι τὸ νόσημα αὐτὸ φήσεις ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν, ἢ εἴπερ τὸ νόσημά ἐστὶν ἢ βλάβη τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἢ βλάπτουσα διάθεσις αὐτὴν αἰτία τοῦ νοσήματος ὑπάρξει. καὶ γίνεται κἀνταῦθα πάλιν ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος ἢ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἦτοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς διάθεσιν, ὑφ' ἧς ἢ ὄψις βλάπτεται, νόσον ἡμῶν ὀνο-

But we do not yet know this, as we are at the beginning of our investigation of the art. Nor should we presuppose as knowledge any of the next things we intend to investigate. It isn't for this purpose that I have made mention of things about the crystalloid that I demonstrated in other [works], but for the clarity of those things that will be said. For when we see, the eye is functioning correctly, and when we fail to see, it is the converse. We call the former health and the latter disease, or affection, or whatever you wish, for this makes no difference, at least in the present context. What we seek next is the cause of the damage.

7. From where, you will ask, do we proceed with this? From an indemonstrable axiom, but one which is agreed by all, in that it is clear to the understanding. And what is this? That nothing happens without a cause. Unless this is agreed upon, we are unable to investigate the cause of the damage to vision, or of its complete destruction. But since this is one of the things clear to the understanding, when we have postulated there to be some cause of the damage, we proceed to the search for it. With respect to this cause, whether you wish to call it a certain condition of the body, or the body being in some kind of state, makes no difference, at least to the matter before us. At all events, you will either say that the disease itself is it (the cause) or, if the disease is the damage of function, then the condition damaging it will be the cause of the disease. And here, too, the dispute is again about a name in that we name either the condition in the eyes by which vision is damaged, or the ac-

50K

μαζόντων, ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας· ἀλλ' εἴτε τὴν βεβλαμμένην ἐνέργειαν ἐθέλοι τις ὀνομάζειν νόσον, ἀνάγκη δὴπου τοῦτου πολὺ πρότερον ὑγίαν ὑποθέσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν ἐνέργειαν· εἴτε τὴν διάθεσιν, ὑφ' ἧς ἢ ἢ ἐνέργεια βλάπτεται, καὶ τοῦτου πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν εἴτ' οὖν διαθέσεως εἴτε καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐθέλει καλεῖν, ἐπιφέρειν τὸ τῆς ὑγείας ὄνομα. τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ὑποθέμενον εἶναι τὴν ὑγίαν, ἐν ταῖς διαθέσεσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν συνίστασθαι τὴν νόσον, ἢ ἐμπαλιῶν ἐν μὲν τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν μορίων τὴν ὑγίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ βλάβῃ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τὴν νόσον, ἄξιον τῶν τε ἄλλων μεθοδικῶν ἐστὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐμπληξίας αὐτῶν ἀρχηγοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ. πάντες γοῦν σχεδὸν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμεθόδου τε καὶ μανιώδους ταύτης αἰρέσεως τὴν μὲν ὑγίαν εὐστάθειαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργειῶν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ ἰσχύν, τὴν δὲ νόσον οὐκ ἔτι βλάβην ἐνεργείας καὶ ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διάθεσιν τινα σώματος, οἱ δὲ σώμα πῶς διακείμενον· ἧς τίς ἂν εὐρεθείη μείζων ἐμπληξία; τοῦτο μέντοι κἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἐξεύροι, τὸ μὴ δεῖν ἐν ἐτέρῳ μὲν γένει τὴν ὑγίαν, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ τὴν νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῳ πάντως ἄμφω τίθεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία κατὰ πλείστον ἐστὶν ἀλλήλων διεστηκότα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, καθάπερ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν, ἐν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν γένος τὸ χρῶμα.

καὶ τοῖνυν εἴπερ ἐναντία ἐστὶν ὑγεία καὶ νόσος, ἐν ᾧ περ ἂν ἢ τῷ ἢ γένει τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἢ ὑγεία, τούτου τοῦ γένους ἐν τῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἢ νόσος ὑπάρξει· ὥστε

tual damage of the function, a disease. But if someone should wish to name the damaged function a disease, it is, I presume, necessary for him to postulate much earlier that health is to have the function which accords with nature. And if he wishes to call [disease] the condition by which the function is damaged, this man must also apply the term "health" much earlier to either the condition or constitution, whichever he wishes to call it, that accords with nature. It is [a claim] worthy of the other Methodics, and in particular of Thessalus, the founder of their stupidity, to postulate that health subsists in the functions and to take disease to subsist in the conditions, or conversely, to postulate that health subsists in the constitution of the parts and disease in the damage of functions. At any rate, nearly all of those from this methodless and mad sect say that health is stability of the natural functions, and strength, whereas disease is not damage of functions, and weakness, but, according to some, a certain condition of the body and, according to others, the body being in a certain condition. Is there any greater stupidity to be found? However, anyone could find this out—that one must not place health in one genus and disease in another; both should be absolutely in the same [genus]. For opposites are those things separate from each other to the greatest degree in the same genus, like white and black, there being one genus for both—that of color.

In fact, if health and disease are opposites, in whatever class of things which are in accord with nature health may be, disease will be of that same class of things when they



εἰ μὲν ἐνέργεια κατὰ φύσιν ἢ ὑγεία, πάντως δὴ πού παρὰ φύσιν ἐνέργειά τις ἢ νόσος ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἦτοι διάθεσις τις ἢ κατασκευὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ ὑγεία ἐστί, καὶ ἢ νόσος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσται διάθεσις τις ἢ κατασκευὴ παρὰ φύσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεσσαλὸς οὐδ' ἐπεχείρησεν ὄλως ἀφορίσασθαι νόσον, ἀλλὰ χρῆ μαντεύεσθαι κατὰ τίνος ἐπιφέρει τοῦνομα πράγματος. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγείται νόσημα πάθους ἐπεδείξαμέν σοι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ, παράλληλα τιθέντος ἄμφω καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντος ἑκάτερον εἰς θάτερον, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφονται, λυγιζόμενοί τε καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενοι, καὶ πάντα ποιῶντες ὡς ἦτοι παντάπασιν ἀσαφῶς εἰπεῖν ἢ μηδ' ὄλως, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ πρὸ τούτου Θεμίσιον ὁ τὴν ρίζαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐμπληξίας ταύτης ὑποθέμενος.

53K εἰ δὴ σοι τὰ Πρόκλου καὶ Ῥηγίνου καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου λέγοιμι, καὶ πρὸς ἰ τούτους Εὐδήμου καὶ Μνασέου καὶ Φίλωνος καὶ Διονυσίου, λάθοιμ' ἂν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκπεσῶν τῆς προκειμένης νῦν πραγματείας, ἐπιστημονικῆς τε οὕσης καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον αὐτὸ πειρωμένης ἐκδιδάσκειν. ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνων διαφωνίας ἴσως ἂν ποτε καὶ ὕστερον εἴη μνημονεύσαι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς γε τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένους τοῦ πάντα σοφώτερον ἐπιταράξαντός τε καὶ συγχέαντος αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα Μενεμάχου, καὶ τοῦ ληρώδους Ὀλυμπικοῦ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν<sup>45</sup> Ἀπολλω-

<sup>45</sup> αὐτὸν B, Pl; αὐτοῦ K

are contrary to nature, so that if health is normal function, it follows that disease is, in all respects, some function which is somehow abnormal. If, however, health is either some condition or constitution that is normal, disease will also necessarily be some condition or constitution that is abnormal. Thessalus did not actually attempt to define disease. Rather, we must rely on divination as regards the matter to which he applies the name. I have shown you by way of his writings that he thinks there is no difference between a disease and an affection since he applies both [terms] indifferently, and changes from one to the other as if there were no difference in speaking of it like this or like that. And all those who follow him turn themselves upside down, contorting themselves and hiding their tracks and doing everything they can to speak as obscurely as possible, or to say nothing at all, just as Thessalus himself did, and before him Themison, who laid down the root of this stupidity for them.

Certainly, if I were to state for you the [doctrines] of Proclus, Rheginus, Antipater, and besides these, of Eudemus, Mnaseas, Philo, or Dionysius, I would be digressing, not realizing that I had wandered away from the matter 53K currently before us, namely the matter of knowledge, and the attempt to give thorough instruction in what is actually useful.<sup>28</sup> But perhaps at some later time it may be possible to mention the discord of those men and, in addition to those who have now been mentioned, the works of Menemachus who caused even more trouble and created confusion more cleverly than they did, and of the frivolous Olympicus, and his successors Apollonides and Soranus,

<sup>28</sup> Little is known about any of the members of this initial group of Methodics; see R. J. Hankinson (1991), pp. 144–45.

54K *νίδου καὶ Σωρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐτι ζῶντος Ἰουλιανοῦ·  
τούτῳ μὲν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνετύχομεν, ἵνα καὶ παρὰ  
ζῶντος ἀνθρώπου φωνῆς ἐκμάθωμεν λήρους μακροῦς,  
εἶχε δ' οὖν οὐδ' οὗτος λέγειν ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ πάθος καὶ  
νόσημα. καὶ τεκμήριόν γε τούτου μέγιστον· ἐτῶν γὰρ  
ἤδη πλείονων ἢ εἴκοσι γεγονότων ἐξ οὐπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ  
τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας αὐτῷ τούτῳ συνεγενόμεθα, γεγρα-  
φῶς εἰσαγωγὰς ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις, αἱ γὰρ αὐτὰς  
μετατίθησίν τε καὶ μεταρρυθμίζει τῷ μηδέποτε ἄρκεί-  
σθαι ταῖς γραφείσαις, κατ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐτόλμη-  
σεν εἰπεῖν ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ νόσος, καίτοι γε μηδὲν πρὸς  
ἔπος ἐν αὐταῖς διεξέρχεται | μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
ζητεῖν, εἰ ζωγραφία χρήσιμος ἰατροῖς ἐστίν· ἀλλ'  
ὅμως τοσαῦτά τε καὶ τοιαῦτα γράφων, καὶ δῆλος ὢν,  
ὥσπερ καὶ Μενέμαχος, ὅτι σαφῶς ἔγνωκε τῆς Μεθο-  
δικῆς αἰρέσεως τὴν ἀτοπίαν, οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον  
ἔγραψεν ἐν ταῖς εἰσαγωγαῖς ὃ τί ποτε νόσον ἢ πάθος  
ὀνομάζει.*

*ἔμοι δ' οὖν ἐρομένῳ ποτ' αὐτὸν οὕτω μακρῶς τε  
ἄμα καὶ ἀσαφῶς διήλθεν, ὡς ὦν μὲν ἔλεγε συνιέναι  
μηδενός, ἀναγκασθῆναι δὲ τό γε τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν πρὸς  
αὐτόν, ὡς διαφέρεισθαι μοι δοκοῖη πρὸς Ὀλυμπικόν,  
καίτοι πάππον αὐτοῦ τῆς διδασκαλίας ὄντα· μαθητῆς  
γάρ ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Κυ-  
πρίου, ἐκείνος δ' ἦν Ὀλυμπικοῦ φοιτητής. ὁ τοίνυν  
Ὀλυμπικός, ὡς ἔφη, ὀρίσασθαι τολμήσας ὑγείαν τε*

<sup>29</sup> More is known about the members of this second grouping.

and of Julianus who is still alive today (in fact, I have met him),<sup>29</sup> so that, from the voice of a living person, we might examine thoroughly these great absurdities. However, even he cannot say what an affection or a disease is. And there is, in fact, very substantial evidence of this, for already, during the more than twenty years that have elapsed since I met with the man himself in Alexandria, he has written one elementary treatise after another, constantly rearranging and emending them, never satisfied with what he has written. In none of them, however, has he ventured to say what a disease is. Indeed, he details nothing to the purpose in them, even going so far as to look into such 54K things as whether painting is useful to doctors. But for all that, since he wrote so many and such a variety of things, it was clear, as was the case with Menemachus also, that he was aware of the absurdity of the Methodic sect, and yet never to this day has he written in his elementary treatises what it is he calls "disease" and what "affection."

Once, when I questioned him, he went over things at such length and so obscurely that I understood nothing of what he said, and was compelled to say to him this much at least—that he seemed to me to differ from Olympicus, although the latter was the grandfather of his teaching. For this Julianus was a pupil of Apollonides of Cyprus, while the latter was a disciple of Olympicus. Moreover, as I said, Olympicus had the courage to define health and affection.

All were Methodics. For the first four, see EANS, pp. 546–47, 588, 109, and 749–51 respectively. Julianus, against whom the rest of the paragraph is directed, is dealt with more fully by Galen in his *Adversus ea quae Iuliano in Hippocratis aphorismos enuntiatia sunt. Contra Iuliano*, XVIII A.246–99K.

καὶ πάθος, τὴν μὲν ὑγίαν διάθεσιν ἔφησε κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου· τὸ δ' αὖ πάθος τροπήν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἐπίμονον. ἔστι μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτων ἐκάτερον ἀλογίας παμπόλλης ἀνάπλεων, ἦν καὶ τότε διήλθον τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ ἐράω.

55K τὸ γοῦν συγχέον, ἔφην, ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀπλῶς οὕτως εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἰολυμπικὸν ὑγίαν εἶναι διάθεσιν κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου, ἀλλὰ προσθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ ἦν διάθεσιν ὀριζόμεθα εὐστάθειαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργημάτων καὶ ἰσχύν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν εἴτε ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν εὐσταθείᾳ μόνῃ τὴν ὑγίαν, εἴτε ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος διαθέσει, εἴτ' ἐν ἀμφοῖν ὑποτίθεται· τάχα δ' ὥσπερ εἴωθε χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνόμασι ἀλλοκότως τε καὶ τεταραγμένως ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι Μεθοδικοῖς, οὕτω καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀναφέρει, ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ὑγεία ἐστὶ διάθεσις ἐνεργειῶν κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου. δίκαιον δ' ἦν, οἶμαι, προσθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ δυοῖν θάτερον αὐτόν, ἢ ἐνεργειῶν, ἢ σώματος, ἵν' ἦτοι γένηται τοιοῦτος ὁ λόγος, ὑγεία ἐστὶ διάθεσις ἐνεργειῶν κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου· ἢ νῆ Δία τοιοῦτος, ὑγεία ἐστὶ διάθεσις σώματος κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου καὶ μὲν γε καὶ εἰ ἀμφω συνθεῖναι προήρητο, καὶ οὕτως ἐνεχώρει σαφῶς τε ἅμα καὶ διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, ὑγεία ἐστὶ διάθεσις ἐνεργειῶν τε καὶ σώματος κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου.<sup>46</sup>

56K τί δ', ὅταν ἐπιφέρων εἴπη, ἦν διάθεσιν ἢ ὀριζόμεθα

He said that health was a condition in relation to the absence of disease whereas an affection was a change from what was in accord with nature to what was contrary to nature that persists. But each of these [definitions] is full of the utmost nonsense, which is what I said to Julianus at the time, and shall now say in summary.

At the very least, I said, the confusion is this: not only did Olympicus simply say that health was a condition related to the absence of disease, but added to the definition that "we define this condition as stability of the natural functions, and strength." I cannot make out if health is postulated to depend solely on the stability of the functions, or on the condition of the body, or on both. Perhaps, as he was accustomed to using the terms of the Greeks both unusually and in a confusing manner along with all the other Methodics, now also in this way he does not apply "condition" to the body but to the functions, so that we are to understand the argument in the following way: "health is a condition of the functions in the absence of disease." It would be right, I think, to add to the definition one or other of these two things—either "of the functions" or "of the body," so that such a statement becomes either: "health is a condition of the functions in relation to the absence of disease," or like this, by Zeus, that: "health is a condition of the body in the absence of disease." But if he had made the choice to combine both together, it would have allowed him to say clearly and, at the same time, concisely that health is a condition of the functions and of the body in relation to the absence of disease.

But what about when he says as a rider that "we define

<sup>46</sup> ἢ νῆ Δία . . . ἐκτότητα νόσου K; om. B (= 55.15–18K)

εὐστάθειαν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργημάτων καὶ ἰσχύν; πότερον μέρος ὑποληπτέον εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ προειρημένου καὶ χρῆ συνάπτειν ἡμᾶς ὅλον τὸν λόγον ὡδί πως· ὑγεία ἐστὶ διάθεσις σώματος κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου καὶ εὐστάθεια τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργημάτων καὶ ἰσχύς· ἢ τέλειός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος οὗτος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὑγεία διδάσκων, ὡσπέρ γε καὶ ἤρρεσεν ἐνίοις τῶν Μεθοδικῶν, εὐστάθειαν ἀποφηνάμενοις εἶναι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργειῶν τὴν ὑγείαν; ἀλλ' εἶπερ οὗτος τέλειος, ὁ προειρημένος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι διδάσκει, διάθεσιν εἶναι λέγων τὴν ὑγείαν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ὃ ἔφη, τὸ κατὰ ἐκτότητα νόσου, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἶον καὶ παῖδα γελάσαι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ συγχωρήσομεν οὕτως ὀρίζεσθαι, δηλονότι καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐστὶ διάθεσις σώματος κατὰ ἐκτότητα ὑγείας, ἵνα ἕκαστος τῶν ὄρων ἡμῖν οὐ τοῦ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τί ποτ' οὐκ ἔστι, γένηται διδάσκαλος.

Ἐάσθω δ', ἔφη, εἰ βούλει καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ γὰρ πάρεργά πως ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γε παρελθεῖν τε καὶ παριδεῖν οὐκ ἐγχαρεῖ, τὸ κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῆς ὑγείας διδασκαλίαν ἅπαντα προσέρχεσθαι ταῖς ἐνεργείαις | 57K ἢτοι μόναις ἢ μετὰ τοῦ συγγέαι καὶ περιπλέξαι καὶ ἀναμίξαι πως ἀσαφῶς τὸ τῆς διαθέσεως ὄνομα, καθάπερ ὁ Ὀλυμπικός· ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ πάθους οὐκέτι μεμνήσθαι τῶν ἐνεργειῶν· ἀπέχρησε γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, πάθος ἐστὶ τροπὴ τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπίμονος. Ἐχρήην δ', ἔφη, ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις, ἢ ἐν ταῖς διαθέσεσιν, ἄμφω τάπτειν αὐτόν.

the condition as a stability of the natural functions, and strength"? Must we understand this to be part of what was previously said and so, particularly, must we join together the whole definition as follows: "health is a condition of the body in the absence of disease and stability of the natural functions, and strength"; or is the definition itself complete on its own, since it teaches what health is, at least to the satisfaction of some of the Methodics, who assert that health is a stability of the natural functions? But if this [definition] is complete, I don't know what the previously articulated one teaches, when it says that health is a condition. For what that phrase—"in the absence of disease"—says is such that even a child would laugh. Certainly, if we agree to it being defined in this way, clearly also disease will be a condition of the body in the absence of health, so that each of the definitions becomes for us a teaching, not of what the matter is that is being proposed, but of what it is not.

"Let us allow this," I said, "if these things are what you wish, for they are somehow subordinate matters." But what cannot be passed over and overlooked is the association of all things related to the teaching of health to the functions alone, or to somehow confound, complicate, and mix it obscurely with the term "condition," just as Olympicus [does]. However, in the [definition] of affection, nothing is mentioned anymore about functions. It is enough for him to say that an affection is a deviation of the body from what accords with nature to what is contrary to nature that is persistent. "He ought," I said, "to have assigned both either to the functions or to the conditions."

ὁ δέ μοι πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπεκρίνατο, καὶ ἤδη μὲν σοι  
 πολλάκις εἶπον, Ἰέρων κράτιστε, καὶ νῦν τ' ἀνα-  
 μνήσαι προσήκει, τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστόν, ἐν μὲν  
 τῇ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν εὐσταθείᾳ σὺν ἰσχύϊ τετάχθαι τὴν  
 ὑγείαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος διαθέσει  
 τὴν νόσον. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐναντία, καθάπερ σὺ νομί-  
 ζεις, ἔφησεν, ἔστι γάρ τι μέσον αὐτῶν, ὃ μὴθ' ὑγεία  
 μήτε νόσος ἐστίν. ἀκούσας οὖν ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον  
 ἐχωρίσθην ἐκπεπληγμένος τε καὶ λυπούμενος ἅμα,  
 χρῆ γὰρ ὁμολογεῖν τὸ συμβάν. ἔμπροσθεν μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐδεὶ τῶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ τελέως ἐνετετυχήκειν ἐμ-  
 πλήκτω, τότε δ' ἐντυχῶν πρῶτον εἰκότως ἐξεπλάγην,  
 οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἐκείνος οὕτως ἦν ἀναίσθητος, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 58K πολλῶ σκαιότερους | ἑαυτοῦ τοσοῦτους εἶχε μαθητάς,  
 οἳ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆν<sup>47</sup> τῆς διδασκαλίας ὁρῶντες  
 οὕτως ἐσφαλμένους τοὺς Μεθοδικούς, οὐκ ἀφίστανται  
 τῆς αἰρέσεως, ἢ εἶπερ οὐδ' ὄλως ὁρῶσι, τελέως εἰσὶν  
 ἀπόπληκτοι.

τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἔπος οὐκ εἶναι τὴν νόσον  
 ἐναντίον ὑγείᾳ, διότι μέσον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τι; δῆλον γὰρ  
 ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ λευκὸν ἐναντίον ἔσται τῷ μέλανι, διότι  
 μέσον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ξανθόν τε καὶ τὸ φαιόν, ἐρυθρόν  
 τε καὶ ὠχρὸν ἕκαστόν τε τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων. οὐδὲ  
 τὸ θερμὸν τῷ ψυχρῷ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἐστὶ μέσα  
 χλιαρόν τε καὶ εὐκρατον. οἱ μὲν δὴ σοφώτατοι Μεθο-  
 δικοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεπτωκότες οὐ σμικρὸν  
 οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν πτώμα τί ἂν ἔτι τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀληθῶν  
 καταμάθοιεν; οὐδὲ ἐν δήπου, δειχθήσεται γὰρ ἅπαντα  
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἐκ τούτων ἠρτημένα καὶ

What he replied to me on this matter, and what I have of-  
 ten said to you before now, most excellent Hiero, and what  
 it is now appropriate to recall, is that it is no surprise that  
 health, on the one hand, is placed in the stability and  
 strength of the functions while disease, on the other hand,  
 is placed in the condition of the body that is contrary to  
 nature. "For they are not opposites as you think," he said,  
 "since there is something intermediate between them  
 which is neither health nor disease." When I heard this, I  
 retired from this argument, being at once astounded and  
 distressed—I must confess what happened—for I had  
 never previously encountered anyone so completely  
 stupefied by such a doctrine. But then, when I met one for  
 the first time, I was naturally amazed, not because that  
 man alone was so stupid but that he had so many pupils far  
 more unfortunate than himself. Those men either saw the  
 Methodics falling into error in such a way at the very founda-  
 tion of their teaching or, if they failed to see this, were  
 totally stupefied.

58K

For what, I ask, can be said about disease not being the  
 opposite of health because there is something intermedi-  
 ate between them? It is clear on these grounds that white  
 will not be the opposite of black because yellow, gray, red,  
 pale and each of the other colors are intermediate between  
 them. Nor would heat be the opposite of cold because  
 tepid and temperate are between them. What, then, might  
 those most sapient Methodics understand of truths that  
 follow in a connected manner when they have fallen into a  
 calamity neither small nor inconsequential right from the  
 start? Not one thing, it would seem, for it will be shown  
 that all things pertaining to the art of medicine depend

<sup>47</sup> B; τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν K

δεόντως, εἴ γ' ἐν ταῖς μεθόδῳ τινὶ συνισταμέναις  
τέχναις ἀρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως ἢ τοῦ τέλους ἐστὶν  
ἐννοια. πεπλημμέληται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς  
εἰς τὴν τοῦ τέλους ἐννοίαν οὐκ ὀλίγα, τῶν μὲν τὸ  
ὑγιάζειν ὡς τὸ πολὺ τέλος εἶναι λεγόντων τῆς ἰατρι-  
κῆς, τῶν δὲ τὰ σύμφορα πράττειν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ὑγείαν, |  
59K τῶν δ' ἐκκόπτειν τὰς νοσώδεις αἰτίαι, τῶν δὲ τὰ παρ'  
ἐαυτῶν ἅπαντα ποιεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἂν ἐκάστῳ παρα-  
στῆ καὶ δεήσει, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἰδίᾳ διορίσασθαι.  
ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐμπληκτος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν γένοι  
τὴν ὑγείαν, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ ὑποθέσθαι τὴν νόσον, ἀλλ'  
ἦτοι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείαις προσέχων ἢ ταῖς  
κατασκευαῖς τῶν μορίων, ἃς ἔτιοι διαθέσεις ὀνομά-  
ζουσιν· εἴτε δ' ἐν ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείαις ἐστὶ τὸ  
ὑγιαίνειν, ἐν ταῖς παρὰ φύσιν ἔσται τὸ νοσεῖν· εἴτε ἐν  
ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν, ἐν ταῖς παρὰ  
φύσιν ἔσται κατασκευαῖς ἢ νόσος· εἴτ' ἐν ταῖς δια-  
θέσεσιν, ἐν ταύταις καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ  
βαθείας τινὸς εἰς τοῦτο θεωρίας ἐστὶ χρεία, μόνον δ'  
ἀπόχρη τὸ μὴ διεστράφθαι.

τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς εἰ τὸ βλέπειν ὑγιαίνειν ἐστίν,  
ὅτι τὸ νοσεῖν ἔσται τὸ ἀμβλυώττειν, ἢ ὅλως τὸ μὴ  
βλέπειν; τίς δ' οὐ συνίησιν ὡς εἰ τὸ ἀκούειν ὑγιαίνειν  
ἐστίν, ὅτι νοσεῖν ἔσται τό τε μὸγις ἀκούειν καὶ τὸ μηδ'  
ὅλως ἀκούειν; οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰ τὸ πέττειν ὑγιαίνειν ἐστὶ,  
τὸ ἀπεπτεῖν τε καὶ δυσπεπτεῖν ἔσται νοσεῖν; καὶ εἰ τὸ  
60K κινεῖσθαι | καθ' ὄρμην ἔστιν ὑγεία, νόσος ἂν εἴη  
δήπου σπασμὸς καὶ παλμὸς καὶ παράλυσις καὶ τρό-

on these [truths], and necessarily so, if the basis of their  
composition, at least in the arts put together by a certain  
method, is the concept of an objective. And thus, to no  
small extent has error beset many others when it comes to  
the concept of the objective, since some say that health is  
the objective of medicine for the most part, and others that  
it is to create the circumstances conducive to health, oth-  
59K ers that it is to eradicate the causes of diseases, others that  
it is to do everything they can, others that one should pro-  
vide for each person what he may require, and to make dis-  
tinctions in these things individually. But no one is so stu-  
pid as to propose that health is in one class and disease in  
another, rather than putting them either in functions that  
accord with nature or in the constitutions of the parts  
which some call conditions. If health is in the functions in  
accord with nature, disease will be in the functions con-  
trary to nature, and if it is in the constitutions in accord  
with nature, disease will be in constitutions contrary to na-  
ture, and if it is in conditions, disease will be in these too.  
Nor is there any need for some weighty theory for this. It is  
quite enough not to be perverse.

For who does not know that, if to see is to be healthy,  
then to be diseased will be to see dimly or not at all? And  
who does not understand that, if to hear is to be healthy,  
then to be diseased will be to hear with difficulty or not at  
all. Or, in like manner also, if to digest is to be healthy, will  
not to digest at all or to do so abnormally be to be diseased?  
And if to move voluntarily is health, disease would be, I  
60K presume, spasm, or palpitation, paralysis, or tremor, or,

μος καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ἅπαν ὃ τί περ ἂν ἦτοι τελέως ἀναιρεῖ τὴν καθ' ὁρμὴν κίνησιν ἢ ἐμποδίζει γέ πως αὐτήν. ὡσαύτως δὲ εἰ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ὑγείας ἐστίν, ἡ ἀναισθησία καὶ δυσαισθησία καὶ νάρκη καὶ ὀδύνη νόσοι γενήσονται· καὶ εἰ τὸ τεταγμένως ἀναπνεῖν ὑγεία, ἄπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια νόσος. ἀλλ' εἶπερ ταῦτα νόσοι, πρόδηλον ὡς αἱ διαθέσεις τῶν μορίων ὑφ' ὧν ἀποτελοῦνται νόσων εἰσὶν αἰτίαι, καὶ οὐ χρὴ λέγειν οὔτε φλεγμονὴν οὔτε σκίρρον οὔτ' ἐρυσίπελας οὔτε ἀπόστασιν οὔθ' ἕλκος οὔτε οἴδημα νοσήματα· καὶ εἶπερ ταῦτα νοσήματα, πρόδηλον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων νόσημα. δύο γάρ ἐστι γένη πραγμάτων οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ἀλλήλοις,<sup>48</sup> ἀλλὰ πάντῃ τε διαλλαττόντων καὶ ὅλη τῇ φύσει διαφερόντων· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῶν γενῶν σῶμα, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἐνέργειαν.

ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ γλῶττα καὶ οὖς καὶ σκέλος ἕκαστόν τε τῶν τοιούτων σῶμά πως ἔχον ἐστίν· ὄψις δὲ καὶ ἀκοή καὶ διάλεξις καὶ βᾶδισις ἐνέργειαι τῶν εἰρημένων σωμάτων. εἶπερ οὖν ἐν | τῷ πως ἔχειν τὰ σῶματα τὸ νοσεῖν ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ πως ἔχειν τὰς ἐνεργείας τὸ νοσεῖν οὐκ ἔσται· εἰ δέ γ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ νοσεῖν εἶη, πρόδηλον αὖ πάλιν ὡς οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ τῶν σωμάτων διαθέσει. τὸ μέντοι τὴν μὲν διάθεσιν αἰτίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος διαθέσεως, ὁμολογεῖσθαι χρὴ καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παντὸς μᾶλλον, ὥστε καὶ ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτο, περὶ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔσφαλται πραγμάτων· ὃ δ' ἦτοι τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας ἢ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ

in short anything that entirely does away with voluntary movement, or at least hinders it somehow. Similarly, if natural sensation is health, then loss of sensation (anesthesia) or disordered sensation (dysesthesia) as well as numbness and pain will be diseases. And if to breathe regularly is health, apnea and dyspnea are diseases. But if, in fact, these things are diseases, it is clear that the conditions of the parts through which they are brought about are causes of diseases, and we ought not to say that inflammation, induration, erysipelas, abscess, wound/ulcer and edema are diseases. But if these latter are diseases, it is clear that none of the former are diseases. For the two classes of things are not the same but are in every way distinct, and differ in their whole nature. They name one of the classes with respect to a body and the other with respect to a function.

Thus eye, tongue, ear, and limb, and each one of such things are, in some way, bodies, whereas sight, hearing, speech, and walking are functions of the aforementioned bodies. If disease is bodies being in a certain state, then disease will not be the functions being in a certain way. If, however, disease were to lie in this, then it is also clear, conversely, that it is not in the condition of the bodies. The fact is, and this must be agreed upon and maintained above all, that the condition is the cause while the function is what occurs due to the condition of the body, so that someone who is ignorant of this is in error with regard to one of the essential matters. However, if someone calls the damage of function or the condition of the body a disease,

61K

<sup>48</sup> P1; ἀλλήλων B; om. K

σώματος ὀνομάζων νόσημα, κἄν εἰ μὴ δεόντως ὀνομάζοι, δύναται γοῦν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν τὴν δόξαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων· ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ καλῶς ἰάσασθαι τὰς νόσους, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ὀρθῆς ὑπολήψεως. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πολλοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀγνοοῦντας, καὶ νομίζοντας ἐν πράγμασί τι διαφέρεισθαι τοὺς τὰς διαθέσεις τῶν σωμάτων ἡγουμένους εἶναι νοσήματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς βλάβαις τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντας αὐτὰ συνίστασθαι καὶ τούτων πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὅπερ εἴρηται τε πολλάκις ἤδη καὶ αὐθις εἰρήσεται, ἐν αἷτιον ὑπάρχει τὸ | μὴ γεγυμνάσθαι κατὰ τὴν λογικὴν μέθοδον τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ὀτιοῦν ἐξευρίσκειν λογικῶς, ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὡς γεγυμνασμένους τὸν λογισμόν, ἅμα δ' ἀγυμνάστους ὄντας ἐν αὐτῷ σφάλεσθαι μέγιστα. μυριάκις γοῦν ὑπὲρ ὀνομάτων αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκω διαφορομένους ὡς ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων· αὐθις δ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι, πρῶτά τι μέγιστον ἀγνοοῦντες, ὄνομα νομίζουσιν ἀγνοεῖν, ὡς πέρ γε καπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου νῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἴσασι διακρίνειν, ὡς ἢ μὲν κατασκευὴ τῶν σωμάτων αἰτίας ἔχει λόγον, ἢ δ' ἐνέργεια τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνης ἔστιν ἀποτελούμενον, οὐδ' ὡς τὸ θεραπευόμενον ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἔστι διάθεσις· ἔπεται γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ταύτη κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἐχούση κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργεῖν, ἐξισταμένη δὲ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκτρέπειν.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ οἶον

62K

even if he is not using names as he should, he can, nonetheless, hold the correct opinion about the matters themselves. For curing diseases properly does not come from the names but from the correct conception of the matters. And it is immediately possible to find many doctors who are ignorant of this very thing too, since they think there is some difference in terms of the matters between those who suppose diseases are conditions of bodies and those who assume they subsist in damage of the functions. But as I have already said, and often, and will say again, there is one cause of all these errors. This is that those who attempt to investigate logically in any way whatsoever without having been trained in the logical method, but at the same time shun experience as if they had been trained in logic, although they are in fact untrained in it, err very greatly. Times without number I find them disputing about names as though about facts. Moreover, as may happen, when they are ignorant of some very important matter, they think they are ignorant of the name, which is the case in the matter presently before us, where they do not know to distinguish that it is the constitution of bodies which has the ground of cause whereas the function is what is brought about by that, nor that what is to be treated is the condition of the body. For it follows, of necessity, from the condition being in accord with nature, that function is in accord with nature whereas, when the condition departs from an accord with nature, function also immediately changes to being contrary to nature.

The whole matter lies in this; this is the beginning and,

62K



στοιχείον τι πρῶτον ἀπάσης τῆς θεραπευτικῆς ὑπάρχει μεθόδου· τὸ δὲ εἶτ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χρῆ προσαγορεύει νόσον, εἴτε τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας, ὑπὲρ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἀμφισβητούντων. εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν τί μοι καὶ 63K  
περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων χρήσεως, ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν ἤδη δι' ἐτέρων. ἰ ἀλλὰ νῦν οὕτω διαστέλλομαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵν' ἔργω τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μᾶλλον βεβαιώσωμαι, καὶ δείξω τίς ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα τῆς θεραπευτικῆς ἐστὶ μεθόδου, περὶ ἣν εὐθὺς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν Λογικῶν τε καὶ Δογματικῶν ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομασάντων καὶ οἱ βέλτιστοι σφάλλονται Μεθοδικοί. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἤδη πως φαίνεται τοῖς συνετοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν πλὴν ἡ τῶν σωμάτων διάθεσις, ὡς ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα λόγῳ δειχθήσεται.

8. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀγνοίαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τῶν μὴ γινωσκόντων ὅσα τὰ σύμπαντά ἐστι πράγματα κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστώτα λόγον ἀλλήλοις παρακείμενα, νῦν ἡμῖν προὔκειτο. φαίνεται γὰρ ἐν μὲν τι γένος εἶναι τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἡγεῖσθαι τε καὶ ποιεῖν τὰς ἐνεργείας, ἔπεσθαι δ' ἐκείνας κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς σώμασιν ἀμέμπτως τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὰς διακειμένας, παρὰ φύσιν δ' ἐχόντων ἢ μὴ γιγνομένας παντάπασιν, ἢ παρεμποδιζόμενας γε πάντως. τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ γένος τὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὰς

as it were, a primary element of the whole method of medicine. But whether one should term this itself the disease, or the damage of function is a matter for people who dispute over names. I shall, then, say something about the use of names, as I have already done before in other works.<sup>30</sup> However, for the moment, I shall make no further distinctions about these things so that I might establish this very thing particularly in action, and I shall show what the origin and root of the method of medicine is—[a subject] about which many others who call themselves Logicians and Rationalists, as well as the very fine Methodics, are at once in error. What is also already apparent to those who are to some degree wise is that the object of treatment for doctors is nothing else apart from the condition of bodies, as will be shown in the argument that follows.

8. The task now lying before us is to correct the ignorance of those who do not know how many things there are in all that are grouped with each other in the present argument. For there seems to be one class of the bodies themselves and another of the functions, and that of the bodies seems to precede and create the functions while those functions which follow in bodies that are normal are themselves in a faultless and natural state. If, however, the bodies are contrary to nature, [the functions] either do not occur at all or are, at least, altogether hampered. There is a third class in addition to these, which is that of the causes

<sup>30</sup> See specifically *De captionibus penes dictionem*, XIV.582–98K (translation, R. B. Edlow [1977]) and *De nominibus medicis* (Arabic text and German translation by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht [1931]). Galen, however, mentions the issue of naming frequently in a variety of his works.

64K διαθέσεις αἰτίων· ὃν γὰρ ἡ διάθεσις ἔχει πρὸς | τὴν ἐνέργειαν λόγον, τοῦτον ἕτερον τι χρὴ πάντως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν, ἐνὶ μόνῳ διαλλάττον τῷ τὴν μὲν διάθεσιν ἅμα ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ὑπάρχειν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι ποτε μήτε τὴν κατωρθωμένην ἐνέργειαν εἶναι χωρὶς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ φύσιν διαθέσεως μήτε τὴν βεβλαμμένην ἄνευ τοῦ καὶ τὰ σώματα βεβλάφθαι. τὰ δ' αἰτία τῆς διαθέσεως ταύτης τῆς ἐμποδίζουσης τὴν ἐνέργειαν δύναται μὲν καὶ μηκέτ' εἶναι, δύναται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι παραμένειν· ἕτερα δ' οὖν πάντως ἐστὶ τῶν διαθέσεων αὐτῶν σοι, καὶ τοῦτο τρίτον εὐρηται γένος ἕτερον ἐνεργείας τε καὶ τῆς ἐργαζομένης αὐτὴν διαθέσεως.

ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ἄλλο τέταρτον γένος διαθέσεως, ὅσα τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπάρχει κατὰ φύσιν τε καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι, μηδὲν μὴτ' ὠφελούντα μήτε βλάπτοντα τὰς ἐνεργείας· οἷον εἰ τύχοι τὸ χρώμα τοῦ σώματος παντὸς ἢ μέλαν ἐκ λευκοῦ γιγνόμενον, ἐν ἡλίῳ διατριψάντων ἐπὶ πλέον, ἢ λευκὸν ἐκ μέλανος, ἐν σκιᾷ διατριθέντων, ἢ ἐρυθρὸν λουσαμένων, ἢ ὠχρὸν φοβηθέντων<sup>49</sup> οὔτε γὰρ ἐνέργεια τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οὔτε διάθεσις σώματος ἐνεργείας αἰτία, καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλλον οὐδ' ἢ τὰς παρὰ | φύσιν ἐργαζομένην διαθέσεις αἰτία, σύμπτωμα δ' ἐστὶ συμβαῖνον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ ταῖς διαφοροῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλοιώσεσιν, εἴτ' οὖν κατὰ φύσιν, εἴτε καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχοιεν.

65K ἔπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἤδη τέτταρα γένη διώρισται, κὰν τῷ ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἢ μὴ τὸ καλῶς ἄρχεσθαι τῆς θερα-

bringing about the conditions. For the ground which the condition has in relation to function, something else must have in relation to the condition, differing in one respect only, which is that the condition exists at the same time as the functions and there can never be a successful function apart from the condition of bodies being normal, nor a damaged function without the bodies also having been damaged. It is, however, possible for the causes of this condition which hinders function either to be no longer in existence or to be still remaining. [The causes], let me insist to you, are altogether different from conditions themselves; and this third class is found which is different from function and from the condition bringing the function about.

In addition to this, there is another, fourth class of conditions comprising those that exist in bodies that are either in accord with nature or contrary to nature (normal or abnormal), but which neither benefit or damage the functions. For example, it might happen that the color of the whole body either becomes dark having been pale, as in those who spend too much time in the sun, or pale having been dark, as in those who live their lives in the shade, or red as a result of washing, or pale as a result of fear. But this is neither a function nor a condition of the body causing functions, much less the cause which brings about abnormal conditions. It is a symptom that is a necessary accompaniment due to different alterations of bodies whether they are normal or abnormal.

Therefore, since four classes have by now been distinguished, and I shall show that whether you know these or

<sup>49</sup> ἢ ἐρυθρὸν . . . φοβηθέντων K; om. B

πεντικῆς μεθόδου δείξομεν ὑπάρχον, ἐξέστω λοιπὸν τῷ βουλομένῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ἄς ἂν ἐθέλη τίθεσθαι προσηγορίας· οἶον, εἰ βούλοιτο, τὴν μὲν παρὰ φύσιν τῶν σωμάτων διάθεσιν, ὅταν ἐνεργείαν τινα βλάβη, νόσημα προσαγορευέτω, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐξαίρετόν τι σύμπτωμα νοσήματος· ὅσα δ' ἄλλως συμβέβηκεν, ὡσπερ τὰ χρώματα, καὶ ταῦτ', εἰ βούλοιτο, καλείτω συμπτώματα, διοριζέτω μέντοι τῆς βλάβης τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτά, καὶ εἴπερ ἐκεῖνα ἐξαίρετα συμπτώματα νοσημάτων ὀνομάζει, ταῦτ' οἰκεῖά τε καὶ ἴδια καλείτω, καὶ τινα πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ βούλοιτο, μῆτ' οἰκεῖα μῆτ' ἴδια, συμπίπτοντα δὲ κατὰ τινα τύχην· τέταρτον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσδε γένος τιθέσθω τὸ τῶν νοσῶδων αἰτίων, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ ζῴου |  
66K τῷ σώματι συνιστάμενα προηγούμενα καλείτω, τὰ δ' ἐξωθεν προσπίπτοντα προκατάρχοντα. θέμενος δ' οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλη σαφῶς καὶ χρησίμως τοῖς ἀκούουσι, μηκέτι μετατιθέσθω, μηδ' ἐξαλλαπέτω τὴν χρῆσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φυλαπέτω παρ' ὅλον τὸν λόγον, ἵνα καὶ μαθάνωμεν ἃ λέγει ῥαδίως, καὶ τὰς ἀντιλογίας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους πρὸς τι σαφῆς καὶ διωρισμένον ποιῶμεθα.

πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἐνδείξασθαι γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ χρῆθ' διὰ τοὺς ἀναισθητοὺς Μεθοδικούς. ἔστω τινὰ λέγειν ὡς ἢ μὲν φλεγμονὴ διάθεσις ἐστὶ παρὰ φύσιν, τὸ δ' ἔργον τοῦ φλεγμαίνοντος μέρους τὸ βεβλαμμένον οἰκεῖον ἐξαίρετον τοῦ πάθους σύμπτω-

not, this is the proper beginning of the method of medicine, let it be left to someone to apply whatever terms he might wish to these classes. For example, let him, if he wants to, call the condition of bodies contrary to nature, whenever it damages a certain function, a disease, and the actual damage of function, some specific symptom of disease. Those things that have come about otherwise, such as colors, let him also call symptoms if he wishes. Nevertheless, let him distinguish these from what damages functions and, if he names those specific symptoms of diseases, let him call them proper and peculiar, and any in addition to these, if he wishes, neither proper nor peculiar, but symptoms occurring by chance. Apart from these, let him put forward a fourth class, that of causes of disease. Of these, let him call those which exist in the actual body of the animal *proegoumenic* causes and those which befall [the animal] from without, *prokatarchontic* causes.<sup>31</sup> Having set [the matter] out like this, or in any other way he might wish that is clear and useful to his audience, let him make no more changes, nor alter the usage, but always preserve the argument in its entirety so that we too might easily understand what he says, and might make our opposing arguments and refutations to any part of it clear and distinct. 66K

How and in what way? For it is still necessary to demonstrate this very point on account of the senseless Methodics. Let someone say that inflammation is a condition contrary to nature whereas the damaged action of the inflamed part is a proper and specific symptom of the af-

<sup>31</sup> On Galen's use of causal terminology, see the Introduction, section 6, and I. Johnston (2006), pp. 31–37.

μα, ποδῶν μὲν βάδισις, ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ ὄψις, ὠτων δ' ἀκοή· τὸ δ' ἔρευθος, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ἡ τάσις, ἢ τ' ἀντιαιμία καὶ ὁ παρὰ φύσιν ὄγκος ὁ ταῖς φλεγμοναῖς ἐπόμενος, ἕτερόν τι γένος εἴτε συμπτωμάτων, εἴτε συμβεβηκότων, εἴθ' ὅπως ἂν ἄλλως ἐθέλη τις ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλ' οὖν ὅτι γε μὴ ταῦτό γένος ἐστὶ τῇ βλάβῃ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν, ἴστω τε καὶ διοριζέσθω σαφῶς· ἡ πληθώρα δ', εἰ τύχοι, τῆς φλεγμονῆς αἰτία προηγουμένη, | 67K καὶ ταύτης προκατάρχουσα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐδεσμάτων. ὡς οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ παραδείγματα πεποιήμαι σαφῆ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τέτταρα γένη διώρισμαι καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐννοίας αὐτῶν εἴρηκα, κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον ἐχρήην ποιῆσαι τὸν Θεσσαλὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις τε καὶ τηλικούτοις ἀνδράσι καθ' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεκέρηυτε, μέλλοντα νεωτέραν αἴρεσιν συνίστασθαι· νυνὶ δ' οὐτε αὐτὸς οὐδὲν εἶπε σαφές οὔτε τις τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

9. Τολμήσας γοῦν ὁ Ὀλυμπικὸς ἀφορίσασθαι τί ποτ' ἐστὶ πάθος, οὐ πάθους, ἀλλὰ συμπτωμάτων εἴρηκεν ἐννοίαν. ὅλως μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ πάθος, οὐδ' ὅπη τοῦ νοσήματος διαφέρει, γινώσκουσιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διοριῶ, πάντα γὰρ ἅμα λέγειν οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ. συγχωρηθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ ταυτὸν εἶναι νόσημά τε καὶ πάθος, ἴδωμεν ὅ τί ποτέ φασι. Πάθος ἐστὶ τροπὴ τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπίμονος. εἶτα μικρὸν προελθὼν φησιν· Ἰστέον δ' ὅτι διαφέρει πάθος συμπτώματος· 68K πάθος μὲν γὰρ ἐστίν, ὡς ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἔφη, διάθεσις | παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος ἐπίμονος· σύμπτωμα

fection—walking of the feet, sight of the eyes, hearing of the ears. On the other hand, the redness (if it occurs), or the tension, or the hardness, or the swelling contrary to nature, are what follow inflammations and are some other class, either of symptoms or of accidentals, or however else someone might wish to name them. But the same class is not one of damage of functions—let him recognize this and clearly distinguish it. *Plethora*, if it occurs, is a *proegoumenic* cause of inflammation and the *prokatartikic* 67K cause of this is an abundance of foods. So, then, I have not only created clear examples of the argument, but I have also differentiated the four classes, and have spoken of the causes and concepts of these. It behooved Thessalus, I think, to do the same thing, if he intended to establish a new sect and proclaim himself superior to so many men of such standing. But, as it is, he says nothing that is clear, nor does any one of those who follow him.

9. Olympicus, at least when he makes so bold as to define what an affection is, articulates a concept of symptoms, not of affections. On the whole, then, they (the Methodics) know neither what an affection is nor how it differs from a disease. But I shall make this distinction in due course—it is not possible to say everything all at once. If, however, we concede to them that disease and affection are the same thing, let us see what it is they say: "An affection is a change of the body [which goes] from being in accord with nature to being contrary to nature, and is persisting." Having gone on a little further, he says: "One must know that an affection differs from a symptom. For 68K an affection is, as I said a little earlier, a condition of the body which is contrary to nature and persisting, whereas a

δὲ ὁ τῷ πάθει συμβαίνει, εἰδικὴν ὡς πέρ τινα καὶ μερικωτέραν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ φύσιν ἔχον τύπωσιν. αὐτὴ μὲν ἢ θαυμαστὴ ῥῆσις Ὀλυμπικοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ, τολμήσαντος ἀφορίσασθαι πάθος τε καὶ σύμπτωμα· τσοούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἀμαρτημάτων μεστὴ ὥστε μοι παρίσταται τὸ τοῦ μωροῦ τοῦ πρὸς κόσκινον εἰπόντος οὐχ εὐρίσκειν ὅ τι βύσειεν ἢ μὴ βύσειεν αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρῶτον ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴποι τις, ἢ τί παραλίποι; πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἐξελέγχειν ὅσα κακῶς ἀποφαίνονται μακρὸν ἂν εἴη.

ἢ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν τροπὴ πᾶσα νόσος ἐστίν, εἰ μόνον αὐτῇ προσείη τὸ ἐπίμονον; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄχροιαν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν ἀτροφίαν ἐν τοῖς συμπτώμασιν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀριθμεῖτε· τί δ' ἢ κακοχυμία; τί δὲ ἢ ἔνδεια; τί δὲ ἢ καχεξία; τί δὲ τὸ πλήθος; οὐ παρὰ φύσιν; εἰ τοίνυν αὐτοῖς προσείη τὸ ἐπίμονον, ἐν τοῖς νοσήμασιν ἀριθμηθήσονται.<sup>50</sup> καὶ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε, καὶ καλῶς γε τοῦτο ποιεῖτε· προσεῖναι γὰρ χρὴ τῷ παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν διάθεσιν ἐνέργειάν | τινα πρὸς αὐτῆς βλάπτεσθαι· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἀβλαβεῖς αἱ πᾶσαι φυλάττωνται, κἂν μυριάκις ἐξαλλάττηται καὶ τρέπηται καὶ μεταβάλληται τὸ σῶμα, νόσος οὐπω τῶν διαθέσεων ἐκείνων ἐστὶν οὐδεμία.

<sup>50</sup> B; ἀριθμηθήσεται K

<sup>32</sup> The source of this allusion, perhaps from a comic writer or possibly simply proverbial, is unknown.

<sup>33</sup> *Plethora*, *kakochymia*, and *kachexia* are among a small

symptom is what happens contingent upon the affection, although it has a delineation that is specific and, as it were, more particular among the things contrary to nature." This is the remarkable statement of Olympicus the wise when he was bold enough to distinguish affection from symptom. It is a statement filled with so many errors that for me it stands comparison with the dullard when he said to the sieve that he could not discover what would plug it up and what would not.<sup>32</sup> For what, really, might someone say first out of these things, or what leave aside? It would be a lengthy matter to refute all the things they have pronounced on wrongly.

Is every kind of change from what accords with nature to what is contrary to nature a disease providing only that duration is associated with it? But you yourselves number pallor and atrophy among the symptoms, and not among the affections. What of *kakochymia*? What of deficiency? What of *kachexia*? What of *plethora*?<sup>33</sup> Are these not contrary to nature? If duration is associated with them, they will be numbered among the diseases. However, you yourself do not want this, and you do well in this regard. For due to the condition being contrary to nature we should

69K

number of terms transliterated, as discussed in the Introduction. The first means a fullness of the veins, the second a bad state of the humors, and the third, still in use today in the Latinized form, has the meaning here of "a bad state of the body" (Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 31). Galen makes the distinction between the second two in Book 4 (263K).

τό γέ τοι τῆς θεραπείας δεόμενον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ πλὴν τῆς βλαπτούσης τὴν ἐνέργειαν διαθέσεως. οὐ μὲν γὰρ δεόμεθα πρώτου καὶ μάλιστα πάντων, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια· δι' ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν εἴτε διαθέσεως εἴτε κατασκευῆς ὀνομάζουσιν ἐθέλοις. ὁρᾶν γὰρ δεόμεθα καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ βαδίζειν, οὐκ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδ' ὠτων, οὐδὲ γλώττης, οὐδὲ σκελῶν· εἰ γοῦν ἦν ὁρᾶν δι' ἐτέρου μορίου, τίς ἂν ἦν ὀφθαλμῶν ἢ χρεῖα; καὶ εἴπερ ἦν ἀκούειν δι' ἄλλου τινὸς ὄργάνου, τί τῶν ὠτων ἐδεήθημεν ἂν; οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς γλώττης καὶ τῶν σκελῶν οὐκ ἂν δῆπουθεν οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν ἡμῖν, εἰ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ βαδίζειν οἷόν τ' ἦν ἄνευ τούτων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ὁρᾶν δι' ἑαυτοῦ<sup>51</sup> χρῆζομεν ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ οὐ δι' ἑαυτούς,<sup>52</sup> ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο. καὶ γλώττης δὲ καὶ ὠτων καὶ σκελῶν, οὐχ ἵνα ἔχωμεν ὄργανα καὶ πολλὰ μόρια, χρῆζομεν, ἀλλὰ διαλέξεως ἕνεκα καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ βαδίσσεως. ὅταν γοῦν νεκρωθῇ τι μόριον ἀποτμηθῆναι δυνάμενον, οἷον δάκτυλος, ἢ πούς, ἢ ἄκρα χεῖρ, οὐκ ἀνεχόμεθα βαστάζειν ἀργὸν αὐτό, καὶ περιφέρειν οἷον ἄχθος ἀλλότριον, ἐναργῶς δηλοῦντες ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι μὴ τῶν μορίων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν χρῆζομεν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὄλον τὸ μόριον τῆς ἐνεργείας ἕνεκα ἔχειν δεόμεθα, κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆς διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ὀρεγόμεθα. ὡς γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐλέγετο, λόγον αἰτίας ἢ κατασκευῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπόμενα ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἐνεργοῦμεν

Surely that which requires treatment is nothing other than the condition which damages function. Function to be in accord with nature is what we need first, and most of all. And it is on account of that we need the condition or, if you prefer, the constitution to be in accord with nature. For what we need is to see, hear, talk and walk, not eyes, ears, tongue and limbs. If, in fact, there was sight through another part, what need would there be for eyes? And if there was hearing through some other organ, what need would we have of ears? Likewise, I presume, there would be no benefit for us from tongue or limbs, if it were possible to talk and walk without them. We need vision for its own features; we do not need eyes for themselves but for vision. And we need a tongue, ears and limbs not so that we might have organs and many parts but for the sake of speech, hearing, and walking. At all events, whenever some part is made gangrenous and it can be amputated, like a finger, or a foot, or the extremity of an arm, we do not put up with bearing this uselessly and carrying it around like an unnatural burden. This shows clearly that it is not the parts we need but the functions. Therefore, just as we need to have the whole part for the sake of the function, in the same way, I think, we also desire the constitution itself to be in accord with nature because of the function. For as was also said before, the constitution has the ground of cause in relation to function. Those things that necessarily follow the constitutions from which we function are called

70K

<sup>51</sup> *conj.* Hankinson; αὐτόν B; ἑαυτῶν P1, P2, K

<sup>52</sup> αὐτούς B

ὕγιαιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν συμβεβηκότα, νοσοῦντων δὲ συμπτώματα καλεῖται.

καὶ τέτταρα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ γένη πάντων τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ φύσιν τε καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων ἡμῶν, ἐνέργειαι, κατασκευαί, τὰ προηγούμενα τούτων, τὰ ἐπόμενα· τιθέσθω λοιπὸν ὁ βουλόμενος ὀνόματα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ, κἂν εἰ Δίωνα, κἂν εἰ Θέωνα βούλοιτο καλεῖν ὁτιοῦν ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐ μοι διαφέρει, μόνον ἴστω τοῦτο καὶ φυλαττέτω διαπαντός, ὡς τέτταρα τὰ ἅπαντ' ἐστὶν ἀλλήλοις παρακείμενα πράγματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου γέγονα, δοκῶ μοι δικαίαν ἀξίωσιν ἐνεγκεῖν, ἵν' ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους συγχωροῦμεν ἅττα ἂν γ' ἐθέλωσιν ὀνόματα τίθεσθαι, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κακείνους ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν Ἑλληνικοῖς τε χρῆσθαι καὶ παλαιοῖς· ἢ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη σολοκίξειν μὲν ἐκείνους ἐξεῖναι καθάπερ τυράννοις, Ἑλληνίζειν δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐξεῖναι. καλεῖτωσαν, εἰ βούλοιτο, τὴν ὑγίαν εὐστάθειαν τῶν<sup>53</sup> ἐνεργειῶν, καίτοι δέδεικται πρὸς ἡμῶν ὡς ἡ διάθεσις τε καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῶν μορίων, ἀφ' ἧς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργοῦμεν, ὑγία πρὸς ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζεται καὶ τοῦτο θέμενοι τὴν ὑγίαν, ὅμως τὴν νόσον οὐκ ἐνεργείας βλάβην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν ἡγείσθωσαν εἶναι διάθεσιν.

ὡς οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους μὴθ' Ἑλληνιστὶ μὴτε διαλεκτικῶς ὀνομάζοντας οὐ κωλύομεν, οὕτω κακείνοι συγχωρεῖτωσαν ἡμῖν Ἑλληνιστὶ τε ἅμα καὶ διαλεκτικῶς οὐχ ἅπασαν τὴν παρὰ φύσιν διάθεσιν, ἀλλ'

“contingent attributes” when we are healthy and symptoms when we are diseased.

And so there are these four classes of all the things that exist in the body when we are in accord with nature (normal) and when we are contrary to nature (abnormal): functions, constitutions, the things which precede them, and the things which are consequent upon them. Let it be the case, further, that anyone who wishes to give names to each of these things separately, even if he should wish to call them Dion or Theon or something else of the sort—it makes no difference to me—let him know this alone and preserve it throughout, as all four things are closely related to each other. Since I have reached this point in the argument, it seems to me a fair demand to make of them that just as I allow them to apply whatever names they might wish, in the same way they should allow me to use [the names] that are Greek and ancient. It would be a terrible thing if it were permissible for them to speak incorrectly like dictators, whereas it was not permitted to me to use correct Greek. Let them, if they wish, call health stability of the functions, despite my having shown that it is the condition or constitution of the parts from which we function in accord with nature that is called health by all Greeks. And if they do posit health to be this, nevertheless they should not posit injury of function to be disease, but should consider it to be a condition contrary to nature.

So then, as I do not prevent them from applying names that are neither Greek nor logical, let them in the same way allow me to apply the name “disease,” according to Greek and logical use, not to every condition that is con-

<sup>53</sup> B; αὐτῶν K

72K ἤτις ἂν ἐνέργειαν βλάβη νόσημα προσαγορεύειν  
 ἤτις δ' ἂν παρὰ φύσιν μὲν ἦ, μὴ μέντοι βλάβη γ'  
 ἐνέργειαν, οὐ νόσον, ἀλλὰ σύμπτωμα νοσήματος. |  
 αἰθίς δ' ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ ἐπίμονον προστιθέασιν, οὐ  
 δηλοῦντες ἄχρι πόσων ὥρῶν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῆ  
 διάθεσις παραμείνασα νόσος ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡμῖν συγ-  
 χωρείωσαν ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ ἐπίμονον· εἴτε γὰρ τρισὶν  
 ὥραις, εἴτε τέτρασι, εἴτε καὶ ἡμίσει μόνον ὥρας ὅλα  
 τις τῷ σώματι καταληφθεὶς σφοδρῶς, ὡς μήτ' αἰσθά-  
 νεσθαι μήτε κινεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀπόπληκτον ὀνο-  
 μάζομεν· ὥσπερ εἰ καὶ σπασθεὶς σύμπαντι τῷ σώ-  
 ματι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίληπτον, οὐθ' ὥρῶν ἀριθμὸν οὐθ'  
 ἡμερῶν ἔτι προσλογιζόμενοι. μόνης γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πρά-  
 γματος φύσεως, οὐ τῆς τοῦ χρόνου ποσότητος ὑπάρ-  
 χει δηλωτικὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὥσπερ οἶμαι  
 καὶ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἢ  
 θαναμαστὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν οὐκ εἶναι θερ-  
 μόν, ἂν μὴ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ὑπάρχοι τοιοῦτον, ἢ τὸν ἐξ  
 ὥραις πυρέξαντα μὴ πεπυρεχένας, χρῆναι γὰρ καὶ  
 τοῦτον, εἴπερ ἐπύρεξεν, ἐπίμονον ἔχειν τὸ πάθος·

73K καίτοι τίς ὁ χρόνος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κρίνων τὸ ἐπί-  
 μονον καὶ τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ὥρισεν, ἀρὰ γε  
 ἡμερῶν τις ἀριθμὸς, ἢ μηνῶν, ἢ ὥρῶν, | ἢ διὰ τί  
 λέγουσιν ἐπίμονον, ἐνὸν εἰπεῖν πολυχρόνιον, ἢ τοῦτο  
 μὲν καὶ μετατιθέντες ἐνιοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν δύσλυτον ὀνομά-  
 ζουσιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε τὸ δύσλυτον οὐ νοσήματος  
 ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ χρονίου νοσήματος ἐστὶν ἴδιον, ὥσπερ  
 γε, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ ραδίως λυόμενον ὀξέος. τὸ δ' οἶεσθαι

trary to nature, but only to whatever might harm function. Whatever might be contrary to nature and yet does not, in fact, harm function is not a disease but a symptom of disease. Again, just as those men add “persisting” but do not make clear how many hours this condition contrary to nature must last until it is a disease, so let them allow me to do away with the term “persisting.” For if someone were to suffer a severe collapse of the whole body such that he had neither feeling nor movement, whether this lasts for three hours, or four, or only half an hour, we call it “apoplexy.” Similarly, if someone were to suffer a convulsion in the whole body, we call this “epilepsy” without making an additional reckoning of the hours or days. For such terms are indicative of the nature of the matter alone and not of its duration, just as, I think, are white and black, or hot and cold. It would be surprising for hot water not to be hot if it was not hot through the whole day, or for someone who was febrile for six hours not to have a fever on the basis that the affection would need to be persisting for him to have a fever.

And further, not one of them has defined what this time is that determines whether something is persisting or not—whether it is a number of days, months, or hours, or why they say “persisting” when it is possible to say “long-lasting,” or also why some of them change this term and call it “difficult of resolution.” But, in fact, this “difficult of resolution” is not simply characteristic of a disease but is specific of chronic disease, just as, I think, “easy of resolution” is of acute [disease]. Is it not the height of ignorance to



διαφέρειν ἢ δύσλυτον, ἢ ἐπίμονον, ἢ χρόνιον εἰπεῖν, ἄρ' οὐκ ἐσχάτης ἀμαθίας ἐστίν; ἔτι δὲ θαυμαστότερον, ὅταν οὗτοι μὲν ὡσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθύος ἐγεγυθέντες ἐπιχειρῶσι διορίζεσθαι πάθος συμπτώματος, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐμπληξίας αὐτῶν ἡγεμῶν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ μεθόδου γράφει· Τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ προηγησάμενα μὲν πάθη λέγεται, ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ συμπτώματα· καίτοι τοῦτό γε πολὺ θαυμαστότερον ὢν ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, τὴν τοῦ ἥπατος φλεγμονήν, εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσβάλοι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν, πάθος εἶναι συγχωρεῖν, εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τιμὴ γένοιτο, κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην, εἰς τὰ συμπτώματα μετατιθέσθαι. καίτοι τί λέγω δευτέραν ἡμέραν; ἄμεινον γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὦραν δευτέραν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσβολῆς τοῦ νοσήματος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού κατὰ μὲν τὴν δευτέραν ἡμέραν ἢ τοῦ ἥπατος φλεγμονῆς | σύμπτωμα γενήσεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ὦραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ σύμπτωμα· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιγίγνεσθαι τιμὴ προηγουμένῳ πάντως πού καὶ τοῦθ' ἔξει. ἀλλὰ τὸ οὕτω, φασί, ταχέως ἐπιγιγνόμενον οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ συνεισβάλλοντος.

74K

παλιν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν εἰρηκέναι σαφῶς ὅποσας ὦρας ὀρίζεται καὶ διακρίνει τοῦ συνεισβάλλοντος τὸ ἐπιγιγνόμενον. ὁ Θεσσαλὸς μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἄκρον ἦκοντες σοφίας, οὐχ οὕτω διορίζουσι πάθος συμπτώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάθος ὡς προείρηται, τὸ σύμπτωμα δὲ τὸ τῷ

think it makes a difference to say "persisting," "difficult of resolution," or "chronic"? It is still more remarkable whenever these people, as if stirred from a deep sleep, attempt to differentiate affection from symptom, which is what the leader of their stupidity writes in the second [book] of his *On Method*:<sup>34</sup> "For when these same things come first they are called affections, but when they occur afterward they are called symptoms." And indeed, this is far more remarkable than those people who say that inflammation of the liver, if it comes on immediately on the first day, is accepted as being an affection whereas, if it occurs at another time, the second or third day, it is placed among the symptoms. And indeed, why do I say second day? For it would be better to say the second hour from the onset of the disease. For surely it cannot be that inflammation of the liver during the second day will become a symptom whereas, during the second hour from the onset, it was something else and not a symptom. It will be a symptom simply by supervening on what preceded it in some way. But what is like this, they say, when it supervenes quickly, does not differ from what appears together with it.

74K

Again, therefore, it behooves him to say clearly by how many hours he defines it, and how he distinguishes the epiphenomenon from what appears together with it. Thessalus, at least, does such a thing. On the other hand, those who follow Olympicus, as if they had reached the pinnacle of wisdom, do not distinguish affection from symptom in this way but say the affection is as previously stated, whereas the symptom is what occurs along with an affec-

ited with a work *On Method*. See EANS, p. 805 for a list of works ascribed to him.

<sup>34</sup> Presumably Thessalus is being referred to here. He is cred-

πάθει συμβαίνου ὑπάρχειν φασί, θαυμαστῶς πάνν  
καὶ σαφῶς ἐξηγησάμενοι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ. τί γὰρ δὴ  
καὶ ὄν τὸ σύμπτωμα, ὃ τῷ πάθει συμβέβηκεν, ἐχρῆν,  
οἶμαι, προσθεῖναι τε καὶ διορίσασθαι, ἀρά γε διάθε-  
σις τίς ἐστὶ σώματος, ἢ βλάβη τινὸς ἐνεργείας, ἢ  
συναμφότερον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὐ λέγουσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ  
δηλονότι μαντεύσασθαι χρή.

75K τὸ δὲ καὶ προσθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτ' αὐτόν, εἰδικήν,  
ὡσπερ καὶ μερικωτέραν ἔχον ἐν τοῖς παρὰ φύσιν  
ἐντύπωσιν, ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπε σαφηνείας,  
ἅμα τῷ | καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ παγκάλως  
ἐρμηνεύεσθαι, εἰδικώτερόν τινα τύπον ἐν τοῖς παρὰ  
φύσιν ἔχειν τὸ σύμπτωμα. τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ γενι-  
κώτερον ἔχον τὸν τύπον; οὐ γὰρ εἴρηκας εἰ χωρὶς τῆς  
πρὸς ἐκεῖνο παραβολῆς ἐγγχωρεῖ τὸ εἰδικώτερον ἐξευ-  
ρεῖν. εἰ δ' ὅλως πρὸς οὐδὲν παραβάλλοντες εἰδικώ-  
τερον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀκριβῶς τε πάνν καὶ σαφῶς ἐρμη-  
νεύουσι, καίτοι διὰ συντόμων τε ἅμα καὶ σαφῶν οἶόν  
τ' ἦν εἰπεῖν ὡς τὰ παρὰ φύσιν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ  
σῶμα τῶν ζῴων ἤτοι νοσήματ' ἐστίν, ἢ αἷτια, ἢ  
συμπτώματα· κοινῶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντος τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν,  
ἢ νόσος μὲν ἐνεργεῖαν βλάπτει, τὸ δ' αἷτιον ταύτης  
προηγείται, τὸ σύμπτωμα δ' ἔπεται ταύτη, διττὸν ὄν  
τὴν φύσιν, ἐνεργείας μὲν βλάβη τὸ ἕτερον, διάθεσις  
δέ τις ἀκολουθοῦσα τῷ νοσήματι τὸ λοιπόν. ἀλλὰ  
γάρ, ὡσπερ ἔφην, εἰ πάντα τις ἐπέρχοιτο τὰ σφάλ-  
ματ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθείη τέλος τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ γνω-  
σκεῖς τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς καὶ σύ, φίλτατε Ἰέρων, ὅτι μηδὲ  
τὸ χιλιοστὸν αὐτῶν μέρος ἐξελέγχειν ἐπεχείρησα.

tion, thus explicating its substance quite wonderfully and clearly. But, in my view, they ought to have added and defined what kind of thing a symptom is which appears together with an affection; whether it is some condition of the body, or damage of some function, or both together. As those men do not say, quite clearly we must resort to divination.

And to add "specific" to the definition, as it also gives the impression of those things contrary to nature being more subdivisible, does not forsake extreme clarity. At the same time, interpreting with names that are Greek, if it is altogether done properly, means that symptom has a certain more specific form of expression among those things contrary to nature. What is it that has the more generic type? For you have not said whether it is possible to discover what is more specific apart from comparison with that (i.e., the generic). If they use the more specific term without comparing it to anything, they interpret it very precisely and clearly. Nevertheless, it was possible to state succinctly and, at the same time, clearly that all things contrary to nature in the bodies of animals are either diseases, causes, or symptoms. What is common to them is being contrary to nature. The disease damages function, the cause precedes the disease, and the symptom follows it, its nature being twofold—the one being damage of function, and the other being some condition which follows the disease. But, as I said, if someone were to go through all their errors, they would never put an end to the discussion. And you will realize this precisely, my dearest Hiero, in that I have not attempted to refute a thousandth part of them.

76K τοσοῦτον οὖν ἔτι προσθεῖς ἐνταυθοῖ που κατα-  
παύσω τὸ πρῶτον γράμμα, διότι κατὰ τὴν ἰ ἀρχὴν τῆς  
μεθόδου σφάλλονται πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ  
Θεσσαλοῦ καὶ Θεμίσιωνος, οἵπερ δὴ καὶ Μεθοδικοὺς  
ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, ἔσχατά τε καὶ μέγιστα σφάλ-  
ματα, σὺν αὐτοῖς δ' οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν Ἀναλογιστικῶν τε  
καὶ Δογματικῶν καὶ Λογικῶν ὀνομαζομένων. εἰ μὴ  
γὰρ ἐξεύροι τις ἀπάσας τὰς διαθέσεις ὑφ' ὧν ἐνέργεια  
βλάπτεται, τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν τῶν νοσημάτων ὅποσον  
τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁποῖον ἀδύνατον ἀκριβῶς ὀρισθῆναι τοῦτο  
δ' οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἔνιοι ποιῆσαι τυράννων δίκην  
ἀποφαίνονται τὰ δόξαντ' αἰσισι χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως.  
ἔνιοι δ' οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπέδειξαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν  
ἀποδεικνύντων μαθήνουσι καὶ τό γε πλείστον γένος,  
ὡς οἴσθα, τῶν νῦν ἐπιπολαζόντων ἰατρῶν, ἔστι τοι-  
ούτων καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἴσως οὐδέν· ὅπου γὰρ καὶ  
τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ πολλοὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως ἀξιούσι  
πιστεύεσθαι, τί χρῆθ' θαυμάζειν τινὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν; οὐδὲ  
γὰρ σχολὴ γε αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἀλήθειαν ζητεῖν, ἔωθεν  
μὲν ἐν ἀσπασμοῖς διατρίβουσιν, οὓς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν  
ἀσπασμούς, εἰς ἐσπέραν δ' ἐμπιπλαμένοις τε καὶ  
μεθυσκομένοις.

77K ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν ἰ ἀλλητήν, ὃ Ἰέρων, ἀμιλ-  
λαίμην ἂν καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις· αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ἀλλητήν  
μὲν οὕτως εὔρεθῆναι φιλόκαλον, οὐ μέγα τὸ πρᾶγμα  
κατορθοῦντα, μέθοδον δὲ θεραπευτικὴν ἐκ παλαιού  
μὲν ζητουμένην, ἀκριβῶς δ' οὐπω γεγραμμένην, ἐξευ-  
ρεῖν τε καὶ τελειῶσαι δυναμένους ἡμᾶς ὀκνεῖν καὶ

If, then, I add just this much, I shall put an end to the  
first book here, because many doctors get frustrated by the  
method at the start. On the one hand, there are those who  
follow Thessalus and Themison, who actually call them-  
selves Methodics, and who make the most extreme and  
significant errors and, along with them, not a small number  
of those who call themselves Analogists, Dogmatics, or Ra-  
tionalists. Unless someone were to discover all the condi-  
tions by which function is damaged, the great number of  
actual diseases, how many there are, and of what sort,  
could not be determined precisely. Since some don't even  
attempt to do this, like dictators they declare their opin-  
ions without demonstration. Some, on the other hand, not  
only do not provide a demonstration but do not even learn  
from those who do provide demonstrations. And, as you  
know, the largest class of doctors who are fashionable now  
is of this kind. Perhaps this is no surprise. Where the  
majority of philosophers also think themselves worthy of  
credence without demonstration, why should you be sur-  
prised if some doctors [do so too]? There is not, in fact, the  
free time for them to seek truth when, in the early morn-  
ing, they busy themselves with greetings, which they call  
"salutations," while in the evening they eat to excess and  
get drunk.

But like the ancient flute player, Hiero, I too would  
contend with the Muses. For it would be shameful for a  
flute player to be found so enthusiastic in this way when he  
successfully accomplishes nothing of significance, while I,  
who am able to discover and complete the method of med-  
icine, which has been sought from ancient times but not  
yet written about accurately, hesitate, delay and defer [do-

μέλλειν καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ ῥαθυμίαν. ὥστ' ἔμπαλιν ἤδη μοι δοκῶ διακείσθαι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμῖν χάριν οἰκίαν δίδωμι, προτρεψαμένοις με τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ἅπασαν ἐφεξῆς διελθεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρῶτός μοι λόγος ἐνταυθοῖ τελευτάτω, τοῦ δ' ἐξῆς παντὸς ὁ δευτέρως ἀρχέσθω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

ing this] due to the prevailing idleness of the present time. As a consequence, I now seem to be in the opposite position to before. I am not giving you the proper reward—you who entreated me to go over the whole therapeutic method step by step. So let me bring the first book to completion here and begin the second in sequence of the whole [work] in the following way.

## BIBΛION B

78K 1. Τῶν συμβαινόντων τοῖς σώμασιν ἐν τῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχειν, Ἰέρων κράτιστε, τέτταρες ἐδείχθησαν αἱ πάσαι διαφοραί, μία μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς βεβλαμμένης ἐνεργείας, ἑτέρα δὲ τῆς ἐργαζομένης αὐτὴν διαθέσεως, ἄλλη τε τρίτη τῶν ταύτης αἰτιῶν, καὶ τετάρτη τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένων αὐτῇ συμπτωμάτων. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἦτοι πάντα ταῦτ' εἶναι χρὴ τῆν νόσον, ἢ τινὰ τούτων, ἢ πάντως γ' ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἔτοιμον συλλογίσασθαι μηδενὸς γὰρ παρὰ τὰ προειρημένα τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ὑπάρχοντος, οὐδὲ 79K ἔξω τούτων ἔσται τὸ νόσημα. λείπεται ἢ τοίνυν ἢ τὸ πάντων ἄθροισμα λέγειν τὴν νόσον εἶναι, ἢ τινὰ τούτων, ἢ ἔν γέ τι πάντως. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἄθροισμα πρὸς τῷ μηδ' εἰρηῆσθαι πρὸς τινος οὐδ' ἐγχωρεῖ λεχθῆναι· τί γὰρ ἔσται νόσου αἴτιον, ἢ τί σύμπτωμα νοσήματος, εἰ τὸ πάντων ἄθροισμα νόσημα νομισθῆσεται; οὐδὲν<sup>1</sup> δῆπουθεν. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἀπολιπεῖν δύο ἄλλα γένη παρὰ τὰς νόσους, ἕτερον μὲν τῶν ἐργαζομένων αὐτὰς αἰτιῶν, ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἐπομένων μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, λυπούντων δ' οὐδὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἀφέλοιμεν, ἐν δυοῖν ἔστι τούτοις ἢ νόσος, ἢ ταῖς βεβλαμμέναις ἐνεργείαις, ἢ ταῖς ἐργαζομέναις αὐτὰς διαθέσεσι. καὶ δὴ καὶ δι-

## BOOK II

1. Most excellent Hiero, all the four differentiae of things 78K contrary to nature which befall bodies were shown to be the following: One is the actual function that has been damaged, another is the condition that brings this damage about, another and third, consists of the causes of this condition, and the fourth comprises the symptoms which necessarily follow it. That all of these, or some of them, or at least one of them, must then be the disease is readily deduced for, as nothing exists in those who are diseased apart from the aforementioned things, disease will not fall outside them. It remains, then, to say whether disease is the 79K aggregate of all them, or some of them, or is one of them at least. But not only has nobody ever claimed that disease is the aggregate of all these [differentiae]; it is not even possible to make this claim. For what will be a cause of disease, or a symptom of disease, if the aggregate of all of these is thought to be the disease? Nothing, clearly! Therefore, it is necessary to set aside two other classes apart from the diseases, one comprising the causes that bring them about, and the other the things that follow of necessity but do not distress the person at all. But if we do set these [two classes] aside, disease must lie in the remaining two; that is, the damaged functions or the conditions that bring

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν B, P1, P2; οὐδὲ ἔν K

ηρέχθησαν εὐθὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦδε καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαφέρονται πάντες οὐκ ἰατροὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, τῶν ἐνεργειῶν μὲν τὰς βλάβας ἕτεροι, τῶν δ' ἐργαζομένων αὐτὰς διαθέσεων ἕτεροι προσαγορεύσαντες νοσήματα.

80K τὸ μὲν οὖν διαφέρεισθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν οὕτως ἀσαφέσι πράγμασιν οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ μὴ διαγιγνώσκειν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος ἐρίζουσιν ἐπιτιμήσεως ἄξιον. εἴπερ γὰρ ὁμολόγηται πρὸς ἀπάντων ἡ θεραπεία τῆς ἐμποδιζούσης τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι διαθέσεως, οὐδὲν ἔτι χρήσιμον εἰς τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἔργα τὸ διελέσθαι πότερα τὴν διάθεσιν, ἢ τὴν βεβλαμμένην ἐνέργειαν ὀνομαστέον ἐστὶ νόσημα. ἐκατέρως γὰρ ὀνομαζόντων, ὁ κάμνων ὑγιαίνων ἀποδειχθήσεται μόνον εἰ τὰ δέοντά τις ἰάματα προσφέρει ταῖς διαθέσεσιν· αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἅς ἀλλοιοῦν χρῆ καὶ μεταβάλλειν καὶ τελῶς ἐκκόπτειν, οὐχ αἱ βλάβαι τῶν ἐνεργειῶν. οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἰᾶται τὸ χωλεύειν βαδίζοντα, καὶ γὰρ γελοῖον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐργαζομένην αὐτὸ διάθεσιν, οἷον τὴν φλεγμονήν, εἰ διὰ ταύτην χωλεύει καὶ ταύτην καὶ καταπτλεῖ καὶ καταπλάττει καὶ σχάζει καὶ διαφορεῖ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

τὸ γὰρ ὀρθῶς βαδίζειν ἔπεται ταύτη λυθείσῃ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμεθα τὴν χωλείαν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τῆς φλεγμονῆς οἰχομένης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομένει τι τῆς βεβλαμμένης ἐνεργείας, εἰ ἐκκόψῃ τις ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἐργαζομένην αὐτὴν διάθεσιν, ἔστ' ἂν δ' ὑπολείπηται τι τῆς διαθέσεως, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀνάλογον

them about. However, right from ancient times there has been dispute about precisely this, and even now everyone, not only doctors but also philosophers, enters the dispute, some identifying diseases with damage of function and others with the condition bringing the damage about.

Little wonder, then, that people disagree on such uncertain matters. What does, however, warrant criticism is the failure to recognize that they are wrangling about names. For if it is agreed by all that treatment is directed at the condition hindering function, it is of no use to the practice of the craft to distinguish whether you must name the condition or the damaged function the disease. Whichever definition is used, patients will be made healthy only if someone applies the required cures for the conditions insofar as it is these conditions which you must change, transform and eradicate completely, and not the damages of functions. At all events, nobody cures the lameness in walking—the very idea is ridiculous. But [you cure] the condition that brings this about; for example, the inflammation, if someone is lame because of this. It is this that you bathe, poultice, incise and disperse, and try to resolve in every way.

Walking properly depends on this being resolved. We have no further need to correct the lameness once the inflammation has gone. Nothing remains of the damaged function if you comprehensively eradicate the condition bringing it about. If, however, something of the condition still remains, the function, too, is necessarily damaged in

80K

81K ἐκείνη βεβλάφθαι. ταύτην οὖν τὴν διάθεσιν εἴτε νόσημα καλεῖν, εἴτε πάθος, εἴτ' αἰτίαν νοσήματος, εἴτε | πάθους ἐθέλοι τις, οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν οὐτ' ὄφελος οὔτε βλάβος ἐντεῦθεν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ Θεωνά τις ἢ Δίωνα προσαγορεύσας αὐτήν, ἔπειτ' ὀρθῶς ἴψτο, βλάψειεν ἂν οὐδ' οὐτος οὐδὲν τὸν νοσοῦντα· κἄν εἰ τελέως δέ τις ἀνώνυμον ἀπολιπὼν αὐτήν ἂ χρῆ προσφέρει τῷ κάμνοντι βοηθήματα, πρὸς τῷ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδέν, οὐτος ἔτι κάλλιστα θεραπεύσει. διδάσκειν μὲν τοι βουλόμενος ἕτερον ἂ γινώσκει, δεήσεται τε πάντως ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅρον τε τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν ἕξει τὴν σαφήνειαν· ὁ γὰρ ὡς ἂν ὁ μανθάνων ἐκμάθοι σαφέστατα μάλιστα σπουδάζων ὀνομάξει, ἄριστος διδάσκαλος. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ νῦν καθεστήκαμεν, ἀνάγκη μὲν που θέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὀνόματα· τὸ δ' εἰ καὶ σαφῶς, ἡμῖν σκοπεῖσθαι πάρεστιν. ἡ μὲν δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐμποδίζουσα διάθεσις ὀνομαζέσθω νόσος· εἴ τι δ' ἔπεται τῆδε, σύμπτωμα· τὸ δ' ἐργαζόμενον αὐτήν, αἴτιον.

82K 2. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων διωρισμένων ἐπιβλέπειν ἀκριβῶς χρῆ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἃ κατὰ τῶν νοσημάτων | ἐπήνεγκαν οἱ πρῶτοι θέμενοι· πολλαχόθι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βεβλαμμένου μορίου τὰ ὀνόματα, πλευρίτις καὶ περιπνευμονία καὶ ἰσχίας καὶ ποδάγρα καὶ νεφρίτις καὶ ἀρθρίτις, ὀφθαλμία τε καὶ κεφαλαλγία καὶ δυσεντερία· πολλαχόθι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος, εἰλεὸς καὶ τεινεσμός καὶ σπασμός καὶ παλμός καὶ τρόμος καὶ παράλυσις, ἀπειψία τε καὶ

proportion to that. Therefore, whether you wish to call this condition a disease, or affection, or cause of a disease, or cause of an affection, there is neither benefit nor harm for the treatment as a result. Indeed, even if someone were to call it Theon or Dion, as long as he treats it correctly he would do no harm to the diseased person. And if someone leaves it completely nameless, but applies the remedies that are necessary to the patient, in addition to doing no harm, he will still be treating it in the best possible way. But surely, if someone wishes to teach another the things he knows, he will require names for the matters, and will have clarity as his criterion in the use of these. The best teacher is the man who zealously pursues this issue of nomenclature so that the student may learn with the utmost clarity. Accordingly, since I, too, am now engaged in this [teaching], it is presumably necessary to apply names to the matters. To do this clearly is my present objective. So let disease be called the condition hindering function while, if something follows this, let it be called a symptom, and what brings it about, a cause.

2. So, having established these definitions, it is necessary to look closely and precisely at the inconsistency of the names which those who first applied them assigned to diseases. Very often, they derived the names from the damaged part (pleuritis, peripneumonia, sciatica, gout, nephritis, arthritis, ophthalmia, headache, and dysentery), very often from the symptom (ileus, tenesmus, spasm, palpitation, tremor, paralysis, aepsia, dyspnea, apnea, insomnia,

81K

82K

δύσπνοια καὶ ἄπνοια καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ παραφροσύνη καὶ κῶμα· πολλαχόθι δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἅμα, ὡς κεφαλαλγία καὶ ὠταλγία καὶ καρδιαλγία καὶ ὀδονταλγία καὶ ὑστεραλγία· πολλαχόθι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς δοξαζομένης αἰτίας, ὡς ἡ μελαγχολία μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων, αἱ χολέραι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κνιδίων ἰατρῶν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ λευκοφλεγματίας ὕδερὸς ἐντεῦθεν· ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἐκτὸς ὁμοιότητος, ἐλέφας καὶ καρκίνος καὶ πολύπους καὶ σταφυλὴ καὶ λεύκη καὶ μυρμηκία καὶ ἀθέρωμα καὶ στεάτωμα καὶ σταφύλωμα καὶ μελικηρὶς καὶ ἄνθραξ, ἀλωπεκία τε καὶ ὀφίασις καὶ σύκωσις καὶ σατυριασμός καὶ πριαπισμός·

83K τῶν νοσημάτων δ' αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μήτε τόπον ἐφαπτόμενα πεπονθότος μήτε τῆς ποιούσης αἰτίας ὀλίγα, φλεγμονὴ καὶ γάγγραινα καὶ σκίρρος, ἐρυσίπελās τε καὶ ἰ απόστημα καὶ οἴδημα καὶ ἐμπύημα καὶ ἔλκος ἐξάρθρημά τε καὶ κάταγμα καὶ σπᾶσμα καὶ ῥήγμα καὶ κολόβωμα καὶ δοθιὴν καὶ ἰονθος καὶ φῦμα· καίτοι καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἕνια τὰ μὲν καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ σώματος, ἤτοι τὸ πεπονθὸς μέρος ἐμφαίνειν ἔοικεν, ἕνια δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντος ὀνομάζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> συμπτώματος· εἰ δ' ἄρα τι καὶ χωρὶς παρεμφάσεως ὀνομάζεται, τὰς γ' ἐν αὐτῷ διαφορὰς καὶ τοῦτο πολυειδέις ἔσχηκεν, οἷον ἔλκος, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνεχείας ἦν ἡ λύσις ἐν σαρκῶδει μορίῳ, καὶ ταύτη παραδηλοῦν ἐδόκει τὸν

<sup>2</sup> B; ὀνομάζεται K

delirium and coma), very often from both simultaneously (cephalgia, otalgia, cardialgia, odontalgia and hysteralgia) and very often from what was thought to be the cause, such as what was called melancholia generally but cholerae by the Cnidian doctors and perhaps leucophlegmatic dropsy as well.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they were named from their similarity to external things in some respect, like elephas, cancer, polyp, staphyle, leuke, warts, atheroma, steatoma, staphyloma, meliceris, anthrax, alopecia, ophiasis, sicus, satyriasis, and priapism.

Names of the diseases themselves which have no connection to the affected place or to the effecting cause are few: phlegmone (inflammation), gangrene, scirrhus (induration), erysipelas, apostema (abscess), edema, empyema, wounds and ulcers, dislocation, fracture, spasm, rupture, coloboma, boil, eruption, and phuma. And indeed, some of these very terms do seem to indicate the place in the body or the affected part, while others seem to be named from the predominant symptom. And if something is named apart from signification, it has differentiae in it and these are diverse. For example, in the case of *helkos*,<sup>2</sup> even if there is no dissolution of continuity in a fleshy part (and

83K

<sup>1</sup> This reads as if this is one disease given three different names according to ideas on its causation. If so, it is not clear what the disease is.

<sup>2</sup> *Helkos* is a particularly problematic term as far as translation is concerned. For Galen, it is essentially dissolution of continuity involving a surface, whether external or internal. Sometimes it is best rendered as "wound," sometimes as "infected wound," sometimes as "ulcer," and sometimes as "sore." It is often used to cover all four possibilities. In what follows, one of the four possibilities is used if it is clearly indicated. When *helkos* is used in a more general sense (as above), it is translated as "wound or ulcer."



πεπονθότα τόπον, ἀλλ' αἶ γε κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῦ διαφοραὶ ποικίλαι τοῖς ὀνόμασι, χειρώνειον καὶ τηλέφιον καὶ καρκίνος, ἔρπης τε καὶ φαγέδαινα, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτως ἰασαμένων, ὡς τὸ χειρώνειον· ἔνια δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πεπονθότων, ὡς τὸ τηλέφιον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ζῶον ὁμοιότητος ὁ καρκίνος· ἢ φαγέδαινα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος, ὡσπέρ γε καὶ οἱ ἔρπητες. ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν φαγέδαινα πάντως ἐστὶν ἔλκος ἐσθιόμενον, ἢ ἀναβιβρώσκον, ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλη τις ὀνομάζειν· ὁ δ' ἔρπης οὐθ' ἔλκος αἰεί, καὶ ὁπότε μεθ' ἔλκωσης, οὐ κατέχων | τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔδραν, ἐπινέμεται τὰ πλησίον, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τοῦνομα δηλοῦ, δίκην ἔρποντος θηρίου, καταλείπει μὲν τὰ πρότερα, μετέρχεται δ' ἐφ' ἕτερα. κοῖλον δ' ἔλκος καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ καθαρὸν, ὀμαλές τε καὶ ὑπερσαρκοῦν, οἰκειότερας μὲν ἔσχηκε τὰς προσηγορίας, οὐ μὴν ὡσαύτως γε πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὀμαλές ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφορᾶς, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ κοῖλον ἢ ὑπερσαρκοῦν· ἔναιμον δὲ καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ῥυπαρὸν οὐ κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαφορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὀνομάζεται συμπτωμάτων.

οὕτως οὖν ἀνωμάλου τῶν ὀνομάτων τῆς θέσεως τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγενημένης, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπινυκτίδα καὶ ἀκροχορδόνα καὶ νυκτάλωπα προσ-αγορεύωσι, τὸ μὲν ὅτι νύκτωρ ἐγένετο, τὸ δ' ὅτι κατ'

<sup>3</sup> Chiron, one of the three centaurs, was traditionally regarded as the teacher of Asclepius. Telephus was the son of Hercules and Auge. He was wounded while fleeing from Achilles when his foot was caught in vine placed by Dionysus. He was healed by Achilles' spear. The animal referred to is, of course, the crab.

by this it seems to suggest the affected place), its individual differentiae are varied in names—chironium, telephium, cancer, herpes, phagedaena, and all other such terms. Some [are named] from those who first cured them, like chironium, some from those who were affected, like telephium, while cancer gets its name from the similarity to the animal.<sup>3</sup> Phagedaena, however, [takes its name] from the symptom, just as herpetic [ulcers] also do. But phagedaena is, in general, an ulcer that eats away or erodes, or whatever someone might wish to term it. Herpes is not always an ulceration, although whenever it is accompanied by ulceration, it does not occupy its original position, but feeds on the neighboring area like a crawling beast, as the name makes clear, leaving its former position to spread to other [places]. Hollow wounds or ulcers that are putrid and clean, level and raised, have more fitting names, although not all in the same way. The level [wound or ulcer] is named from the specific differentia, as are those that are hollow and those with an excess of flesh (i.e. are raised). The hemorrhagic, clean, and putrid wounds or ulcers are not named in relation to the specific differentiae, but from the external symptoms.

In such a way, then, did anomalies arise in the application of names by the ancients, and much more so when they designated something epinoctis, thin-necked wart or nyctalopia,<sup>4</sup> the first because it occurs at night, the second

<sup>4</sup> There are some questions about these terms. We have taken ἐπινυκτίδα to be what is now termed eponychia, given that it is very painful at night. ἀκροχορδόνα is listed in a modern medical dictionary as an old term for a skin tag while νυκτάλωπα (nyctalopia) remains in use as a term for "decreased ability to see in reduced light" (S).

85K

ἄκρας ὀχεῖται τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ δέρματος, τὸ δ' ὅτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποφαίνει μὴ βλέποντας, ἕτερα τέ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιῶσιν, εἰ γὰρ ἐπεξίοιμι πάντα, κινδυνεύσω ἴσως<sup>3</sup> σπουδάζειν δοκεῖν τὸ πάρεργον<sup>4</sup> ὃ φεύγειν ἐκέλευσα, πειράσθαι οὖν χρὴ παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ὀρεγόμενον ἀποχωρεῖν μὲν τοῦ προσδοξαζομένου τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὴν ἰεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἐπισκέπτεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅποσα τὰ σύμπταν' ἐστὶ | νοσήματά τε καὶ συμπτώματα, καὶ προσέτι τὰ προηγούμενα τούτων αἷτια.

τοῦτ' οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐποιήσαμεν ἐν ἑτέροις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐστὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νοσημάτων ἓν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ Περὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων διαφορᾶς, ἕτερον δὲ Περὶ τῆς τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἐστὶ διαφορᾶς· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἐπειράθημεν ἐξευρεῖν ἑκατέρας ἰδίᾳ, τὰς τε τῶν νοσημάτων καὶ τὰς τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἀπάντων, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι λείπειν, ἀλλ' ἐτοιμὴν εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασιν εἰς τὴν νῦν ἡμῖν προκειμένην πραγματείαν. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀναγινώσκειν ἔτι τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησόμενα συμβουλευώ, πρὶν ἐν ἐκείνοις γυμνάσασθαι παρακούσας γάρ τις οὕτω πολλῶν θεωρημάτων οὐτ' αὐτὸς ὠφεληθήσεται καὶ μάτην ἐγκαλέσει τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις.

<sup>3</sup> ἴσως B; om. K<sup>4</sup> τὸ πάρεργον B; om. K<sup>5</sup> On the two recurring causal terms "proegoumenic" and

because it is borne on the outermost surface of the skin, and the third because it signifies failure of vision at night. And they make many other such terms. But if I were to go over them all, perhaps I would be in danger of seeming to be serious about something of secondary importance—something I gave instructions to avoid. Anyone who yearns for the truth should attempt to rid himself in every way of what is believed in regard to names, go to the very substance of the matters, reflect on this, and seek out how many diseases and symptoms there are in all and, over and above this, their *proegoumenic* causes.<sup>5</sup>

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I have done this in other treatises, of which there is one about the number of diseases entitled *On the Differentiae of Diseases*, and another *On the Differentiae of Symptoms*. In this way, too, I have attempted to discover the causes of all diseases and symptoms, each one specifically, so that nothing is lacking and everything is prepared and ready for us in respect to the matter now lying before us.<sup>6</sup> For this reason, I would advise people not to read further what will be said in what follows before becoming practiced in those [treatises]. Otherwise, failing to understand the many theories in this manner, they will not benefit themselves and will quarrel to no purpose with what is said correctly.

"prokatarktic," which may be understood as "internal antecedent" and "external antecedent," see the Introduction, section 6.

<sup>6</sup> Four treatises that are foundational to Galen's theory of medicine detail the classification and causation of diseases and symptoms. They are as follows: *De differentis morborum*, VI.836–80K; *De morborum causis*, VII.1–41K; *De symptomatum differentis*, VII.42–84K; and *De symptomatum causis*, VII.85–272K.

3. Ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα κατὰ μέρος ἐπεξέρχομαι, τὰ τε νοσήματα καὶ τὰ συμπτώματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας· ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ δύο ἔτι προσθεῖς ταῦτα, ἀναγκαῖα γινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἀσκήσουσι τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον, ἐπὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὕρισκομένοις τηνικαῦτα μεταβήσομαι. τίνα δὲ | τὰ δύο ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἂ μὲλλω λέξω; ἐν μὲν ὅπῃ διαφέρει νόσημα πάθους· ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ γινῶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ σώματος, ἐξ ὧν πρῶτον γέγονεν, ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τὰ νοσήματα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν πειράσομαι διελθεῖν ἐπιμελέστατα, τοὺς δ' ἀναλεξομένους αὐτὰ παρακαλῶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτὴν μετιέναι τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον, πρὶν ὅποσα τὰ πάντα ἐστὶ νοσήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ζητῆσαι κατὰ μόνας, καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυχεῖν. ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ποιησάντων, ἄρξομαι τοῦ λόγου.

86K τρεῖς ἐδείχθησαν οὖσαι διαθέσεις ἐν τῷ σώματι παρὰ φύσιν· αἰτίων τε καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ συμπτωμάτων. αἰτίων μὲν οἷον τοῦ πλήθους, ἢ τῆς διαφθορᾶς· νοσημάτων δὲ οἷον τῆς φλεγμονῆς, ἢ τοῦ ἔλκους· συμπτωμάτων δὲ οἷον τῆς ἀχροίας, ἢ τῆς ἰσχνότητος. ἔξωθεν δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμέτρως ἐκκρινόμενα τοῦ σώματος, ἢ παρὰ φύσιν ἐπεχόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αἱ βλάβαι, κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντα προσαγορευόμενα συμπτώματα, γένος δ' οὐχ ἓν ὄντα.<sup>5</sup> διάθεσις μὲν γάρ τίς ἐστὶ σώματος ἢ ἀχροία· τὸ δὲ ἐκκρινόμενον ἢ ἐπεχόμενον ἔπεται μὲν διάθεσιν· διάθεσις<sup>6</sup> δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· | οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια βεβλαμμένη τε καὶ ἀβλαβῆς

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3. In those treatises I go through all [these] things individually—diseases, symptoms and causes. But here two further things are added which those who will practice the therapeutic method must know. I shall then turn to the use of the things discovered. What are these two things I am about to speak of? One is in what way a disease differs from an affection, and the other is that it is impossible to discover the diseases without a knowledge of the elements of the body; that is, those from which it is made in the first place. I shall therefore attempt to go over these things very carefully, and I exhort those who will read about them not to advance to the therapeutic method itself before they search out, one by one, how many diseases there are in all, and then carefully read the things I have written. Now, assuming they have done this, I shall begin my exposition.

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The conditions in the body that are contrary to nature (abnormal) were shown to be three in number: causes, diseases, and symptoms. Examples of causes are excess or destruction; examples of diseases are inflammation or ulceration; and examples of symptoms are pallor or thinness. Apart from these, there are immoderate excretions from the body, or abnormal retentions, or damages of functions. All are commonly called symptoms, but they are not one class. Pallor is a condition of the body, whereas excretion or retention is consequent upon, but is not, a condition. Also the function, whether damaged or undamaged, is not

87K

<sup>5</sup> ὄντα B; ἔχοντα K<sup>6</sup> B, P1, P2; διάθεσις om. K

οὔσα διάθεσις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔπεται δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῇ τοῦ μορίου διαθέσει.

τὸ μὲν οὖν οἴδημα καὶ ἡ φλεγμονὴ τῶν ἀπλῶς ὄντων ἐστὶ, κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος, εἰ τύχοι, τοῦ αἵματος, ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἢ ὠχρότης· ἡ δ' ἐνέργεια τῶν μὲν ἀπλῶς ὄντων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως γε τούτοις ὄντων· οὐδένα γὰρ αὐτῆς χρόνον ὑπομένει τὰ μόρια, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς λέξεως, οὐδ' ὅλως κινήσεως οὐδεμίας, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τούτων ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνει. διττοῦ δ' ὄντος γένους κινήσεως, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τόπον, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ ποιότητα, φορὰ μὲν τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλοίωσις δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὀνομάζεται. πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἐνέργεια κινήσις ἐστὶ δραστική· πᾶσα δ' ἀλλοίωσις κινήσις παθητικὴ τοῦ ἀλλοιουμένου, πάσχει γάρ τι τὸ ἀλλοιούμενον. αἱ τοίνυν διαθέσεις, ἐπειδὴν ἀλλοιοῦνται, κινοῦνται· παυσάμενοι δὲ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι, ἠλλοιώνται μὲν, ἀλλοιοῦνται δ' οὐκ ἔτι. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὁπωσοῦν ἔχον ἐν τινι πάντως ἐστὶ διαθέσει· τὸ δ' ἐν δυσλύτῳ διαθέσει καθ' ἑξῆς | ἡδὴ διάκειται ἀλλοιοῦται μὲν ὁ μελαινώμενος, ἠλλοιώνται δὲ ὁ μελανθεῖς· ὥστ' εἶναι τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν γένεσιν ποιότητος, ἢ διαθέσεως, ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλης ὀνομάζειν. οὐ μάχεται δὲ τὸ λέγειν ἀλλαγὴν εἶναι τοῦ προϋπάρχοντος τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν τῷ λέγειν γένεσιν αὐτὴν εἶναι ποιότητος· ἅμα γὰρ ἄμφω συμπίπτει, καὶ ἡ πρόσθεν ὑπάρχουσα τῷ

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<sup>7</sup> In what follows, "change" rather than "movement" is used to

a condition but a necessary consequence of the condition of the part.

Edema and inflammation are simple entities as, in the same way, are excess of blood or pallor of the body, should they occur. A function, on the other hand, is not a simple entity, or at least it is not like these entities, for the parts of it do not endure for any period of time, just as the parts of speech don't, or any change at all does not. On the contrary, each of these acquires its existence by coming into being. Since there are two classes of change, that in relation to place and that in relation to quality, the former is called "movement" and the latter "alteration."<sup>7</sup> Every function is an active change, while every alteration is a passive change of what is altered insofar as what is altered has something happen to it. Accordingly, conditions, whenever they are altered, undergo change. When they cease being changed, they have been altered, but are no longer still being altered. Now anything that exists in any way whatsoever is always in a certain condition while what is in a condition that is difficult to break down is already fixed in a permanent state. What is *being* made black is being changed, but what has *been* made black has been changed, so that alteration is the creation of a quality, or of a condition, or of whatever else you might wish to call it. To say that alteration is a transformation of what previously existed is not at odds with saying it is the creation of a quality, for both happen at the same time. That is, there is a change

88K

render *κινήσις*. For a succinct discussion of this issue, see J. O. Urmson (1990), pp. 90–91. For the relevant Aristotle references, see *Physics* 200b26ff., and particularly in relation to health and disease, *Metaphysics* 1042a32ff.

σώματι μεταβάλλει,<sup>7</sup> καὶ νῦν ἄλλη γίνεται. τοῦ γούν ἐν ἡλίῳ διατρίψαντος ἀλλοιοῦται μὲν ἢ λευκότης, γεννᾶται δὲ ἢ μελανότης· καὶ τοῦ παρὰ πυρὶ θαλπομένου μεταβάλλει μὲν ἢ ψυχρότης, γίνεται δὲ ἢ θερμότης.

89K ὅταν δὲ τοῦδὲ τινος, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐσία, γένεσιν εἶναι λέγωμεν, οὐ ταῦτόν δηλοῦμεν ἐν τῇ λέξει τῆδε κάπειδαν ἀπλῶς ὀνομάσωμεν γένεσιν ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὀνομαζομένη γένεσις ὁδός ἐστιν εἰς οὐσίαν, ἢ δὲ τοῦδὲ τινος γένεσις, εἰς τὴν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπαρξίν ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν παρέργῳ λελέχθω, ὃ δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα προὔκειτο, σχεδὸν ἤδη διώριστα, τὸ τὰ μὲν ἐν γενέσει τε καὶ μεταβολῇ καὶ ἀλλοιώσει καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐν κινήσει τοῦ εἶναι μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δ' ὑπομένειν τὴν οὐσίαν· ὑγεία μὲν οὖν | καὶ νόσος, ὅσαι τε συμπτωμάτων ἢ αἰτίων εἰσὶ διαθέσεις, ἢ ἕξεις, ὑπομενόντων εἰσὶν· αἱ δ' ἐνέργειαι πᾶσαι καὶ αἱ καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἀλλοιώσεις ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι κέκτηνται, καὶ τὸ καθ' ὅτιοῦν κινούμενον σῶμα κατ' ἐκείνο πάσχει, καὶ ἡ κίνησις αὐτοῦ πάθος ἐστίν.

οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀπάσας κινήσεις, ὅσαι γε μὴ δραστικάι, πάθη προσ-αγορεύουσιν, ὡσπερ οὖν ἐνεργείας τὰς δραστικάς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὰς τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὰς ἀλλοιώσεις ὁ Πλάτων ὀνομάζει πάθη· τοῖς νεωτέροις δ' οὐκ οἶδ'

<sup>7</sup> B (cf. mutatur KLat), *recte conj.* Hankinson; μεταβολή K, P1, P2

in what previously existed in the body and now it becomes different. Thus, the whiteness of someone who spends time in the sun alters and blackness is generated. In like manner, the coldness of someone who is warmed by a fire changes and warmth occurs.

Whenever we speak of the generation of this something that is not a substance, we do not signify the same thing with this locution as when we simply use the term "generation." For what is called generation simply is a path to substance whereas the generation of something is, you might say, [the path] to the existence of that thing. But I speak of this by way of an aside. What is particularly proposed in my argument, and is already all but defined, is that some things partake of existence in generation, mutation, and alteration and, to speak generally, in change, but there are others whose substance remains. Health and disease, and those symptoms and causes that are conditions or states, are among those things that persist. However, all functions and alterations of any kind whatsoever have acquired their existence in generation, and the body that is changed in any respect whatsoever is affected in relation to that, and the change is an affection of it.

The ancients called all changes that were in the category of "according to nature" affections, at least those that were not active, just as they called the active ones functions. In this way too, Plato called the actual changes of the sense perceptions affections.<sup>8</sup> For the moderns it seems

<sup>8</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 61d–66c.

ὅπως δόξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς παρὰ φύσιν μόνης κινήσεως κέεται τοῦνομα. ἰδίως μὲν οὖν τὸ πάθος ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἔξωθεν κινήσεως ἐλέγετο παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἤδη δὲ καταχρώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐκ πάθους μὲν γεγενημένας τῶν διαθέσεων, οὐκέτι δ' ἐν κινήσει, πάθη προσαγορεύουσιν· οὐ μὴν χρονιώτερον γε οὐδὲ δυσλυτώτερον ἢ διάθεσις τῆς ἕξεως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ ἀρρωστία· ἀλλ' αἰ τοιαῦται νομοθεσίαι τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἐπεισῆχθησαν.

90K εἴρηται δὲ ἐπιπλέον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐτέρωθι, | καὶ νῦν οὐ τοῦτο πρόκειται σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς χρῆσόμεθα, διελέσθαι μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξε σαφηνείας ἕνεκα. τὴν γὰρ ἐναντίαν ὑγείᾳ διάθεσιν, ὑφ' ἧς ἐνέργειαν λέγομεν βλάβεσθαι, νόσημα μόνον προσαγορεύομεν, εἴτε πολυχρόνιος, εἴτε ὀλιγοχρόνιος, εἴτ' ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ γίγνεται· τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς προηγούμενας τούτων ἐν αἰτίας λόγῳ διαθέσεις παρὰ φύσιν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, αἰτίας, οὐ πάθη· τὰ δ' ἐπόμενα ταύταις, ὅσα μὲν ἐνεργειῶν εἰσι βλάβαι, συμπτώματα τε καὶ πάθη, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμέτρους ἐκκρίσεις ἢ ἐπισχέσεις· ὅσαι δὲ διαθέσεις, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἀχροια, πρὸς τῷ τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ τοῦ συμπτώματος ὀνόματι διαθέσεις ὀνομάζομεν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ εἰσι. κοινὸν μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων τὸ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων καὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων· ἴδιον δὲ τῶν μὲν νοσημάτων τὸ

(and I don't know how) the term is to be found in the case of change contrary to nature only. "Affection" was used specifically by the ancients in respect of every change from without, but now [the moderns] misuse [the term] and call those conditions that arise from an affection but are no longer in a state of change, affections, whereas, in fact, the condition is neither more enduring nor more difficult of resolution than the state, just as weakness is not. But such rules of terminology have been introduced by the moderns.

More has been said about medical terminology elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> It is not proposed to consider this now, but rather how I shall use it, distinguishing only what seems necessary for the sake of clarity. I apply [the term] "disease" only to the condition that is opposite to health, by which I mean the function is damaged, whether it (i.e. the disease) is of long or short duration, or momentary. All other conditions contrary to nature that precede this and have the ground of cause, I term causes alone and not affections. I call those things that follow these causes, when they are damages of functions, symptoms and affections in the same way as I do disproportionate excretions and retentions. Some conditions, like pallor, I do call conditions but, in addition, I give them the name of affection or symptom because that is what they are. What is common to all of these, and this includes causes, diseases, and symptoms, is that they are contrary to nature. What is specific to diseases is the dam-

90K

<sup>9</sup> The recurring reference to Galen's work on medical terminology is the *De nominibus medicis*, translated from the Arabic text by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht (1931). There is also the pseudo-Galenic *Definitones medicae*, XIX.346-462K.

91K βλάπτειν ἐνέργειαν, τῶν δὲ συμπτωμάτων τὸ τούτοις ἐπεσθαι, τῶν δὲ αἰτίων τὸ προηγέσθαι. οὐτ' οὖν ὅστις κίνησιν εἶπε παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν νόσον οἶδεν ὁ λέγει, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ διήλθομεν ἐνίους τῶν | Μεθοδικῶν οὕτως ἀφορίσασθαι προσθέντας ἐκ περιπτοῦ τὸ ἐπίμονον· οὐδ' ὅστις τροπὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον αἰτίας, ἢ νοσήματος, ἢ συμπτώματος ὁ λόγος· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα διαθέσεις εἰσι παρὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὀλιγοχρόνια, δῆλον ὡς ὀξέα, εἰ δ' ἀ<sup>8</sup> δύσλυτα, χρόνια. διοίσει δ' οὐδὲν ἢ νόσον, ἢ νόσημα λέγειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πάθος, ἢ πάθημα.

καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅτι τὸ πάθους ὄνομα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ νοσήματος ἐπιφέρουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἐπιδέδεικται καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει λέγειν ἀρρωστίαν ἢ ἀρρώστημα καὶ μὲν γε καὶ ὡς τοὺς νοσοῦντας αὐτοὺς οὐ νοσοῦντας μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρρωστοῦντας καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ κάμνοντας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπιδέδεικται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δι' ἐκείνων τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. λοιπὸν δ' ἂν εἴη νῦν, οὐπερ ἔνεκα ταῦτ' εἴρηται πάντα, προσθέντας ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἐξῆς ἢ δὴ 92K μετιέναι. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; οὐκ | ἄλλο τοῦ πολλάκις ἢ δὴ καὶ πρόσθεν εἰρημένου, τοῦ πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο σπουδάζειν τοὺς ἰατρούς, καὶ τοῦτο σχεδὸν αὐτῶν ἔργον ὑπάρχειν ἴδιον, ἐκκόπτειν τὰς νόσους·

<sup>8</sup> B; δέ (αὐτῶν) K

age to function; what is specific to symptoms is that they follow diseases; what is specific to causes is that they precede diseases. Anyone who says that disease is change contrary to nature doesn't know what he is talking about, just like some of the Methodics I considered in the previous 91K book, i.e. those who make the definition by the superfluous addition of "persisting." The same applies to someone [who says disease is] "a change from what accords with nature to what is contrary to nature," for that statement is no more a definition of a disease than it is of a cause or a symptom, for all these are conditions contrary to nature. If they are of short duration, clearly they are acute, and if in turn they are difficult of resolution, they are chronic. It will make no difference whether you say disease (*nosos*) or disease (*nosema*), just as it does not if you say affection (*pathos*) or affection (*pathema*).

Furthermore, it has been shown in my treatise *On Medical Terms* that the ancients applied the term "affection" (*pathos*) to disease, just as they did to debility and weakness, and that it makes no difference to say debility (*arrōstia*) or debility (*arrōstema*). Moreover, that these men not only called those who were diseased, "diseased," but also "debilitated," "weak," and "suffering" was pointed out in those treatises. What remains [for me] to add now is the purpose for which I have said all these things. Then I shall proceed, in order, to what follows. What is this? It is nothing other than what has often already been said previously—that the primary and most important endeavor for doctors, and this is to all intents and purposes their specific function, is to eradicate diseases. As soon as this is done, 92K

εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τούτῳ καὶ ἡ βλάβη τῆς ἐνεργείας οἴχεται, καὶ τᾶλλα συμπτώματα πάντα συναναερείται. χρῆζουσι μὲν γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρώτης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας, δι' ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑγείας· καὶ ἀποθέσθαι γε βούλονται τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν νόσον.

οὐ μὴν τῇ γε βλάβῃ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἀλλὰ τῇ νόσῳ προσφέρουσι τὰ βοηθήματα, τουτέστι τῇ παρὰ φύσιν διαθέσει τῇ βλαπτούσῃ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. ὅστις οὖν οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτῶν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς μορίοις τὰ τ' ἄλλως συμβεβηκότα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας αἷτια διορίσαι, πῶς τούτου εἰκὸς ἐξευρεῖν τὴν διάθεσιν ὑφ' ἧς πρώτως ἡ ἐνέργεια βλάπτεται; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως συμβεβηκότα τοῖς σώμασι, κἂν μυριάκις ἀλλοιωθῆῃ, βλάπτειν τὴν ἐνέργειαν οὐ δύναται,<sup>9</sup> ἕως ἂν ὑφ' ὧν ἐγίγνετο κατὰ φύσιν ἔχη πάντα· τούτων δ' εἰπέρι τι κἂν ἐν ἀλλοιωθῇ, βλαβῆναι τὴν ἐνέργειαν εὐθὺς | ἀναγκαῖον εἰς τοσοῦτον εἰς ὅσον περ καὶ ὠφελείται κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντος.

93K

4. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν εἶρηται τὸ πᾶν, καὶ δέδεικται σαφῶς ἤδη τοῖς γε δυναμένοις ἐπεσθαι λόγοις ἀληθέσι, ὡς οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ ὀπόσα τὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ νοσήματα, μεθόδῳ περιλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις εἰδείῃ ὀπόσα τὰ πάντ' ἐστὶν ὑπάρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντι τῷ σώματι τῆς ἐνεργείας αἷτια· μανθάνειν δ' οὕτω δυνατόν ἐστι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, ὅσοι σκαιότεροί τε εἰσι καὶ ἀργοὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ τοῖς τῆς Μεθοδικῆς αἰρέσεως λήροις ἐνετράφησαν. αὐθις οὖν κάκεινοις, ὃ καθόλου νῦν

with it the damage to function is gone, and all the other symptoms are completely eradicated. For what all people need first and foremost is function that is in accord with nature, and through that, health. What they wish for is removal of damage to function, and through that, disease.

It isn't to the damage of function but to the disease that they apply remedies, which is to say, to the abnormal condition damaging function. Therefore, if someone does not know to make a distinction, among those things that are normal for the parts, between those that are random and contingent and that are causes of function, how is this person likely to discover the condition due to which function is primarily damaged? For those things that are random and contingent in bodies, even if they are altered ten thousand times, are not able to damage function whenever all those things from which they arise are in accord with nature. But if even one of these is altered, the function is, of necessity, immediately damaged to the same degree as it is benefited when it is in accord with nature.

93K

4. I have, then, said everything, and have already clearly shown, at least to those who are capable of following true arguments, that it is impossible for someone to comprehend by method how many diseases there are altogether if he does not know how many causes of function there are in all in a body that is in accord with nature. It is not at all possible for those who are rather stupid and lazy, or those reared on the nonsenses of the Methodic sect, to understand any of those things spoken of. Therefore, let me now go over once more, point by point, for the sake of

<sup>9</sup> B, P1, P2; δύναται K



εἴρηται τοῖς συνετοῖς, ἐπέλθωμεν κατὰ μέρος, ἐν τι καὶ δευτέρον οἶον παράδειγματα τῷ λόγῳ προχειρισάμενοι.

94K διὰ τί γὰρ ἡ γλώττα τῶν χυμῶν αἰσθάνεται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μορίων οὐδέν; ἀρά γε διὰ χροάν, ἢ διὰ τὴν θέσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἢ διὰ τὸ σχῆμα; πασχούσης γὰρ αὐτῆς, οἶμαι, καὶ μηκέτ' αἰσθανομένης τῶν χυμῶν ἦτοι τὴν χροάν ἐπανάζομεν εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, εἰ κατὰ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων, εἰ κατ' ἐκείνο. | καὶ εἰ κατ' ἄλλο δέ τι παρὰ ταῦτα, δῆλον ὡς κατ' ἐκείνο μόνον, εἴπερ ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπανάγοιμεν εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔτι δεησόμεθα. φέρε γὰρ ὅτι πυκνὴ τοῖς πόροις ἐστὶν εἰς τοσόνδε, διὰ ταῦτ' αὐτὴν αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν χυμῶν. ἀρ' οὐ τὴν ἐκείνων συμμετρίαν μὲν, ὅπόθ' ὑγιαίνουσι, φυλάζομεν, τὴν ἀμετρίαν δ' αὐτῆς ὅποτε νοσοῦσιν, ἐπανορθωσόμεθα; φέρε δ' εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, διότι συμμετρῶς ἔχει θερμότητα,<sup>10</sup> αἰσθητικὴν εἶναι τὴν γλώτταν τῶν χυμῶν. ἀρ' οὐ κἀνταῦθα πρόδηλον ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀμελήσαντες, ἐκείνο φυλάζομεν αὐτῆς μόνον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐκέκτητο; φέρε δ' εἰ ξηρότητός τε καὶ ὑγρότητος ᾧδέ πως ἔχουσα, διὰ τοῦτ' αἰσθάνοιτο, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀποβλέψει μόνον αὐτῆς, ὅπως μήτ' ὑγροτέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἔσται μήτε ξηροτέρα, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴπερ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐξ ἐτοίμου συνελογίσαστο δύο εἶναι τὰ πάντα τῆς γλώσσης νοσήματα, τὸ μὲν ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ ξηρόν; ὡσπερ αὖ καὶ εἰ θερμότητι καὶ

those people who are intelligent what has been said in general, and provide one or two examples for the argument.

Why does the tongue perceive flavors while other parts do not? Is it because of its color, position, size or form? In my view, when it is affected and no longer perceives the flavors, we shall either restore the color to normal, if the function is dependent on this, or each one of the other things mentioned, if it is dependent on them. If, however, 94K it is something else apart from these, it is clear that, in that one thing alone, if we were to restore it to normal, we would no longer have need of the others. Suppose the reason that it perceives flavors is because its pores have a certain density. Shall we not preserve the due proportion of these when they are healthy, and, on the other hand, rectify the disproportion when they are sick? Or suppose, if it should happen so, that the tongue perceives flavors because it has the right proportion of heat. Is it not quite clear here that, neglecting all the other [factors], we shall preserve only that feature of it from which it had acquired the function? Or suppose, somehow, there is [a balance] of dryness and moisture and that the tongue perceives because of this. Should someone not pay attention to this alone, that is, how it will be neither moister nor drier than it should be, neglecting all other things? And who will not, if this is true, readily deduce that all the diseases of the tongue are two in number, one moist and one dry? Likewise, too, if the tongue should have perception due to a

<sup>10</sup> B, P1, P2; θερμότητος K

95K ψυχρότητι συμμέτρῳ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχοι, τίς οὐκ ἂν  
 κἀνταῦθα δύο εἶναι τὰ νοσήματα αὐτῆς ἐνόησεν, ἀμε-  
 τρίας θερμότητός τε καὶ ψύξεως; ἴσπερ εἰ καὶ τῆ τῶν  
 πόρων συμμετρία τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκέκτητο, πρόχειρον  
 ἦν δῆπου κἀνταῦθα λογίσασθαι πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμε-  
 τρίας αὐτὴν βλαβήσεσθαι, διττὴν δὲ ταύτην ἔσεσθαι,  
 πύκνωσίν τε καὶ μάνωσιν τῶν πόρων. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι λέγω  
 πολλὰ τοὺς ἀναισθήτους ἐπάγων, εἰ καὶ μηδ' ἄλλο,  
 τοῦτο γοῦν ἐνοῆσαι, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τι μῆθ' εὐρέιν  
 μήτ' ἀποδείξαι τὸ πλήθος τῶν νοσημάτων, ἄνευ τοῦ  
 γινῶναι, τίνα μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς μορίοις αἷτια  
 τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐστί, τίνα δ' ἄλλως τούτοις συμβέβη-  
 κεν; ἢ καὶ δευτέρον τι καὶ τρίτον ἔτι παράδειγμα  
 προχειρίσομαι; πολλάκις γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν  
 τιτρώσκονται τῶν ἀνοήτων αἱ ψυχαί.

φέρει τοίνυν αὐθις ὡδί πως αὐτοὺς ἐρωτήσωμεν. ἄρ'  
 αἰσθάνεται τὸ σῶμα θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν, καὶ σκλη-  
 ρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν, καὶ λείων καὶ τραχέων, καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 ἀπάντων τῶν ἀπτῶν, ὅτι λευκὸν τὴν χροῶν ἐστί, ἢ ὅτι  
 μέλαν, ἢ ὅτι πυρρόν, ἢ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦνδε τὴν  
 96K χροῶν ἢ κατ' οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων, δι' ἄλλο δέ τι;  
 πρόδηλον γὰρ οἶμαι παντί, τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτῷ ἢ χρῆ-  
 ναι μόνον ἐκείνῳ τῷ μέλλοντί<sup>11</sup> γε αἰσθήσεσθαι κα-  
 λῶς, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐκέκτητο μόνον τὸ καλῶς αἰσθάνεσθαι.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ λευκοῦ εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐκέκτητο, περὶ  
 παντὸς ἐχρῆν ποιείσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν τοῦτο καὶ φεύ-  
 γειν τὸ μέλαν· εἰ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐκ τοῦ μέλαν ὑπάρχειν ἦν  
 αἰσθητικόν, ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐχρῆν, οἶμαι, καὶ δεδιέναι

balance of hot and cold, who would not, in this case, think  
 there are here also two diseases of the tongue, a dispropor-  
 tion of heat and a disproportion of cold? Similarly, if it had  
 95K acquired perception through a balance of pores, it is pre-  
 sumably easy to reason here that it will be especially dam-  
 aged by an imbalance, and that there will be two forms of  
 this—a constriction and a dilatation of the pores. Must I  
 say much more to persuade the foolish, so that, even if  
 nothing else, they at least understand that it is not possible  
 either to discover or to demonstrate the number of dis-  
 eases without knowing which of the things existing in the  
 parts are causes of function and which are otherwise con-  
 tingent? Shall I provide a second, and even a third exam-  
 ple, for often the minds of the foolish are harmed by the  
 sheer number of them?

Well then, let me put the question to them again in this  
 way. Does the body perceive hot and cold, hard and soft,  
 smooth and rough, and, in general, all things touched, be-  
 cause it is white in color, or black, or red, or to speak gener-  
 ally, some sort of color, or is it none of these things but  
 something else? It is clear to everyone, I think, that it is  
 necessary to preserve in that person who is going to per-  
 96K ceive properly only that from which proper perception is  
 acquired because, if this had been acquired from being  
 white, one ought to make it of the utmost importance to  
 preserve this and to get rid of black. But if, on the other  
 hand again, perception is from black, it is necessary, I

<sup>11</sup> B; τῷ om. K

τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας χροῶς· οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰ διότι ξανθὸν ἢ πυρρὸν ἔστι, διὰ τοῦτ' αἰσθάνοιτο, φευκτέον ἔστιν, οἶμαι, τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας χροῶς, ὡς ἀναισθησίας ἢ δυσαισθησίας ἀπεργαστικὰς.

καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ τῷ σκληρὸν εἶναι τὴν αἴσθησιν εἶχε, τῷ μαλακὸν γενέσθαι βλαβήσεται· καὶ εἰ τῷ πυκνὸν εἶναι, τῷ μαρὸν ἀπεργασθῆναι· καὶ εἰ συμμετρία πόρων ἦσθάνετο, πρὸς τῆς ἀμετρίας δῆπου βλαβήσεται· καὶ καθόλου τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον ὑπάρχειν χρῆ πρὸς τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν αἴσθησιν εἶχε, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπανορθοῦσθαι μόνον, ἐπειδὴν ἐξίσταται τῆς φύσεως, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν αἴσθησιν βλάπτεται. ἄρ' οὖν δεήσει τρίτου παραδείγματος, ἢ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανά· τοῖς μὲν συνετοῖς, οἶμαι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔστι περιττά, τὸ καθόλου συνιέναι δυναμένοις ἄνευ τῶν παραδειγμάτων, |  
97K ἀμαθέσι δὲ καὶ σκαιοῖς καὶ φιλονείκοις, ἴσως οὐδ' εἰ τρίτον προστεθείη παράδειγμα, πλεον οὐδέν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ περ εἴρηται δύο, καὶ κατατρίβουσιν αἰ μάτην ἡμῶν τὸν χρόνον, εἴη ἂν καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔτι προσθεῖναι παράδειγμα. καὶ δὴ καὶ προβεβλήσθω μὲν ὅπως ἀπεπτοῦσαν ἐπανορθωσόμεθα γαστέρα· τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ πρὸς τοὺς Μεθοδικούς ἔτι μόνους, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιησόμεθα τῶν Λογικῶν οἱ νομίζουσι μεθόδῳ τινὶ δύνασθαι καὶ λόγῳ τὴν τέχνην συστήσασθαι χωρὶς τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἣν δὴ καὶ προσεχῆ καλεῖν εἰώθασιν.

ἔστω δὴ τίνα λέγειν, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρόχειρον ἐχόν-

think, to shun and fear all the other colors. In a similar manner also, if it is because of yellow or red that there is perception, all these other colors must be avoided, I think, as being what create anesthesia or dysesthesia.

And further, if it is through being hard that [a body] has perception, by it becoming soft perception will be damaged, and if it is through being constricted, perception [will be damaged] by its being dilated. And if it perceives through a balance of pores, it will presumably be harmed by an imbalance of pores. In general, there is that which alone is necessary for perception and from which there is perception, and it is only this that must be restored whenever it departs from nature, due to which perception is harmed. Will there be need for a third example, or is this enough? To those who are intelligent, I think, even these [examples] are superfluous as they are able to understand the whole matter without examples. But for those who are ignorant, foolish, and argumentative, perhaps they would be no better off even if a third example were to be added. But all the same, since in fact two examples have been mentioned, and they constantly waste my time in vain, it would not be unreasonable now to add one more example for them. Let me raise [the question] of how we shall restore a stomach that is not digesting. I advance the argument not for the Methodics alone, but also for those of the Rationalists who think they are able, by some method and theory, to bring together the art without a knowledge of the primary cause of the function which they are, in fact, accustomed to call [the] proximate [cause].

And indeed, let one of them speak, for it is better to be-

97K

των τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἄρξασθαι βέλτιον, ἢ ἐπαγάγωμεν αὐτούς, εἰ οἶόν τε, κατὰ βραχὺ πρὸς τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀμυδροτέρων αἰσθάνεσθαι λέγειν οὖν ὑποκείσθω τινα διότι πολλαῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις ὅδε τις ἄνθρωπος ὁ νῦν ἀπεπτῶν, ἐπὶ γάλακτος μόνου διατηθεῖς, ἠλλοίωσε τὸ τῆς γαστρὸς χρῶμα, καὶ λευκὸν ἐποίησεν ἀντ' ἐρυθροῦ, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ βεβλάφθαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν· οἰμαί σε γελᾶν ἤδη, καὶ δικαίως γελᾶν· ἀλλ' εἴπερ |  
 98K εἰδείης, ὡς ἴσον ἐστὶ καὶ τούτῳ περὶ χρωμάτων εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὖν ἄνευ τοῦ προσθεῖναι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ σοὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν πόρων, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, συμμετρίας, ἢ ἄλλης ἡστινοσοῦν διαθέσεως, οὐκ οἰμαί σε γελάσειν εὐλόγως· ἢ γὰρ καπὶ σαυτῷ τὸν γέλωτα κίνησον, ἢ μηδ' ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ. ἔστω γὰρ ἰταμόν εἶναι τὸν τὸ χρῶμα τῆς γαστρὸς αἰτιώμενον τοῦ μὴ πέττειν καλῶς καὶ φάσκειν ὡς ἐπειδὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσα, τὴν χροῖαν ἐνερευθῆς ἐστὶ, νῦν δ' ἀπειργάσθη λευκὴ ἀκριβῶς, διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπεπτῆσειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτήν, ἠδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμί σου τὴν πρὸς τούτον ἀντιλογίαν· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι δύναμαι τρόπον ἕτερον αὐτῆς, ἄνευ τοῦ κελεύσαι τῷ ταῦτ' εἰπόντι δεῖξαι πρότερον, εἰ διὰ τὴν χροῖαν ὅλως ἐνεργεῖ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ γαστήρ· σὺ δὲ εἴπερ ἔχεις, ἠδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμί σου. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔχεις οὔθ' ἔξεις εἰπεῖν ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον ἀντιλογίας πρὸς τὸν τὴν χροῖαν αἰτιώμενον τῆς ἀπεψίας ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν πρόκλησιν τοῦ δεῖξαι πῶς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν χρώματος ἢ γαστήρ εἶχε τὸ πέττειν.

εἴτ' ἐκείνος μὲν οὐ πιστευθήσεται τὴν χροῖαν αἰτιώ-

gin from those who have absurdity ready to hand so that we might lead them, if at all possible, little by little to an awareness of more obscure matters. Assume, then, he says that this particular person, who has been fed for many days in succession with milk alone, is now unable to digest because the color of the stomach is changed and made white instead of red, and that is why the function is damaged in it. I think you would immediately laugh—and you would laugh rightly. But if you realize that there is an equivalence between this man saying anything whatsoever about colors without adding the [required] demonstration and you saying something about the balance of the pores, if it happened to be so, or about any other condition whatsoever, I don't think it would be reasonable for you to laugh. Either direct the laughter at yourself, or at least not at another. Suppose the person who imputes the failure of proper digestion to the color of the stomach is headstrong, and says that when it is normal its color is somewhat red whereas now that it has been made completely white, because of this it will, of necessity, be unable to digest, I would be happy to hear you refuting him. For I cannot think of any other way of refutation apart from bidding the one who says this to show first that it is entirely because of color that the stomach functions normally. If you really could do this, I would gladly listen to you. But you do not and will not have any other method of refutation to offer to someone who attributes the failure of digestion to its color, apart from challenging him to show how the stomach does digest because its color is normal.

If that man will not be believed when he imputes the

99K μενος τῆς ἀπεψίας, πρὶν δεῖξαι κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐνεργοῦσαν ἢ  
 αὐτήν, σὺ δ' ἤτοι τὴν ἀμετρίαν λέγων τῶν πόρων ἢ  
 ὁτιοῦν ἄλλο πιστευθήσῃ πρὸ τοῦ δεῖξαι πῶς ἐνεργεῖ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ γένει συμμετρίαν; Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ  
 τοῦτο λέγω, φησὶν, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τὸ προσεχὲς τῆς  
 πέψεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶ. καὶ μὴν εἰ  
 τῷ μὲν τὴν χροῖαν αἰτιωμένῳ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀναγκαῖον  
 ἔστι καὶ τῆς βλάβης αἰτιῶσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὴν συμμετρίαν  
 τῶν πόρων, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων  
 πόρων καὶ τῷ τὴν εὐκрасίαν τῶν τεττάρων ποιότη-  
 των, θερμότητος καὶ ψυχρότητος καὶ ὑγρότητος καὶ  
 ξηρότητος, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν δυσκрасίαν τῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται καὶ σοὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὑποθεμένῳ  
 πρότερον, οὕτως ἐξευρεῖν τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 γινώσκεις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν οἶσθα·  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούω λεγόντων πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἐμπειρικοὺς ἰατροὺς ὡς οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γνῶναι τὸ  
 παρὰ φύσιν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον εἰδέη τις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν.  
 100K Ἄλλὰ γινώσκω, φησί, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν· ἀρὰ γε σύμ-  
 παν, ἢ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἢ τι; καὶ τουτὶ τὸ μέρος ὃ γινώσκεις  
 ἀρὰ γε τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἢ ἄλλως ὑπ-  
 ἄρχει τῇ γαστρὶ; τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ γινώσκεις; αὐτῆς  
 θέσειν δηλαδὴ καὶ μέγεθος καὶ πλοκὴν καὶ διάπλασιν·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἔστι τῆς ἐνεργείας αἴτιον.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγνοεῖται τι τούτων τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς,  
 ὁμολογοῦσίν τε γὰρ χρῆσθαι τῇ κατὰ περίπτωσιν  
 ἀνατομῇ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐξ ἐκείνης μαθάνειν, οὐ μὴν ἐνε-  
 ρείας τε καὶ χρείας μορίων. Ἄλλ' οἶδά, φησι, καὶ τὴν

failure of digestion (apepsia) to the color until he shows  
 that digestion functions due to color, will you really be be- 99K  
 lieved when you say it is the imbalance of the pores, or  
 whatever else, before you show how it functions due to bal-  
 ance in that class? "But I don't assert this," he says, "or that  
 anything else is the proximate cause of digestion; I confess  
 that I am completely ignorant." And further, if it is neces-  
 sary for the one who imputes the function to the color to  
 also impute the damage [to color], it is also necessary for  
 the one who [imputes function] to the balance of the pores  
 to do the same with regard to imbalance of these same  
 pores, and for someone [who imputes function] to an  
*eukrasia* of the four qualities—hot, cold, moist and dry—  
 to do the same with respect to a *dyskrasia* of these. It will  
 be necessary also for you to propose what is normal first,  
 and in this way discover what is abnormal. For if you don't  
 know what is normal then neither do you know what is ab-  
 normal. Furthermore, I hear you yourself saying to the  
 Empiric doctors that it is impossible to know what is ab-  
 normal without first knowing what is normal. "But I do  
 know," he says, "what is normal." Do you in fact know it all  
 or just some part of it? And is the part you do know in fact 100K  
 the cause of function, or is it something else in the stom-  
 ach? For what, indeed, do you know? You know, of course,  
 its position, size, structure and conformation. But none of  
 these things is a cause of function.

However, none of these things is unknown to the Em-  
 pirics, for they acknowledge that they use the anatomy that  
 pertains to experience and they learn these things from  
 that, but not the functions and the uses of the parts. "But,"  
 he says, "I know the function too. It is a wrapping around

ἐνέργειαν ἔστι γὰρ περιστολή καὶ τρίψις. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδέειν αὐτῆς, οὐκ εἴσῃ τὴν νόσον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ εὐκράσια τῶν τεττάρων ποιότητων αἰτία τῆς ἐνεργείας ἔστιν, ἡ δυκράσια πάντως τῆς βλάβης αἰτία ἔσται σὺ δ' οἶε φλεγμονὴν καὶ σκίρρον, οἴδημά τε καὶ ἀπόστημα, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔστι, μόνα τῆς γαστρὸς εἶναι παθήματα· καίτοι γ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ὁμοίως ὀφθαλμοῖς μόνοις καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι καταμανθάνεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν ἀνέρχεσθαι πειρᾶ, καὶ ταύτην ἐξευρίσκειν ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τοῖς φαινομένοις αἰσθήσει συμπτώμασιν, ἀ τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ὀρίζει τε καὶ περιγράφει τὴν συνδρομὴν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀξιούσιν ὀνομάζειν αὐτοὶ τὸ τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἄθροισμα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ πεπονητότι τόπῳ. καὶ τὴν ἐνδειξίν γε τῆς θεραπείας οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων λαμβάνεις συμπτωμάτων· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ παρὰ φύσιν ὄγκος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀντίτυπος, οὐδ' εἰ ὀδυνηρός, οὐδ' εἰ ἐρυθρός, ἀλλ' εἰ σφήνωσις ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τῶν ἀρτηριῶν ἐπὶ παρεμπτόσει σκοπεῖς καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀναφέρων ἐξευρίσκει. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Ἐρασιστράτου τρόπος τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πυρετῶν, ὥσπερ αὖ Διοκλέους μὲν ἕτερος, Πραξαγόρου δ' ἄλλος, Ἀσκληπιάδου δ' ἄλλος; ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸ φλεγμαῖνον μέρος φαινομένων

<sup>10</sup> This is a term with several different (but related) meanings, one of which has a particular theoretical significance for Erasistratus;

and a rubbing." Well, if you don't know the cause of this function, you don't know the disease. For if the *eukrasia* of the four qualities is a cause of function, the *dyskrasia* will undoubtedly be a cause of damage. You, however, think that inflammation, induration, edema, abscess and other such things that are visible to the eyes are the only affections of the stomach. Nevertheless, you don't only observe closely those things with the eyes, hands, and other senses, like the Empirics, but you try also to get to their substance and discover it precisely. Nor are you satisfied with the symptoms apparent to perception which, for the Empirics, define and determine the "syndrome," for so they see fit to name the collection of symptoms existing in the affected place. And you don't take the indication for treatment from the apparent symptoms. You don't consider whether the swelling is unnatural, hard, painful or red, but whether there is obstruction at the ends of the arteries due to paremptosis,<sup>10</sup> and you discover the therapy, as you yourself say, by referring to this. Is this not the way of teaching of Erasistratus in [his work] *On Fevers*, just as Diocles had another again, Praxagoras another, and Asclepiades yet another?<sup>11</sup> Thus, the indication for remedies was not, for

101K

tratus; see the Introduction, Section 6, on terminology. See also the pseudo-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus*, XIV.777K, where the meaning is probably similar to that intended here—in effect, arterial embolism.

<sup>11</sup> None of the works of these writers is extant, although each has a relatively recent study or collection of fragments: for Erasistratus, I. Garofalo (1988); for Diocles of Carystus, P. J. van der Eijk (2000); for Praxagoras, F. Steckerl (1958); and for Asclepiades, J. Vallance (1990).

συμπτωμάτων ἢ ἔνδειξις αὐτοῖς γίνεται τῶν βοηθημάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ εἰ παρὰ φύσιν ὄγκος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀντίτυπος, οὐδ' εἰ πόνος σφυγμώδης, ἀλλ' εἰ παρέμπτωσις τε καὶ σφῆνωσις ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν ἀρτηριῶν, ἢ ἔμφραξις ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τῶν φλεβῶν, ἢ σῆψίς τις τῶν χυμῶν, ἢ λόγῳ θεωρητῶν ὄγκων ἔντασις, ἐν λόγῳ θεωρητοῖς ἀραιώμασιν ἐπισκοποῦνται.

102K ὥστε ἕκαστος | τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ φλεγμαίνοντος μέρους, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῇ συμπτωμάτων ἔνδειξιν τῶν βοηθημάτων λαμβάνει. κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ ὅστις αἰτιάται τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν· ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν εἰ καὶ χωρὶς φλεγμονῆς, ἢ ἔλκουσ, ἢ ἀποστήματος, ἢ τινος ἐτέρου τοιούτου, μόνῳ τῷ ψυχροτέρῳ<sup>12</sup> γεγονέαι μὴ πέπτοι καλῶς ἢ γαστήρ, εὐπορεῖ τῶν βοηθημάτων· οἱ δὲ τὰς φλεγμονὰς καὶ τοὺς σκίρρους καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔστι θεάσασθαι μόνα νομίζοντες εἶναι νοσήματα, γελοίως πάνυ τὰς χωρὶς τούτων ἀπεψίας ἀτονίᾳ τῆς κοιλίας γίνεσθαι φασιν, ὥσπερ διάθεσιν τινα λέγοντες τὴν ἀτονίαν ἰδίαν ἐξαίρετον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἐκπύσκομένοις τε καὶ σκιρρουμένοις καὶ φλεγμαίνουσι καὶ ἄλλως ὀπωσοῦν πεπονθόσιν ὑπάρχειν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη, κἂν ἐν γαστρὶ κἂν ἐν ἥπατι κἂν ἐν θώρακι κἂν ἐν ὄψωδῆποτε γένηται, παραχρῆμα τὸ μέρος ἀτονώτερον ἐργάζεται περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν.

these men, on the basis of the apparent symptoms relating to the inflamed part, but on the basis of the substance itself. For they did not consider whether a swelling was unnatural, or hard, or pulsating painfully, but whether there was paremptosis or obstruction in the ends of the arteries, or a blockage at the limits of the veins, or putrefaction of the humors, or stasis of the theoretical particles in the theoretical pores, both identified by reason.

So each of these men takes the indication for remedies from the aspects of the condition of the inflamed part, and not from the symptoms that follow the condition. I think anyone who attributes the cause to heat, cold, moisture, or dryness does so in the very same way. For if the stomach does not digest properly in the absence of inflammation, ulcer, abscess, or any other such thing, but only because it has become colder, he will have plenty of remedies. Those who think that only such things as inflammations, indurations, and the other similar things that are visible to the eyes are diseases, say quite absurdly that, apart from these, failure of digestion (apepsia) occurs due to weakness (atonia) of the stomach,<sup>12</sup> as if saying that atonia is some specific and removable condition, and not what exists in things that are suppurating, indurated, inflamed or otherwise affected in some way. For all these affections that occur in the stomach, liver, thorax, or wherever else, immediately make the part weaker in terms of its specific

<sup>12</sup> There is variation in the terminology for the stomach. Galen here uses *gaster* in the first instance and *koilika* in the second. Sometimes the latter is clearly used to refer to the abdomen generally.

<sup>12</sup> B; ψυχρό K

103K ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν αὐταρκες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν  
βοηθημάτων ἐνδειξιν, ἢ μάτην ζητοῦσι τὰς διαθέσεις, |  
ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνέρχονται τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ νοσήματος,  
ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν ἄλλως εὐπορῆσαι τῆς προσηκούσης  
ιάσεως.

οὐκουν ἔτι τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναμένουσιν, ἀλλ'  
αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐξελέγχουσιν οἱ τὴν ἀτονίαν εἶναι  
λέγοντες τὸ πάθος, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ὦν ἐκείνοι παθῶν  
ὠρίσαντο πεπονθυίας τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπεπτέει τὸ ζῶον.  
οὔτε γὰρ ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ἀπάντων λέγουσι, καὶ τὴν  
θεραπείαν οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους δυνάμενον ἐνδεί-  
ξασθαι εὐλόγως. ὄνομα γάρ ἐστι ψιλὸν τὸ ῥωννύνα  
τὴν ἀτονίαν, καὶ οἶον σκοπὸς μᾶλλον, οὐ θεραπεία. τί  
γὰρ χρὴ ποιοῦντας ῥώμην ἐντιθέναι τοῖς ἀρρωστοῦσι  
περὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν οὐ λέγουσιν. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἦν ἢ  
θεραπεία. καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ τὴν διάθεσιν εὐρεθῆναι τῆς  
γαστρὸς εὐπορῆσαι βοηθημάτων ἀδύνατον· εἰ μὲν  
γὰρ ἔψυκται, θερμαντέον, εἰ δ' ὑγρανται, ξηραντέον·  
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀμέτρως τεθέρμανται, ψυκτέον,  
εἰ δ' ἐξήρανται, ὑγραντέον. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπλοῖ τρόποι  
τῆς ἰάσεως τέτταρες. ἕτεροι δὲ τέτταρες σύνθετοι, εἰ  
μὲν ψυχροτέρα καὶ ξηροτέρα τὴν κρᾶσιν ἢ γαστήρ  
104K ἐγένετο, θερμαντέον τ' ἐστὶ | καὶ ὑγραντέον αὐτήν· εἰ  
δὲ ὑγροτέρα καὶ θερμότερα, ξηραντέον τέ ἐστὶ καὶ  
ψυκτέον· οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰ μὲν θερμότερα τε καὶ ξηρο-  
τέρα, ψυκτέον τε καὶ ὑγραντέον, εἰ δ' ὑγροτέρα τε καὶ  
ψυχροτέρα, ξηραντέον τε καὶ θερμαντέον· ὥστε καὶ αἱ

function. But this is not enough for them as an indication 103K  
for remedies, nor do they seek in vain the conditions, but  
return to the actual substance of the disease, as if it were  
not possible to find the appropriate means of cure other-  
wise.

So these men do not await refutation by me. Rather,  
they refute themselves when they say that weakness  
(atonia) is an affection in those cases in which the organism  
fails to digest although the stomach is suffering none of the  
affections which they defined. But what they speak of is  
not something specific but something common to all  
things and, by their own say-so, it is not possible for treat-  
ment to be indicated rationally. For the term "strengthen-  
ing the weakness" is an empty phrase, and is rather more  
like an objective than a treatment. For they don't say what  
it is they must do to strengthen those who are weak in  
terms of function, and yet treatment depends on this.  
Without discovering the condition of the stomach, it is im-  
possible to find the remedies. For if it is cold, it must  
be heated; if it is moist, it must be dried. In like manner,  
too, if it has been disproportionately heated, it must be  
cooled and if disproportionately dried, it must be moist-  
ened. These are the four simple methods of cure. There  
are, however, four compound [ways]: if the stomach has  
become too cold and too dry in terms of *krasis*, it must be  
heated and moistened; if it is too moist and too hot, it must 104K  
be dried and cooled. Likewise, if it is too hot and too dry, it  
must be cooled and moistened; and if it is too moist and too  
cold, it must be dried and heated. Thus, there are eight



διαθέσεις ὀκτὼ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐκείνοι λέγουσιν, ἀτονίας αἰτίαι, καὶ οἱ τρόποι τῆς ἰάσεως ὀκτὼ.

5. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ λέγειν οὐδενὶ τῶν Δογματιζόντων ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιτο γινώσκειν, εἴθ' ὑπάρχουσιν, εἴτε μή· τελῶς γὰρ ἀνατρέψουσι τὴν Δογικὴν αἵρεσιν, ὁμολογήσαντες εὐπορεῖν μὲν τῆς θεραπείας, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ τὴν διάθεσιν· ἐκ πείρας γὰρ δήπου πάντες εὐπορήσουσι τῆς ἰάσεως, εἴπερ μὴ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἔνδειξιν ἔλαβον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐμπειρικοὶ καὶ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι νομίζουσιν εὐρεθῆναι τι τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ τῷ μὴ δεῖσθαι, καὶ εὐρεθῆ, τετηρηῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰς θεραπείας ἐπιταῖς φαινομέναις συνδρομαῖς, εὐλόγως οὔτε γινώσκουσιν φασὶν εἰ ὀκτὼ διαθέσεις εἰσὶ καθ' ἃς ἡ γαστήρ  
 105K ἀτονεῖ, καὶ ἢ χωρὶς τῆς τοιαύτης περιεργίας εὐπορεῖν τῶν ἰαμάτων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁμολογοῦντες ἔχουσιν, ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων διασκέπτονται, καὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν αὐτῶν ἔνδειξιν ἰαμάτων παρέχεσθαι φάσκοντες, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ αἰδοῦνται λέγοντες ἢ μὴ γινώσκειν εἰ ὑπάρχουσιν αἱ ὀκτὼ διαθέσεις, ἢ μὴ δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἰάσεις αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπόχρη μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἐξελέγξαι προσήκει τοὺς εἰδέναι φάσκοντας, ὡς οὐκ ἀληθεύουσιν· ἄχρι δ' ἂν μήτ' αὐτοὶ τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἕτεροί τε πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις λέγωσι τοῦ πᾶν σώμα διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων ποιᾶν κρᾶσιν ἐνεργεῖν, εὐλογώτερον ἐκείνοις πιστεύειν, εἰ μὴ τι ἄρα προφάσεις ψιλὰς λέγοντες ἀξιώσουσι πιστότεροι τῶν τὰς ἀποδείξεις λεγόντων εἶναι. καὶ

conditions of the stomach itself which are causes of weakness (as those men say), and eight ways of cure.

5. It is not permissible for any of the Dogmatics, as it is for the Empirics, to say that they need to know nothing about whether these things exist or not. For they will completely overturn the Rationalist sect if they admit that they have found a way of treatment but are ignorant of the condition. Of course, they will all find a way of cure from experience, if they don't take an indication from the nature of the matter itself. The Empirics, who do not think it is possible for anything hidden to be discovered, and who think it is not needed even if it is discovered, for the treatments have been observed by them on the basis of the apparent syndromes, quite reasonably say they do not know if there are eight conditions in relation to which the stomach becomes weak; and so they find remedies without such overelaboration. However, I do not know how those who profess that they do have a theory with which they examine those things that are hidden, and say that the discovery of these things provides an indication for remedies, are not embarrassed when they say that either they don't know if there are eight conditions, or that they have no need of them for cures. It is not enough [for them] simply to say that they don't know; they also need to refute those who claim they do know, as not speaking the truth. So long as these men do not do this, and others speak of many demonstrations of the whole body functioning because of a certain *krasis* of the four [qualities], it is more reasonable to believe the latter, at least if those who make unsupported claims do not think they are more worthy of credence than

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μὴν ἐκείνοι μὲν εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, πείθειν γοῦν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς ἀκροατάς, οὐ βιάζεσθαι καὶ προστάπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· οὗτοι δ' αὐτοῖ<sup>13</sup> τοῦναντίου ὡς τύραννοι κελεύουσι μὴ ζητεῖν τῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Φάλαριν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τυράννους διὰ τοῦτο μισοῦμεν, ὅτι κελεύουσι καὶ προστάπτουσι, οὐ πείθουσι καὶ διδάσκουσι, | ὡς Σόλων καὶ Δράκων καὶ Λυκούργος.

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Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, φησι, ἐν τοῖς ὅροις μένω τῆς τέχνης, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀποχωρεῖτε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἡμᾶς ἀνάγειν ἐπιχειρεῖτε τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας. εἴτα οὐκ ἀποδείξεις, ὦ γενναιώτατε, κἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τίνας εἰσὶν οἱ ὅροι τῆς ἰατρικῆς θεωρίας καὶ τίνα χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν μέλλοντα λόγῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εὐρεσιν τῶν βοηθημάτων, ἀλλὰ μορμολυξάμενος οἷε καταπλήξειν ἡμᾶς; ἀκούω καὶ σοῦ λέγοντος ὡς οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖσθαι τῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν αἰτίαν· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ὡς οὐδὲ τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτὰς ἐπισκέπτεσθαι προσήκειν· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐπισκεπτέον εἶναι δεῖ αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ὑφ' ἃν γίνονται ζητητέον. ἀρ' οὖν κελεύεις με γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀδίκων κριτῶν, οἳ μὴ περιμέναντες ἀπάντων ἀκούσαι τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων ἀλλήλους, ἐνὶ φέροντες

<sup>13</sup> B; αὐ K

<sup>13</sup> Unlike the earlier passage referring to tyrants, Galen now gives two specific examples: Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse who

those offering demonstrations. Furthermore, even if those men do nothing else, they at least attempt to persuade and teach their pupils rather than compel and command them. But these very men, in complete contrast, issue orders like tyrants not to search for the cause of the function. But we hate Dionysius, Phalaris, and the other tyrants because of this—that they order and command, and do not persuade and teach, like Solon, Draco and Lycurgus.<sup>13</sup>

106K

“But I remain within the boundaries of the art,” he says, “whereas you depart [from them] and try to lead us toward the other principles of physical theory.” So then, my most noble friend, will you not even demonstrate this very thing; that is, what the boundaries of medical theory are, and what someone who intends to make the discovery of remedies according to reason must know? Do you think, rather, that by assuming a fearsome expression, you will terrify us? And I hear you say it is not necessary to examine the cause of function. But I also hear the Empirics say it is not their concern to give consideration to the functions themselves. And yet I hear as well the man who says that it is not only necessary for these to be looked into, but it is necessary also to seek the causes from which they arise. Are you, then, demanding that I become one of those unjust judges who do not wait to hear all the parties contend-

ruled from 367 to 357 BC, and Phalaris of Acragas (ca. 570–549 BC), who was the first major Sicilian tyrant. In comparison, Solon (sixth century BC) was an early Athenian lawmaker and poet, highly regarded by Herodotus, Draco (seventh century BC) was Solon's notable predecessor at Athens, famed for the severity of his laws, and Lycurgus here probably refers to the traditional founder of Sparta's *eunomia*.

ἔδοσαν τὴν ψήφον; ἢ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν ἐκάστου καταμόνας, εἴτ' ἀλλήλοις παραβαλεῖν καὶ διασκέψασθαι τίς ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φαινομένοις ὁμολογῆι καὶ τίς οὔτε τοῖς φαινομένοις οὔθ' ἑαυτῷ; καὶ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο | ποιήσαιμι, τῶν μὲν Ἐμπειρικῶν ἀκούσαιμι κἂν παραμυθεῖσθαι γοῦν πειρωμένων ἃ λέγουσιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βεβαίως ἀποδεικνύουσιν ὑμῶν δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο. τίς γὰρ ἢ παραμυθίαν ὑμῶν, ἢ ἀπόδειξιν εἰπεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμι, δι' ἣν οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν τῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν αἰτίαν; ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ῥηθείσα μέθοδος ἀπέδειξεν ὡς δεῖ ζητεῖν ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἀπόδειξιν οὐδεμίαν<sup>14</sup> οὔτε λόγον οὐδένα πιθανὸν ἐπεχειρήσατε εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνατείναντες τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπιτιμᾶτε μόνον ἡμῖν σεμνῶς, ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς ἄκρας φυσιολογίας κελεύοντες καὶ μὴ ζητεῖν οὕτω φύσιν ἀνθρώπου καταμαθεῖν ὡς οἱ φιλόσοφοι καταμανθάνουσιν, ἄχρι τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων ἀνιόντες τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀπόχρη μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀρτηρίαν καὶ φλέβα καὶ νεῦρον ἀρχὰς προσεχέως καὶ οἶον στοιχεῖα χρὴ τίθεσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπου φυσιολογίας.

καὶ τις ἐπήνεσεν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἡρόφιλον εἰπόντα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως: "Ἐστω ταῦτα εἶναι πρῶτα, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔστι πρῶτα. τὸν δ' εἰς ἀπόδειξιν προκαλούμενον ἐξ-

<sup>14</sup> ἀποδειξιν ὡς οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν οὐδεμίαν B

<sup>14</sup> This reference is undoubtedly to Hippocrates' *On the Na-*

ing with each other, but give their vote to one, or that I first listen to each of your arguments one at a time, and examine and consider among them which is consistent with itself and with the phenomena, and which is consistent neither with itself nor with the phenomena? And if I were to do this, I would at least listen to the Empirics when they attempt to justify what they say, even if they don't offer a certain demonstration. But you do not even do this. I would gladly give a hearing to whichever one of you attempted to provide an explanation or demonstration as to why it is not necessary to seek the cause of the function. For the method I stated previously showed that it is necessary to seek this. But you don't attempt any demonstration nor do you articulate any credible argument. Instead, you just raise your eyebrows and rebuke us haughtily, telling us to abandon the high peaks of natural science and not to seek to understand the nature of man in the way the philosophers understand it—that is, advancing by reason as far as the primary elements.<sup>14</sup> It should be enough for you to say this alone: that we should posit artery, vein and nerve as proximate principles<sup>15</sup> and we should lay down elements, as it were, of the natural science that pertains to man.

Someone praised Herophilus when he spoke these exact words: "Let these things be primary even if they are not primary."<sup>16</sup> But when someone challenges you to provide

*ture of Man* and Galen's own *De elementis secundum Hippocratem* (I.413–508K). Galen also wrote a commentary on Hippocrates' work (XV.1–173K).

<sup>15</sup> The reference is to Erasistratus' "triplokia"—i.e., nerves, veins, and arteries.

<sup>16</sup> See H. von Staden (1989), pp. 117–19.

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ελέγχοντά τε τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ταῦτα δοξαζόντων  
 ἑαυταῖς μαχομένας ἀπωθείσθε καὶ φεύγετε | καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ παρέχετε τὰ ὦτα καὶ καταφρονεῖν προσ-  
 ποιεῖσθε καὶ μισολόγοι γίγνεσθε νῦν, οἱ τὸν λόγον  
 καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐπανατεινόμενοι τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς.  
 ὅτι γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς οἱ λόγοι διαφέρονται ἀπάντων τῶν ἐξ  
 ἡμίσεος Δογματιζόντων, εὐφωρότατόν ἐστι τοῦτο τῷ  
 κἂν βραχὺ γεγυμνασμένῳ κατὰ τὰς ἀποδεικτικὰς  
 μεθόδους. ἐπειδὴν μὲν γὰρ φλεγμαίνῃ γαστῆρ καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο πέττειν ἀρρωστῆ, τίς ἢ τῆς φλεγμονῆς ἐστὶν  
 αἰτία ζητεῖν δικαιοῦσι, κἀντεῦθεν εὐποροῦσι τῶν ἰα-  
 μάτων, ἀποχωροῦντες τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς εὐρέσεως· ἐπει-  
 δὴν δὲ χωρὶς φλεγμονῆς, ἢ τοιούτου τινὸς ἄλλου  
 παθήματος, ὑπὸ δυσκρασίας μόνῃς ἀρρωστῆ πέττειν,  
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας αὐτῆς<sup>15</sup> ἢ τῶν βοη-  
 θημάτων εὐπορία. καὶ μὴν ἀλλήλοις μὲν ταῦτα μάχε-  
 ται, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ ἀποδείκνυσί  
 τε καὶ περαίνει τὸ σφέτερον ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς συγ-  
 χωρεῖτε λημμάτων.

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εἰ γὰρ ὅλως δυνατόν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ φαινομένοις συμ-  
 πτώμασι τετηρηῆσθαι θεραπείαν, ἀγνοουμένης τῆς  
 διαθέσεως, οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσδε δυνατόν, ἐφ' ἑτέρας δ'  
 ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πασῶν ὁμοίως ἔσται δυνατόν.  
 τοιγαροῦν | οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα λόγον οὐδένα λέγειν ἔξετε  
 τοῦ μὴ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀντάρκη γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν  
 τῶν βοηθημάτων εὐπορίαν, ἐφ' οἷς τὴν διάθεσιν εὐ-  
 ρεῖν ἀδυνατεῖτε. πάντα οὖν ὡς τύραννοι προστάττετε,  
 χρῆσθαι δ' ἀποδείξεσιν οὐτ' αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε, βέλτιον

demonstration and refute the hypotheses of those holding  
 a belief in these things by showing they are mutually exclu-  
 sive, you reject and run away from him, and do not even  
 lend your ears to begin with. You pretend to despise him,  
 and now you become haters of argument, you who held up  
 both argument and demonstration against the Empirics. It  
 is very easy to see, even for someone only slightly practiced  
 in the demonstrative methods, that the arguments of all  
 the “semi-Dogmatics” conflict with each other. So, when-  
 ever the stomach is inflamed, and because of this diges-  
 tion is weak, they think it right to seek out the cause of  
 the inflammation and, on that basis, find ways of treat-  
 ment, eschewing empirical discovery. But whenever, in  
 the absence of inflammation or some other such affection,  
 digestion is weak due to a *dyskrasia* alone, the provision of  
 remedies is, on the contrary, from experience itself. Fur-  
 thermore, these actions are inconsistent with each other,  
 whereas those of the Empirics are consistent, and they  
 demonstrate and conclude their own business from the  
 premises that you yourselves agree on.

If it is possible, in general, to make trial of a treatment  
 on the basis of the apparent symptoms even though the  
 condition is not known, it would not be possible in some  
 cases and impossible in others, but will be equally possible  
 in all cases. For that very reason you will not be able to  
 state here any argument that experience is not sufficient in  
 itself for the provision of remedies in those instances in  
 which you are unable to discover the condition. Therefore,  
 as tyrants do, you order all these things, although you your-  
 selves are unwilling to use demonstrations—for it is better,

<sup>15</sup> αὐτοῖς B, P1, P2

γὰρ ἴσως εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις τε ἅμα καὶ δυναμένοις οὐχ ἔπειθε. τί ποτ' οὖν ἄλλο εἰσὶν ὑμῶν οἱ λόγοι πλὴν ἕρις καὶ φιλονεικία καὶ πρόκλησις εἰς λοιδορίας καὶ μάχας, οἷας καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων διδασκάλων τις ἐποιεῖτο διὰ παντός, ἢ καταγελῶν εἴ τις ἐφθέγγετο θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, ὡς βαλανεῦσι μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἰατροῖς προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων, ἢ σφοδρῶς ἐπιτιμῶν, ὡς ἀποχωροῦντι πόρρω τῆς ἰατρικῆς, ἢ τὴν Ἐρασιστράτου προχειριζόμενος ἀξιοπιστίαν. ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσας ἤσθη, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἀκούων ἐμίσησα, βωμολοχία μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἰατρικῇ πρέπειν ἠγγισάμενος. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαξ ἢ τῶν κελευσάντων μὴ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν ἀξιοπιστία μάρτυς ἰκανὴ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι νομισθήσεται, λῆρος ἤδη | μακρὸς ἔσται πάντα, καὶ πέρας οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦθ' ὅπερ νῦν ὁρᾶτε γιγνόμενον, ἔχθρα καὶ μάχη καὶ λοιδορία. τοῖς γὰρ ἀποχωρήσασιν μὲν τῶν λογικῶν ἀποδείξων, ὅτι δ' Ἡρόφιλος οὕτως ἐκέλευσεν ἢ Ἐρασιστράτος, ἀξιούσι πιστεύειν, ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν λοιδορίαν καὶ μάχην ἀκολουθήσαι, τὰ θαυμαστὰ τῶν νῦν διαλόγων ἄθλα.

φέρει γὰρ ἑτέρου μὲν τινος λέγοντος ὡς τῷδέ τινι τῷ μὴ πέπτουσι καλῶς ἢ γαστήρ δύσκρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερόν τε καὶ ψυχρότερον ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὴν ὑγραντέον τ' ἐστὶ καὶ θερμαντέον, ἑτέρου δὲ τινος, ἐκτροπῆς τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρότερόν τε καὶ ὑγρότερον ἀπεργασθείσης, θερμὰ καὶ ξηρὰ τὰ

perhaps, to say this than to say you are unable to—and you do not follow those who both are willing to and, at the same time, are able to. For what else are these arguments of yours but strife and contentiousness, and a challenge to abuse and dispute, such as one of your teachers also used to engage in continually, either mocking if someone spoke about hot and cold, as being terms more suitable for bath-house attendants than doctors, or vehemently censuring them for straying far from the medical art, or putting forward Erasistratus as an authority. Although, when I first heard this, I was pleased, on the second and third hearing I hated it, thinking it more suitable for buffoonery than for the medical art. For if just once the credibility of those who forbid us to advance any further will be thought to be sufficient evidence for demonstration, everything will now be great nonsense, and there will be no end to the debates but that which you now see occurring—enmity, conflict and abuse. For those who depart from logical demonstrations and see fit to believe because Herophilus and Erasistratus urged them to, it is inevitable that every abuse and contention will follow. These are the wonderful prizes for the debates of our own day.

Well then, let us suppose there is someone who says that, in a person who does not digest properly, the stomach is *dyskratic* in terms of being too dry and too cold and, because of this, we must moisten and warm it, whereas someone else claims that the departure from normal is brought about by [the stomach] being too cold and too moist, and

111K διαιτήματα προσφέρεσθαι συμβουλευόντος· καὶ ἄλλος τις τρίτος παρελθών, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐπιχειρήσειεν <ἀν><sup>16</sup> ἀντιπεῖν, μόνον δ' ἐπιτιμῶν ὡς περιττὰ ζητοῦσι, καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν Ἐρασίστρατον ἢ τὸν Ἡρόφιλον ἐπάγοιτο· πῶς οὐχ, ὅπερ ἔφη, ἀρχὴ διαφορᾶς ἐντεῦθεν ἔσται καὶ λοιδορίας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δήπου κακείνους, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μνησίθεον καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Πλειστόνικον, ἢ Ἱπποκράτην τε καὶ Φιλιστίωνα καὶ μυρίους ἑτέρους τοιούτους ἐπικαλέσασθαι μάρτυρας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ μάρτυρας χρὴ διαιρεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον, οὐ σμικρῶ τινὶ κρατήσουσιν· ὅτι τε γὰρ τῆς νοσώδους δυσκρασίας εἶδη πολλὰ καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ἢ θεραπεία διάφορος οὐχ Ἱπποκράτην μόνον, ἢ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ἰατρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Θεόφραστον καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Χρύσιππον, ἅπαντας τε τοὺς ἔλλογίμους φιλοσόφους παρεχόμενοι μάρτυρας· ὅτι τε χωρὶς τοῦ τὴν φύσιν εὐρεθῆναι τοῦ σώματος ἀκριβῶς οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἔστιν οὔτε περὶ νοσημάτων διαφορᾶς ἐξευρεῖν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἰαμάτων εὐπορήσαι προσηκόντως, ἅπαντας πάλιν τοὺς νῦν εἰρημένους μοι φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ἰατρούς, οὐ προστάττοντας μὰ Δεῖ ὡς οὗτοι δίκην τυράννων, ἀλλ' ἀποδεικνύοντας παρέξονται.

πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν οἱ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν βαλανέων, οὐκ ἰατρῶν ὀνόματα φάσκοντες εἶναι βωμολοχεύονται δηλονότι καὶ γελωτοποιήσουσιν, ἢ μωρούς, ἢ Φρύγας, ἢ σχολαστικούς διηγούμενοι· συνίσασι γὰρ

advises the application of a regimen directed at heat and dryness. Then some other third person could come along and, without even attempting to gainsay anything that has been said, simply censure those who seek superfluous things, calling upon Erasistratus and Herophilus as witnesses. How will this not be a starting point for dispute and abuse among them, as I said? For it is necessary, I presume, for those men also to call upon witnesses—Athenaeus, Mnesitheus, Diocles, Pleistonicus, Hippocrates, Philistion and other such men in countless numbers— 111K and if the argument should really be determined on the basis of witnesses, they will prevail by no small margin. That there are many kinds of pathological *dyskrasia* and that the treatment is different for each, they provide as witnesses not only Hippocrates and a great many other doctors, but also Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Zeno, and Chrysippus, as well as all the noted philosophers. That without the nature of the body being discovered precisely it is impossible either to find out about the differentiae of diseases, or to find suitable means of remedies, they will again provide all these philosophers and doctors now spoken of by me—men who do not, by Zeus, command like these people in the manner of tyrants, but will provide demonstrations.

In these matters, then, those who claim that hot and cold are the terms of bathhouse attendants and not of doctors will clearly be indulging in ribaldry and making mockery, describing them as fools, or Phrygians, or pedants, for

<sup>16</sup> ἀν conj. nos

112K εαυτοῖς οὐ μόνον ἀποδεικτικὸν ἐπισταμένοις οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅ τι | ποτέ ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις ἐπαίουσιν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν σκωμμάτων ἀνάγκη γενήσεσθαι διαφορᾶς ἀρχήν· ἵνα γὰρ τοῦ πρώτου πάντων ὧν οἱ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως φλυαροῦντες οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι λέγειν ἐπιμνησθῶ, σκέψαι πῶς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἀκολουθήσασαι μάχην αὐτῷ. πρὸς γὰρ τὰς ἀναποδείκτους φάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀξιοπίστους μάρτυρας, ὅταν ἕτεροί τινες ἐνδοξοτέρους τε καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ἀντιπροτίωνονται μάρτυρας, ἀναγκαῖον ἢ συγχωρεῖν καὶ ἡττάσθαι κατ' ἄμφω νενικημένους, ἔν τε τῷ μὴ συνακολουθήσασαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν κἀν τῷ κεκρατήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαρτύρων, ἢ ἀναισχυνητήσασθαι Ἐρασίστρατον ἀπάντων ἐκείνων τῶν μαρτύρων ἀποφαίνεσθαι πιστότερον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἦν πιστότερος οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην καὶ Μνησίθεον ἰατρῶν οὔτε τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην τε καὶ Πλάτωνα φιλοσόφων, τὸν δ' ὡς ἀντεπεῖν· εἴτ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιλογίας φερομένης οὕτως ἀπαίδευτά τε καὶ φιλονείκα<sup>17</sup> προαχθῆναι τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ὡς Οὐκ ἔσται οὕτω σοι καλῶς, ἦν Ἐρασίστρατον ἀτιμάζης. ταυτὶ γὰρ 113K ὀρθῶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ὧ Ἰέρων, γυγνόμενα κατὰ | τοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν διαλόγους·

τοιαύτης δ' ἅπαξ ἀνοιχθείσης ὁδοῦ, πάντ' ἐπιρρεῖ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἤδη ῥήματα καὶ κακῶς εἰπόντες ἀλλήλους, οὐ διδάξαντές τι χρηστὸν ἢ μαθόντες ἀπαλλάττονται. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσχημοσύνης οὐκ

they realize that they themselves not only know nothing about demonstration, but they have no understanding at all of what it is. From these jokes there will inevitably arise a source of difference. So let me mention the first of all the things they do not hesitate to say when they talk nonsense without [providing] demonstration, and consider how, inevitably, conflict follows this. Whenever others bring forward a far greater number of more highly regarded witnesses against the undemonstrated statements of these men and their plausible witnesses, it is necessary for them either to concede that they have been defeated and are worsted in both respects—that they do not attend to demonstration, and that they have been overcome by the quantity of witnesses—or else to declare quite shamelessly that Erasistratus is more credible than all those witnesses. For it is necessary to say here that he was not more credible than the doctors who follow Hippocrates and Mnesitheus, or the philosophers in the circle of Plato and Aristotle, and for the other to argue against this. When this sort of argument has gone back and forth in this ignorant and contentious way, the latter is led to say, “It will not go well for you if you dishonour Erasistratus.” You see this sort of thing happening every day, Hiero, in the debates among doctors. 112K

Once this sort of path has been opened up, all the words of women now flow along it, and they abuse one another and then go away, neither learning nor teaching anything useful. And it cannot be said that those who shun demon-

<sup>17</sup> B, K; ἀπαίδευτόν τε καὶ φιλονείκου P1, P2, recte fort.

ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐχ οἱ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἄρχουσιν· ἀποδιδράσκουσι δ', ὡς οἶσθα, πολυειδῶς, οἱ μὲν σεμνῶς ἐπιτιμήσαντες μόνον, οἱ δὲ κομφευσάμενοί τι βωμολοχικόν, οἱ δ' εἰς γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην ἐξάγοντες τὸν διάλογον· εἰ δέ τις καὶ τολμήσειε παραμεῖναι τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐπακοῦσαι, μάλιστα μὲν οὐδ' ἔπεται τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὸν ἀγύμναστον ἀποδεικτικῆς μεθόδου τοῖς χρωμένους αὐτῇ παρακολουθεῖν·

114K εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ μέχρι τινὸς παρακολουθήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντως ἐπαμύνειν ἐθέλειν οἷς ἐνεγράφη δόγμασιν, ἐπιχειρῶν ἀντιλέγειν, εἰτ' ἐξελεγχόμενος, ἀπέραντα καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστα καὶ περιττὰ καὶ ληρώδη φλυαρῶν, ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ καταρᾶται τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς, ὡς κακῶν αἰτίοις, ὅτι δηλαδὴ τὴν κόρυζαν ἀπομύττουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ θεραπεύειν πειρῶνται προσφέροντες οὐ μέλι καὶ πλακοῦντας, ἀλλὰ | σκόροδά τε καὶ κρόμμνα, τὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυζῶντας ἀλεκτρύονας ἰώμενα. παραγέγονας γὰρ δὴ μυριάκις αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπὸ σκοροδῶν ὄντως καὶ κρομμύων τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀναγκαζομένοις δακρύνειν οἶσθα δὲ δήπουθεν ὡς καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἡμῖν ἐξωμολογήσαντο καταμόνας αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν ἤδη τῶν κατὰ τὴν σφετέραν αἵρεσιν ἀτόπων, οὐ δύνασθαι δ' ἐν γε τῷ φανερῷ μεταθέσθαι διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἄλλα γινώσκειν ἀφ' ὧν τιμηθήσονται καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφθακέναι ἀπὸ τούτων γινώσκεισθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν καγὼ πολλάκις ἀνεβαλλόμεν ὑπομνήματα γράψαι μεθόδου θεραπευ-

strations are not the source of such disgraceful conduct. They shun [demonstration], as you know, in various ways. There are those who just haughtily censure it; there are those who invent something ludicrous; and there are those who lead the debate toward mockery and jest. If, however, one of them does dare to remain for the argument, and listens to the demonstrations, in the first place and above all he does not follow them, since it is impossible for someone unpracticed in the method of demonstration to follow those who use it.

If, however, one of them were to follow closely up to a certain point but, because he wishes to defend at all costs the doctrines he was brought up on, he attempts a counter-argument, he is then refuted as talking inconclusive, invalid, superfluous and silly nonsense. Then he becomes irritated and brings curses down on those skilled in dialectics as agents of evil because quite clearly they wipe the snot from people's noses and attempt to treat them, not by providing honey and flat cakes, but by giving them garlic and onions, which are also the cures for cocks with nasal discharge. For you have been present on countless occasions when they have been driven to tears by the refutations, just as they would really be by garlic and onions. You know, of course, that many of them have often confessed to me privately that they now perceive the absurdities of their own sect, but are unable to change their view, at least openly, because they know nothing else for which they will be held in regard, and they are already recognized and honored by the majority as a result of these things. Accordingly, because of this, I have often put off writing treatises

114K



115K

τικῆς, ὡς ἂν ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς ὀλιγοστοὺς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφεληθησομένων. εἰ μὴ γὰρ μεγάλη τις γένοιτο καὶ δαιμονία μεταβολὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, οἴχεται πάντα τὰ καλὰ καὶ συγκέχυται καὶ διέφθαρται, μηδενὸς ἀλήθειαν σπουδάζοντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαι μόνον. οἴσθα γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ σαφῶς ὡς οὐδὲ πέντε τοῖς πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ἐνεύχομεν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φαίνεσθαι σοφοῖς ὀρεγομένοις. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὴ τις ὀρεχθείη σοφίας αὐτῆς δι' ἑαυτήν, | οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἔξει τοῦ γυμνάσασθαι κατὰ τὰς λογικὰς μεθόδους, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν πολιτικὴν ἐσπουδακῶς, περὶ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀσχολίαν ἅπαντα κατατρίψει τὸν βίον.

6. Ἐάσαντες οὖν αὐτούς, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἴωμεν. ἔστι τὸ προκείμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς εἰ μὴ τις ἅπαντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν νοσημάτων ἐξεύροι μεθόδῳ, πταίσει μέγιστον πταῖσμα κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου· πρόδηλον γὰρ ὡς τοσοῦτους χρῆ τῶν τρόπους εἶναι τῆς ἰάσεως ὅσαι περ καὶ αἱ τῶν νοσημάτων ἰδέαι. τὸ τοίνυν μὴτ' ἀπειρα ποιῆσαι τὰ νοσήματα ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰδιότησι προσέχοντας μὴτ' εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καταμεῖναι γενεσιν οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρός, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐδείκνυτο, πάνν γεγυμνασμένου κατὰ τὰς διαιρητικὰς μεθόδους. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς διαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὡς πού καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλέγετο, τὸν λόγον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ διαιρουμένου πράγματος ἀφορίσασθαι. καὶ τοίνυν ἐδείκνυτο πάντως μὲν ἐν τι τῶν παρὰ φύσιν ὑπαρ-

on the method of medicine because I know very well that few people nowadays would be benefited by them. For unless some great and miraculous change were to occur in human affairs, all good things get lost, confused and destroyed, and nobody is eager for truth, but only for reputation. You know also, I presume, and clearly, that I have not encountered five in all who desire to be wise rather than to appear to be [wise]. And furthermore, if someone does not desire wisdom for its own sake, he will not take any opportunity to gain practice in the logical methods but, having an established desire for wealth, reputation and political power, he will waste his whole life in the pursuit of those things.

115K

6. Therefore, having done with these people, let me return again to the matter in hand. This is what was proposed at the outset: unless someone discovers the total number of diseases by method, he will take a giant false step right at the start of the therapeutic method itself. It is quite clear that there must be the same number of forms of treatment as there are kinds of diseases. Accordingly, the man who avoids creating an infinite number of diseases by attending to the specific instances individually, and who does not stop immediately at the first classes is no ordinary man. He is a man who is particularly practiced in the methods of division, as was shown earlier. A first principle of their division is to mark off the definition of the substance of the matter being divided, as I also said somewhere else. So it was shown that disease is, assuredly, one of the things that

116K χόντων νόσημα. τεττάρων δ' ὄντων τῶν παρὰ φύσιν, ἤτοι τῆς βεβλαμμένης ἐνεργείας, ἢ τῆς ἐργαζομένης αὐτὴν διαθέσεως, ἢ τῆς<sup>18</sup> ταύτην ποιούσης αἰτίας, ἢ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῇ συμπτωμάτων, εἴτε τὴν βλάβην τῆς ἐνεργείας εἴτε καὶ τὴν ἐργαζομένην αὐτὴν διάθεσιν ἐθέλοι τις ὀνομάζειν νόσον, οὐδὲν τοῦτο τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ὑπαλλάττειν ἐδείκνυμεν, εἰ τοῦθ' ἐν μόνον γινώσκουσι, τὸ τὴν πρώτην θεραπείαν, ἣν δῆπου καὶ προσεχῆ καλοῦσιν ἔνοι, τῆς τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐμποδιζούσης εἶναι διαθέσεως. ἐπιδεδείχθαι δ' ἡμῖν ἐλέγομεν ὡς ταύτην εὐλογώτερον εἶη προσαγορεύειν νόσημα, μὴ μέντοι κωλύειν ἡμᾶς εἰ τις ἐθέλοι τὴν μὲν τῆς ἐνεργείας βλάβην ὀνομάζειν νόσημα, τὴν δ' ἐργαζομένην αὐτὴν διάθεσιν αἰτίαν τοῦ νοσήματος.

117K ὑποθέμενοι δὲ καλεῖσθαι νόσημα διάθεσιν παρὰ φύσιν ἐνέργειαν βλάπτουσαν ἐξηγήσαμεν ἐφεξῆς ὅποσα τὰ σύμπαντ' ἐστὶ νοσήματα. πρόδηλον δ' ἦν ἐν τούτῳ τὸ δεῖν ἐξευρεῖν πρῶτον, εἴ τις ὁδῶ καὶ τάξει μέλλει προῖέναι καὶ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ὡς τύραννοι προστάττειν, ἥτις ποτὲ διάθεσις ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς ἐνεργείας αἰτία δραστική. ταύτην οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν εὐκρασίαν ἐλέγομεν εἶναι θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ, ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἢ πρώτη νόσος ἢ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιομερέσι, τῇ δυσκρασίᾳ τούτων ἐδείκνυτο γίνεσθαι.

ἕτερος δὲ τις ἐν ὄγκοις καὶ πόροις θήσεται τὴν τούτων συμμετρίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀμετρία τῶν πόρων

is contrary to nature. However, there are four things contrary to nature: function that has been damaged, the condition bringing this about, the cause creating the condition, and the symptoms which follow it. I demonstrated that if someone wishes to term "disease" either the damage of function or the condition bringing this about, this does not change the method of treatment in any way, provided he knows this one thing alone—that the primary treatment (which is, I presume, what some call proximate) is of the condition hindering function. I have shown, as I said, that it is more reasonable to call this a disease. I shall not, however, stand in the way of someone who might wish to call the damage of function "disease," and the condition bringing this about the "cause" of the disease.

Having established that a condition contrary to nature which damages function is to be called a disease, I sought out, as a next step, how many diseases there are in all. And it was absolutely clear in this that if someone intends to proceed in an orderly way, and not by giving orders like a tyrant as many doctors do, what must be discovered first is whatever the condition is that is the effective cause of function. I said that this is a *eukrasia* of hot and cold, moist and dry. And because of this the primary disease, which is in the *homoiomeres*, was shown to come about through a *dyskrasia* of these [qualities].

Someone else will, however, place [the effective cause of function] in the balance of corpuscles and pores and, because of this, will place disease in organisms in an imbal-

<sup>18</sup> B, P1, P2; τὴν K

αὐτῶν νοσήσειν τὰ ζῶα. τὸ δὲ μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀποφύνασθαι τολμήσαι τῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν ὁτιδήποτε γένοι τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ, μήτε τοῖς λέγουσιν ἀντειπόντα νομίζω ἐτι λόγῳ καὶ μεθόδῳ προῖέναι, δεινῶς ἐλέγομεν εἶναι μοχθηρόν, ἅμα μὲν ἄφυκτον ἐργαζόμενον τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν κατηγορίαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῷ μαχόμενον· ἐξ ἡμίσεος γὰρ δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους εἶναι Δογικούς· ὅπως μὲν δὴ γίγνεται φλεγμονὴ καὶ σκίρρος καὶ οἰδημα καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα, πολυπραγμονοῦνται, ὅτι δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἀπάντων κατὰ δυσκрасίαν μόνην ἐνέργεια βλάπτεται μὴ γινώσκονται, ἀλλ' ἐμπειρικῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα θεραπεύονται.

ὅστις οὖν βούλεται γνῶναι πόσον ἀμαρτάνουσι οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ πόσον τι πλήθος ὑπερβαίνουσι νοσημάτων καὶ ὡς πολὺ πλεόν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἢ γινώσκουσι, τὸ Περὶ διαφορᾶς νοσημάτων ἀναλεξάσθω γράμμα· μαθήσεται γὰρ ὡς ὀρθῇ μὲν ὁδῷ πρῶτος ἀπάντων Ἱπποκράτης ἐχρήσατο, δέον δ' αὐτὴν τελειῶσαι | τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐδεὶς ἐτελείωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ καλῶς εὐρημένα διέφθειραν οἱ πλείστοι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τελειῶσαι τε καὶ συμπληρῶσαι τὴν ὑφ' Ἱπποκράτους παραδοθεῖσαν ὁδὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην τε καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ εἰ χρὴ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐτελείωσαν δυνάμει διορισάμενοι τὸ μὴ ταῦτον εἶναι γένος τῶν νοσημάτων ἐν τε τοῖς ὁμοιομερέσι σώμασιν ἐν τε τοῖς ὀργανικοῖς ὀνομαζόμενοις. ὑπὸ

<sup>17</sup> This is, of course, the Methodic position. For a summary of

ance of these same pores.<sup>17</sup> I said that someone who neither dares to declare whatever class of existents the cause of function is in, nor refutes those who do, and still thinks he proceeds by logic and method, is terribly mistaken since, at one and the same time, he makes the charge of the Empirics inescapable and he contradicts himself. In fact, such people are “semi-Dogmatics.” They busy themselves with how inflammation, induration, edema, and all other such things come about, yet they don't know that, apart from all these things, function is damaged in *dyskrasia* alone, so they treat such things in the manner of the Empirics.

Therefore, let anyone who wishes to know the degree to which such people are mistaken, how great a number of diseases they overlook, and how many more things they are ignorant of than they know, read the book *On the Differentiae of Diseases*.<sup>18</sup> For he will learn how Hippocrates was the first of all to use the right path, and how, although his successors needed to complete this path, nobody did bring it to completion. Instead, the majority destroyed the things that had been discovered properly. Aristotle, Theophrastus and their followers came close to completing and filling out the path handed down by Hippocrates and, truth to tell, by distinguishing that the classes of diseases in *homioimerous* bodies and in the so-called organic structures were not the same, they did virtually bring it to comple-

their theory, see the Introduction, section 2. For a more detailed account, see J. Vallance (1990).

<sup>18</sup> *De morborum differentiis*, translated by I. Johnston (2006), pp. 131–57. In fact, Hippocrates is not mentioned by name in this work.

μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν τὰς ἐνεργείας γίνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἶναι καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων ἐν ἴδιον ὁμοιομερές. ὅσα δ' ἄλλα μετὰ τούτου συμπληροῦτο πᾶν ὄργανον, ἕνεκα χρείας τινὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ πρώτου τῆς ἐνεργείας αἰτίου γεγονέναι. καὶ τούτων μέντοι πάλιν αὐτῶν ἑκάστου κατὰ μόνας ὑπάρχειν ἐνέργειαν, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἄμεινον γὰρ ἴσως, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπὶ πλείον ἐδείξαμεν, ἐνταυθοῖ διὰ βραχέων ὑπομνήσεις ποιήσασθαι.

119K τὸ μὲν τῆς ὄψεως ὄργανόν ἐστι τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς ὑγρόν, ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων ἐκείνου χάριν ἐγένετο. καὶ πάντων εἰρήκαμεν αὐτῶν τὰς χρείας ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Περὶ χρείας μορίων πραγματείας. | ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦ κρυσταλλοειδοῦς ἕνεκεν ἐγένετο σύμπαντα, κατὰ μέρος γοῦν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας τινὸς μετέχει, κοινῆς μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ζῳῷ φλέβῃ καὶ ἀρτηρία καὶ νεῦρον· οἱ δ' ὑμένες οἱ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ὡς ἂν τρεφόμενοι δηλονότι καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετέχουσι δυνάμεων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς ἐνεργειῶν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ κρυσταλλοειδὲς ὑπὸ δυσκρασίας νοσήσῃ, βλάπτεται μὲν ἢ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνέργεια πάντως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ὀργάνων αὐτῶν τὸ νόσημα. τὸ δ' ὑπόχυμα καλούμενον σῦθενὸς μὲν ὁμοιομεροῦς ἐστὶ πάθους, ὅλων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὡς ὀργάνων.

οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἰ γλίσχρων τινῶν ἢ παχέων χυμῶν ἔμφραξις ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τῶν κατὰ τὰ σιμὰ τοῦ ἥπατος εἴη φλεβῶν, ἐμποδισθήσεται μὲν ἢ ἀνάδοσις,

tion. For it is through the *homoiomeres* that functions occur, and because of this, there is one specific *homoiomere* for each of the organs. However many other things there are that complete the whole organ along with this exist for the sake of some use of that primary cause of its function. And, of course, there is again a function of each of these things individually, like in the case of the eyes. It is better, perhaps, since I have set this out at greater length in other places, to provide a brief reminder at this point.<sup>19</sup>

The organ of sight is the crystalline humor while each of the other parts exists for the sake of that. I have stated the uses of all of them in the tenth book of my treatise *On the Use of the Parts*. But if it is the case that they too all exist especially for the sake of the crystalline [humor], each of them individually partakes of some function, one which vein, artery, and nerve partake of in common with them in the whole organism whereas the membranes in the eye, as they are clearly nourished and, of necessity, partake of the natural capacities, consequently also partake of the functions relating to these capacities. So whenever the crystalline [humor] is diseased due to a *dyskrasia*, the function of the eyes is comprehensively damaged, but this is not as a disease of organs themselves. On the other hand, what is termed "cataract" is not an affection of anything *homoiomeros*, but of the whole eye as an organ.

Similarly, if there is an obstruction of certain viscid and thick humors at the ends of the veins in the concavity of the liver, distribution will be impeded, and the affection will

<sup>19</sup> See *De usu partium*, Book 10, III.760–89K, where Galen gives a very detailed account of the structure and function of the eyes. See also M. T. May (1968) for a translation.

ὄλου δ' ἔσται τοῦ ἥπατος ὡς ὄργάνου τὸ πάθος, οὐδενὸς τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν αὐτοῦ μορίων νοσήσαντος. εἰ δὲ δυσκрасία καταλάβει τὰς φλέβας, αὐτῶν μὲν ἐκείνων ἔσται τὸ νόσημα πρῶτον, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἥπατος. Ἐρασίστρατος μὲν οὖν ἔσφαλται περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς τῆς<sup>19</sup> φλεγμονῆς. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πέρασι | τῶν ἀρτηριῶν γίγνεται σφήνωσις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν τοῖς φλεγμαίνουσι μορίοις οὔτε πνεῦμα μόνον ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν αἰ ἀρτηρίαί περιέχουσιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων λογισμοῖς ἀπεδείξαμεν.

120K

εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ τι τοιοῦτον πάθος οἷον ἐκεῖνος οἶεται φλεγμονή, καὶ σκίρρος τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐκεῖνος νομίζει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀσαφῶς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πειρῶνται διέρχεσθαι σαφέστερον, ὀλίγου δὲν ἀπαθῆ καταλείπει τὰ στερεά, μόνον ἐλκωθῆναι δυνάμενα καὶ διατμηθῆναι καὶ θλιβῆναι καὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ὑπομείναι πάθημα. νοσεῖν δ' αὐτὰ δι' ὅλων ἑαυτῶν οὐδαμῶθι φησὶ νόσους τοιαύτας οἷας ἡμεῖς ἀπεδείξαμεν εἶναι τὰς ὀκτὼ δυσκрасίας. καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶται γε σύμπαντα τὰ σώματα, μέχρι καὶ τῶν δυσπαθεστάτων, οἷον χαλκοῦ καὶ λίθου καὶ σιδήρου, θερμαινόμενά τε καὶ ψυχόμενα καὶ ξηραίνόμενα καὶ ὑγραίνόμενα, καὶ θανμαστὸν εἰ ἀρτηρία μόνη καὶ φλέψ καὶ νεῦρον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον πείσεται, καὶ τούτου θαυμαστότερον, εἰ πείσεται μὲν, ἐνεργήσει δὲ ἀμέμπτως, οἷον ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας, εἰ |

<sup>19</sup> αὐτῆς τῆς P1 P2; αὐτὴν τῆς B; αὐτῆς καὶ K

be of the whole liver as an organ since none of its *homoiomerous* parts will be diseased. If, however, a *dyskrasia* involves the veins, the disease will primarily be of those [veins] themselves and only incidentally of the liver. Therefore, Erasistratus was wrong about the essential nature of inflammation itself. It is not that blockage necessarily occurs in the ends of the arteries in inflamed parts, nor that the arteries contain *pneuma* alone in what is in accord with nature, as I showed in my considerations on these things.<sup>20</sup>

120K

If inflammation is the sort of affection which that man thinks it is, and induration such as he thinks, and each of the others, as he obscurely [considered] in his many [writings]<sup>21</sup> and as his successors attempted to go over more clearly, he leaves aside the solid parts as all but impassible, in that they would only be able to be wounded, severed, or compressed, or suffer some other such affection. He says that these are in no place diseased throughout their entirety with the kinds of diseases I showed the eight *dyskrasias* to be. And yet we do in fact see all substances, right up to the most resistant, like bronze, stone, and iron, heated, cooled, dried and moistened. It would be remarkable if only arteries, veins, and nerves were not affected in this way. And it would be more remarkable still, if they are affected but function faultlessly, as for example in the case of the heart, should this happen [to be affected], whose ca-

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, *De causis procatarcticis*, XIV.714–15.

<sup>21</sup> None of his writings is extant. For fragments, see I. Garofalo (1988).

121K τύχοι, δύναμις μὲν τίς ἐστὶ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἐρα-  
 σίστρατον, ἧ διαστέλλεται καὶ συστέλλεται. καὶ  
 βλάβεσθαι δὲ δήπου ταύτην χρή, τῆς καρδίας ἐξαι-  
 ρεθείσης ζώοντος τοῦ ζώου, καθάπερ πολλάκις ὀρώμεν  
 ἐν ταῖς ἱεουργίαις γιννόμενον· εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν βλάπτει-  
 ται, κινήθησεται διαπαντός, οὐχ ἕως χρόνου τινός, ὡς  
 νῦν φαίνεται. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι βλάπτεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 παύεται κινουμένη. τίς οὖν ἡ βλάβη, καλῶς εἶχεν  
 ἐπισκέψασθαι, δυναμένης γε δηλονότι τὴν βλάβην  
 ἀναδέξασθαι τῆς καρδίας καὶ πρὶν ἐξαιρεθῆναι τοῦ  
 ζώου. τίς οὖν ἄλλη πλὴν δυσκρασίας ἐστίν; οὔτε γὰρ  
 τὸ σχῆμα φαίνεται μεταλλαττόμενον αὐτῆς, οὔτε κοι-  
 λότης τις, οὔτε σύνδεσμος οὔτε στόμιον, ἀλλ' οὐδ'  
 ἄλλο μῦρον οὐδὲν ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἡ φυ-  
 σικὴ κρᾶσις ἐξαλλαττομένη. ταῦτ' οὖν ἅπαντα τῶν  
 ὁμοιομερῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, νοσήματα τυγχάνοντα, τε-  
 λείως αὐτῷ παραλέλειπται. τὸ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἐν  
 τοῖς πέρασι τῶν ἀρτηριῶν σφηνωθέντος ἐνέργειάν  
 τινα βλαβῆναι τῶν ἀρτηριῶν ὡς ὀργάνων ἐστὶ τὸ  
 πάθος· ὡς δ' ὁμοιομερῶν σωματίων, ὅκτῶ μὲν αἱ κατὰ  
 122K ψιλὰς τὰς ποιότητας δυσκρασίαι, | μετὰ ρευμάτων δ'  
 ὀκτώ.

χρῆ τοίνυν, ὅστις τὰς τούτων ἀποδείξεις ἐπιστήμη  
 βούλεται περιλαβεῖν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων  
 ἀρξασθαι λόγου, κἄπειθ' ἐξῆς ἕκαστον ἀναλέξασθαι  
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐστὶ δ' ἐφεξῆς  
 μὲν ἐκείνῳ τὰ Περὶ κρᾶσεων ὑπομνήματα. καὶ τούτων

121K capacity, even according to Erasistratus himself, is to expand  
 and contract. And this must certainly be damaged if the  
 heart is taken out of the living animal, as we frequently see  
 happening at sacrifices. For if it is not damaged, it will con-  
 tinue to move constantly, and not just for a time, as now ap-  
 pears to be the case. It is clear, then, that it is injured, and  
 because of this, it ceases to move. It is right to consider  
 what the damage is, since clearly the heart is also able to  
 suffer the damage before it is removed from the animal.  
 What else is it apart from *dyskrasia*? For its conformation  
 is obviously not undergoing change, nor is its hollowness,  
 ligaments or orifice. Indeed, no other part is being de-  
 stroyed at all—only the natural *krasis* is changing. Thus, all  
 these diseases that occur in *homoiomeres*, as I said, are  
 completely left aside by him. For the damage to a certain  
 function when the blood is blocked at the ends of the arter-  
 ies is the affection of the arteries as organs, whereas [the  
 affections of arteries] as *homoiomeros* bodies, the *dys-*  
*krasias* in terms of bare qualities, are eight in number and  
 122K those with fluxions are [also] eight in number.<sup>22</sup>

Anyone who wishes to grasp the demonstrations of  
 these things through scientific knowledge ought to start  
 from my work *On the Elements* [according to Hippocra-  
 tes], and then read through each of the others in turn, as  
 was said earlier. Following that, there is the treatise *On*  
*Krasias* (*On Mixtures*), and after these the one *On Irregu-*

<sup>22</sup> The fluxions are yellow and black bile, blood, and phlegm.  
 See *De morborum causis*, VII.22–23K.

ἐφεξῆς τὸ Περὶ τῆς ἀνωμάλου δυσκρασίας. εἶτα τὰ Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα περὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν εἴρηται παθῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐκάστης ἰδία. τούτοις δ' ἔπεται τὰ Περὶ χρείας μορίων, οἷς τὰ Περὶ τῶν νοσημάτων τε καὶ συμπτωμάτων διαφορᾶς.

οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἱατρῶν, οὔτε τῇ πείρα μόνῃ προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοὺς ἱατροὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ἀγωγὴν, ὀριγνώμενοί τε τοῦ τελείου, κάπειτα χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως ἀποφάσσει πιστεύοντες, ἢ μοχθηραῖς ἀποδείξεσι παραλογισθέντες, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐξενρίσκουσι χρηστὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐγνωσμένα διαφθείρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ δήπου σμικρὰν ἔχει δύναμιν ὁ λόγος ὡς πρὸς τὸ κοσμηῆσαι τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ διαφθεῖραι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὁ χρηστὸς ἐπικοσμῶν προστίθεται, τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλεον ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἀφαιρεῖ. καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούεις ἐμοῦ<sup>20</sup> λέγοντος ἐκάστοτε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἱατρῶν, ὅσοι πρὶν γυμνάσασθαι κατὰ τὰς λογικὰς μεθόδους ἢ ἀποδεικνύειν τι πειρώμενοι παραλογίζονται σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἢ διαιρεῖν ὅτιοῦν εἰς εἶδη τε καὶ διαφορὰς, εἶτα κἀνταῦθα κακῶν μαγείρων δίκην

<sup>20</sup> ἐμοῦ B, P1, P2; om. K

<sup>23</sup> *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, I.413–508K; *De temperamentis*, I.509–694K; *De inaequali intemperie*, VII.733–52K; and *De naturalibus facultatibus*, II.1–214K. The first has been translated by P. H. de Lacy (1996), the second by P. N. Singer (1997), the third by M. Grant (2000), and the fourth by A. J. Brock (1916).

*lar Dyskrasia* and then *On the Natural Capacities*,<sup>23</sup> and those treatises in which each of the affections of the *psyche* is spoken of specifically and in order.<sup>24</sup> Following these, there is [the work] *On the Uses of the Parts*, and following these again, the works *On the Differentiae of Diseases* and *On the Differentiae of Symptoms*.<sup>25</sup>

But the majority of doctors do not direct their attention to experience alone, although it would be possible for them to become good doctors too in terms of the system of the Empirics. Instead, they desire perfection, either believing claims without [supporting] demonstrations or misleading themselves by unsound demonstrations, so they not only discover nothing useful, but they also destroy those things that have become known through experience. For reason, certainly, has no small capacity for bringing order to experience or for destroying it, but whatever the man of integrity adds to it by way of adornment, so much and even more the unsound man destroys. You have heard me saying these things time and again to many of the doctors who, before they become practiced in the Rationalist methods, either attempt to demonstrate something and mislead themselves by fallacious reasoning, or divide anything at all into kinds and differentiae, and then, like bad

<sup>24</sup> *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequuntur*, IV.767–822K; *De proprium animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*, V.1–57K; and *De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione*, V.58–103K. All three are translated by P. N. Singer (1997).

<sup>25</sup> *De usu partium*, III.1–939K and IV.1–366K; translated by M. T. May (1968). *De differentiis morborum*, VI.836–80K and *De symptomatum differentiis*, VII.42–84K, both translated by I. Johnston (2006).

οὐ κατ' ἄρθρα τέμνουσιν, ἀλλὰ συντρίβουσὶ τε καὶ θλώσιν καὶ διασπῶσιν, ὥσπερ καπὶ τοῦ νῦν ἡμῖν προκειμένου. συμβουλεύω δὴ πᾶσιν, ὡς οἴσθα, τοῖς τοιούτοις τῇ πείρᾳ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὐ σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἅπαντι τῷ μειζόνων ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὀρεγομένῳ πραγμάτων μήτ' ἐκείνων ἐφικέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων γνωσθῆναι παντάπασιν ἀτυχήσαι.

124K τοῖς οὖν καὶ πεφυκόσιν εἶναι ἄριστα καὶ τοῖς μαθάνειν ἄγουσι σχολήν, αὐθις ἡμεῖς διαλεγόμεθα, τοσοῦτον ἀναμνήσαντες αὐτοὺς ὧν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς εἵπομεν, ὡς οὐ προσήκει συγχέειν ἅμα καὶ φύρειν ἀμφοτέρα, τὰ τ' ἐκ τῆς πείρας εὐρισκόμενα καὶ τὰ διὰ μόνου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων ἰδίᾳ διαλεχθέντας, αὐθις ἄμφω συναγαγεῖν. εἰρηκότες οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς | εὐρέσεως ἐτέρωθι, περὶ τῆς λογικῆς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι προὔθεμεθα διελθεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκῶ σαφῶς ἤδη δεδειχέναι, τοῖς γε τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων τε καὶ συμπτωμάτων διαφορᾶς ἀνεγνωκόσι, πρὸς οὓς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα πᾶς ἔσται μοι λόγος, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ μέγιστον πτόμα πεπτώκασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Θεσσαλόν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐ σμικρὸν οὐδὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιάδειον πτόμα, διὰ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσφάλλθαι τὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος στοιχεῖα, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνιατότερον ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Θεσσαλόν, εἰς δύο μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ δίαιταν νοσήματα διαθέσεις ἀναγαγόντες ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν θεραπευτικῶν σκοπῶν

butchers, do not cut at the joints,<sup>26</sup> but beat, crush, and tear apart just as [they do] in the matter now before us. Certainly I advise everyone, as you know, to pay attention to such things on the basis of experience. For the danger is not trifling to anyone who desires to attain something beyond his capability in that he fails to achieve those things he takes upon himself and altogether fails in the things that can be understood.

Therefore, let me again take up the discussion with those who are, by nature, the best and who have the time to learn, reminding them of those things I said right at the start—that it is not appropriate to confuse and mix up both things, i.e. those discovered through experience and those discovered by reason alone. Rather, it is proper to discuss each of them individually and then bring both together. I have spoken about the empirical conception elsewhere; I propose to go over in detail the Rationalist [conception] in these treatises. And it seems to me I have already shown clearly, at least to those who have read the treatises on the differentiae of diseases and symptoms (for it is to them my whole argument to follow will be directed), that right at the start the followers of Thessalus took a great tumble.

124K

Now the Asclepiadian tumble was by no means small because the man erred right at the beginning regarding the elements of the body.<sup>27</sup> But what the Thessaleians did was far worse than this and more incorrigible. Like Asclepiades, they reduced all the diseases connected with regimen to two conditions, but they also did away with many of

<sup>26</sup> This is Plato's image in *Philebus* 265e.

<sup>27</sup> This is the fundamental difference between atomic theories of structure and theories involving the four elemental qualities.



ἀφελόντες, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο. χεῖριστον δὲ καὶ ἀναιτότερον ἀμαρτάνοντες, ὅτι μήτε τὰς τῶν ἐνεργειῶν βλάβας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν τὰς διαθέσεις ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι νοσήματα, μόναις δὲ ταῖς κενώσεις ἐπεχομέναις τε καὶ πλεοναζούσαις ἀξιούσι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, οὐδ' οὖν οὐδὲ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ πέρα τοῦ δεόντος ἢ κενούσθαι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, ἢ ἐπέχεσθαι διδάξαντες ἡμᾶς σαφῶς. ἢ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν, ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὴν | διάθεσιν, ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὑγείαν ἐκάστω τετηρημένον ἀναφέρεσθαι χρὴ τὴν τήρησιν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ πόλεμος οὐ σμικρὸς τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο κατὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα διενεχθεῖσι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἐννοίας τε καὶ ὑπάρξεως. ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν κινήσαιμι τὴν περὶ τῆς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν διέξοδον, ἀπάξω τοῦ χρησίμου τὸν λόγον.

ὡς οὖν ἀνεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων τε καὶ συμπτωμάτων διαφορᾶς ὑπομνήματα καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἔτι τὰ τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτους ἐκεῖνα σύμπαντα διεληλυθόσιν ὧν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐμνημόνευσα, τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα ποιήσομαι λόγον, ἀρξάμενος ἐνθάδε. ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀπάσας ἐδείξαμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν γιγνομένης σωμαμάτων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ὄργανον μόρια χρειαίαν τινὰ τούτοις παρέχοντα, διττὸν δὴπου γένος ἔσται νοσημάτων, ἕτερον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιόμερεσι σώμασιν, ἕτερον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ὄργανοις· ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοιομέρεσιν αἱ δυσκρασίαι τῶν δ' ὅλων

the therapeutic objectives which that man made use of. Worse, and more difficult to correct, they were mistaken in that they took neither the damages of functions nor even the conditions that were the causes of these to be diseases, thinking it worthwhile to direct their attention to the evacuations alone, either retentions or excesses, but not teaching us clearly what constitutes more than is required, either of an evacuation of things from the body, or of a retention. We ought to direct attention either to the capacity, or to the cause, or to the condition, or to what has been observed in each of these during health. Whence, I think, no small battle arose among those of their number who disagreed about everything else, as well as about the concept and existence of the affections. But if I were now to apply myself to the issue of the discord among them, I would be diverting the discussion away from what is useful.

I shall, therefore, fashion the whole discussion that follows for those who have already read the treatises on the differentiae of diseases and symptoms, and, in addition to these, those on their causes, and over and above these, all those I made mention of a little earlier; and I shall make a start here. Since I showed that all functions arise by the agency of *homoiomerous* bodies whereas all the other parts relating to each organ provide a certain use for them, there will be, of course, a twofold class of diseases: one in *homoiomerous* bodies and the other in whole organs. In the *homoiomeres* there are the *dyskrasias*. Of the whole

126K ὀργάνων ἐν μὲν τὸ παρὰ τὴν διάπλασιν, ἐν δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μορίων, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἐκάστου, καὶ τέταρτον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θέσιν, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν | μορίων νόσημά ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς συνεχείας λύσις. ἔξ οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν νοσημάτων γένη· ἐν μὲν ἴδιον τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν, ἢ δυσκρασία, τέτταρα δὲ ἐκάστου τῶν ὀργάνων, ὡς εἴρηται νῦν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔστι κοινὸν ὀργανικῶν τε καὶ ὁμοιομερῶν ἢ τῆς συνεχείας λύσις. αἱ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν διαφοραὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων εἰδῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων διαφορᾶς εἴρηται.

7. Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἤδη λεκτέον ὑπὲρ τῶν θεραπευτικῶν ἐνδείξεων, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρότερον ἐξηγησαμένους τὸ τῆς ἐνδείξεως ὄνομα. τὴν γὰρ οἶον ἐμφασιν τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐνδείξω λέγομεν. εὐρίσκεται μὲν καὶ τῆς πείρας τὸ ἀκόλουθον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐμφαινόμενον τῷ ἡγουμένῳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν οὐδεὶς ἐμφαίνεσθαι φησὶ τῷδε τινι, τόδε τι. καίτοι γε ἀκολουθεῖν λέγουσι τόδε τῷδε καὶ προηγέσθαι τόδε τοῦδε καὶ συνυπάρχειν τόδε τῷδε, καὶ ὅλως ἅπασαν τὴν τέχνην τήρησίν τε καὶ μνήμην φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ τί σὺν τίνι καὶ τί πρὸ τίνος<sup>21</sup> καὶ τί μετὰ τίνος<sup>22</sup> 127K πολλάκις | ἐώραται. τὸν τοίνυν ἔξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ πράγματος φύσεως ὀρμώμενον ἐξευρίσκειν τὸ ἀκόλουθον

<sup>21</sup> πρὸ τίνος B (conj. quoque Hankinson); πρὸς τίνος P1, P2, K <sup>22</sup> τί μετὰ τί P1; τί μετὰ τίνος B, P2, K

organs, one [kind of disease] is because of the conformation, one because of the number of parts, another because of the magnitude of each, and a fourth because of the position. Common to both the *homoiomeres* and the organic parts is the disease that is the dissolution of continuity.<sup>28</sup> There are, then, six classes of diseases in all. One, *dyskrasia*, is specific to *homoiomeres*, four are specific to each of the organs, as I said just now, and, in addition to these, and common to organs and *homoiomeres*, there is dissolution of continuity. The differentiae in relation to each of these, right up to the ultimate kinds, have been considered in my work *On the Differentiae of Diseases*.

7. These things being thus, we must now speak about the therapeutic indications after first explaining this very thing—the term “indication.” We say that an indication is a reflection, as it were, of what is consequent. The consequent is discovered from experience, but not as something that is apparent in the antecedent. And for this reason none of the Empirics speaks of anything being reflected by anything else. Yet they say that this is consequent upon that, or that this is antecedent to that, or that this and that coexist, and they say that in general the whole art [of medicine] is the observation and recollection of what has been observed in conjunction with what, and what prior to what, and what in association with what on many occasions. Therefore, the person who sets out to discover what 127K is consequent from the actual nature of the matter without

<sup>28</sup> A disease class first specifically identified by Galen—see *De differentis morborum*, VI.871–72K. Diseases of this class are the subject of Books 3–6 of the present treatise.

ἀνευ τῆς πείρας ἐνδείξει τὴν<sup>23</sup> εὔρεσιν ἔστι πεποιήσθαι.

διωρισμένοι δὲ καὶ τοῦδε πάλιν ἀναμνήσαντες ὅπερ ἤδη καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπομεν, ὡς ἡ θεραπευτικὴ πᾶσα μέθοδος ἀνευ τῆς ἐμπειρίας προέρχεται καὶ ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιῶσιν οἱ συνάγοντες εἰς ταῦτον καὶ συγγέοντες ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἐμπειρικὴν τε καὶ λογικὴν, ἐχώμεθα τῶν ἐξῆς. εἴη δ' ἂν πρῶτον ἀπάντων τῶν ἐφεξῆς, ὅπερ καὶ πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἔπεται τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις. ἔπεται δὲ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ δι' ἐνδείξεως ἅπασαν γίνεσθαι τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον. ὅσον γὰρ ἀποκεχώρηκε τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἐνδείξεις ὀνομάζεται σύμπαν. ὥστε καὶ ὅστις ἀκριβῶς βούλεται συστήσασθαι τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον, ἄρξασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐνδείξεων χρή, μεταβῆναι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐφεξῆς, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐχομένας, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶντα μὴ παύσασθαι πρὶν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ.<sup>24</sup>

128K τέλος δ' ἔστι τῆς νῦν ἡμῖν προκειμένης πραγματείας ἐξευρεῖν ἐκάστου τῶν νοσημάτων ἰάματα. τίς οὖν | ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο φερούσης ὁδοῦ; τοῦ νοσηματος ἢ γνώσις, ὁποῖόν τι τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ὡς ἀπεδείχθη καὶ πρόσθεν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸ θεραπευόμενον αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εὐλογον δῆπου καὶ τῶν ἐνδείξεων ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι. τίς οὖν ἡ γενικὴ καὶ κοινὴ πάντων τῶν νοσημάτων ἐνδείξις εὔρεῖν χρή πρῶτον, εἴτα ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατ' εἶδη προελθεῖν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ τὰς νόσους ἀπάσας ἐνὸς καὶ ταυτοῦ μεθέξει νόσους

[drawing on] experience is making the discovery by indication.

Having established this distinction, let me call to mind again what I already spoke about earlier—that the whole therapeutic method proceeds independent of experience and that those who combine both teachings, empirical and rational, into one thing, and compound them together are wrong—and let me deal with what comes next. First of all things in order is also that which is first of all things that follow those things laid down. What follows first and foremost is that the whole therapeutic method is based on indication. For whatever is distinct from experience is all called indication, so that anyone who wishes to formulate the therapeutic method accurately should begin from the primary indications and move on from there to those things that follow, and then again, in turn, to those things associated with these, and not stop doing this until he reaches its completion.

The goal of the matter now lying before us is to discover cures for each of the diseases. What, then, is the beginning of the path leading to this? The knowledge of disease— 128K what kind of thing it is by nature—as was also shown before. For surely, if this is the actual thing to be treated, it is reasonable here, I presume, to start from the indications. First, it is necessary to discover the generic and common indication of all diseases, and then proceed from here to those indications based on kinds. Now it is necessary that all diseases are called diseases by virtue of their sharing in

<sup>23</sup> ἐνδείξει τὴν B, P1, P2; ἐνδείξεις καὶ K

<sup>24</sup> αὐτοῦ B, P1; αὐτῶν K

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ονομάζεσθαι καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ βόυν  
καὶ κύνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον. ἐν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτὸν ἐν  
ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ. διὸ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προση-  
γορίας ἅπαντες ἐτύχομεν ἄνθρωποι καλεῖσθαι. παρα-  
πλησίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν ἅπασιν ἐν τι καὶ ταῦτόν  
ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπεριδόμεθα νοῆσαι  
βουληθέντες τὸν κύνα. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις  
ὁμοίως ἐν τι καὶ ταῦτόν ἅπασιν ἐστὶν ἢ πάντες ἵπποι  
καλοῦνται. μάθοις δ' ἂν ἐναργέστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμωνύ-  
μων αὐτό. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τετράποσι ζώοις ἅπασιν τοῖς  
ὕλακτικοῖς ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ὑπάρχει, τὸ τετράποσί τ'  
εἶναι σύμπασι καὶ ὕλακτικοῖς. τοῖς δ' ἐναλίους θηρίοις  
τοῖς ἀρπακτικοῖς, ἃ | δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ κύνας ὀνομάζομεν,  
ἐν αὐτῶν κακείνοις ὑπάρχει ταῦτόν, οὐχ ὑπάρχον τοῖς  
ἐπιγείοις. ὥστε μηδεὶς ἐκεῖνα τούτοις κοινωεῖν ἄλ-  
λου κατὰ τὴν τῶν κυνῶν φύσιν πλὴν ὀνόματος. ἀν-  
θρώπῳ μέντοι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, οἷον Σωκράτει πρὸς  
Ἀλκιβιάδην, οὐκ ὀνόματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
χόντων ἐστὶν ἡ κοινωία· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ζῶα καὶ δίποδα  
καὶ πεζὰ καὶ λογικὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἂν  
εὖροις ὑπάρχον οὐδενὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων ἢ  
ἀνθρώπου, ὃ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν<sup>25</sup> ὑπάρχει.  
τοῖς μέντοι χερσαίοις κυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους θαλατ-  
τίους ὑπάρχει πολλὰ διαφέροντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ  
σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος. ἡμερον  
γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, ἐπίβουλον δ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ  
ἄγριον, καὶ χερσαῖον μὲν τοῦτο, θαλάττιον δ' ἐκεῖνο,  
καὶ τὸ μὲν τετράπουν, τὸ δὲ οὐ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὕλακτικόν,

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one and the same thing, just as, I think, man, dog, cow and  
each of the other [animals] do, for there is one same thing  
in all men. It is because of this that all men happen to be  
called by the same name. Similarly too, in all dogs there is  
some one same thing which we direct our attention to if we  
wish to conceive of "dog." Further, in all horses also, there  
is likewise one same thing on the basis of which all are  
called "horse." You would understand this more distinctly  
in the case of homonyms, for there is this one and the same  
thing in all four-footed animals that bark, which is that they  
are all four-footed and barking. In those wild and predat-  
ory sea creatures, which we actually also call dogs, there is  
again one and the same thing belonging to them which  
does not belong to those on dry land. Thus they have noth-  
ing else in common with terrestrial dogs apart from the  
name. However, in one man in relation to another man, for  
example, in Socrates in relation to Alcibiades, the com-  
monality is not only one of name but also of what pertains  
to them. For, in fact, they are both animals, terrestrial bi-  
ped, rational and mortal, and, in general, you would find  
nothing belonging to man *qua* man that does not also be-  
long to all others. However, in terrestrial dogs compared to  
the others that are sea-dwelling, there are many differ-  
ences, both in the form of the body and in the disposition  
of the soul. For the one is tame and gets on well with hu-  
mans, whereas the other is treacherous and wild; one is  
terrestrial whereas the other is marine; one is a quadruped  
but the other is not; one barks but the other does not. But

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<sup>25</sup> ἅπασιν B (ἅπασιν P1); ἀνθρώποις K

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τὸ δὲ οὐχ ὑλακτικόν. οὐ μὴν τῶν ἐπιγείων κυνῶν ὁ μὲν ὑλακτικός ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὑλακτικός, καὶ τετράπους μὲν ὅδε τις, ἕτερος δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐν εἶδος ἐστίν ἢ κύνες ὀνομάζονται καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῖς οὐσίαις ἔοικεν ὑπάρχειν | τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ὡς διαθέσεσιν, ἢ ὡς ἐνεργήμασιν, ἢ ὡς παθήμασιν.

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οἷον ἄνθρωπος περιπατῶν ἀνθρώπου περιπατοῦντος οὐδὲν διαφέρει κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ περιπατεῖν, καὶ καιόμενος δὴ καιόμενος καὶ τεμνόμενος τεμνομένου καὶ λευκὸς λευκοῦ καὶ μέλας μέλανος· ἐν μέντοι τῷ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον ἕκαστον τούτων οὐ σμικρὰν ἔχει διαφορὰν· οἷον λευκὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον· ἀλλ' ἢ λευκός, ἐν τι καὶ ταῦτον ἐτέρῳ λευκῷ κέκτηται· καθάπερ καὶ ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν τι ταῦτον ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τυχόντι. καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δὴ τῶν σημαινομένων ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει ταῦτόν· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν· τὸ μὲν τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἐν καὶ ταῦτον ἐκάτερον· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς ἄνθρωπος φωνῆς ἐν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ὑγείας ἐν σημαίνεται. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἢ καθ' ἕκαστην ἡμέραν ἡμῖν γιγνομένη πρὸς ἀλλήλους διάλεκτος, ὡς ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἐστίν ὁμωνυμία, τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐν ὑπάρχει. λέγοντος γὰρ τινος ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου πληγῆναι λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλῆν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀσαφῆς ὁ λόγος, οὐδ' ἀμφίβολος, ὥσπερ εἰ καταβρωθήναι τις, εἰ | οὕτως ἔτυχε, Κορίσκον ὑπὸ κυνὸς διηγείτο· Τίνος γὰρ κυνός;

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among terrestrial dogs, it is not that one is barking and another is not, or that one is four-footed and another is not like this—in all of them there is one form on the basis of which they are called dogs, and it seems that they are not only like this in their substances at least, but also in those things that are contingent to them, such as conditions, functions, or affections.

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For example, one man who walks does not differ from another man who walks in respect to the walking itself; nor, certainly, does one man being cauterized differ from another being cauterized, nor does one being cut differ from another being cut, nor does one who is white differ from another who is white, nor does one who is black differ from another who is black. Nevertheless, there is no small difference in terms of more or less with respect to each of these qualities. For example, whiteness is more or less, but insofar as there is the possession of whiteness, it is the same in one as it is in another; just as also, in being a man there is one thing that is the same for whoever happens to be a man. And in respect to each of the things signified, one thing is the same for all. It is like this, too, with being diseased and being healthy. What is in all those who are diseased and what is in all those who are healthy is one and the same in either case. And just as by the term "man" one thing is signified, so too is it the case for "health." This is clear from the conversation that occurs between each of us every day when, in those things for which there is no homonym, one thing is signified. For when someone says he has been hit on the head with a stone by a man, the statement is not obscure or ambiguous to anyone who hears it, as it would be if someone were to report, should it happen to be the case, that Coriscus was devoured by a dog. "By

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ὁ ἀκούσας ἐρήσεται διότι, οἶμαι, δύο ἐστὶν εἶδη κυνῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐπίγειον, τὸ δὲ ἐνάλιον. οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ τίνος γε λίθου καὶ τίνα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρωτήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ λίθου παντὸς ἐν εἶδος ἢ λίθος ἐστὶ καὶ κεφαλῆς ἀπάσης ἢ κεφαλῆ, κυνὸς δ' οὐχ ἐν ἢ κύων, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γλώττης ἢ γλώττα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐλοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματος καὶ ζῶου μόριον ἢ γλώττα. καὶ εἴ τινος ἀκούσῃς οἰκέτῃ προστάσσοντος ὠνήσασθαι γλώτταν, ἄδηλόν ἐστιν ἤντινα λέγει γλώτταν· οὐ μὴν εἰ γαστέρα τις, ἢ κύστιν ἢ ἥπαρ ὠνήσασθαι κελεύει. καθ' ἕκαστον οὖν τῶν σημαινομένων ἐν τι πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ὑποκείμενον, οὐ μὴν καθ' ἕκαστην γε τῶν φωνῶν ἐν ἐνίῳτε μέντοι σημαίνεται μόνον πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς, ὑπόκειται δὲ οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν οὕτω λεγομένων οὐ πρόκειται νῦν διελθεῖν. ἐν οἷς δὲ οὐ σημαίνεται τι μόνον ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρᾶγμα τί ἐστὶν ὑποκείμενον, ὅσαπερ ἂν ἢ τὰ σημαινόμενα, τοσαῦται καὶ αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπάρχουσιν ἰδέαι· τῆς μὲν φωνῆς ἐν σημαινούσης ἐν ἑξ' ἀνάγκης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πρᾶγματος εἶδος. |

132K ἀριθμῶ μέντοι πολλὰ ταῦτα ἐγχωρεῖ γενέσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ α. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑπτὰ μὲν τὰ φωνήεντά φαμεν ὑπάρχειν, στοιχεῖα δὲ τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσι τὰ σύμπαντα, κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δηλονότι διάλεκτον, ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων εἶδος ἀποβλέποντες ἐν ὑπάρχον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν χάρταις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ διφθέραις καὶ λίθοις γεγραμμένα, πάμπόλυ τι πλήθος ὄντα καὶ μηδ' ἀριθμηθῆναι δυνάμενα

what dog," the listener will ask, because I think, there are two kinds of dogs: one terrestrial and the other marine. But he will certainly not ask by what stone, or what head. For there is one form for every stone by which it is a stone, and for every head by which it is a head, but there is not one form of dog by which it is a dog, just as there is not one of tongue by which it is a tongue, for a tongue is part of a pipe, and of a shoe, and of an animal. And if you heard someone giving an order to a slave to buy a tongue, it would not be clear which tongue he is referring to. But if someone were to direct him to buy a stomach, bladder or liver, it would be clear. In relation to each of the things signified, there is, then, some one thing underlying it, but not one in relation to each of the terms. Sometimes, however, something is only signified by the term, and nothing underlies it. But it is not our present task to expatiate about things spoken of in this way. In those instances where something is not only signified by the term, but there is also some matter underlying, there are as many forms of matters existing as there are things signified. When the term signifies one thing there is, of necessity, one form of the matter.

In number, however, it is possible for many of these things to occur, as with the letter *alpha*. And because of this, when we say there are seven vowels, and twenty-four elements altogether, this clearly relates to our language, since we are looking at what is the one common form of everything and not at the individual [letters] as having been written on papyrus, wood, parchment, or stone, which are very many and cannot be counted, and which extend al-

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καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτεινόμενα· δύναται γοῦν ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος α καὶ β καὶ γ γράφεσθαι μυρία, κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον γραμμάτων. ἀλλὰ τά γε σύμπαντα τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι φαμεν, οὐ τὰ κατὰ μέρος προχειρίζομενοι, τὰ δ' εἶδη μόνον, καθ' ὧν περ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα φέρομεν. ἄλφα γὰρ οὐ τοῦτὶ μὲν τι λέγεται τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν χάρτῃ, τουτὶ δ' οὐ λέγεται τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν ξύλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο κάκείνο, κἂν εἰ κατὰ τῆς γῆς γράψαις, κἂν εἰ κατὰ λίθου, κἂν εἰ καταξύσαις, κἂν εἰ διὰ χρωμάτων. καὶ οὐδὲ πολλὰ τοὺς παῖδάς τις διδάσκει α καὶ β καὶ γ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἕκαστον, ὁμοῦ δὲ σύμπαντα τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσιν. οὕτως δὲ κἂν ἵππον ἕνα | δείξεις, ἢ κάμηλον παιδί, θεασάμενος αἰθῆς ἕτερον ἵππον, ἢ κάμηλον ἑτέραν, οὐκ ἐρωτᾷ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ζῷον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἵππον ὀνομάζει, τὸ δὲ κάμηλον. καὶ ταῦτόν γε εἶναι ἐκεῖνό φησι τοῦτο τὸ πρόσθεν ὄραθῆν τῷ νῦν ὀρωμένῳ. καίτοι τὸ μὲν, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ἀπέθανεν, ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν ὀρώμενον. οἶνον δὴ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν αὐτὸν χθὲς καὶ τήμερον πεπωκέναι, τῷ εἶδει δηλονότι τὸν αὐτόν· ἐνίοτε δὲ φασι τρεῖς οἶνους πεπωκέναι τήμερον, ἢ νῆ Δία ἕνα, πανταχοῦ πρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἀποβλέποντες, ἐπικεῖσθαι τε μίαν, εἰ τύχοι, σφραγίδα πεντεκαίδεκα θύραις, ἐν ἅπασιν τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀναφέροντες τὸν λόγον. οὕτω δὲ ἐναργὲς ἐστὶ καὶ φύσει πᾶσιν ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ βοσκήμασιν ἕτερον μὲν τι ὡς ὑποκείμενον κατ' οὐσίαν,

most to infinity. One would be able, in the space of a whole lifetime, to write *alpha* and *beta* and *gamma* innumerable times, and the same with each of the other letters. But when we say these are altogether twenty-four in number, we do not choose those individually but the forms alone, in respect of which, I believe, we apply the names here. For *alpha* is not said of this particular something that is written on papyrus, or this particular thing that is written on wood, but it is this and that, even if you write it on earth, or on stone, or if you inscribe it, or if [you write it] with colors. And nobody teaches children many *alphas* and *betas* and *gammas* and each of the other [letters], but each single one, and altogether for the whole twenty-four. Likewise, if you show one horse or camel to a child, when the child later sees another horse or camel, he won't ask what the animal is, but names one a horse and the other a camel. And he says that what he saw before is the same as what he sees now, and the same, even though, as may happen, the first one dies and the one now seen is another. Men say that the wine they have drunk was the same yesterday as it is today since it is clearly the same in kind. Sometimes they say they have drunk three wines today, or, by Zeus, one, but in all cases they are looking at the kind, and if they say one seal is placed, should it so happen, on fifteen doors, in all these [instances] they are applying the term to the form. In this way it is clear, and is innate in everyone, both humans and beasts, to recognize one thing as underlying in terms of

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ἕτερον δὲ ὡς εἶδος ἐν ἐπινοεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις, οἵπερ ἀπάντων τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀνοητότατοί γε δοκοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν, ἄλλο μὲν τὸ κατ' εἶδος ἐν, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ κατ' ἀριθμόν, εἰς διάγνωσιν ἤκει. θεασάμενος γοῦν κάμηλον ὁ ὄνος ἐξίσταται τε καὶ φεύγει καὶ δέδιεν, εἰ μὴδέποτε τύχοι θεασάμενος· εἰ μὲν τοι συνεθισθείη | τῷ θεάματι, καὶ ἄλλην αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλην ἐπιδείξῃς κάμηλον, οὐκέτι δέδιεν ὑπὸ συνηθείας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν εἶδος ὄρᾳ κάκείνην ἢ συνεθισθῆ καὶ ταύτην ἢ πρώτως ἐντυγχάνει. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ δέδιεν ὑπὸ συνηθείας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν εἶδος ὄρᾳ καὶ τούτους· εἰ μέντοι θεάσασαιτο τὸν ὀνηλάτην, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὸν δέ τινα γνωρίζει καὶ σείει γε τὰ ὦτα πολλάκις καὶ τὴν κέρκον κινεῖ καὶ ὀγκᾶται καὶ σκιρτᾷ θεασάμενος, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι γνωρίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπον καὶ ὡς συνηθῆ γνωρίζει· τὸν δὲ νῦν αὐτῷ πρῶτον ὀφθέντα, καθ' ὅσον μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὡσαύτως, ὡς συνηθῆ δ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως.

ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ ὄνοι τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀριθμῷ ταῦτόν ὀρώσι τε καὶ διαγιγνώσκουσι καὶ μέμνηται, τὸ δὲ ὡς εἶδει. καὶ τὸν Δίωνα τὸν ὀνηλάτην, ἔστω γάρ, εἰ τύχοι οὕτως λεγόμενος, ἄλλως μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ἄλλως δὲ ὡς Δίωνα γνωρίζουσιν οἱ συνηθεῖς ὄνοι, τὸ μέντοι κοινὸν εἶδος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντες, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον ἐξαίρετον ὡς Δίωνος μόνου.

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καὶ τοσοῦτον τοίνυν δέον τοὺς παλαιούς | φιλοσόφους ἐπαινεῖν, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ σοφὸν ἐξευρόντας, ὅτι

substance, and another one thing as the form, so that even donkeys, which seem to be the most unintelligent of all domesticated animals, also come to the distinction between what is different in respect to form, and what is different in respect to number. At any rate, when a donkey sees a camel, it becomes frantic and flees, and is fearful, if it should happen never to have seen one. If, however, it has become accustomed to the sight, and you had shown it one camel after another, it would no longer be afraid due to habituation, since it sees the one form in that to which it has become accustomed, and this which it encounters for the first time. In the same way too it is not afraid of men due to habituation, since it also sees the one form in them. If, however, it sees the donkey driver, [it recognizes him] not only as a man but also as someone it knows, and shakes its ears often, and moves its tail, and brays, and leaps up when it sees him, revealing that it knows the familiar. It recognizes this person both as a man and as someone it is accustomed to. On the other hand, the man now seen by it for the first time, [it recognizes] in the same way as a man, but not like one it is accustomed to.

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So it is not only us but now donkeys too who see one thing as being the same in number, and distinguish and remember it, and another thing as being the same in form. Donkeys that are used to Dion the donkey driver—for let him be so named—recognize him in one way as a man and in another way as Dion, taking his common form and the relation to other men as being of a man, and what is specific and distinctive about him as being of Dion alone.

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To such a degree, then, our praise for the ancient philosophers as having discovered something important and



τὸ ταῦτόν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ οὐχ ἓν οὐ μόνον κατ' ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' εἶδος χρῆ νοεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις φημὶ τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν φύσει. πρόσκειται μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἀριθμῶ καὶ εἶδει λέγεται τι ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ γένει. οὐ μὴν ἤδη γέ πω τοῦδε χρῆζω πρὸς τὰ παρόντα· μόνον γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μοι τὸ δεῖξαι τῶν ὄνων ὑπάρχοντας ἀναισθητοτέρους ὅσοι μὴ συγχωροῦσιν ἕτερον μὲν τι τῷ εἶδει τὸ ἓν, ἕτερον δ' ἀριθμῶ λέγεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοὺς ἓνα μὲν τὸν φρενιτικὸν εἶναι λέγοντας καὶ ἓνα τὸν Ἐμπειρικόν, ἓνα δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι μὴ συγχωροῦντας, ἢ μὴ γνωσκοντας ὡς εἶδει μὲν ἓν ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς, ἀριθμῶ δ' οὐχ ἓν. οὐδ' ὁ Σωκράτης μὲν ἓν καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὁ φρενιτικὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος εἷς, οὐχ εἷς δὲ ἔστι τὸ πλῆθος. οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται Δίωνα καὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Θέαωνα καὶ Κορίσκον ἅμα πάντα, εἰ τύχοι, φρενιτίζοντας ἓνα τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τέσσαρας ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἓνα, τὸ πλῆθος δ' οὐχ ἓνα.

136K παραλογώτερον δέ τι τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ἰατρῶν ἔστιν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἐμπειρικὸν ἓνα λέγουσιν, εἴτ' ἐρωτηθέντες πῶς ἓνα φασὶ τὸν ζῶντα τῷ τεθνεῶτι, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀποκρίνονται πρὸς τοῦτο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν. ἢ γάρ φασιν Ἐμπειρικός ἐστι, ταύτη καὶ εἷς. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναισθησίας ἐστίν, εἰ προστιθέντες τὸ ἢ καὶ τὸ ταύτη, μηδ' ὧν αὐτοὶ φθέγγονται συνίασιν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταύτη γε Σεραπίων καὶ Μηνόδοτος εἷς ἔστων ἢ Ἐμπει-

wise—that we ought to perceive the same and the different, and the one and not one, not only in relation to number, but also in relation to form—must be tempered by the fact that this is, as I say, also innate in donkeys. What is added by the ancient philosophers is that something is said to be the same not only in number and form, but also in class. I do not, at least for now, have need of this for my present purpose. For it is enough for me just to show that those who do not agree that it is one thing to say that something is one in form and another to say it is one in number are more stupid than donkeys. More stupid still are those who say it is one thing to be phrenetic and one to be an Empiric, but do not agree that it is one thing to be a man, or do not know that man is one in form but not in number. Nor is Socrates one in form and number, whereas someone who is phrenetic is one in form but not one in number. It is not possible that Dion, Socrates, Theon and Coriscus, if it should happen that they were all phrenetic at the same time, were one in number, since there are four of them. But they are one in form although not in number.

More contrary to reason is something the Empiric doctors say: that “Empiric” is one thing. But when they are asked how they say that someone living is the same as someone dead, or someone in Greece is the same as someone in Egypt, they give a remarkable answer to this [question]. For, they say, “by virtue of” being an Empiric, he is also one in this way. Truly it is a mark of the utmost stupidity if they add “by virtue of” and “in this way” without being cognizant of what they are saying. For if, in fact, Serapion and Menodotus are one “in this way” “by virtue of” being

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ρικοί, κατ' ἄλλα δήπουθεν οὐχ εἰς ἔσσονται. ὥστ' εἴ γε παντοίως εἰς ἦν, ἐκ περιττοῦ καὶ μάτην ἂν, οἶμαι, προσέκειτο τὸ ἦ καὶ τὸ ταύτη, παρὸν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰς ἔστι Σεραπίων καὶ Μηνόδοτος.

137K οὕτως οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου Μηνοδότου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος, οὐκ ἂν προσθήκης δεηθείης, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἂν εἴποις, εἰς ἔστι Μηνόδοτος. εἰ τοίνυν Μηνόδοτος μὲν εἰς ἀπλῶς, Μηνόδοτος δὲ καὶ Σεραπίων οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰς, ἀλλ' ἦ Ἐμπειρικοί, πάντως δήπουθεν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἕτερον ἅπαντα καθ' ἃ δύο εἰσὶ καὶ οὐχ εἰς ἀμφοτέροι, καὶ γίνεται τοῦτο ἐκείνο τὸ πρὸς τῶν | παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων εἰρημένον, ἕτερον μὲν ἀριθμῶ καὶ ταῦτόν καὶ ἓν, ἕτερον δὲ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστόν, εἰ Μηνόδοτος Σεραπίωνι κατὰ τι μὲν ὁ αὐτός ἔστι καὶ εἰς, κατὰ τι δὲ οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐδ' εἰς. ἦ μὲν γὰρ Ἐμπειρικός ὁ αὐτός, ἦ δ' ὁ μὲν σιμός, ὁ δὲ γρυνπός, ἦ μέλας, ἦ λευκός, ἦ μέγας, ἦ μικρός, οὐχ ὁ αὐτός. ἄρ' οὖν οὕτως ἔστιν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὡσεὶ ἦ γρυνπός ἦ σιμός, ἦ οὕτως ὡς Ἐμπειρικός; ἦ καὶ παῖς τοῦτό γε νοήσειεν, ὡς ἦ μὲν ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἔστιν, ἦ δ' ὁ μὲν σιμός, ὁ δὲ γρυνπός, οὐχ εἰς.

ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐσχάτης ἀναισθησίας, ἢ φιλονεικίας, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τί ποτε καὶ προσεῖπεῖν ἄξιον, ἓνα μὲν ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι τὸν φρενιτικὸν ἢ φρενιτικός, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ληθαργικὸν τε καὶ πλευριτικὸν, οὐδένα δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐμπειρικὸν ἓνα λέγειν ἢ Ἐμπειρικός, οὐχ ἓνα δὲ τὸν ἵππον ἢ ἵππος, ἐνὸν ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος Ἀριστοτέλους τε καὶ

Empirics, in other respects, presumably, they will not be one. So if, in fact, they are one in all kinds of ways, it would be superfluous and pointless, I think, to add "by virtue of" and "in this way," when it is possible simply to say that Serapion and Menodotus are one.

It would be similar if you were to make the argument about Menodotus himself alone, since you would not need any addition, but could simply say "Menodotus is one thing." If, therefore, Menodotus is simply one thing whereas Menodotus and Serapion are not simply one thing, but only "by virtue of" being Empirics, then assuredly there are, for them, other things in relation to which they are two and not one, and this is what has been stated by the philosophers of old—that it is one thing to be one and the same in number, but another thing to be one and the same in form, and there is nothing remarkable about Menodotus being the same as, and one with Serapion in respect to one thing, but not one and the same in some respect. Is it in this way, then, that each of them is a man, like being hook-nosed or snub-nosed, or is it, in this way, like being Empirics? Even a child would know this at least—that "by virtue of" being a man they are one, but "by virtue of" being snub-nosed or hook-nosed, they are not one.

Is it not the utmost stupidity or contentiousness—I don't know what the best term for it is—to grant that the man with phrenitis is one thing "by virtue of" being phrenitic and the same in the case of the man with lethargy and the man with pleurisy, but not to grant that a man is one thing "by virtue of" being a man, and also to say that the man who is an Empiric is one thing "by virtue of" being an Empiric whereas a horse is not one thing "by virtue of" being a horse? It is possible to listen to Aristotle and Theo-

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Θεοφράστου δύνασθαι τι τῷ μὲν εἶδει ταῦτον ὑπάρχειν ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ, τῷ δ' ἀριθμῷ μὴ ταῦτόν, ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κακείνοις ὑφηγησαμένου τὴν τοιαύτην | διαστολὴν τῶν σημαινομένων ἐπακοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν ἐστιν εἶναι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ εἶν. οὕτω γὰρ σαφῶς ἅπαντα τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ Πλάτων διήλθεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλήβου, ὥστ' ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζω σαφῆ.

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γνωρίζουσι γοῦν οἱ ὄνοι καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ βοῦν, καὶ τόνδ' εἰς τινα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τήνδ' εἰς τινα τὴν κάμηλον, καὶ τόνδ' εἰς τινα τὸν βοῦν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁδὸν οὐ μόνον ἀπλῶς ὡς ὁδόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τήνδ' εἰς τινα γνωρίζουσιν. ἐπίστησον γοῦν ὄνον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὁδοῦ μὴ γνωρίμου καὶ θέασαι πῶς αὐτὴν βαδίζει τε καὶ διέρχεται πᾶσαν, οὐκ ἐκτρέπόμενος ἐκατέρωσε, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τύχοι που σχιζομένη, δῆλον ποιῶν ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁδοῦ μέμνηται καὶ γινώσκει σαφῶς. βαδίζει γοῦν τὴν τετριμμένην· καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἀγνοεῖ σφάλλεται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν γε ἄτομον καὶ μίαν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μεμνημένος ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἦν οὐκ οἶδε βαδίζειν δύναται. δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἣν νῦν βαδίζει πρῶτον, ἣ μὲν ὁδὸς ὡς εἶδει γινώσκων βαδίζει, καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἀριθμῷ μία, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοεῖ τῷ τε μηδαμῶς | πρὸς τὰς ἀτρίπτους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ

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phrastus when they say that there is a capability for some one thing to be the same as another in form but not the same in number, and even before these men, to the one who showed the way to such a distinction between things signified, and to pay heed to him when he says there is nothing remarkable in one thing being many, or in many things being one.<sup>29</sup> For Plato went over this whole argument lucidly at the beginning of the *Philebus*, so I think it is clear even to idiots.

Anyway, donkeys recognize man, camel and ox, and this particular man, this particular camel, and this particular ox. So too do they recognize a road, not only simply as a road, but also as this particular [road]. At any rate, make a donkey stand at the start of a road it doesn't recognize and see how it walks and goes along the whole [road], not turning to either side unless the road should happen to divide somewhere, making it apparent that it is the actual form, whatever is characteristic of a road, that it remembers and knows clearly. At any rate, it walks [the road] that has been well trodden. To the extent that it does not know [the road], it makes mistakes, for certainly it is not able to walk along the road that is undivided and single in number because it has a memory [of it] from that road which it does not know. It is clear that, in respect to this road which it now walks for the first time, it walks because it recognizes it as being a road in form. However, as for it being one in number, it is ignorant because nowhere does it turn aside toward untrodden [roads], and because, in the case of what is divided into two, it will not know which road it must go

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1015b–1017a and

Theophrastus, *Metaphysica* 4b7ff. Their predecessor is, of course, Plato.

τῷ καθ' ὃ σχίζεται μὴ γινώσκειν ὅποιαν ἰτέον· ὅπερ ἠπίστατο ἂν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ δεύτερον αὐτὴν ἢ τρίτον ἔτυχε νῦν βαδίζων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἕτερον μὲν οἶδεν, ἕτερον δ' ἀγνοεῖ, καθ' ὅσον τὸ μὲν κοινὸν εἶδος ὁδοῦ γινώσκει, τὸ δ' ἴδιον ταύτης ἢ τινος ἀγνοεῖ, καθ' ὅσον μὲν οἶδεν οὐ σφάλλεται, βαδίζει γοῦν τὴν τετριμμένην, καθ' ὅσον δ' ἀγνοεῖ σφάλλεται πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅποιαν ἔλθαι. διττὰς οὖν ἔχουσι γνώσεις καὶ οἱ ὄνοι τῶν μὲν κοινῶν εἰδῶν ἑτέρας, τῶν δ' ἰδίων ἄλλας. λοιπὸν εἴτε ἐν εἶδος ἐκείνο ἐθέλοις καλέσαι τὸ κοινόν, εἴτε γένος, εἴτε κοινότητα, φυλάττων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔννοιαν, ἣν ἐγὼ νῦν ἐξηγοῦμαι, περὶ μὲν ὀνομάτων ἀμφισβητήσεις, οὐ μὴν μεταθεῖναι γε δυνήσῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

καίτοι πρὸς μὲν τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσιν ἴσως ἕτερος ἀμφισβητήσει παραπλησίως σοι, τῆς περὶ τὰ πρᾶγματα θεωρίας ἀγύμναστος. οὐ μὴν ἡμεῖς γε ἀμφισβητήσομεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μόνον ἀξιώσομεν σε μεμνησθαι τοῦ παρὰ Πλάτωνος λεγομένου· ἐν γὰρ δὴ 140K τὰ πολλὰ εἶναι | καὶ τὸ ἐν πολλά, θαυμαστῶς λεχθέν, καὶ οὐ<sup>26</sup> ῥάδιον ἀμφισβητήσαι τῷ τούτων ὅποτεροῦν τιθεμένῳ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο διασώζεις, οὐκέθ' ἔξεις ἐρίζειν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐρίζεις τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμαθίας, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἀγόμενος. ἀλλ' εἴτε τις ἕνα λέγοι τὸν φρενιτικόν, ἕνα συγχωρήσεις ὑπάρχειν· εἴτε πολλούς, καὶ οὕτω συγχωρήσεις· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐμπειρικόν τε καὶ Δογματικόν καὶ τὸν Μεθοδικόν· οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἕνα τε καὶ πολλούς φήσεις· ἕνα μὲν

down—which is something it would have known accurately if it had happened now to be walking it for the second or third time. Since it knows the one thing but does not know the other—that is, to the extent that it knows the common form of a road but not the specifics of this particular road—it does not err and walks the well-trodden road whereas, to the extent that it doesn't know, it errs often at crossroads, not knowing which one it should choose. So donkeys also have two kinds of knowledge: one of the common forms and one of the specifics. Finally, if you wish to call that one common thing a form, or class, or community, preserving the concept of it I am now expounding, you will be disputing over names, but you will not be able to change the facts.

And yet, perhaps, someone else similarly unpracticed in the theory about [these] matters will dispute the assigning of names with you. I will not enter the dispute. Rather, I think it right for you to remember only what was said by Plato: that the many are one and the one is many. A remarkable statement! Nor is it easy to take issue with someone who assumes either of these two [positions].<sup>30</sup> For if you keep this in mind, you will no longer be able to contend as you now contend, since you are led on partly by ignorance and partly by contentiousness. But if someone should say the “phrenitic” is one, you will concede that he is one; if [he should say it is] many, also in the same way you will agree, and in like manner also with respect to the Empiric, the Dogmatic, and the Methodic. In this way you will say the doctor is one and also many: one “by virtue of” be-

<sup>30</sup> See Plato's *Philebus* 14c.

<sup>26</sup> K; οὐ om. P1, B (τὸ λεχθέν)

ἢ ἰατρόν, οὐχ ἓνα δὲ τῷ κατὰ μέρος πλήθει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἐμπειρικοῦ τὸ ἢ προσθήσεις, ἀφαιρήσεις δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰατροῦ προσθήσεις, ἀφαιρήσεις δὲ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου, οὐδὲ τὸν φρενιτικὸν μὲν ἓνα φήσεις ἢ φρενιτικός, τὸν νοσοῦντα δ' οὐχ ἓνα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἢ νοσῶν εἰς ἔστιν.

141K ἐπιλαθοῦ τοῖνυν ἤδη ποτὲ τῶν λήρων ἐκείνων, οὓς ἐν ἄλλοις βιβλίοις ἐρίζων λέγεις, ἀξίων δειχθῆναί σοι τὸν ἀνθρώπου αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἄνευ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς δείξει δυνάμενος τὸν Ἐμπειρικὸν ἄνευ Μηνοδότου καὶ Σεραπίωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ἢ νῆ Δία τὸν φρενιτικὸν ἢ ἄνευ τῶν κατὰ μέρος φρενιτικῶν. ἐν τίνι τοῖνυν τὸ σφάλμα καὶ πόθεν ἢ ἐκτροπή τοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄνων αὐτοὺς γίγνεσθαι μωροτέρους; ἐξ ὧν περ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία σφάλλονται. μεταβῆναι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐπιχειροῦντες, εἶθ' ὡς ἀγύμναστοι τῆς λογικῆς θεωρίας σφάλλονται, συνανατρέποντες τῇ περὶ τούτων ἀπορία καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας. ἐκδέχεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα τὸ περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν ζήτημα σφῆλαι δυνάμενον, οὐ μόνον ἀγυμνάστους ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς μεθόδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γεγυμνασμένων τινάς, εἰ μὴ προσέχωσιν ἀκριβῶς τὸν νοῦν. ἀλλ' οὐ χρῆ διότι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀποροῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἐναργῶν ἐννοιῶν οὐδ' ἠγεῖσθαι σοφὸν ἐξευρηκέαι τι τοὺς μὲν Ἐμπειρικούς, εἰ μὴ εἴπωσιν, ἄνευ τοῦ προσθεῖναι κατὰ ποῖον σημαινόμενον ἓν ἔστι, τοὺς δὲ Μεθοδικούς, εἰ μὴ ἀντὶ γένους, ἢ

ing a doctor but not one "by virtue of" the number considered individually. For you will not, on the one hand, add the phrase "by virtue of" to "the Empiric" and, on the other hand, take it away in the case of "the doctor"; nor will you add it in the case of "the doctor" but take it away in the case of "man"; nor will you say the "phrenitic" is one "by virtue of" being phrenitic but the person diseased is not one, for this person, too, by virtue of being diseased, is one.

Therefore, finally forget now those absurdities that, in a contentious spirit, you state in other books, demanding that man in himself and alone be shown to you without the individual examples, as if the Empiric [man] can be shown without Menodotus, or Serapion, or the others individually or, by Zeus, the phrenitic man without the phrenitics individually. In what, then, is the error, and from what source comes the change that makes them more foolish than donkeys? It is on the basis of these things that they make countless other mistakes. In attempting to make the transition from the concepts of the matters to their substances, as if unpracticed in logical theory, they make mistakes and, because of their perplexity in these matters, they overturn the concepts as well. For the inquiry regarding classes and forms awaits them here, which has the capacity to baffle not only men unpracticed in logical methods, but also some who have had extensive practice, if they don't focus their minds with precision. But it is unnecessary for them to depart from clear concepts just because they are at a loss concerning the substance of the matters. Nor should they suppose the Empirics have discovered something profound, if they say a thing is one without adding what kind of thing is signified, or the Methodics, if they

142K εἶδους, ἢ κοινοῦ κοινότητα λέγουσιν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄμεινον ἐδόκει σαφῶς τῆς ἐννοίας ἤδη διωρισμένης, ὡς ἦ μὲν φρενιτικοί, ταύτη πάντες εἰς· ἦ δ' ὁ μὲν νέος, ὁ δὲ γέρων, ἢ ἰσχνός, ἢ παχύς, ἢ ἀνὴρ, ἢ γυνή. | ταύτη πολλοί, χρήσασθαι λοιπὸν ἐρμηνεία παλαιᾶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύσαι κατὰ τὴν λέξιν Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Θεοφράστῳ καὶ Πλάτῳ. πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ μὲν εἶδει λέγουσιν ἐν ὑπάρχειν, τῷ πλήθει δ' οὐχ ἔν· οὐ φρενιτικὸν μόνον, ἢ ληθαργικόν, ἢ Ἐμπειρικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δογματικόν καὶ Μεθοδικόν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναικα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἔλλοις, οἷον τήνδε τὴν γυναικα τὴν δειχθῆναι δυναμένην, ταύτην οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τῷ μὲν εἶδει λέγειν ἐν, τῷ πλήθει δὲ πολλά, κατ' ἄμφω γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ δειχθῆναι δυναμένη γυνή, καὶ τῷ εἶδει καὶ τῷ πλήθει, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ καλοῦμεν.

οἱ δὲ γε οὐχ οὕτως ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν κοινότητας ὀνομάζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐ μᾶλλον ἀπορηθῆναι δυναμένης εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν, οἱ δ' ἦ μὲν τὸδέ τι λέγουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐν· ἦ δ' οὐχ ἔν, οὐκέτι λέγουσιν ἐν ὑπάρχειν.<sup>27</sup> ἐχρῆν γὰρ δῆπου καὶ τούτους ὥσπερ δὴ ποτε ὅτε Μηνόδοτος καὶ Σεραπίων καὶ Θεοδᾶς καὶ Γλαυκίας, Ἀπολλωνίος τε καὶ Καλλικλῆς καὶ Διόδωρος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης | καὶ Λύκος, εἰς ἅπαντες ὑπάρχουσιν ἢ Ἐμπειρικοί, οὕτω πάλιν ἦ οὐχ εἰς ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶμπολλοὶ τινές εἰσιν, ἐξηγήσασθαι ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ

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<sup>27</sup> οἱ δ' ἦ μὲν . . . ὑπάρχειν K, quem pro tem. accipe quod

say "community" instead of class, kind, or common aspect. For it seems to me better, when the concept has already been clearly defined, that "by virtue of" being phrenitics all are one, whereas "by virtue of" being young, or old, or thin, or fat, or a man, or a woman, they are many, to use thereafter an ancient expression, running the risk in respect of language in company with Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Plato. They say that all such things are one in kind but not one in quantity, and not only phrenitic, or lethargic, or Empiric, but also Dogmatic, Methodic, human being, horse, man, woman and each of the others. If, however, you were to come to these individually—for example, the particular woman that can be pointed out—it is not possible to say she is one in form but many in quantity for, in relation to both, the woman who can be pointed out is one in form and in quantity, which we also call number.

In fact, they do not act in this way. Rather, some name "communities" as if these can be less problematic than kinds and classes, while others say something is one "by virtue of" being this particular thing—although, "by virtue of" not being one, they no longer say it is one. It also behooves them, of course, to explain how Menodotus, Serapion, Theodas, Glaucias, Apollonius, Callicles, Diodorus, Heraclides, and Lycus are all one "by virtue of" being Empirics, but, on the contrary, how they are not all one but many particular people.<sup>31</sup> For in the very act of explaining

<sup>31</sup> All the men named are presumably Empirics, although details are scanty in several cases; for further brief details, see the Introduction, section 2 for some and EANS for the remainder.

*non constat inter mss. B et P1 similiores, sim. autem P2 et K. Plur. mss inspectanda.*

ταύτ' ἐξηγεῖσθαι πάντως ἂν που κατενόησαν ὡς ἐν και  
πολλὰ ταῦτόν εἶναί τε και λέγεσθαι<sup>28</sup> δυνατόν ἐστι.  
Μηνόδοτος οὖν και Σεραπίων ἦ μὲν Ἐμπειρικοὶ εἶς,  
και νῆ Δία γε ἦ ἱατροὶ και ἦ ἄνθρωποι.

τί δὲ ἦ ζῶα, καλὸν ἐρέσθαι τοὺς Ἐμπειρικούς, ἀρά  
γε και ταύτη<sup>29</sup> Μηνόδοτος και Σεραπίων εἶς ἐστι; εἰ  
μὲν γὰρ μὴ φαῖεν, οὐδ' ἡμεῖς συγχωρήσομεν ἦ Ἐμ-  
πειρικοί, ταύτη γίνεσθαι τοὺς δύο ἄνθρώπους ἕνα.  
συγχωροῦνταν δὲ και ταύτη τοὺς δύο γίνεσθαι ἕνα,  
καθ' ὅσον ἄμφω ζῶα, εὐθὺς μὲν ὑπομνήσομεν, ὡς  
ὀρθῶς ἀρα πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων ἐλέγετο τὸ  
μὲν ἀριθμῶ, τὸ δὲ εἶδει, τὸ δὲ γένει ταῦτόν τε και ἐν  
ὑπάρχειν. ἐξῆς δὲ πάλιν ἐρησόμεθα, φρενιτικὸς Μη-  
νόδοτος, φρενιτικὸς Σεραπίων, πότερον ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν  
ἦ ἕτερος; ἀποκρινομένων δὲ ταύτη φρενιτικὸν εἶναι  
και ἕνα και τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἦ φρενιτικοί, πάλιν  
ἐρησόμεθα, τί δὲ καθὸ νοσοῦντες | οὐ και ταύτη εἶς  
ἄμφω ἐστίν; εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ φαῖεν, οὐδ' ἡμεῖς συγχω-  
ρήσομεν ἦ φρενιτικοί. συγχωρησάντων δὲ ἐρησόμεθα  
τί δηλονότι πρᾶγμα μίαν ἰδέαν ἔχον, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦτο τὸ  
ὄνομα φέρουσιν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι, νόσον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
φρενίτις μὲν τι γενήσεται πρᾶγμα μίαν ἰδέαν ἔχον  
και ταύτη ποιοῦν ἅπαντας ἕνα τοὺς δεξαμένους αὐτό,  
νόσος δ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἕνα ποιήσει πάντας οἷς ἂν  
ἐγγένηται. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι, φησίν, οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀφω-  
ρισμένον εἶδος ἦ ζῴου ἦ νοσήματος ὡς ἀνθρώπου και

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these things, they would understand somehow or other  
how it is possible to say that the same thing is both one and  
many. Thus, Menodotus and Serapion are one "by virtue  
of" being Empirics, but also, by Zeus, "by virtue of" being  
doctors and men.

What of "by virtue of" being animals—is it right to ask  
the Empirics whether, at least also in this, Menodotus and  
Serapion are one? For if they say no, neither will we con-  
cede that the two men are one "by virtue of" being Em-  
pirics. If, however, they do concede that in this way the two  
men are one, to the extent that both are animals, we will  
immediately remind [them] how it used to be stated cor-  
rectly by the ancient philosophers that things can be one  
and the same in number, form or class. Further again, we  
will ask them: are phrenetic Menodotus and phrenetic  
Serapion, the same or different? If they reply that both are  
phrenetic in this way, and are one and the same insofar as  
they are phrenetic, we will ask again: in terms of having a  
disease, are not both also one in this way? If they say no,  
neither will we concede that "by virtue of" being phrenetics  
[they are one]. If they do agree, we will ask what this mat-  
ter is which has a single form to which all men apply this  
term, "disease." For phrenitis will certainly not be some  
matter having a single form "by virtue of" which it makes  
everyone that receives it one, but disease will not, in like  
manner, make everyone in whom it might occur, one. "But  
this is not so," he says, "for there is no distinct kind either  
of 'animal' or of 'disease,' as there is of 'man' or 'phrenitis.'"

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<sup>28</sup> πολλὰ ταῦτόν εἶναί τε και λέγεσθαι B; πολλὰ και  
ταῦτόν εἶναί τε λέγεσθαι P1, P2, K

<sup>29</sup> και ταύτη B P1; κατὰ ταῦτα K

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φρενίτιδος. τί φῆς ὦ οὔτος; ἀρά γε οὐδὲν αἰ φωναὶ δοκοῦσί σοι σημαίνειν, ἢ τε ζῶον καὶ ἢ νόσος, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐκφωνεῖσθαι τῷ βλίτυρι καὶ σκινδαψός; ἢ σημαίνουσι μὲν, οὐδὲν δ' ὑπόκειται πρᾶγμα ταῖς φωναῖς, ὡς ἐν τῷ Σκύλλα καὶ Κένταυρος, ἢ καὶ σημαίνουσι καὶ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐν ὑπάρχει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι πρᾶγμα τὸ δηλούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ζῶον ἢ τῆς νόσημα φωνῆς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ζῶον ἢ τὴν φρενίτιν νόσον. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ λέγεις ἀληθῶς, τουτὶ μὲν τὸ προσερχόμενον ζῶον εἶναι, ἢ τὴν φρενίτιν νόσον,<sup>30</sup> τοῦτον δ' εἰ τύχοι τὸν κατακείμενον | <φρενίτιδι><sup>31</sup> ἄνθρωπον νοσεῖν, ἔστι τι πάντως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐφ' οὗ φέρεις ἕκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων.

ἀλλ' οὐ γεγύμνασαι νοεῖν αὐτά, καίτοι γε ἐκ τῶν πρώτων εἰσαγωγῶν ὄντα τῆς λογικῆς θεωρίας. τί οὖν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές; οὐ δήπου γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν σὺ μὴ συνίεις, ἐκ τούτων χρὴ κρίνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν καὶ συνετός τις ὧν φύσει καὶ μαθὼν καὶ ἀσκήσας καὶ μὴ φιλονεικῶν καὶ τιμῶν τὰ ληθές, ὧν οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει σοι καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι προσδεύεται τινος φύσει συνετοῦ τά γε τοιαῦτα. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς οὐ ταῦτόν σημαίνει Σωκράτης καὶ σιμός, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν Σωκράτης ὅλης τῆς ὑποκειμένης οὐσίας ἔστιν ὄνομα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν

<sup>30</sup> ἢ τὴν φρενίτιν νόσον K; om. B, P1, P2 (cf. KLat)

<sup>31</sup> conj. Hankinson ex phrenitide KLat

What are you saying, you wretch? Don't even the words "animal" and "disease" have any significance to you, but are pronouncements similar to *blituri* and *scindapsus*?<sup>32</sup> Or do they signify [something], but no matter underlies the words, as in the cases of "Scylla" and "centaur," or do they both signify, and the thing signified is one? For if there is no clear matter indicated by the terms "animal" and "disease," you are not correct in saying that man is an animal or phrenitis is a disease. If there is, and what you say is true, that this one approaching is an animal or that phrenitis is a disease, and if it should happen that this man lying down is sick with phrenitis, there is, at all events, something that exists in both on the basis of which you apply each of the terms.

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But you are not practiced enough to understand these things even though they are among the first things introduced in logical theory. What, then, has this to do with truth? It is necessary to judge the truth, not from the things which, I presume, you do not understand, but from those things that someone who is naturally intelligent and is taught, someone who is practiced and not contentious, and who respects truth (none of which you are) would [know]. And yet, by the gods, I do not know whether such matters need someone who is naturally intelligent. For who does not know that Socrates and snub-nosed do not signify the same thing, but that "Socrates" is the name of the whole underlying substance whereas none of the other

<sup>32</sup> Although these words are both used as standard nonsense words in Greek, they do have a meaning as musical terms; see R. J. Hankinson's (1991) discussion, pp. 220–21.



κατὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας ἀπάσης λέγεται; οὔτε γὰρ ὁ σιμὸς οὔθ' ὁ προγαστρωρ οὔθ' ὁ φαλακρός, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τοῦ σχήματος τῆς ῥινός ἐστιν ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς γαστροῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ μόρια. λευκὸν δ' εἰ φήσαιμεν ἢ μέλανα Σωκράτην, κατὰ πάντων, οἶμαι, τῶν μορίων τοῦ σώματος ἐπιφέρομεν τὰς προσηγορίας, | οὐ μὴν τὴν οὐσίαν γε ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τι τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ δηλοῦμεν, τὸ χρῶμα, καὶ μέντοι κἂν εἰ παχύν, ἢ λεπτόν εἵπομεν, ἢ σκληρόν, ἢ μαλακόν, ἢ δασύν, ἢ ψιλόν, ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἂ τῷ Σωκράτει συμβέβηκεν, οὐ κατὰ πάσης οὐδ' οὔτω δηλονότι τῆς οὐσίας ἐπιφέρομεν τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τι τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ δηλοῦμεν. οὔτω δὲ καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὸ κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ κοιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐργηγορέναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων οὐ κατ' οὐδενὸς δήπου τῶν ὄντων ἐπιφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Σωκράτει δηλοῦμεν· ἂ κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν λόγον ἢ ἐνεργείας ἐλέγομεν ὑπάρχειν, ἢ παθήματα τούτων, ἢ τινὰς διαθέσεις. ἄμεινον οὖν σε καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χρησάμενον γυμνάσασθαι, καθ' ὃ τι κἂν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐδείκνυμεν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρξάμενον. ἄρξαι δ' ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ πρώτον καὶ σκέψαι, πότερον ἀπλοῦν τι πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχεις, ἢ σύνθετον, ἄρα γε πούς ὑπάρχεις ἢ ὀφθαλμὸς ἢ ῥίς ἢ κεφαλὴ; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν οὔτε χωρὶς τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τε

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terms is used in relation to the whole substance of the body—that is, neither snub-nosed, potbellied nor bald, which are terms for the shape of the nose, the lack of hair on the head, and the size of the belly [respectively]? These are terms applied to the parts. If, however, we were to say Socrates is pale or dark, we are, I think, applying the terms to all parts of the body but not in fact to the whole substance. Rather, we are indicating one of the things incidental to it—the color. And further, if we say fat or thin, hard or soft, hairy or bare, or any one of the other things which happen incidentally to Socrates, even in this way we are quite clearly not applying the name to the whole substance, but are indicating one of the things incidental to it. In like manner also, sitting down, walking around, moving, sleeping and being awake, and each of the other such terms, we presumably do not apply to any existing things, but use them to indicate one of the things existing in Socrates which, in relation to the earlier discussion, we said were functions, or affections of functions, or certain conditions. It would be better still, even now, for you to practice using them in this way, as I demonstrated in the earlier discussion, beginning not from names but from real things. Begin from yourself first, and consider whether you are a simple or compound thing: are you, that is, a foot, or an eye, or a nose, or a head? It is clear that you are none of these things, nor are you separate from them, but are com-

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147K *κακ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μορίων, ἐκάστου | τὴν οἰ-  
κείαν ἔχοντος θέσιν, ὅπως ὑπάρχεις συγκείμενος.*

*ὑποκείσθω δὴ σοι τοῦνομα Θεμίσιων. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε  
φῶ Θεμίσιωνα χωλὸν εἶναι, τὸ μὲν χωλὸν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν  
ποδῶν φέρω διαθέσεως, τὸ δὲ Θεμίσιων τοῦ παντὸς ἦν  
ὄνομα. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ σιμὸς καὶ τυφλὸς ἀπὸ μέρους ὁ  
Θεμίσιων ὀνομάζεται. πυρρὸς δὲ καὶ παχὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ  
μέρους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ διαθέσεων ἐνπαρχουσῶν τῷ παντὶ  
παραπλησίως τῷ περιπατῶν καὶ καθήμενος καὶ δια-  
λεγόμενος καὶ ζῶν. ἄρ' οὖν ταῦτα μὲν γνωρίζεις ὡς  
οὐκ ἔστι δηλωτικὰ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας τῆς σῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
μὲν ἀπὸ μορίου τινὸς ὀνόμασται, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ διαθέσεως  
μίας· ὅταν δὲ ἀγαθὸν εἶπη τίς σε καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκέτι  
γνωρίζεις ὡς καὶ ταῦτα διαθέσεῶν ἔστιν ὀνόματα τῶν  
ἐπιγυγνομένων τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ; καὶ μὴν εἴ γε γνωρίσῃς  
ὡς ἀνάλογον ἔχει ταῦτα τῷ λευκὸς καὶ τῷ μέλας, ὡς  
γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τῶν τοῦ σώματος, οὕτω ταῦτα τῶν τῆς  
ψυχῆς ἔστι διαθέσεων ὀνόματα, γνωριεῖς, οἶμαι, καὶ  
ὡς ὁ τεχνίτης καὶ ὡς ὁ ἄτεχνος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς  
διαθέσεων ὀνομάζονται καὶ τεχνίτην δ' εἰ νοήσῃς  
ὅθεν ὀνομάζεται, νοήσεις, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν ὅθεν  
ὀνόμασται. τοῦτον δ' εἰ νοήσῃς ὅθεν ὀνομάζεται, οὐκ |*

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*ἂν ἔτι σοι δεήσει πολλῆς πραγματείας ἐξευρεῖν ἐφ'  
ὅτου ποτὲ τὸ ἐμπειρικὸς ὄνομα τέτακται.*  
*τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ τί ποτὲ ἔστιν ὃ κελεύω σε ποιεῖν;  
οὐδὲν σεμνὸν οὐδὲ μέγα. τὸ γὰρ διαιρεῖν τὰς κατηγο-*

pounded from these things and also from all other parts,  
each having its proper position.

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So then, let us suppose your name is Themison.<sup>33</sup> But whenever, in fact, I say that Themison is lame, I apply the term “lame” to the condition of the feet, whereas Themison is the name of the whole. And furthermore, Themison is called snub-nosed and blind from a part [of his body], whereas he is called ruddy and fat not from parts but from conditions inherent in the whole in a closely similar manner to “walking,” “sitting,” “speaking,” and “living.” Do you not realize, then, that these [terms] are not signifiers of your whole substance, but that there are those named from a certain part and those named from a single condition? And whenever someone says you are good and just, do you not now realize that these are names of conditions supervening on your soul? And further, if you were to realize that these are analogous to “pale” and “dark,” for those are names of conditions of the body in the same way as the former are names of conditions of the soul, you will realize, I think, how skilled and unskilled [people] are named from conditions of the soul. If you know from what source the skilled person is named, you will also know, I think, from what source the doctor is named. And if you were to know this, you would not need much work to discover what the

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term “Empiric” has been assigned to at some time.  
What is this that I am asking you to do? It is nothing grave and important. For the division of categories is the

ably lived and worked in Rome toward the end of the first century BC. He has some claim to be the founder of the Methodic sect. Here, however, the name is just used as an example in Galen’s argument.

<sup>33</sup> Themison of Laodicea was a pupil of Asclepiades and prob-

ρίας ἀρχὴ τῆς λογικῆς ἐστὶ θεωρίας· ἧς ὅτι παντελῶς ἀμαθῶς ἔχετε δηλοῦται δι' ὧν εἰκῆ φλυαρεῖτε. καὶ νῦν οὖν σωφρονήσαντες αὐθις ἄρξασθε τὰ τῷ σώματι συμβεβηκότα κατονομάζειν οἷον ὅτι λευκός ἐστὶν ὄδε καὶ μέλας, ἢ νῆ Δία θερμὸς ἰκανῶς, ὡς μὴ φέρειν ἀλύπως τὴν θέρμην· εἶτα τὴν οὕτω πολλὴν θερμασίαν ὡς κάμνειν τὸ σῶμα δι' αὐτὴν καὶ καλῶς ἐνεργεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι, τῷ προσαγορεύοντι πυρετὸν ἐπιτρέψατε· πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν οὕτω θερμὸν πυρέττειν φασί. καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα ποιήσετε μεταλλάττοντες τὸ ὄνομα, πλὴν κατατρίψετε ὑμῶν τὸν χρόνον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον, ὦ οὔτος, εἰ βούλει, ποιήσου, ὅταν εἴπησθε Θεμίσιον πυρέττει καὶ Δίων πυρέττει καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφ' ἐξῆς οὕτως ὀνομάσης πυρέττοντας, ἐπίσκεψαι προσέχων τὸν νοῦν, ἄρα ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἐστι τὸ πυρέττειν ἢ ἕτερον. εὐρήσεις | γὰρ ἐν μὲν καὶ ταῦτόν τῷ εἶδει, τῷ πλήθει δέ, ὅπερ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καλοῦμεν, οὐχ ἓν. ἄλλως γὰρ οὐτ' ἀποκρίνασθαί σοι δυνατὸν οὔτε νοῆσαι. εἰς οὖν ὁ πυρέττων ἢ πυρέττει νῆ Δία· καὶ γὰρ ὁ παραφρονῶν εἰς ἢ παραφρονεῖ. τί δ' ὁ πυρέττων τε ἅμα καὶ παραφρονῶν, ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ οὔτος εἰς ἢ πυρέττει τε ἅμα καὶ παραφρονεῖ; πρόδηλον καὶ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, παντί.

κείσθω τοίνυν κατ' ἀμφοῖν τούτων ἐν ὄνομα, τὸ πυρέττειν λέγω καὶ παραφρονεῖν, καὶ καλείσθω φρενιτικός ὁ τοιοῦτος· εἰ δ' οὐ νοεῖς ὅπως κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἐν ὄνομα τίθεται, τάχ' ἂν ἀναμνήσαιμί σε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σου λεγομένων ὀνομάτων. ἵππον γὰρ δῆπου καλεῖς τι,

first principle of logical theory. That you are completely ignorant of this is shown by the nonsense you heedlessly utter. Therefore, having now come to your senses, begin again to name those things that are incidental to the body. For example, that this person is pale, or dark, or, by Zeus, so hot that he cannot bear the heat without pain. Then, in this way, permit someone to give the name "fever" to heat so great that the body suffers because of it and cannot function properly, for all men say that someone heated in this way is febrile. But you will do nothing substantial by changing the name, apart from wasting your time. However, you would do better, you wretch, should you so wish, whenever you say Themison is febrile, or Dion is febrile, or you name many, one after another in the same way, if you direct your attention to considering whether it is one and the same thing to be febrile for all of them, or different. For you will find that it is one and the same in form, but in

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magnitude, which we also call number, it is not one. It is impossible for you to answer or to understand otherwise. So the person who is febrile "by virtue of" having a fever is one, by Zeus, and the person who is delirious is one "by virtue of" being delirious. And what about the person who is febrile and, at the same time, delirious? Is he not also one "by virtue of" being febrile and delirious? This, I believe, is clear to everyone.

Accordingly, let there be one name for both of these—I refer to being febrile and being delirious—and let such a person be called "phrenitic." If you do not understand how one name is applied to both, perhaps I should remind you of names mentioned by you yourself. For something that is

150K τὸ ζῶον δηλονότι τὸ χρεμετιστικόν; ἄρ' οὖν ἡγήσῃ σὺ διαφέρειν ἢ ἵππον εἰπεῖν ἢ ζῶον χρεμετιστικόν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι. καὶ μὴν εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκείνων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα συντομώτερον εἴπῃς, ἵππον ἐπέθου. οὕτω δὲ καὶ εἴ τι πεζὸν καὶ δίπουν ζῶον, ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ὀνομάτων ἐνδείξασθαι, δι' ἐνὸς ἐθελήσῃς δηλῶσαι, καλέσεις ἄνθρωπον. καὶ τό γε διαλύειν | ἕκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰς λόγον οὕτω γίνεται. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ συντιθέναι τὸν λόγον εἰς ἓν ὄνομα κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον ἀποτελεῖται τρόπον, ὅταν τῶν θ' ἀπλῶν ἐκάστου τὴν ἔννοιαν ἔχῃς κατὰ τοῦνομα καὶ δυνατὸς ἦς ἐκ δυοῖν ἀπλοῦν ἔννοιαν αὐθις ἐτέραν ἐργάσασθαι σύνθετον, εἴτ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὄνομα θέσθαι κάπειτα πάλιν αὐθις ἐκείνῃ τῇ συνθέτῳ προσθεῖς ἕτερον ἀπλοῦν, ἐκ τριῶν ἀπλῶν ἔννοιαν αὐθις ἀπεργασάμενον μίαν, ἐπενεγκεῖν τι καὶ κατὰ ταύτης ὄνομα. πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; οὐ γὰρ ἀποκνήσω γυμνάζων τοὺς σωθῆναι βουλομένους ἐκ τῆς πολυχροίου ταύτης ἀπαιδευσίας ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐπεκτείνειν τὸν λόγον.

151K ἡ μὲν θερμότης ἀπλοῦ πράγματος ὄνομα. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡ βλάβη τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπλοῦν τι πρᾶγμα. τοσαύτη δὲ θερμότης ὡς ἤδη βλάπτειν ἐνεργεῖαν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀπλοῦν. εἰ τοίνυν καὶ περὶ σύμπαν γένοιτο τὸ σῶμα, πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον οὐκέθ' ἀπλοῦν. ἴν' οὖν μὴ πολλὰ λέγωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, συντομίαν ἀσκοῦντες φύσει τὴν τοιαύτην θερμότητα πυρετὸν ὀνομάζουσιν. | ἑτοιμώτερον γὰρ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πυρέττειν Δίωνα τοῦ τοσαύτην θερμότητα ἔχειν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ

an animal and neighs, you call, I presume, a horse. Do you think, then, that saying "horse" is different from saying "an animal that neighs"? I do not think so. For if this is the case, you apply the term "horse" in relation to both of those names, so that you might speak more briefly. Similarly too, if some animal is footed and bipedal, and instead of indicating this by three names, you wish to signify it by one name, you will call it a "man." The resolution of each name into a definition occurs in this way. Further, the putting together of the definition into a single name is accomplished in the way that was stated; whenever you have the concept of each of the single things according to its name, you can, from the two simple concepts, create another concept again, which is composite, and then attach a name to this. And thereafter, when you apply another simple [term] to that composite [concept], making again one [composite] concept from three simple ones, you attach some name to this. How and in what way? For I shall not hesitate to extend the argument still further, exercising those who wish to be saved from their entrenched ignorance.

"Heat" is the name of a simple thing. And further, damage of function is a simple thing. But heat which is now such as to damage function is no longer, in a similar way, simple. Moreover, if it should also happen to involve the whole body, much more is it no longer simple. Therefore, so that men should not say many things, being inclined by nature to the practice of brevity, they call such heat "fever." For it is more expedient to say that Dion has a fever than to say he has an amount of heat in his whole body such

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σώματι ὡς βεβλάφθαι πολλὰς ἐνεργείας. ὅταν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν τὴν διάθεσιν δηλῶσαι βουλευθῶσι, πυρετὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν δὲ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀπ' ἐκείνης παρονομάζουσιν καὶ καλοῦσιν πυρέττοντα· καθ' ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς λευκότητος τὸν λευκὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μελανότητος τὸν μέλανα. συνθέτου δὲ πράγματός ἐστιν ὄνομα πυρετὸς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὁ πυρέττων ἀπλοῦν δὲ γε παραφροσύνη· ἀλλ' εἰ προστεθείη τὸ ἀπλοῦν τοῦτο τῷ συνθέτῳ, φρενιτικὸς μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ διάθεσις δ' αὐτοῦ φρενίτις ὀνομάζεται καθ' ἅπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτός, ἵνα μὴ λέγηται ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν, ἕνεκα συντομίας ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάσθη, λόγου τιμὰ δύναμιν ἐχούσης τῆς ἄνθρωπος προσηγορίας· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλόσοφοι τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν τοῦ ὀνόματος. οὐ μὴν εἰς ἀπειρόν γε προσάγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῶν ἀπλῶν ἀνέρχονται. τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον, ἐπειδὴν διαλύσης εἰς ζῶον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ θνητόν, καὶ αὐθις λύσεις τὸ ζῶον εἰς οὐσίαν αἰσθητικὴν· οὐ μὴν τὴν γ' οὐσίαν ἔτι λύσαι

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δυνήσῃ, καθ' ἅπερ οὐδὲ τὴν αἰσθησιν. ἀπλοῦν | γὰρ ἤδη καὶ πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἐκάτερον τούτων. ἥ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπέρχεται μοι τῶν φρενιτικὸν μὲν τινα καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι συγχωρούντων, νόσημα δὲ καὶ ζῶον οὐ συγχωρούντων. ὅμοιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῷ τὰ μὲν σύνθετα συγχωρεῖν, ἀμφισβητεῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν ὡσπερ οὐ προτέρων τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀπλῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

Οὐκ εἶδον, φησὶν, αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ ζῶον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον, ὃ μωρὲ, καίτοι λέγεις εἶναι σαυτὸν

that many functions have suffered damage. Thus, whenever they wish to indicate the condition itself, they use the term "fever," and whenever there is a person who has the condition, they derive the name from that condition, and call him "febrile." Similarly, "pale" [is derived from] pallor and "swarthy" from swarthisness. Actually, fever is the name of a composite thing as, to a much greater degree, "being febrile" is. Delirium, though, is a simple thing, but if this simple thing is added to the composite, the man is termed "phrenitic," and his condition "phrenitis." Similarly also, I think, man himself—so that one does not speak of him as an animal that is rational and mortal—is called "man" for the sake of brevity, the term "man" having a certain power of definition. And this is what the ancient philosophers called, "to articulate the definition of the term." Nor do they proceed to infinity, but only go as far as the simple things. When you resolve "man" into "animal," "rational" and "mortal," you will also further resolve "animal" into "sentient substance." But you cannot resolve "substance" any further, just as you cannot resolve "sentient." Each of these is already simple and primary. For this reason also, it strikes me as amazing that some accept there can be "phrenitic" and "man," but do not accept there can be "disease" and "animal." For this is tantamount to agreeing on the matter of composite things, but disputing about simple ones, as if simple things were not prior by nature.

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"But," he says, "I haven't seen animal in itself." Nor [have you seen] man in himself, you fool, although you say

ἄνθρωπον. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ὁμολογήσεις, τὸ δὲ καὶ ζῶον  
ὑπάρχειν οὐχ ὁμολογήσεις;

Οὐκ ἔθεασάμην, φησί, καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐδαμῶθι νό-  
σον· οὐδὲ γὰρ φρενίτιν ἐθέασω ποτὲ μόνην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
Θέωνος, ἢ ἐπὶ Δίωνος, ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπου.  
ὥστε τοῦτό γε τελέως ἠλίθιον, εἰ διότι μηδαμῶθι  
τεθέασαι νόσημα μόνον αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτό, διὰ τοῦτο  
νομίζεις μηδ' εἶναι νόσημα· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲ πυρετόν,  
οὐδὲ φρενίτιν, οὐδ' ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν εἶναι  
συγχωρήσεις, ὡς οὐδὲ τούτων γε τεθέασαί τι μόνον  
αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτό. βέλτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ  
εἴρηται πρόσθεν, ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἄρξα-  
σθαι καὶ θεάσασθαι | τῇ διανοίᾳ πόσα τὰ σύμπαντά  
ἔστιν ἀπλᾶ· κάπειθ' ἐκάστῳ θέμενον ἴδιον ὄνομα,  
συμπλέκειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἤδη τὰ σύνθετα.

ἐγγιγνέσθω δὴ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ σώματι τοῦθ' ἐν  
πρώτῳ, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. πότερον οὐ καλέσεις ζῶον ᾧ  
τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει; καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος οὕτως ἀμφισ-  
βητήσεις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἶναι φήσεις αἰσθανόμενον  
σῶμα; καὶ μὴν οὕτω γε τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν κατα-  
ψεύση. ἀλλὰ καὶ σῶμα συγχωρῶν αἰσθανόμενον εἶναι  
τι καὶ κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου σώματος τοῦνομα τοῦτο τὸ  
ζῶον λέγεσθαι, τολμήσεις φάναι μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ ζῶον;  
οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ λευκὸν οὐδὲν ἔστιν, οὐδὲ τὸ βαδίζον  
οὐδὲ τὸ τρέχον; ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἑαυτῷ τὸ  
σῶμα προσαγορεύεται λευκόν, βαδίζον καὶ τρέχον.  
αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τὸ μὲν λευκότης ὀνομάζεται,  
τὸ δὲ βადίσις, τὸ δὲ δρόμος. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
αἰσθησις μὲν ἐν τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς σώμασιν,

you are a man yourself. Will you agree on this but not agree  
that "animal" also exists?

"I have never seen," he says, "disease in itself any-  
where." Neither have you ever seen phrenitis alone but  
only in Theon or Dion, or some other person. So it is abso-  
lutely stupid if, because you have never seen disease alone  
and of itself, you think that disease does not exist. For  
on this basis, you will not concede that there is fever,  
phrenitis, or any other such thing, because you have not  
seen any one of these things alone and of itself. It is better  
not to do this but, as I said before, to start from the matters  
themselves and determine by thought how many simple  
things there are in all, and then to confer on each of them  
its own specific name, and then to put together the com-  
pound from these.

Suppose there is this one primary thing inherent in the  
underlying body—to have sensation. Will you not call that  
in which this exists an animal? But even so, you will be ar-  
guing over terminology. Or will you say a body is not capa-  
ble of sensation? Really, in doing this you will be in error  
about the matters themselves. But if you concede that a  
body is something that is capable of sensation, and that re-  
ferring to such a body this term "animal" is used, will you  
dare to deny that the animal exists? Is there, accordingly,  
no "pallor," or no "walking," or no "running"? For a body is  
said to be "pale," or to "walk," or to "run" from those things  
accidental to itself, and the accidentals themselves are  
called "pallor," "walking," and "running." In the same way,  
sensation is one of the things existing in bodies, the body it-

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αἰσθανόμενον δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα· τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ ζῶον  
 ὀνομάζεται. τίς οὖν θεασάμενος αἰσθανόμενον σῶμα,  
 παρὲς τὸ ζῶον ὄνομα ζητήσῃ τι κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν  
 ἕτερον; ἄρ' οὖν νοεῖται μόνον τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ Κέν-  
 154K ταυρος, ἢ καὶ τυγχάνει τι τῆς προσηγορίας | ταύτης  
 ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα; δῆλον ὡς καὶ τυγχάνει. τί δέ,  
 νοεῖται μόνον ἢ αἰσθησις, ἢ καὶ τι τῶν τοῖς σώμασιν  
 ὑπαρχόντων ἐστίν; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι  
 πρόδηλον ὡς ἐν τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπαρχόντων  
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις.

καὶ μὴν εἰ μήτε τὸ σῶμα νοεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἔστι, μήθ' ἡ αἰσθησις, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡδε, πῶς ἄμφω  
 συντιθέντα τὸ σύνθετον οὐκ ὄν ποιήσῃ; γελοῖον γὰρ  
 ἤδη τοῦτό γε, σῶμα μὲν εἶναι τι καὶ αἰσθησιν, αἰσθα-  
 νόμενον δὲ οὐδὲν εἶναι σῶμα· καὶ τούτου γελοϊότερον,  
 αἰσθανόμενον μὲν εἶναι σῶμα, ζῶον δ' εἶναι μηδέν,  
 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον ζῶον, ἢ διαφέρον  
 τι τῷ λόγῳ δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅτιοῦν ἢ ὀνόματι, τῆς δ'  
 αὐτῆς ἀτοπίας ἔχεται καὶ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν εἶναι τι  
 νόσον· εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ διάθεσις, οὐδὲ νόσος ἔσται  
 τι. δοθείσης δ' εἶναι διαθέσεως, ἔσται τι καὶ νόσος·  
 ἥτις γὰρ ἂν ἐνέργειαν βλάβη διάθεσις, ἐκείνη νόσος  
 ἐστίν.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔχεις μοι δεῖξάι, φασι,<sup>32</sup> νόσον αὐτὴν  
 καθ' ἑαυτήν. οὐδὲ γὰρ φρενίτιν, ὧ οἴτος, οὐδὲ πυρετόν.  
 155K ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖς | ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἄλλα  
 πολλά. τὴν γὰρ μικρολογίαν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἣν ἐκομ-  
 ψεύσαντό τινες τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἀνατρέπουσαν ἄπα-

self being capable of sensation. And this, then, is called an  
 animal. Who, then, seeing a body capable of sensation, will  
 pass over the name "animal" and seek to say something  
 else in relation to it? Is the body only a concept then, as in  
 the case of the centaur, or does there also happen to be  
 some underlying matter for this term? It is clear that this  
 154K does happen. And is sensation something in concept only,  
 or is it also something which exists in bodies? It seems  
 clear to me that sensation is also one of the things existing  
 in bodies.

Further, if the body is not only conceived of, but ac-  
 tually exists, and sensation is not [only conceived of] but  
 exists too, how will the combination of both not make a  
 composite entity? Now this is absurd—that a body is some-  
 thing which exists, as is sensation, but a sensing body does  
 not exist. And even more absurd than this is that there is a  
 perceiving body but not an animal, as if something else and  
 not this was an animal, or that there was a difference be-  
 tween trying to indicate anything whatsoever by a defini-  
 tion and by a name. Not to concede that disease exists is of  
 a piece with this very same absurdity. For if no condition  
 exists, there will be no disease. However, if it is granted  
 that condition exists, then disease will exist too. For what-  
 ever condition damages function is a disease.

"But," he says, "you cannot show me a disease in itself."  
 Nor, you wretch, can I show you phrenitis or fever. Never-  
 theless, you do concede that these things exist, and many  
 others. I refrain for the present from speaking about the  
 logic-chopping of terminology which some philosophers  
 155K

<sup>32</sup> φησι conj. nos; φασι omnes

σαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ συνήθειαν, ὡς μὴ δ' ἐκείνους<sup>33</sup> αὐτῆ  
 χρῆσθαι δύνασθαι κατὰ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν συγγράμ-  
 ματα, παραιτοῦμαι λέγειν τὰ νῦν, ἐτέρωθι διειλεγμέ-  
 νος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλέον. εἰρηκῶς οὖν οὐδὲν ἦττον  
 ὅσα χρῆ κὰν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων λογισμοῖς,  
 λέγω δὲ μικρολογίαν, ἐν ἣ διαιροῦνται κατὰ γένη τό-  
 τε ὄν καὶ τὸ ὑφεστός. ἀδιαφόρως γὰρ ἡμῖν κἀνταῦθα  
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον εἰρήσεται ταῦτα.

156K πάντας δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἐξελέγχειν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 περὶ τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἔννοιαν εἶναι νοσήματος ἰδίαν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πράγμα τι τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγ-  
 χάνον ὑποκείσθαι, κατὰ γε τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεῖ λελέχθαι  
 ταῦτα. σαφέστερον δ' ἔτι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νοηθήσεται τοῦ  
 λόγου προϊόντος, ἐπειδὴν ὁ περὶ πρώτων ἐνδείξεων  
 περαίνηται λόγος. ὅσα δὲ περὶ νοσήματος εἴρηται  
 νῦν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ περὶ συμπτώματος εἰρήσθαι καὶ  
 πάθους, ὑγείας τε καὶ ἀρτιότητος, ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνά-  
 μως ἀπάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὄν ὀνόματά τε καὶ  
 νοήσεις εἰσὶ κατὰ τινῶν ὑποκειμένων λεγόμενα. πάντα  
 γὰρ ταῦτα τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπάρχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς δια-  
 θέσεις, τὰ δ' ὡς ἐνέργειαι, τὰ δ' ὡς πάθη· καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ὡς κατὰ φύσιν ὄντα, τὰ δ' ὡς παρὰ φύσιν, ἔνδειξις τε  
 καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἴδια γίνεται, παρεωραμένη τοῖς  
 πλείστοις τῶν ἰατρῶν.

<sup>33</sup> μὴ δ' ἐκείνους B (conj. simil. Hankinson); μὴ δι' ἐκείνους  
 K, P1, P2

quibble about, and which overturns all that is customary in  
 life. Not even those men can use it according to their own  
 writings.<sup>34</sup> I have argued about these things at length else-  
 where, since I have said as much as is necessary in my work  
*On the Elements [according to Hippocrates]*—I speak of  
 the logic-chopping in which what exists and what subsists  
 are distinguished according to their class. I shall speak of  
 these things making no distinction, both here and in the  
 discussion that follows.

It is impossible to refute all people in all matters. But  
 concerning this, at least for the present it will be enough  
 that I have said this: not only is there a specific concept of  
 disease, but also there is a real thing that happens to un-  
 derlie this term. This will be understood even more clearly  
 as the argument proceeds, after the discussion of the pri-  
 mary indications reaches its conclusion. And all that has  
 now been said about disease, I consider has also been said  
 about symptom and affection, health and soundness,  
 strength, and capacity and all the other things of which  
 names and concepts are used in relation to underlying  
 things. For all these things exist in bodies, some as condi-  
 tions, some as functions, and some as affections. Some of  
 them are as entities in accord with nature, whereas others  
 are as entities contrary to nature. A specific indication oc-  
 curs in relation to each of these, one that is disregarded by  
 the majority of doctors.

156K

<sup>34</sup> Presumably a reference to the Stoics.



BIBLION Γ

157K 1. Εἴπερ οὖν, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἡ ἐνδείξις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος φύσεως ὀρμωμένη τὸ δέον ἐξευρίσκει, τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 τῆς τῶν ἰαμάτων εὐρέσεως ἐκ τῆς τῶν νοσημάτων  
 αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπον ἕτερον  
 μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἐνδεικνύμενον τὴν θεραπείαν, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ  
 θεραπευόμενον· ἕκαστον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι δύναται  
 δηλῶσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ ἄλλον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐφεξῆς ἔσται σαφέστερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ὁμολο-  
 γοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν διαθέσεων τὰς πρώτας ἐνδείξεις λαμ-  
 158K βάνειν, οὐ χρὴ μηκύνειν ἔτι περιττῶς τὸν λόγον | ἀπο-  
 δεικνύντας ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι προσήκει, μᾶλλον δ'  
 ὅτι μήτε τὸ ξύμπαν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ μήθ' ὅλως μέγα τι  
 μέρος, ὡς οἱ Μεθοδικοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ σμικρότα-  
 τόν τε καὶ ἀρχὴν μόνον ἐπιδείξει πειραθῶμεν. αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ φασιν ἐκείνοι τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ κύστει λίθον, ὅτι τῷ  
 γένει παρὰ φύσιν, ἐνδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἄρσιν. οὕτω δὲ  
 καὶ τὰς ἀκροχορδόνας καὶ τὰς μυρμηκίας ἀθερώματά  
 τε καὶ στεατώματα καὶ μελικηρίδας, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα  
 τοιαῦτα. τὸ δ' εἰς τὸν ὄσχεον ἐμπεπτωκὸς ἔντερον, ὅτι  
 τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ φύσιν, ἀπαντὰ τε τὰ ἐξηρθρηκότα τὴν  
 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ἐπάνοδον ἐνδείκνυται. καὶ μὴν

BOOK III

1. Therefore, Hiero, if the indication, which takes its origin 157K  
 from the nature of the matter, reveals what is needed, the  
 starting point for the discovery of the cures necessarily  
 arises from the nature of the diseases themselves. More-  
 over, it would be paradoxical if what indicates the treat-  
 ment is different from what is being treated, because each  
 thing is able to reveal something about itself more than it is  
 able to reveal something about another thing. This will  
 certainly be clearer in what follows. Since everyone agrees  
 to take the primary indications from the conditions, it is  
 not necessary to prolong the argument unduly once I have 158K  
 shown that it is appropriate to begin here. Instead, I shall  
 attempt to show that this is neither the whole argument  
 nor actually a large part of it, as the Methodics think, but a  
 very small part and only the beginning. Those very men say  
 that a stone in the bladder, by being in the class "contrary  
 to nature" indicates its removal. And the same applies in  
 the case of thin-necked warts, sessile warts, atheromata,  
 steatomata, melicerides and other such things. Bowel that  
 has herniated into the scrotum, by being in an unnatural  
 place, indicates the return to its proper place, as do all  
 those things that are displaced. Indeed, no craft as yet ex-

οὐδὲν τούτων οὐδέπω τεχνικόν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει γινώσκειν· ἐμβληθῆναι γοῦν ἑαυτῶν κελεύουσι τὸ κῶλον, ὅταν ἐξηρθρηκότος αἰσθάνωνται καὶ ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀκροχορδόνα καὶ τὸ ἔλκος εἰς οὐλὴν ἀχθῆναι καὶ τὸ ρεύμα τῆς κοιλίας ἐπισχεθῆναι.

159K τὸ δὲ δι' ὧν χρῆ ταῦτα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἴσασι. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ χρῆ προστιθέναι τὸν ἰατρόν. ὥστε ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν νοσημάτων ἔνδειξις ἀρχὴ μὲν ἔστι καὶ οἰοῖναι ὀρηγ-  
τήριον τι τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου, τῆς τέχνης δ' οὐπω | τῆς ἰατρικῆς μόριον οὐδέν, ἢ οὐκ ἀξιόλογόν γε μόριον, οὐδὲ ἴδιον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ὑπάρχει κοινόν. ὁ τοίνυν ἐξευρεῖν δυνάμενος ὑφ' ὧντινων ἔσται τὸ δηλούμενον ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐνδείξεως, οὗτός ἔστιν ὁ τῶν νοσημάτων θεραπευτής· καὶ εἰ μὲν διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας εὔροι, τηρητικός τέ τις καὶ Ἐμπειρικός ὀνομασθησόμενος, εἰ δὲ διὰ λόγου τινός, ἢ μεθόδου, Δογμικός τε καὶ Μεθοδικός καὶ Δογματικός. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἰδιώτης, ἀνωθεν γὰρ ταῦτ' ῥητέον, ἤκει παρὰ τὸν ἰατρόν, ἐμβαλεῖν κελεύων τὸ κῶλον, ἢ διαπλάσαι τὸ συντετριμμένον ὄστον, ἢ ἐξελεῖν τὴν μελικηρίδα. τὸ δ' ὅπως χρῆ τούτων ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἔστι τέχνης εὔρημα. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐμπειρικοὶ δι' ἐμπειρίας εὕρισκεσθαι πάντα φασίν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐμπειρία, τὰ δὲ λόγῳ. μήτε γὰρ ἐκείνην ἰκανὴν εἶναι πάντα μήτε μόνον εὕρισκειν τὸν λόγον.

οὐ μὴν ἀξιουμέν γε συγκεχυμένην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὴν ἐμπειρικὴν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ

ists for these matters other than that which is, in my view, also known by all laymen. At all events, they direct that their own limb be put back into place whenever they realize it is dislocated, that a thin-necked wart be removed, that a wound be brought to a scar, and that a flux of the stomach be stopped.

But what they don't know is how they ought to do these things. This is what the doctor must add. As a result, the indication from the diseases is a beginning and starting point, as it were, for the therapeutic method, and is not as yet any part of the medical art, or at least not a noteworthy or specific part, but something also common to laymen. Therefore, the person who is able to discover by whatever means what will be revealed from the primary indication is the one who treats the disease. And if he finds out through experience, he will be called an "observer" or an "Empiric" whereas, if he finds out through some theory or method, [he will be called] a "Rationalist," or "Methodic," or "Dogmatic." Therefore the layman, for we must be consistent, comes to the doctor directing him to put the limb back into place, or to set the broken bone, or to remove the meliceris. However, the means necessary for doing each of these things is the invention of the medical art. The Empirics say all these things are discovered through experience. I say that some are discovered through experience; but some through reason, because experience alone is not enough to discover everything, nor is reason.

However, I think it is important not to make the teaching confused, but to identify separately the empirical and

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τὴν λογικὴν, ἔν' ὅσῃν ἑκατέρα δύναμις ἔχη σαφῶς εὑρεθῆ. καὶ νῦν ἡμῶν πρόκειται περὶ τῆς λογικῆς εὑρέσεως εἰπεῖν.

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ἀρ' οὖν ἔχομέν τινα μέθοδον ἣ χρώμενοι τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον εὐρήσομεν; ἀνελεῖν λέγω τὸ περιττὸν τῷ γένει καὶ μεταθεῖναι τὸ τῆν οἰκείαν χώραν ὑπερλαχός, ἐνώσαι τε τῆς συνεχείας λελυμένον. ἢ τῆν ἐμπειρικὴν ὑπ' αὐτὰ παρακαλέσομεν; ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πάντῃ πέπεισμαι μέθοδον ὑπάρχειν τιὰ τῆς τῶν ζητουμένων εὑρέσεως, ἧς ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆν ἐκ τῶν νοσημάτων ἑκάστου προσπίπτοντα σκοπὸν. ἢ γὰρ τῆς συνεχείας λύσις τῆν ἔνωσιν ἐπιζητεῖ κατὰ μὲν ὅστων κάταγμα λεγομένη, κατὰ δὲ τὸ σαρκῶδες μέρος ἔλκος, ὡσπερ γε καὶ τὸ τραῦμα καὶ τὸ ῥήγμα καὶ τὸ σπᾶσμα, τὸ μὲν ἐν σαρκῶδει μορίῳ διὰ τοῦ τραυθῆναι γεγονός, τὸ δὲ ῥήγμα καὶ τὸ σπᾶσμα χωρὶς τοῦ τραυθῆναι, σαρκῶδους μὲν ἐν τῷ ῥήγματι μορίου τῆς συνεχείας λυθέντος, νευρῶδους δὲ ἐν τῷ σπᾶσματι. τούτων ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἔνωσις. εἴτε δ' οἶόν τε τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἅπαν, εἴτ' οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ πολλαχόθι, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἤδη τεχνίτου γινώσκειν. ἰδιώτης γὰρ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὐθ' ὅτι τῶν φρενῶν τὸ νευρῶδες οὐθ'

<sup>1</sup> The term *σκοπός* is sometimes rendered "indicator" rather than the more usual "aim" or "objective," depending on context. Linacre was aware of the difficulty, translating *σκοπός* as *indicatio* here with a marginal note to the effect that it is different from *ἐνδειξις*, which is clearly a technical term for Galen.

<sup>2</sup> Another somewhat problematical term is *ἔλκος*, which is

the rational, so that whatever power each one has may be clearly revealed. And the task before us now is to speak about rational discovery.

Do we, then, have some method, using which we will discover each of the aforementioned things? I say it is to take away what is in excess in the class, change the place of what is altered in respect to its proper place, and unite what has suffered dissolution of continuity. Or shall we invoke the empirical [method] for these? I, too, am very much persuaded that there is a certain method for the discovery of the things sought, the beginning of which is the indicator<sup>1</sup> that comes from each of the diseases. For the dissolution of continuity requires union. In a bone [this dissolution] is called a fracture, while in a fleshy part it is called a wound (*helkos*),<sup>2</sup> just as in fact it is also called a wound (*trauma*), rupture or tear. It is a wound when the wounding occurs in a fleshy part, whereas rupture or tearing occurs apart from wounding, the former when there is dissolution of continuity in the rending of a fleshy part, and the latter when it arises in rupture of a sinewy part.<sup>3</sup> What is indicated (the goal) for all these things is union. Whether it is possible for this to happen everywhere, or is not possible in many places, is now primarily a matter for the expert to know. No layman knows that neither the sinewy part of the diaphragm, nor the small intestines

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considered at some length in the Introduction, section 6. In this book it clearly corresponds to "wound" in modern terms. Context determines the choice between "wound" and "ulcer."

<sup>3</sup> A third term with variable meaning is *neuron* and its cognates (as above). The options are "nerve" and "sinew," the choice again depending on context.

161K ὅτι τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ἐντέρων | οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ δέξασθαι τὸν σκοπόν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περὶ πόσθης, οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ λεπτοῦ τῶν γνάθων οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ τερηδῶν ὅσπου δύναται θεραπευθῆναι, καθάπερ ἐν σαρκὶ διάβρωσις· οὐδ' εἰ τὸ κάταγμα συμφῦναι, καθάπερ τὸ τραῦμα, κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐδ' εἰ πωρωθῆναι δύναται γιγνώσκει· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καταγμάτων ὁ ἰδιώτης οὐδὲν οἶδεν, εἴτε χρῆ τὴν πώρωσιν ἀναμένειν, εἴτ' ἄλλως ἰᾶσθαι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ εἰ καρδίας τρωθείσης ἢ πνεύμονος ἢ γαστρὸς ἢ ἥπατος ἐλπίζειν χρῆ τὴν ἰασιν· οὐδ' ὅλως οὐδὲν οὐκέτι περαιτέρω τοῦ πρώτου σκοποῦ γιγνώσκει τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδεῖς.

τοῦτ' οὖν αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἤδη τῆς τέχνης ἔργον, ἥτοι τυχεῖν ἐλπίζειν τοῦ τέλους ἢ ἀπογινώσκειν τοῦ τυχεῖν· διττὴ δ' ἡ γνώσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρίτην οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ γενέσθαι· διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἑτέρα, μακροῦ δηλονότι χρόνου δεομένη· διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος φύσεως ἢ ἑτέρα· καὶ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκάστου τῶν μορίων ἐπισκέπεται καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν θέσιν, ἐξ ὧν ὀρμωμένη τό τ' ἀδύνατον ἰαθῆναι προγνώσεται καὶ τοῦ | δυνατοῦ δέξασθαι τὴν ἰασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν βοηθημάτων εὐρέσεως ἐπισκέπεται.

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2. Πρόδηλον δ' ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλουστάτων ἄρξεται. τί δ' ἀπλούστερον ἔλκος ἐπιπολῆς ἐν σαρκώδει μορίῳ; τοῦτ' οὖν εἰ μὲν ἀπλῶς ἔλκος εἶη, σκοπὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰάσεως ἕνωσις· εἰ δὲ σὺν κοιλότητι, διττὸς μὲν ὁ σκοπός, ὅτι καὶ ἡ διάθεσις διττὴ· συνεχείας μὲν

can "accept" what is indicated, and he certainly does not know about either the prepuce or the thin part of the cheeks. Besides, he does not know if caries of the bone can be treated, and the same with an erosion in flesh, or whether a fracture knits, or a wound heals. Similarly, he does not know if a callus can be made hard. In like manner, too, the layman does not know, concerning fractures in the head, whether it is necessary to await callus formation or to effect a cure in another way. Much more, however, does he not know if he should hope for a cure when the heart has been wounded, or the lung, stomach or liver; nor, in general, does any layman know anything beyond the primary objective.

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This, then, is now the very first task of the craft—to know whether there is hope of achieving the desired outcome or not. This knowledge has two components; it is not possible for there to be a third. One is knowledge from experience, which clearly requires a long time. The other is knowledge from the nature of the matter itself, which takes into account the substance of each of the parts, and their function, use, and position. Proceeding from these factors, not only will there be prior knowledge of what cannot be cured and of what can respond to the cure, but also there will be consideration of the discovery of remedies.

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2. It is clear that [we should] begin from the most simple [diseases]. What is simpler than a superficial wound in a fleshy part? If this wound is simple, the objective of its cure is union. If it has a cavity, the objective is twofold in that the condition is also twofold—the wound is a dissolu-

λύσις τὸ ἔλκος, ἀπώλεια δὲ οὐσίας τινὸς οἰκείας τῷ ζῳῳ ἢ κοιλότης. εὐρίσκεται δὲ κἀνταῦθα πολλάκις ὁ ἕτερος τῶν σκοπῶν ἀδύνατος· οἷον εἰ μὴ μόνον ἢ σάρξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὁστοῦν ἀπολωλὸς εἶη· πληρωθῆναι γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἢ τοιαύτη κοιλότης οὐ δύναται, ἀλλ' ἐπουλωθῆναι μὲν, ὅπερ ἦν ἔλκος ἰασις, ἀνίατος δὲ ἢ κοιλότης καταλειφθήσεται. τοῦτ' οὖν αὐθις αὐτὸ πάντως μὲν ἦτοι διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἢ διὰ τοῦ λόγου χρή γινῶναι· ὁ Θεσσαλὸς δὲ οὔτε τούτοις χρήται καὶ τρίτον οὐδὲν προστίθησιν, εἴτ' οὐκ αἰδέεται ληρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τοῦτο· τὸ κοῖλον δ' ἔλκος ἐν σαρκῶδει μορίῳ χωρὶς τοῦ πεπουθέναι τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὅπως ἰασώμεθα λεγέτω παρελθὼν ὁ Θεσσαλῆιος | ἰατρός. Ἐμβαλόττες, φησί, τὸ σαρκωτικὸν φάρμακον· εὖ γε τῆς εὐχερείας, ἴσως δ' ἀναισθησίας εἰπεῖν ἦν ἄμεινον, εἰ σαρκωτικὸν εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάχθαι δοκεῖ τοῦ ζητουμένου· εἰ γὰρ ἤδη τὸ σαρκωτικὸν ἐπιστάμεθα, τί ζητοῦμεν ἔτι; λέγε μοι τὸ σαρκωτικὸν ὃ τί ποτ' ἐστίν, ᾧ μέλλεις χρῆσθαι; λιβανωτόν, οἶμαι, φήσεις, ἴριον ἢ ἀριστολοχίαν ἢ ὀρόβιονον ἄλευρον ἢ πάνακα· τῶν γὰρ ξηρῶν φαρμάκων πρῶτον μνημονεύσω. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπέ μοι πόθεν εὔρες; Ἐκ τῆς πείρας, φησί. τί δὴ οὖν ἔτι προσέθηκας σύ; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι χρή πληροῦν τὸ κοῖλον οἶδε δῆπον καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης. τὸ δ' ἐξ ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν φαρμάκων, ἐδίδαξεν ἢ πείρα.

Θεσσαλὸς δ' οὐθ' ὡς Ἐμπειρικὸς οἶδε τὸ φάρμακον οὐθ' ὡς Δογμικός. ὡς Ἐμπειρικὸς μὲν, ὅτι μὴ βούλεται ὡς Δογμικός δέ, ὅτι μὴ δύναται· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὡς Ἐμ-

tion of continuity, while the cavity is a destruction of some substance proper to the organism. In this situation, it is often found that one of the objectives is impossible; for example, if not only the flesh is destroyed but also the underlying bone. A cavity of this kind cannot be filled up perfectly but it can be scarred over, which is a cure of the wound, although the cavity will be left behind incurable. This itself is something which, in general, we must know either through experience or through reason. Thessalus, however, does not use [either of] these means, nor does he add a third. And he is not embarrassed by his humbug, but allows it. Let the Thessaleian doctor come forward and say how we will cure a hollow wound in a fleshy part when there is no involvement of anything underlying. "By applying an enfleshing (sarcotic) medication," he says. Well, it would be better to speak of his recklessness, or perhaps of his stupidity if, having mentioned "enfleshing," he thinks he is absolved from the search. If we already know what is enfleshing, why would we look any further? Tell me, at some point, what this "sarcotic" is that you intend to use? Frankincense, I think you will say, or iris, or aristolochia, or meal from bitter vetch, or panax—for I shall mention first the dry medications. Tell me, from what source did you discover these? "From experience," he says. What more is there for you to still add? Even the layman, presumably, also knows that we must fill the cavity. However, experience teaches us from what and by which medications.

Thessalus does not, however, know the medication as the Empiric knows it or as the Dogmatic knows it. He does not know it as the Empiric knows it because he does not wish to, and he does not know it as the Dogmatic knows it

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πειρικὸς οἶδεν, ἀκριβῶς ἐγὼ τοῦτο γινώσκω. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων ἀπάσης εὐρέσεως ὀργάνων, ἐμπειρίας καὶ λόγου, ὁ τὸ μὲν εὐρημένον ἐπιστάμενος, εἰπεῖν δ' οὐκ ἔχων αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, εὐδηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας εὐρηκῶς. ἵνα ἢ τοίνυν εἰδῆ πόσον ἀμαρτάνει, μικρὸν ἡσυχάσας ἀκροατῆς ἡμῶν γενέσθω· βούλομαι γάρ τινα διαλεχθῆναι τῷ μονῆν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν πρὸς βεβούοντι.

δίκαιον γὰρ οἶμαι κάκεινον εἰπεῖν ὅπως εἶρε τοῦτ' ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σαρκωτικὸν φάρμακον τὸ ξηρὸν, ὃ δὴ κεφαλικὸν ὀνομάζουσι· σύγκειται δὲ ἐξ ἴριως καὶ ἀριστολοχίας ὀρόβου τε καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ μάννης. ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον τι ᾧ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ φλοῖδος πάνακος ἐπεμβάλλεται· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἕτερον ἐστὶν ᾧ καὶ καδμεία πεπλυμένη προσεπεμβάλλεται. λεγέτω τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅπως εὐρέθη. Καὶ τί μοί, φησι, ζητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐρέσεως αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς εὐρημένοις ὁρθῶς χρῆσθαι; ταῦτ' ἔστιν οὖν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀποφαίνονται, κατὰ σύμβασιν δέ, καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοὶ καὶ τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἐνδέχεται τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐρησθῆναι φασιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κατὰ δὴ τινα τύχην ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ ἕτερον εἰς τὸ ἕτερον, εἰτά τινα τῷ μικτῷ τολμῆσαι χρῆσασθαι, τῆς τόλμης δ' οὐ λέγειν τὴν ἐλπίδα. ταῦτ' ἔστιν οὖν πρόδηλος λῆρος.

ὁ δὲ τρίτος αὐτοῖς τρόπος τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐστὶν

<sup>4</sup> On this medication, see Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 2.3, XIII.541K ff.

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because he is unable to, since what the Empiric knows is precisely what I know. There are two “instruments” for every discovery—experience and reason. Someone who knows what has been discovered but is not able to state the reason for it has clearly made his discovery from experience. Accordingly, that he might know how much he errs, let him be my silent listener for a short while, as I wish certain matters to be discussed with someone who privileges experience alone.

In my view it is only right for that person also to say how he discovered that this particular enflensing medication, which is dry and which they actually call cephalicum,<sup>4</sup> is compounded from iris, aristolochia, bitter vetch, frankincense, and manna. And there is also another thing, in addition to those mentioned, which is put in—the bark of panax. And furthermore, there is yet another thing added to it which is washed cadmia. Accordingly, let him say how they were discovered. “But why,” he will say, “is it necessary for me to speak about the search for the discovery of these constituents, but not about how to use correctly those that have been discovered?” These particular things, therefore, are apparent straightaway at the outset, but they appear “by coincidence,” for these men speak of them like this and with this term. They say it is sometimes possible for such things to be discovered from dreams, and sometimes again that by some chance one thing merges into another. So then [they say] that someone has the courage to make use of the mixture, but they don’t speak of the expectation of that courage. These particular claims are transparent humbug.

The third way of discovery for them is really inferential.

165K ὄντως ἐπιλογιστικός· ἐκάστου | γὰρ ἐκείνων ἀπλῶν  
 ἰδία τις πεπειραμένος ὡς σαρκωτικῶν, κἄπειθ' εὐ-  
 ρίσκων ἐνίοτε μὴ σαρκούντα, προσεπελογίσασατο μὴ  
 πάσῃ φύσει πᾶν ἀρμόττειν. εἰ γὰρ ὄν οὐκ ἐσάρκωσεν  
 ἢ ἀριστολοχία, τοῦτον ὁ λιβανωτὸς ἐσάρκωσεν, ᾧ δ' ὁ  
 λιβανωτὸς οὐχ ἤρμησεν, τοῦτω τῆς ἴρεως προσαχθεί-  
 σης ἀπήντησε τὸ δέον, εὐλογον, οἶμαι, μὴ πάντας ὑπὸ  
 πάντων ὁμοίως διατίθεσθαι τοῦτον δ' ἄπαξ εἰς ἐπι-  
 λογισμὸν ἐλθόντος ἄμεινον ἔδοξεν ὡς οἶόν τε πλείστα  
 τῶν ὁμοειδῶν εἰς ταῦτον ἀναμίξαι, ἵν' ἐκάστη φύσις  
 σώματος εὐπορή τοῦ προσήκοντος. καὶ μήν, ᾧ ἑταῖρε,  
 ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ τῶν εἰδῶν οὐ φυλάττονται τῶν οὐ-  
 κείων οὐσιῶν αἱ ἐνέργειαι, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου εἶδους  
 τῷ ὠφελεῖν εἰς νόσον ἢνπερ χρὴ θεραπεύειν εὐπορεῖν  
 τοῦ προσήκοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦτοι τὴν φύσιν ἠδύναντο  
 τοῦ σώματος ἐξευρεῖν ἢ τοῦ προσφερομένου φαρ-  
 μάκου τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἴσως ἐδέξασεν αὐτοῖς τῆς  
 τοιαύτης ποικιλίας, ἐν ἐκάστοτε φάρμακον ἐφ' ἐνὶ  
 σώματι τὸ συμφέρον εὐρίσκειν δυναμένοις. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἀγνοοῦσιν ἐκάτερον, κακῶς ἀναμιγνύουσιν ἅπαντα,  
 166K πολλαῖς φύσεσιν ἀρμόττον ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι | βουλό-  
 μνοι ἐν φάρμακον.

τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν φαρμάκων  
 ἐγὼ πείθομαι τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐπινενοῆσθαι

For if someone has tried out each of those simple medica- 165K  
 tions individually as sarcotics, then, when he discovers that  
 sometimes one is not enfleshing, he has provided further  
 proof that not everything is suitable for every nature. For if  
 frankincense created flesh in a particular person when  
 aristolochia did not, or if in someone for whom frankin-  
 cense was not suitable what was needed followed when iris  
 was applied, it would be a reasonable inference, I think,  
 that not all people are affected in the same way by all  
 things. Once [the doctor] has come to this inference, it  
 would seem better, as far as possible, to mix most of the like  
 forms in the same medication so that each bodily nature  
 has an abundance of what is appropriate. And yet, my  
 friend, in the combination of the forms, the actions of the  
 specific substances are not preserved such that, in the case  
 of each single kind of body, there is an abundance of what  
 is beneficial for the disease we must treat.<sup>5</sup> For if they  
 were able to discover either the nature of the body or the  
 potency of the medication being applied, perhaps there  
 would be nothing lacking for them among such diversity,  
 as they would be able to discover one medication which is  
 useful when applied in one body on each occasion. But  
 since they don't know either thing (i.e. the nature of the  
 body or the potency of the medication), they mix every-  
 thing badly when they wish to devise a single medication 166K  
 suitable to many natures.

I believe this manner of synthesis of medications was  
 invented by the first doctors and I accept it as an ancient

<sup>5</sup> Linacre has a marginal note on this sentence that part is  
 missing from some manuscripts. His Latin version has been trans-  
 lated; see Linacre (1546), p. 122.

καὶ ὡς ἀρχαῖον εὔρεμα προσίεμαι. τοσοῦτόν γε μὴν ἀποδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς οὕτως μεθόδου θεραπευτικῆς, ὅσον εὐλογώτερός ἐστι τῶν ἐγχεομένων εἰς ἄλληλα κοσκίνων. εἰ γὰρ μὴ λογίζεται πρῶτον μὲν ὡς μόνης τῆς ἐξ ὁμοειδῶν φαρμάκων συνθέσεως, οὐ μὴν τῆς γ' ἐξ ἐναντίων εἶρηκε τὴν μέθοδον. ἔπειθ' ὡς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς μίξεως ἐν μὲν, εἰ τύχοι, τὸ τῷ πάσχοντι προσήκόν ἐστι φάρμακον, ἐγχωρεῖ δὲ καὶ μηδέν, ἐπτα δ' ἢ ὀκτώ τῶν οὐκ οἰκείων ὥστε πλείοσιν ἀριθμοῖς βλάψαι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὠφελῆσαι ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ λογίζεται, πλέον αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖν ἢ γινώσκειν τοῦ πράγματος εἵπομ' ἄν.

167K ἔλαιον γοῦν ἐγχεόμενον ἔλκει κοίλῳ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον φάρμακον· εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσεις οὕτω θεραπεύειν, αὐτῇ γνώσεις τῇ πείρα ῥυπαρὸν καὶ βρωῶδες ἀποτελούμενον τὸ ἔλκος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους θερμὴ τύχοι καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶη κακοχυμώτερος, ἢ φύσει ἢ ρευματικώτερος ἢ καὶ περὶ τὴν διαίταν τι πλημμελοῖη, κίνδυνος τούτῳ σαπῆναι τὸ μόριον ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἔλκος ἐγένετο. κίνδυνος δὲ καὶ εἰ κηρῷ μόνῳ χρῶο, καὶ εἰ τήκων ἐλαίῳ ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν διασήψει σοι τὸ ἔλκος· εἰ δὲ ἰὸν λειώσας ἐμπλάττης, οὐ διασήψει μὲν οὗτός γε οὐδαμῶς, ὀδύνην δ' ἐργάσεται καὶ δῆξι οὐ σμικρὰν, ἀνάβρωσιν τε καὶ φλεγμονήν· εἰ δὲ ἐπιπλέον χρήσαι, καὶ σπασμόν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὔτε τὸ ἔλαιον οὔτε ὁ ἰὸς οὔτε ὁ κηρὸς ἔλκος κοῖλον σαρκῶσαι δύναται, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ μίξει ποτ' αὐτὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας οὐδεῖς·

discovery. Yet in fact I think it is deficient as a true method of treatment to the extent that it is more applicable to the situation when sieves pour their contents into one another. For if he does not take into account first that which is only from the synthesis of like medications, he has not, in fact, spoken of the method of synthesis from opposites. So, in the many components of the mixture, it may happen that there is one medication appropriate to the patient, although it is also possible there is none, or that there are seven or eight that are not appropriate. So such a medication with a greater number [of components] will harm rather than help and, if he does not take these things into account, I would say he is more ignorant than knowledgeable about the matter.

At any rate, oil, when it is poured on a hollow wound, is the most inimical medication of all [to healing] for, if you do wish to treat in this way, you will know from experience itself that the wound is made filthy and foul-smelling. And if it happens to be a hot time of the year, or if the person is rather *kakochymous*, or more subject to flux by nature, or also if there is something wrong with the regimen, there is for this man a danger of putrefaction involving the part in which the wound exists. There is also a danger if you use either wax alone, or wax dissolved in oil; these particular things will putrefy the wound for you. If, however, you apply triturated verdigris, this will in no way putrefy, although it will bring about pain and no little biting, erosion and inflammation. If you use still more, it will bring about convulsions as well. Since, therefore, neither oil, verdigris nor wax is able to en flesh a hollow wound, it is clear that none of those [men] who work on the basis of experience will ever mix them.



ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μίξω γε τῷ δέοντι μέτρῳ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα μυρία φάρμακα τῶν βλαπτόντων ἰδίως ἔλκος κοῖλον. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταῖς αὐταῖς δυνάμεσι βλάπτουεν, ἀλλ' ὑπεναντίας, ἄμετρα δῆπουθέν ἐστὶν ὡς πρὸς ἔλκος κοῖλου πλήρωσι. ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκ δυοῖν ἀμέτρον κράσεων ἐν ἀποτελείται σύμμετρον, ἐν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων συνθέσεως ἐμάθομεν λογισμοῖς. οὐκ οὐκ ἔτι χαλεπὸν ἐξ ἐλαίου καὶ κηροῦ καὶ ἰοῦ συνθεῖναι φάρμακον σαρκωτικόν· εἰ γὰρ εἰδείης ὡς ἰξηραίνεσθαι μετρίως δέεται τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος, οὐ ξηραίνει δ' οὔτε ὁ κηρὸς οὔτ' ἔλαιον, εἰδείης ἂν ὡς οὔτε ἐκάτερον οὔτ' ἄμφω πληρώσουσιν ἔλκος κοῖλον· οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ ἰὸς μόνος, ἀμέτρως γὰρ ξηραίνει. μίξας οὖν ἅπαντα συμμέτρως ξηρὸν ἐργάσασθαι δυνήσῃ φάρμακον· ὅπου οὐκ ἐκάστου χρῆ τὸ μέτρον εἶναι δέδεικται μὲν ἤδη μοι κἀν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων συνθέσεως ὑπομνήμασιν, δειχθήσεται δὲ καὶ νῦν, εἰ δεηθείη, τοῦ λόγου προϊόντος. ἀποπέμψαι γὰρ με χρῆ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφεξῆς λόγων τὸν ἀμέθοδον ἐκείνον Θεσσαλόν, ἐνδείξάμενον αὐτῷ πόσον ἀμαρτάνει τοῦ δέοντος. φρονίμῳ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα σαφῶς ἐνδείκνυται τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ὁποῖαν τινα εἶναι χρῆ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὁ λόγος· ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἔτι διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἀρξάμενον.

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But I will mix, in the required amount, both these and countless other medications that are individually harmful to a hollow wound. If [the medications] are harmful not by the same potencies but by those that are opposite, presumably they are disproportionate for the filling of a hollow wound. But we did learn in the discussions about the composition of medications how a mixture from two immoderate medications makes one moderate medication. So there is no longer any problem about compounding a sarcotic medication from oil, wax and verdigris. If you know that such a wound or ulcer needs to be moderately dried, and that neither wax nor oil dries, you would know that neither each one singly nor both together would fill up a hollow wound or ulcer. And neither would verdigris alone, for it dries excessively. But then, when you mix all these, you are able to make a moderately drying medication. What the amount of each must be, I have already shown in the treatises on the synthesis of medications,<sup>6</sup> and will show again now if needs be as the argument proceeds. For it is first necessary for me to dismiss that "methodless" Thessalus from the discussions to follow, once I have shown him how far he strays from what is right. And to the sensible man those things now spoken of demonstrate clearly what sort of thing the therapeutic method must be. But the argument is not directed to such people, so it is still necessary here for the origin to be discussed with them.

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<sup>6</sup> We have been unable to locate the recipe for the preparation of this compound medication in either *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* (XII.378–1007K and XIII.1–361K) or *per genera* (XIII.362–1058K). For the preparation of verdigris, see Dioscorides, V.91.

169K ἅπαντα κοιλότης παρὰ φύσιν ἐνδείκνυται τὴν πλήρωσιν ὥστε καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ σαρκώδει μορίῳ αὕτη δὲ ἢ πλήρωσις σκοπὸς τῆς τῶν ἰαμάτων εὐρέσεως γίγνεται. ἵνα δ' εὐρεθῇ τὰ πληρώσαντα καὶ ἰ λόγου δεόμεθα συχνοῦ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐνδείξεων, καὶ μεθόδου λογικῆς ἀκριβοῦς· ἐθεάσω γοῦν πολλάκις ἔλκη δυσίατα μὴ δυναμένους θεραπεῦσαι μήτε τοὺς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν πρεσβεύοντας ἰατροὺς τούτους δὴ τοὺς πολυφαρμάκους, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἐπαγγελλομένους ἅπαντας.

οἱ γὰρ Θεοσάλειοι Μεθοδικοὶ μὲν τοῦνομα, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις Ἀμέθοδοι, καθάπερ τινὲς ὄνοι λύρας οὐδ' ἐπαῖειν ἰκανοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρίας εἰσὶ, μὴ τοί γε δὴ λογισμῷ τὸ δέον ἐξευρίσκειν. ἐθεάσω δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλκῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλο μεταβαίνοντας φάρμακον, οὐ μὰ Δία λογισμοῦ τινος ἐξηγουμένου τῆς μεταβάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πολλῶν μὲν ἐπειράθησαν πληροῦντων ἔλκη κοῖλα, τὴν δ' ὡς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἰδιοσυγκρασίαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εὐδοκίμησεν οὔτε διαγινώσκουν οὔτε μεμνήσθαι δύνανται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἐφ' ὃ τι χρὴ μεταβαίνειν, ἐλπίζοντες δ' ἐν πολλῇ τῇ κατὰ μέρος διεξόδῳ πάντως εὐρεθῆσεσθαί ποτε τὸ προσήκον, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλο μεταπηδῶσι, τύχη μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἰ εὐρεσιν ἐπιτρέποντες. ὅμοιοι δ' αὐτοῖς εἰσι, κὰν μὴ θέλωσιν, ὅσοι τῶν Δογματιζόντων ἐπὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν σωματίων οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν ἀναβῆναι τῷ

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Every cavity contrary to nature indicates [the need] for filling, so this also applies in a fleshy part, and this filling is itself the indicator of the discovery of the cures. In order that the things which are filling are discovered, we need considerable discussion, many indications individually, and a method that is logical and precise. At all events, you often see intractable wounds or ulcers, which neither these doctors who give primacy to experience and so rely on polypharmacy, nor all those who profess to follow the course of reason are able to treat.

Now the Thessaleians, while Methodics by name, are, however, "Amethodics" when it comes to matters of truth, just as some asses are toward the lyre, nor are they capable of understanding such a theory, and certainly not of discovering by reasoning what is needed. On the other hand, you have often seen, in such wounds or ulcers, those who rely on experience change sometimes from one medication to another without, by Zeus, providing any rationale for the change. But since they make trial of many agents for filling hollow wounds or ulcers, as they call the particular characteristic, they are unable to either recognize or remember for what aspects each of the agents was held in high regard and, because of this, they now do not know which one they ought to change to. Hoping, no doubt, that what is appropriate will, at some time, be discovered by many individual trials, they jump from one to another, entrusting the discovery of what is useful more to chance than to reason. Some of the Dogmatics are like them, even if they don't wish [to be]; [that is,] those who are not able to advance in the argument as far as the natural origins of

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λόγω. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοί, καθότι πρόσθεν ἐδείξαμεν, ἐξ ἡμίσεώς εἰσιν Ἐμπειρικοί, οἱ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διαλαβεῖν περὶ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀμεθόδων τούτων Θεσσαλείων τί ἂν τις καὶ λέγοι; μόνου τοίνυν οἱ οὕτως μεθόδῳ θεραπεύοντες ἐξευρίσκουσι τε τὸ δέον ἢ φάρμακον ἢ διαίτημα καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων ἐλκῶν ἐπιδεικνύουσι τε τὰ σαφέστατα διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ὀπηλίκον ἀγαθὸν ἔστι καὶ ὅσον φῶς παρέχει πρὸς τὰς ἰάσεις ἢ περὶ φύσεως πραγματεία.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὡς τοῖς συνεχῶς ἀφ' ἑτέρου φαρμάκου μεταβαίνουσιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐνίοτε παρορᾶται καὶ καταφρονεῖται τὸ χρήσιμον, ἐπέδειξά σοι πολλάκις ἐνὶ φαρμάκῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐλκῶν θεραπεύσας ὧν ἔφθανον ἐκεῖνοι κεχρηῆσθαι. κατεφρονήθη δ' εἰκότως ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τοιούτου φαρμάκου διὰ τε τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τῆς χρήσεως, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαι δόξαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσβλάψαι, καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐνίοτε σαφὲς ἐργάζεσθαι | τὴν πρώτην χρῆσιν. ἐθεάσω δὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ὀδύνας σφοδροτάτας ἰασαμένους ἡμᾶς ἢ λουτροῖς ἢ οἴνου πόσεσιν ἢ πυρίαις ἢ φλεβοτομίαις ἢ καθάρσεσιν, ἐφ' ὧν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἢ ταυτὶ τὰ δι' ὀπίου καὶ μανδραγόρου καὶ ὑοσκυάμου συντιθέμενα φάρμακα, μεγίστην λάβην ὀφθαλμῶν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλω τινὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα δόκησιν τῆς ἀνωδυνίας ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ νεκροῦν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐργάζονται. καὶ πολλοὺς οἴσθα μετὰ τὰς τοιαύτας χρήσεις τῶν φαρμάκων, ἐπειδὴν ἀμετρότερον προσαχθῆ, μηκέτ' ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὸ κατὰ

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bodies. For they, too, just as I showed before, are "semi-Empirics"—those who have not been able to understand about the primary elements. And what might someone say about these "amethodical" Thessaleians? Only those who truly treat by method both discover the required medication or regimen for each of such wounds or ulcers and display with the utmost clarity by their actions how great a good the treatise on nature is and how much light it provides regarding cures.<sup>7</sup>

Certainly, I too have often shown you that I have treated such wounds with a single medication from among the medications which those men have mixed beforehand—a medication whose usefulness is sometimes overlooked and neglected by those who change continually from one medication to another. In all likelihood, the potency of such a medication was disregarded because it was used at an inopportune time—a time when the medication not only seemed to be of no benefit but even to be harmful, and because sometimes it had no apparent effect during  
171K  
of the eyes with either baths, drinks of wine, vapor baths, phlebotomy or purging, in cases where the majority of doctors have nothing else to offer apart from those medications compounded from opium, mandrake and henbane, to the very great detriment of the eyes. For they bring about the impression of pain relief in the short term by no other means than the destruction of the sensation [of the eyes]. And you know that many people, after the use of these kinds of medications whenever they are applied to

<sup>7</sup> It is not entirely clear which treatise is referred to here. It is probably *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*.

φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρξαμένους μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἀμυδρῶς καὶ μόγις ὁρᾶν, ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ δ' ὑποχύσειν ἢ μυδριασεῖν ἢ φθίσειν ἢ ῥυτιδώσειν ἀλόντας.

οἶσθα δὲ δῆπου συνδιατρίβας ἡμῖν εὐθύς ἐκ μειρακίου, μηδὲ παρ' ἐνὶ τῶν διδασκάλων θεασαμένους ἡμᾶς ἔργον τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐξευρόντας αὐτοὺς τῷ λογισμῷ· καὶ ὅτι γε πολλῷ χρόνῳ τὸν ἀφορισμὸν ἀνεσκεψάμην ἐκείνον, Ὀδύνας ὀφθαλμῶν ἀκρητοσύνη ἢ λουτρὸν ἢ πυρίην ἢ φλεβοτομίην ἢ φαρμακείην λύει, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης ἀκριβείας Ἱπποκράτους ἠλπίζον μηδ' ἐνταῦθα | μήτε ψεῦδος τι μήτ' ἀδύνατον λέγεσθαι· καὶ ὡς τοῦτ' ἦν με τὸ προτρέψαν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἕως οὗ καὶ ταύτην τὴν Ἱπποκράτους ὁδὸν ἐξεύρον διορίσασθαι, πότε καὶ πῶς ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων χρηστέον. ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πολλοῖς τῶν θεασαμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα, πηλίκη μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου δύναμις, ἡλικὸν δὲ κακὸν εἰργάσαντο μὴ φυλάξαντες τὴν παλαιὰν ἰατρικὴν οἱ τὰς νεωτέρας αἰρέσεις συστησάμενοι. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καί τοι γε ἄκοντά με κατ' ἀρχὰς ἠναγκάσατε, λιπαροῦντες διεξελθεῖν ἅπασαν τήνδε τὴν πραγματείαν ἢν εὐχομαι μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὄνησίν τινα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι, βραχυτάτην δ' ἔχω τὴν ἐλπίδα διὰ τὴν κατέχουσιν νῦν ὀλιγωρίαν μὲν τῶν καλῶν, ἐπίδοσιν δὲ εἰς τιμὴν πλοῦτου καὶ δόξης καὶ πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων· ἐφ' ἃ τοῖς ἐκτραπέουσιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται

<sup>8</sup> On this last, see Rufus, fr. 78.

excess, never return to normal, but from that point on begin to see indistinctly or with difficulty, and over time suffer from cataracts, mydriasis, miosis or contractions of the eyes.<sup>8</sup>

You know, of course, having spent time with me right from your youth, that I have not seen such an action in the presence of one of my teachers, but have myself made the discovery by the process of reason, and that over a long period, I have examined closely that aphorism: "Drinking neat wine, or bathing, or a vapor bath, or phlebotomy, or a medication resolve pains of the eyes."<sup>9</sup> And on the basis of the accuracy elsewhere in Hippocrates, I expected that here nothing false or impossible was being said. So this was what gave direction to my search until, following the Hippocratic path, I discovered the way to determine when and how I must use each of the things mentioned. Clearly I also did this for the many who observed such things—that is, how great the power of the therapeutic method is and what great harm those men cause who do not preserve the ancient medical art but adhere to the newer sects. Mind you, on these things, in actual fact you brought pressure to bear on me, although I was hesitant at the beginning when you entreated me to go through the whole treatise, which I pray to the gods is of some benefit to other men also. However, I have very little hope because of the overpowering contempt nowadays for good things and the addiction to the respect for wealth, reputation and political power, due to which it is impossible for those who are devoted to these things to discover the truth in any of its existing forms. But

<sup>9</sup> See *Aphorisms*, VII.46. Neither of the two different versions given exactly corresponds to Galen's text.

τάληθές ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐξευρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τῷ θεῷ φίλον, οὕτω τελευτήσει.

173K τὴν δ' οὖν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον, ἀσκηθεῖσαν μὲν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἰατροῖς, ὀλιγωρουμένην δὲ νῦν ἀνακτησώμεθα καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τ' ἔσμεν, ἀθῆς ἀναλαβόντες | τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου παθήματος ἔλκους κοίλου. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης εὐρέσεως τῶν σαρκωσόντων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος φαρμάκων ἀρκείτω τὰ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἰρημένα,<sup>1</sup> καὶ συγχωρείσθω δ', εἰ βούλει, τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ἃ λέγουσιν ἅπαντα. περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν εὐρημένων χρήσεως ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπέδειξά σοι πολλάκις· οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον καὶ νῦν ἐπιδείξαι τῷ λόγῳ πειράσομαι πῶς ἐν οἷς ἂν μηδὲν δράση τὸ σύνηθες ἐκάστω φάρμακον, ἐπ' ἄλλο μεταβαίνειν εὐμηχάνως τε καὶ τεχνικῶς ἀποροῦσιν οἱ Ἐμπειρικοί. καὶ τοῦτ' εὐλόγως γίνεται· τοῦ γὰρ πρώτου φαρμάκου τῆς ἀποτυχίας τὴν αἰτίαν ἀγνοοῦντες, οὐδὲ φυλάξασθαι δῆπουθεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου δύνανται. ἀγνοουμένης γὰρ ἔτι τῆς αἰτίας δι' ἣν ἐνεργεῖ τὸ φάρμακον, οὐδὲ δι' ἣν ἀποτυγχάνει γινῶναι δυνήσονται. ταύτης δ' ἀγνοουμένης οὐδ' ἐφ' ἕτερον ἔτι μεταβαίνειν εὐλόγως ἐγχωρεῖ, φυλάξασθαι γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐκείνου δυνήσονται τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν.

174K 3. Εἴπωμεν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἤδη τὴν Ἱπποκράτειόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀληθῆ μέθοδον ἐλκῶν κοίλων ἰάσεως· ἄρχεσθαι | δὲ δῆπουθεν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας χρῆ τοῦ πράγματος. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις ἔλκεσι πρόκειται γεννηθῆσαι

to the extent that these things are pleasing to the god, so they will be accomplished.

Let me, then, revive the method of medicine practiced by the doctors of the past but nowadays held in contempt, insofar as I can, taking up again the argument in the case of the affection before us—the hollow wound or ulcer. Regarding the first discovery of the “sarcotic” medications for such a lesion, let what has been said a little earlier be sufficient and concede, if you will, to the Empirics everything they say. About the use of the discoveries, I demonstrated to you their actions on many occasions. No less shall I now attempt to demonstrate by theory how, among these, a medication that is in common use does not act in each [disease], and how the Empirics don't have the wherewithal to change over to another medication skillfully and according to the rules of the craft. And this is to be expected because, if they are ignorant of the cause of the failure of the first medication, they won't be able to look out for this in the case of the second medication. When the cause by which the medication acts remains unknown, they won't be able to recognize the reason for its failure. And since the cause is not known, it is no longer possible to change to another medication in any rational manner, for they will not be able to look out for the actual cause in that case.

3. So let me now speak of the Hippocratic and, at the same time, true method of cure of hollow wounds and ulcers, and it is clearly necessary to begin this from the substance of the matter. Accordingly, since in hollow wounds and ulcers our task is to recreate the flesh that has

<sup>1</sup> B (cf. quae . . . diximus, KLat); εἰρημένοι K

τὴν ἀπολωλυῖαν σάρκα, δεῖ γινώσκειν περὶ<sup>2</sup> σαρκὸς γενέσεως, ὡς ὕλη μὲν αὐτῆς αἷμα χρηστόν, ὃ δ' οἶον δημιουργός τε καὶ τεχνίτης ἡ φύσις. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν χρὴ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ προσθεῖναι τὴν τίνων καὶ ποῦ. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τῶν ὑποκειμένων σωμάτων οἷς σὰρξ ἐπιτρέφεται μέλλει, τούτων ἡ φύσις ἔσται δημιουργὸς τῆς γενηθησομένης σαρκός. ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου τῶν σωμάτων ἐδείχθη κατὰ τινα θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ κράσιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι. δῆλον οὖν ὡς ἡ τούτων εὐκράσια κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον μόριον ᾧ μέλλομεν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν λείπουσαν σάρκα τὸν λόγον ἔξει τοῦ δημιουργοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν σκεπτέον ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔλκουσ κοίλου δύο ταῦτα, τὸ θ' ὑποκείμενον εἰ εὐκράτως ἔχει, τουτέστιν εἰ κατὰ φύσιν. ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιομερέσι σώμασιν ὑγεία τῶν τεττάρων οὔσα ποιότητων εὐκράσια καὶ προσέτι τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἐπιρρέον, εἰ χρηστόν τε καὶ σύμμετρον. | εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτων τι μοχθηρῶς ἔχοι, 175K  
πολλὰ διαθέσεις γίνονται παρὰ φύσιν.

ἡμῖν δ' ὑπόκειται μία κοιλότης ἐν σαρκώδει μορίῳ. ὑποκείσθω τοίνυν ὑγιεινόν τε τὸ χωρίον ἢ τ' ἐπιρροῇ τοῦ αἵματος ἄμεμπτος ἐν ποσότητι καὶ ποιότητι. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι κωλύει τὴν πρῶτην γένεσιν τῆς σαρκὸς ἄμεμπτον γενέσθαι, μηδενὸς δεηθείσαν ἕξωθεν φαρμάκου· τῶν γὰρ αἰτίων ἀμφοτέρων ὑφ' ὧν γίνεται παρόντων καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἕξωθεν ἐμποδῶν οὔτος, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται κωλυθῆναι τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς γένεσιν. ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ γεννᾶσθαι

been destroyed, it is necessary to know about the generation of flesh, and that its material is useful blood, and that the "demiurge" or "craftsman," as it were, is Nature. But we must not simply say "Nature" but add the nature of what things and how. It is clear that the flesh of the bodies underlying those wounds will be what causes growth, and the nature of these will be the "demiurge" of the flesh that will be regenerated. But the nature of each of the bodies was shown to consist of a certain *krasis* of heat, cold, dryness and moisture. It is clear that the *eukrasia* of these [qualities] in the underlying part will have the ground of the "demiurge" by which we will cause the growth of the flesh that is lacking. First, then, we must consider in every hollow wound and ulcer these two things: whether what is underlying is *eukratic*—that is to say, if it is in accord with nature, for it was shown that health in *homotomerous* bodies lies in a *eukrasia* of the four qualities—and, in addition, 175K  
if the flow of blood is of the right quality and quantity. If, however, one of these things is in a bad state, many abnormal conditions arise.

One, I suggest, is hollowness in a fleshy part. Assume that the place is healthy and the flow of blood without fault in terms of quantity and quality. If things are thus, nothing should still prevent the primary genesis of flesh from occurring faultlessly without the need of any medication externally because, as both causes from which this genesis occurs are present and there are no external hindrances, it is impossible for the genesis of flesh to be prevented. But in the actual generation of the primary flesh, two super-

<sup>2</sup> B; τὴν περὶ om. K

τὴν πρώτην σάρκα περίττωμα διττὸν ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι, καθότι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ φύσεως εἴρηται λογισμοῖς, ὡς ἀπάσῃ τῇ κατὰ ποιότητα μετακοσμήσει τῆς τροφῆς ἕτερον μὲν παχύτερον, ἕτερον δὲ λεπτότερον ἔπεται περίττωμα. τούτων τῶν περιττωμάτων καὶ καθ' ὅλον τὸ σῶμα γιγνομένων, αἰεὶ τὸ μὲν λεπτότερον ἢ ἀδηλὸς ἐστὶ διαπνοή· γίνεται δὲ καὶ δῆλη πολλάκις, ὅταν ἦτοι τὸ ἐμφυτον ἀρρωστήσῃ θερμὸν ἢ τροφῇ χρήσῃται πλείονι τοῦ δέοντος, ἢ τις ἐπαχθῇ τῷ ζῳῷ κίνησις σφοδροτέρα. τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἢ ἐπιτρεφόμενός ἐστι τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ῥύπος· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἔλκεσιν ἰχώρ μὲν καλεῖται τὸ λεπτὸν περίττωμα, ῥύπος δ' ἔλκος τὸ παχύ. καὶ διὰ μὲν τὸ λεπτὸν περίττωμα ὑγρὸν τὸ ἔλκος γίνεται, διὰ δὲ τὸ παχὺ ῥυπαρόν· καὶ δεῖται διὰ τοῦτο διττῶν φαρμάκων, ὡς μὲν ὑγρὸν τῶν ξηραίνοντων, ὡς δὲ ῥυπαρόν τῶν καθαιρόντων αὐτό. κατ' οὐδένα τοίνυν χρόνον τῆς φύσεως ἀργούσης οὐδεὶς ἔσται καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ μὴ ταῦτ' ἄμφω κατὰ τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος ἀθροισθήσεται ὥστε οὐδὲ χρόνος ἔσται καθ' ὃν οὐ δεήσεται τῶν φαρμάκων ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ξηραίνοντος καὶ τοῦ καθαίροντος. ὅποιον μὲν οὖν εἶναι χρὴ τῷ γένει τὸ φάρμακον εὔρηται.

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο, χρὴ γάρ τι τῶν κατ' εἶδος ἐξευρεῖν ὃ προσαχθήσεται. πόθεν οὖν ἐκείνο καὶ τίνος εὔρεθήσεται μεθόδου, ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φαρμάκων ἀπλῶν δυνάμεως εἰρημένης; ἐδείκνυμεν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὰ μὲν ξηραίνοντα, τὰ δ' ὑγραίνοντα, τὰ δὲ ψύχοντα, τὰ δὲ θερμαίνοντα τῶν φαρμάκων· ἔνια δὲ

fluities necessarily arise, in that it has been stated in the accounts of nature that in every change in the qualities of nutriment, whether they are thicker or thinner, a superfluity follows. And when these superfluities arise in the whole body, in respect to the thinner, transpiration is always imperceptible; whereas it often becomes perceptible whenever either the innate heat becomes weak, or it uses greater nourishment than is necessary, or some overly strong movement burdens the organism. The other is the filth caused to grow in our bodies. And in wounds and ulcers the thin superfluity is called an "ichor" and the thick superfluity is called the "filth of a wound." Furthermore, due to the thin superfluity a wound becomes moist, while due to the thick superfluity it becomes filthy. Because of this there is need of a twofold [approach to] medications; that is, there is need of those that dry what is moist, and those that purify the actual filth. Accordingly, since at no period of time does nature remain idle, there will be no moment at which both these (i.e. moisture and filth) will not be collected together in a hollow wound or ulcer; so there will be no time at which there will not be need of both medications, the drying and the purifying. It has been shown what kind the medication must be in terms of class.

But this is not enough; it is necessary to discover which particular medications in terms of kind will be applied. How and by what method will that be discovered? Surely it will be from what is stated about potency in my treatise *On the [Mixtures and] Potencies of Simple Medications*? For I showed in that work which medications cause drying, moistening, cooling and heating and which, by virtue of

κατὰ συζυγίαν ἢ θερμαίνοντα καὶ ξηραίνοντα, ἢ ψύ-  
 177K χοντα | καὶ ὑγραίνοντα, ἢ θερμαίνοντα καὶ ὑγραίνον-  
 τα, ἢ ψύχοντα καὶ ξηραίνοντα· εἶναι τε καθ' ἕκαστον  
 αὐτῶν ἀπειρον μὲν τι τῷ πλήθει τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ  
 ἥττον· εἰς δὲ τὴν χρείαν τὴν ἰατρικὴν ὄροις εὐσήμοις  
 περιγραφόμενον, πρώτης τινὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένης  
 τάξεως καὶ δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης. ἐκ ποίας  
 οὖν τάξεως ἔσται τὸ σαρκωτικὸν φάρμακον, ὃ δὴ  
 μετρίως ἔφαμεν χρῆναι ξηραίνειν τε καὶ ῥύπτειν; ἐκ  
 τῆς πρώτης δηλονότι· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐπιταθὲν ὡς μὴ  
 μόνον ἐκδαπανᾶν τὸ περιττὸν τῆς ἀπορροεούσης ὑγρό-  
 τητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος αἵματος ἀπτε-  
 σθαι, κωλύσει τὴν σάρκωσιν ἀναλίσκον αὐτῆς τὴν  
 ὕλην. ἐδείχθη δὲ τοιαῦτα, λιβανωτὸς τε καὶ κρίθινον  
 ἄλευρον καὶ κνάμινον ὀρόβινόν τε καὶ ἴρις ἀριστο-  
 λοχία τε καὶ καδμεία καὶ πάναξ καὶ πομφόλυξ· ἅπαν-  
 τα δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλήλων ἐδείκνυτο διαφέροντα τῷ τε  
 μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀπλᾶς ἔχειν τὰς ἐπικρα-  
 178K τούσας δυνάμεις, τὰ δὲ συνθέτους. ἀριστολοχία μὲν  
 γὰρ καὶ πάναξ μᾶλλον ξηραίνει τῶν ἄλλων καὶ θερ-  
 μότερα τὴν φύσιν ἐστί· | τὸ δὲ κρίθινον καὶ τὸ κνάμι-  
 νον ἄλευρον ἥττον πολὺ ἐκείνων ξηραίνει καὶ ἥκιστα  
 θερμότητος μετέχει· λιβανωτὸς δὲ θερμὸς μὲν ἐστί  
 μετρίως, ἥττον δὲ τούτων ξηραίνει, ὥστε τινὰς φύσεις  
 σωμάτων οὐδὲ ξηραίνει τὴν ἀρχήν· ὀρόβινον δὲ καὶ  
 ἴρις ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ ἀριστολοχίας καὶ  
 πάνακος ἐστί.

ὅπερ δ' ὁ λόγος ἐκίνησε χρησίμως αὐθις ἀναλάβω-  
 μεν. ὁ γὰρ τοι λιβανωτὸς ὑγρὰν μὲν φύσιν σώματος

conjunction, are both heating and drying, or cooling and 177K  
 moistening, or heating and moistening, or cooling and dry-  
 ing. And, in relation to each of these, there is infinite varia-  
 tion in terms of more and less in amount whereas, for medi-  
 cal use, this is circumscribed by distinct boundaries, there  
 being a certain order in them of first, second, third, and  
 fourth. From what kind of order will the enfleshing medi-  
 cation be that I said was necessary to dry and clean moder-  
 ately? Obviously it is from the first order, and it is raised to  
 a higher level as it doesn't only consume the excess of  
 outflowing moisture but also, since it destroys the inflow-  
 ing blood itself, it will prevent the growth of flesh, consum-  
 ing the material of this. Such things were shown—frankin-  
 cense, barley meal, meal of bitter vetch, iris, aristolochia,  
 cadmia, panax and pompholyx. All these things were dem-  
 onstrated to differ from each other in terms of more or  
 less. It was also demonstrated that some have simple pre-  
 vailing potencies while others have compound ones. For  
 aristolochia and panax dry more than the others and are 178K  
 hotter in nature. Barley meal and the barley bran dry much  
 less than they do and partake least of heat. Frankincense,  
 however, is moderately hot but dries less than these, so  
 that it does not dry certain bodily natures at the start. Bit-  
 ter vetch and iris are in between these and aristolochia and  
 panax.

Let me reiterate what the discussion has usefully pro-  
 duced. Frankincense can certainly produce flesh in a body



σαρκῶσαι δύναται, ξηρὰν δ' οὐ δύναται χρῆ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐνδείξεων ὡς δύο ἐστὸν αὐτῶν αἱ διαφοραί, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνδεικνυμένου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁμοίων ἑαυτοῦ δεομένου, τοῦ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων φθείρεται γὰρ πᾶν εἰς ἐναντία τε καὶ δι' ἐναντίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔλκος ὅσῳπερ ἂν ὑγρότερον ᾖ, τοσοῦτω δεῖται φαρμάκου ξηραίνοντος μᾶλλον ἢ φύσις δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ὅσῳπερ ἂν ὑγροτέρα τύχη, τοσοῦτω δεῖται φαρμάκου ξηραίνοντος ἥττον ὥστε τῶν ἴσην ὑγρότητα ἐχόντων ἑλκῶν τὸ μὲν ἐν ξηροτέρῃ τῇ τοῦ κάμνοντος κράσει μᾶλλον ξηραίνεσθαι δεῖται, τὸ δ' ἐν ὑγροτέρῃ | τοσοῦτω καταδεέστερον, ὅσῳπερ ἂν καὶ ἡ φύσις τῆς φύσεως ἀπολείπηται τὴν γὰρ ἐπιτρεφομένην σάρκα παραπλησίαν εἶναι χρῆ τῇ προϋπαρχούσῃ. ξηροτέρας οὖν οὔσης τῆς ἀρχαίας ξηροτέραν χρῆ γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν νέαν, ὥστε ἐπὶ πλείον αὐτὴν δεῖ ξηραίνεσθαι, καὶ ὅσῳπερ ἂν ᾖ ἐπὶ πλείον ξηρά, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω καὶ τὸ προσαγόμενον φάρμακον εἶναι ξηραντικώτερον. ἐπὶ δέ γε τῆς ὑγροτέρας φύσεως εἰς τοσοῦτον αὖ πάλιν ἥττον ξηραίνοντων χρεῖα ἐστὶ φαρμάκων, εἰς ὅσον καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἥττόν ἐστι ξηρά.

τοιαύτην οὖν ἔχει κράσιν λιβανωτός, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν σώματος. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰς εὐκράτους καὶ μέσας ὁμολογεῖ, τῶν δ' ὑγρατέρων ἀτρέμα ξηραντικώτερος ὑπάρχει, ὥσπερ οὖν αὖ καὶ τῶν ἄκρως ξηρῶν ὑγρότερος ἀτρέμα. δεόντως οὖν ἐπὶ μὲν

of a moist nature but not in one of a dry nature. What you must know about the primary indications is that there are two differentiae of these: what is in accord with nature indicates preservation and, for this reason, has need of things like itself, while what is contrary to nature indicates removal, and for this reason has need of those things opposite to itself, for all destruction is to opposites and through opposites. Therefore, the wound or ulcer stands more in need of a drying medication to the extent that it is more moist. [Conversely] to the extent that the nature of the body itself happens to be more moist, it is less in need of a drying medication. So, of wounds or ulcers that are equally moist, that in a patient with a drier *krasis* needs to be dried more, whereas that in a patient with a more moist *krasis* is less in need to the extent that the one nature departs from the other nature. For the flesh that is being created ought to be closely similar to that which existed before. Therefore, when the original flesh was drier, the new flesh must become drier, so that this needs to be dried still more; and to the extent to which it is still more dry, the medication being applied also [needs to be] more drying to the same extent. But, on the contrary, in a more moist nature, the extent to which the flesh itself is less dry determines the extent to which there is need of those medications that dry less.

Thus, frankincense has the sort of *krasis* that is consonant with the human bodily nature: to the *eukratic* and middling [natures], it is agreeable; for the more moist [natures], it is slightly more drying; and again, to those that are extremely dry, it is slightly more moistening. Neces-

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ἐνίων ἐλκῶν τε καὶ φύσεων ὁ λιβανωτὸς ἐκπυῖσκει  
 μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ σαρκῶν· κατὰ δέ τινας ἤδη καὶ σαρκῶν.  
 παραφυλάξας οὖν εὐρήσεις ὁμολογοῦν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ  
 φαινόμενον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὑγροτέραις φύσει σαρκω-  
 κωτικός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ξηροτέραις οὐκέτι καὶ κατὰ  
 μὲν τὰ μετρίως ὑγρὰ τῶν ἐλκῶν οἴός τε σαρκῶν |

ὄρῳσιν οὖν ἤδη σαφῶς ὅσων δεῖ θεωρημάτων ἀνδρὶ  
 μέλλουσι κατὰ μέθοδον ὀρθῆν ἔλκος ἰᾶσθαι; ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ εὐρέθη πάντως ὑγρότης ἐνυπάρχουσα τῷ πάθει,  
 τὸ ξηραῖνον ἐνεδείξατο φάρμακον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν  
 αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ξηραίνει, τὰ δ' ἤττον, ἕκ τε τῆς τῶν  
 ἐλκῶν διαφορᾶς τὸ χρήσιμον ἐλήφθη καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 κάμνοντος φύσεως. ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἀνάγκη περὶ φύ-  
 σεως σώματος ἐπισκέφθαι τῷ μέλλουσι κατὰ τρόπον  
 ἰατροῦσιν ἔλκος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν περὶ φαρμάκων θεω-  
 ρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι καὶ κράσεως σώματος  
 ὑγρᾶς καὶ ξηρᾶς ἐπίστασθαι γνωρίσματα.

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θεᾶσαι τοῖνυν ὅση τῶν Μεθοδικῶν ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰς  
 ἀποφάσεις τόλμα, τοῦθ' ἐν μόνον ἀρκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡγου-  
 μένοις εἰς ἔλκος ἰασιν κοῖλον, τὸ γινώσκειν ὅτι  
 πληρωτέον τέ ἐστὶν αὐτὸ καὶ σαρκώτεον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν  
 τούτῳ γε τὸ θεραπεύειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὸ σαρκῶσον  
 ἐξευρεῖν. Ἄλλ' εὐρηταί, φησι, τὸ σαρκῶσον τῇ πείρᾳ.  
 λέγε τοῖνυν καὶ τὸ θεραπεῦσον ἐκ τῆς πείρας εὐρή-  
 σθαι· καὶ μὴ μάτην φρυάττον | μηδ' ἀνατείνου τὴν  
 μέθοδον. καίτοι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ἡ  
 χωρὶς διορισμοῦ πείρα κατέγνωσται γράφουσι γοῦν

sarily then, in some wounds and ulcers and in some na-  
 tures, frankincense causes suppuration but does not, how-  
 ever, also produce flesh. In some [natures] it does actually  
 also produce flesh. If you consider this, you will find that  
 what is observed agrees with the theory. In more moist na-  
 tures frankincense is flesh-producing, while in more dry  
 natures it is no longer so; and in regard to moderately moist  
 wounds and ulcers it can produce flesh, while in those that  
 are exceedingly moist it is altogether unable [to do so].

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So do you now see clearly the need of such principles  
 for a man who intends to cure a wound or ulcer by the right  
 method? For when it is found, in general, that moisture is  
 present in the affection, it indicates a drying medication.  
 But since some of these medications dry more and some  
 less, the use is taken from the difference between the  
 wounds or ulcers and from the nature of the patient. So not  
 only is it essential for someone who intends to cure a  
 wound or ulcer properly to give consideration to the na-  
 ture of the body; it is also essential for him to have learned  
 thoroughly the theory of medications and to know the  
 signs of a moist and dry *krasis* of the body.

Look, then, at how great the rashness of the Methodics  
 is in their assertions when they claim that this one thing is  
 sufficient on its own for the cure of a hollow wound or ul-  
 cer—namely, the knowledge that you must fill it and en-  
 flesh it. For treatment does not, in fact, lie in this but in the  
 discovery of what is enfleshing. “But what is enfleshing is  
 discovered by experience,” says [the Methodic]. Just say,  
 then, that what is curative is found from experience and do  
 not pointlessly crow about and exalt your method. Indeed,  
 among the Empirics themselves, experience without dis-  
 crimination is condemned. At all events, in the treatises

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ἐν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων ὑπομνήμασιν· ἔμπλαστρος πρὸς ἀπαλόχρωτας καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας· ἴσασι τε τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων φύσεων ἔλκη κοῖλα μηδὲν ἔχοντα σύμπτωμ' ἕτερον, ἀνατρέφοντα καὶ πληροῦντα. πότερον δ' ὑγρὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα σώματ' ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖται μετρίως ξηραίνοντων φαρμάκων, ἢ ἄλλη τις αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπίστανται. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ γεροντικά σώματα γεγραμμένον εὐρήσεις ἕτερον φάρμακον, ἄλλο δέ τι πρὸς τὰ δυσεπούλωτα καὶ ὀχθῶδη τῶν ἐλκῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους διορισμοὺς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς θεραπευτικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γράφουσιν, ἐξ ὧν ὡς οἶόν τε πρὸς τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς θεραπευομένης φύσεως ἐξευρίσκουσι τὸ συνοῖσον φάρμακον. ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ διορισμοὶ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πειρῶνται τὸ ἴδιον χωρίζειν· καὶ ὅσπερ ἂν τις πλείω διορίσῃται, πλησιέστερον ἀφικνεῖται τοῦ ἰδίου, τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ τὸ<sup>3</sup> | ἀκριβῶς ἴδιον, οὔτε γραφῆναι δυνατὸν ἐστὶν οὔτε λεχθῆναι· διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἔργων τῆς τέχνης φροντίσασιν καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς Δογματικοῖς ὁμολόγηται τὸ μηδεμίαν οἶόν τ' εἶναι γραφῆναι θεραπείαν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ λείπον εἰς τὸν στοχασμὸν τῆς τοῦ κάμνοντος φύσεως οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν θεραπευόντων οἰκείας τριβῆς, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ λογικῶς τετεχνᾶσθαι φασὶ χρῆναι προστιθέναι· οὐδέεις δ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἦν εὐχερῆς, ὡς ἅπαντος ἔλκους κοίλου φάρμακον ἐν ἔχειν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι σαρκωτικόν· οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἐν οὐδενὶ τοιοῦτον φάρμακον,

about medications they write to apply plasters to those who are soft-skinned, children and women, and they know that in such natures frankincense causes growth and fills up hollow wounds and ulcers that have no other symptom. Whether such bodies are moist and, because of this, need moderately drying medications, or whether there is some other cause of what happens, they do not know. For once more, also, in respect to aged bodies, you will find another medication is written about, and another in respect to wounds and ulcers that are hard to cicatrize and are swollen; and they write of many other distinctions in all their therapeutic treatises. From these it is possible for them to discover the medication suitable for the particular character of the nature being treated, for all the distinctions in crafts attempt to separate the specific from the general and, to the extent that someone might make a further distinction, the nearer he comes to the specific, although this very thing is precisely specific, and cannot either be written or stated. On which account, also, among both those Empirics who particularly give thought to the tasks of the art, and almost all the Dogmatics, there is agreement that it is impossible for any treatment to be written down precisely. They say there is something remaining which comes down to conjecture about the nature of the patient. Some say this must be added from the specific practice of each [doctor] providing treatment and some say from being devised skillfully on a logical basis. None of them are so tolerant of imprecision as to assert that there is one enflashing medication for every hollow wound or ulcer, for you will not find a medication of such a kind to cure every

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<sup>3</sup> B; τὸ om. K

οἶον πᾶν ἔλκος κοῖλον ἰᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς ὑγρότητός τε καὶ τοῦ ῥύπου καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ κάμνοντος τὴν κρᾶσιν ὑπαλλάττεσθαι χρὴ τὸ φάρμακον. ἑάσαντες οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τῶν Μεθοδικῶν ἴδωμεν ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκάστου τριβῆς καὶ γυμνασίας εἰσφέρεσθαι τι χρῆναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκείων τῷ κάμνοντι φαρμάκων εὔρεσιν ἀξιούντες.

183K ὡς γὰρ καὶ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν πραγμάτων καὶ φαρμάκων<sup>4</sup> ἄρρητον ὑπάρχει κατ' εἶδος, ἀλλ' ὃ μήτε ῥηθῆναι μήτε γραφῆναι μήθ' ὅπως διδαχθῆναι δύναται τὸ ποσὸν ἔστιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ δὴ κάπὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἢ μὲν ὑγρότης καὶ ὃ ῥύπος οὐκ ἄρρητα, τὸ ποσὸν δ' ἄρρητον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ καίτοι κἀνταῦθα προσέρχεσθαι πως βουλόμεθα τῇ δηλώσει πλησίον, ὀλίγον καὶ πολλὸν λέγοντες ῥύπον καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ παχὺν καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγον καὶ λίαν πολλὸν καὶ μέτριον καὶ σύμμετρον καὶ πως ἄλλως οὕτως ὀνομάζοντες πολυειδῶς, ἢ ὡς οἶόν τε πλησίον ἀφικώμεθα τῆς δηλώσεως τοῦ ποσοῦ. πρόσχες οὖν ἤδη μοι τὸν νοῦν ἀκριβῶς, ἢ εἰδῆς ὅσον πλεονεκτεῖ τὸ μεθόδῳ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν τοῦ δι' ἐμπειρίας μόνης. ἔστω γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι τόδε τι τὸ φάρμακον ἔλκος κοῖλον σαρκωτικὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὡς ἂν μὲν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν ὑγρότερων τὴν κρᾶσιν, ὡς δ' ὁ τηρητικός τε καὶ Ἐμπειρικός, ἀπαλοχρώτων τε καὶ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, εἶτα νῦν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ προσαγόμενον ὀνήσαι μηδέν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ζητήσωμεν κατὰ τί μηδὲν ὠφέλησεν, εἰς δύο

hollow wound or ulcer in everyone. Rather, besides the abundance of moisture and filth, the medication must alter the actual *krasis* of the patient. Therefore, if we accept here the impudence of the Methodics, let us see what they say—those who, on the basis of experience, think it right that something ought to contribute to the discovery of the medications that are appropriate to the patient from the specific practice and exercise of each person.

For as I too have often said, none of the matters and medications pertaining to the craft of medicine is inexpressible in terms of kind, but the quantity cannot in each case be stated, or written, or in a word, taught. Further, in the case of wounds and ulcers, the moistness and filth are not inexpressible whereas the quantity in each is inexpressible. And indeed, we wish somehow to come near to expressing this, saying slightly or greatly filthy, thin, thick, extremely slight, very great, average or in due proportion, or however else, naming so diversely that as far as possible we come near to the expression of quantity. Pay strict attention to me now so that you may know how doing anything whatsoever by method gains an advantage over doing it by experience alone. For suppose it is the case that this medication for a hollow wound or ulcer is known to be enfleshing in those whom we might say are more moist in terms of *krasis* or, as the observer and the Empiric might say, in soft-skinned women and children, and now there is no benefit when it is applied to such a person. Let us, then, investigate why it brings no benefit, referring to these two

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<sup>4</sup> καὶ φαρμάκων *om.* B, *recte fort.*

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τούτους ἀναγαγόντες σκοπούς· ἢ γὰρ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ἰ  
ἀμετρότερον ἐξήρανε· καὶ σημεῖά γε τούτων τὸν τε  
ῥύπον ἐξομεν καὶ τὸν ἰχώρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πλείων ὁ  
ῥύπος, ὑγρότερόν τε ὄλον εἶη τὸ ἔλκος, ἐνδεέστερον  
ἐξήρανε· εἰ δὲ καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἄνικμον εὐρεθείη,  
περαιτέρω τοῦ προσήκοντος. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὸ ποσὸν  
τοῦ συμμέτρου μᾶλλον ἢ ἦττον ἐκ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῶν  
γνωρισμάτων εἰσόμεθα· καὶ τοσοῦτῳ δυνησόμεθα τὸ  
ἐφεξῆς φάρμακον ἢ ξηρότερον ἢ οὐ τοιοῦτον προσ-  
ενεγκεῖν.

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ὁ δ' Ἐμπειρικὸς ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἐσάρκωσε τὸνδὲ τινα,  
τὸ προσαχθὲν φάρμακον ὀρᾷ· μὴ γινώσκων μέντοι  
πότερον τῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἦττον ξηρᾶναι, μεταβαίνειν  
ἐφ' ἕτερον ἀδυνατεῖ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ  
περὶ τὸν Ἐρασίστρατόν τε καὶ Ἡρόφιλον ἐξ ἡμισείας  
ὥσπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐδείξαμεν ὄντες Δογματικοὶ κα-  
κῶς ἰατροῦσιν ἔλκος· μόνα γὰρ ἐπιχειροῦσι λογι-  
κῶς θεραπεύειν ὅσα τῶν ὀργανικῶν ἐστὶ μορίων ἴδια  
νοσήματα· τὸ δ' ἔλκος, ὥσπερ καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται,  
κοινὸν ἐστὶν ὁμοιομερῶν τε καὶ ὀργανικῶν, ὥστε καὶ  
τοῦτο κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐμπειρικῶς θεραπεύουσι, καθ'  
ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ὁμοιομερέσι πέφυκε γίνεσθαι. καὶ μὲν δὴ  
κάν τῷ τὰς ἀπολωλῆς τελέως οὐσίας ἢ κεκολο-  
βωμένας ἐπιχειρεῖν ἰ θεραπεύειν, κἀνταῦθα ἀναγκαῖον  
αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀποπίπτειν πολλαχῆ τοῦ λογικῶς. εἰ γὰρ  
αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς οὐσία τίς ἐστὶν ὁμοιομερῆς, ἀναγ-  
καῖον ἐστὶ τὸν προνοούμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως ὑπὲρ  
ἀπάσης τῆς φύσεως ἐπίστασθαι. περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων

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indicators; whether it dried too little or too much, and in  
fact we have the signs of these things in respect to filth and  
the ichor. For if the filth is greater, the wound or ulcer as a  
whole is too moist and is dried too little whereas, if it is  
found to be clean and without moisture, it is dried beyond  
what is appropriate. We will know immediately the quantity  
of the balance in terms of more or less from the number of  
signs, so we will be able in such a way to apply as the next  
medication one which is either more drying or not.

The Empiric, however, sees that the applied medica-  
tion did not create flesh in this instance, but nevertheless  
does not know whether to dry more or less, and is unable to  
change to another medication. In the same way, too, the  
followers of Erasistratus and Herophilus, being "semi-  
Dogmatics," as we also showed before, treat a wound or  
ulcer badly, for they only attempt to treat logically such  
diseases as are specific to the organic parts, whereas the  
wound or ulcer, as I also said before, is common to both  
*homoiomeres* and organic [parts]. But, to the extent that it  
arises in the *homoiomeres* by nature, they treat it empiri-  
cally. Indeed, even in this, if they attempt to treat com-  
pletely destroyed or badly damaged substances, here too  
it is inevitable that, in many instances, they fall short of  
what is logical. If what is actually destroyed is some *homoio-  
merous* substance, it is essential for the person who gives  
forethought to the genesis of this to know about its whole  
nature. I shall certainly speak again about these matters. I

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καὶ αὐθις εἰρήσεται. τὸ δὲ μὴ τυχὸν εἶναι πρᾶγμα, καλῶς ἔλκους προνοήσασθαι καὶ ὡς ἡ πρώτη πασῶν ἔνδειξις, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις γνωσσομένη πολλοστόν ἐστὶ μόριον τῆς θεραπείας, ἐναργῶς ἀποδεδείχθαι νομίζω καὶ γὰρ ὅτι δραστικαὶ ποιότητές εἰσι θερμότης τε καὶ ψυχρότης καὶ ὑγρότης καὶ ξηρότης ἀναγκαῖον ἀποδεδείχθαι καὶ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ κράσεων ἐγνώσθαι κατὰ τε τὸ ἡμέτερον σύγγραμμα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ τούτῳ πλησιάζοντα.

186K νῦν μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ἔλκους εἴρηται κοίλου, μόνην αὐτὴν τὴν κοιλότητα θεραπευόντων ἡμῶν ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἔλκους θεραπεία κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὕτω λέλεκται. συνίσταται δὲ καὶ ἥδε κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν μέθοδον ἀπὸ τε γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεραπευομένου<sup>5</sup> κράσεως λαμβάνεται καὶ προσέτι τῆς τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεως εἴρηται δ' ἄμφω ταῦτα τοῦ περὶ τῶν | στοιχείων λόγου, μὴ συγχωρηθέντος γὰρ ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αἰτίας εἶναι τὰς τέτταρας ποιότητας, οὐτ' ἄρξασθαι τῆς μεθόδου δυνατὸν οὔτε προελθεῖν οὔτε τελειῶσαι· τὸ δ' ἐκείνας ἐπιδείξει δρώσας τε καὶ πασχούσας εἰς ἀλλήλας τῆς περὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἐστὶ θεωρίας. ὅπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεδείξαμεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος λόγου μαρτυρεῖται, τὸ μηδὲν δύνασθαι πραγματεύσασθαι περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν τὸν ἱατρὸν ἄνευ τῆς φυσικῆς ὀνομαζομένης θεωρίας. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν ἀπεδείχθη μόνον, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἤδη πως ὁ λόγος ἐμφανίζει μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν ὀλόκληρον ἐξευρεῖν δύνασθαι τὴν θερα-

think, however, it has been clearly shown that it is not a matter of chance to give proper forethought to a wound or ulcer, nor that the primary indication of all, which is known even to laymen, is just a small part of the treatment. For it is also essential to have established that the active qualities are heat, cold, moisture and dryness, and after this, everything else about *krasias* (mixtures) is known from my book, as are all other things pertaining to this.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, at this point in the discussion of a hollow wound, what has been spoken of is our treatment of the cavity only; the treatment of the wound as a wound hasn't yet been stated for the present. However, this too takes place according to the same method, for it arises from the *krasis* of the person being treated and, as well as this, from the potency of the medications. Both these factors were covered in the discussion about elements. On the question of method, unless it is agreed that the causes of genesis and destruction are the four qualities, it is not possible to start the method, nor to advance it, nor to bring it to completion. To show how those qualities act on and are acted on by each other pertains to the theory about elements. Thus, what I demonstrated in the previous discussion is that no doctor is able to treat systematically any of the *homoiomeres* without what may be termed a "physical theory." But there it was shown only in the case of *homoiomeres*, whereas here the discussion already makes it clear in a certain way that it is not possible to discover any complete

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<sup>10</sup> This is taken to be a reference to *De temperamentis libri III*, I.509–694K as a whole.

<sup>5</sup> B; θεραπεύοντος K

πειαν μηδένα χωρὶς τοῦ κακείνης προσάψασθαι· δειχθήσεται δ' ἐναργέστερον ἔτι ταῦτό τοῦτο παρ' ὄλην τὴν πραγματείαν.

187K 4. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἔλκουσ θεραπείαν μόνου μετέρχεσθαι καιρός· εἴη δ' ἂν μόνον ἐπειδὰν μήτε διάθεσις αὐτῷ συμπαρῆ μηδεμία μήτε σύμπτωμα. μὴ τοίνυν ἔστω μήτε ρευματικὸν τὸ ἠλκωμένον μόριον μήτε κακόχυμον μῆθ' ἢ ὅλως δύσκρατον· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κοιλότης αὐτῷ συνέστω, μηδὲ τοῦ δέρματος ἀπώλεια μηδεμία. καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο παρορῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν, οὐ συνιέντες ὡς ἐπειδὰν ἔλκος κοῖλον πληρωθὲν ὀμαλὲς μὲν ὑπάρχη, πλατὺ δέ, διττὴ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μορίῳ διάθεσις, ἑτέρα μὲν οὐσίας δέρματος ἀπώλεια, δευτέρα δὲ συνεχείας λύσις. ἐπειδὰν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἢ συνεχείας λύσις, ἥτοι τῆς ἐπιδερμίδος ἢ καὶ τοῦ δέρματος ἅπαντος ἢ καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἅμ' αὐτῷ σαρκός, ἔλκος ἔστιν οὕτω τὸ πάθημα καὶ δεῖται κολλησέως μόνης. εἰ γὰρ συναχθεῖη πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ δέρματος, οὐδὲν ἔστι μεταξὺ τοῦ δέρματος ἑτερογενές, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πεπληρωμένου τε καὶ ὀμαλοῦ ἔλκουσ· ἐπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ οὐχ ἄπτεται τὰ πέρατα τοῦ ἔλκουσ ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἠλκωμένης ἀπάσης χώρας ἀπόλωλε τὸ δέρμα καὶ χρὴ γεννησθαι δῆπουθεν αὐτό· κατὰ μέντοι τὸ διηρημένον ὑπὸ τινος ὀξέος κολλησέως δεῖ μόνης, οὐ μὴν καὶ γενέσεως δέρματος. ὅταν οὖν ἔλκος ἀπλοῦ προκείμενον ἢ θεραπείαν εὐρεῖν, ὑποτίθεσθαι χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ διαίρεσιν σαρκώδους μέλους χωρὶς ἀπωλείας |

treatment in the case of the organic bodies apart from the application of theory. This will be made even more apparent throughout the entire treatise.

4. It is time now to pass on to the treatment of the wound per se whenever it exists in isolation with neither a condition nor a symptom accompanying it. Let us assume that the wounded part is not subject to flux, is not *kakochymous*, and is not on the whole *dyskratic*. But let there be no hollowness present with it, nor any destruction of the skin. For again, the majority of doctors also overlook this, not realizing that whenever a hollow wound is filled and is level but flat, there is now a twofold condition in the part, the one being loss of the substance of the skin, and the other, dissolution of continuity. Whenever there is this dissolution of continuity alone, either of the epidermis or of the whole skin, or also of the underlying flesh along with it, a wound is in this way the affection, and needs conglutination alone. If the margins of the skin are drawn together with each other, there is nothing in between of a different class to skin, just as in the case of the wound that has been filled and is level. In the latter case, the opposite sides of the wound do not contact each other but the skin of the whole wounded region is lost and there is need, obviously, to regenerate this. However, in relation to what has been divided by something sharp, there is need of conglutination alone and not of the generation of skin as well. Therefore, whenever what lies before us is to discover the treatment of a simple wound, what must be taken as foundational in the discussion is the division of the fleshy part

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188K μορίου, τὸ δὲ γε πλατὺ τὸ ἐπουλώσεως δεόμενον ἔλκος ἀπολώλεκε τελέως τὴν καλουμένην ἐπιδερμίδα. ταύτην οὖν γεννήσαι χρή καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐνώσαι· καὶ δὴ ἐνταῦθα πρόκεινται σκοποί, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοίλου· διότι καὶ ἡ διάθεσις ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ διττή. τίμι τοῖνυν, φήσει τις αὐτῶν ἴσως, Ὁμαλὲς ἔλκος τοῦ κοίλου διενήνοχεν, εἰ καὶ διάθεσις ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ διττή καὶ διττὸς ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς θεραπείας; πλήθει τῶν ἀπολωλότων, ὦ βέλτιστε, μορίων. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κοίλου καὶ ἡ ἐπιδερμὶς μὲν ἀπόλωλε καὶ ἡ τοῦ δέρματος δὲ φύσις ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνίοτε μέρος· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πεπληρωμένου σὰρξ μὲν οὐκέτι λείπει, τὸ δ' ἔξωθεν σκέπασμα λείπει. τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλκῶν ἐστὶν ἴασις ἐφεξῆς ἐροῦμεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι τοῦ μόνου ἔλκουσ ὄντος, ἑτέραν δὲ μηδεμίαν ἔχοντος διάθεσιν, ὁποῖαν τινὰ χρὴ τὴν θεραπείαν ποιεῖσθαι λέγωμεν.

189K ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν διαίρεσις μόνον ἐστίν, ἅμα χρὴ τὰ πέρατα γενέσθαι τῶν διηρημένων· ἢ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέναι | συνελθόντα; διττὴ δ' ἡ τῶν συνελθόντων μονή· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δι' ἑαυτῶν, τὰ δὲ δι' ἄλλων μένει· δι' ἑαυτῶν μὲν ὅσα συμφύεται, δι' ἄλλων δὲ τὰ τε συνδούμενα καὶ τὰ κολλώμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ συμφυόμενα πάντως χρὴ μαλακὰ τὴν φύσιν εἶναι. τοιοῦτον δὲ ἢ τε σὰρξ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ καὶ ὅσα σαρκώδη μόρια κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν. ὅσα δ' ἐστὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ξηρά, συμφύναί μὲν οὐ δύναται, κόλλης δὲ τινος ἢ

188K without its destruction. The flat wound that is in need of scarring over has completely destroyed the so-called epidermis. It is therefore necessary to regenerate this and reunite it with itself, so here two objectives lie together, just as in the case of the hollow [wound], because the condition in both cases is also twofold. To which, perhaps, one of them<sup>11</sup> will say, "In what way is a level wound differentiated from a hollow wound, if in both cases the condition and the aim of treatment is twofold?" By the magnitude of the destroyed parts, my good man! For in the case of the hollow [wound], not only is the epidermis destroyed, but also the whole remaining nature of the skin and the underlying flesh is sometimes [affected] to no small extent. In the case of a wound that has been filled, the flesh is no longer lacking but the external covering is lacking. Next, I shall say what the cure of such wounds is. For the present, let me speak about the kind of treatment we must carry out when there is a wound alone without any other condition.

189K Accordingly, when there is division alone, the margins of what has been divided should be brought together; and not only this but, having come together, they should also remain so. Things brought together remain so in two ways: of their own accord and by means of other things. Those that do so of their own accord grow together, whereas those that do so through other means are bound together or conglutinated. Now those things that grow together must be entirely soft in nature. Flesh itself is such a thing, as are those parts that are fleshy in consistency. Those that are hard and dry cannot grow together and require some

<sup>11</sup> Presumably "they" are the Methodics.



δεσμοῦ δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μέναι συναχθέντα. τῶν μὲν δὴ τοιούτων σωμάτων ἢ ἴασις ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς εἰρήσεται.

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐνωθῆναι δυναμένων ὁ λόγος περαινεσθῶ, ζητούντων ἡμῶν κἀνταῦθα τὸ τῆς συμφύσεως αἷτιον. ἔστι δ' ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κοίλων ἐλκῶν ἢ φύσις αἰτία τῆς σαρκώσεως, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν ἐλκῶν τῆς συμφύσεως· ὅθεν ἐὰν συναγάγῃς εἰς ταῦτὸν ἀκριβῶς τὰ διεσθηκότα, χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιτεχνήσεως συμφύεται. καὶ σοι γέγονεν αὖθις ἕτερος σκοπὸς ὁ τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενος ζητήσῃς ἐξ ὧν τοῦτο ποιήσεις. ἢ γὰρ δεσμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ περιλαβῶν ἐκ δυοῖν ἀρχῶν, ἢ ῥαφάς, ἢ ἀγκτήρας ἐπιθείς, ἢ τινα τούτων, ἢ πάντα συνάξεις εἰς ταῦτὸ τὰ διηρημένα. χρῆ δὲ μήτε μαλακὸν εἶναι πᾶν καὶ οἷον βρυῶδες τὸ περιβαλλόμενον, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς συνέχῃ, μήθ' οὕτω σκληρὸν ὡς θλίβειν ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἢ οὕτω χαλαρὰν ὡς μηδὲν ἀνύειν, ἢ οὕτω σφοδρὰν ὡς θλίβουσαν ὀδύνην ἐργάζεσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰ ποιήσῃς καὶ εἴῃ τὸ ἔλκος μόνον ἄνευ κακοχυμίας, ἢ ρεύματος, ἢ δυσκρασίας, ἢ φλεγμονῆς, ἢ τινος ἄλλης κακώσεως, ἐνωθήσεται πάντως. εἰ δ' ἦτοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀδύνατον εἴῃ μέχρι τοῦ βάθους ἀκριβῶς ἀλλήλοις παρατεθῆναι τὰ κεχωρισμένα σώματα, μήτε τῶν ῥαμμάτων μήτε τῶν ἀγκτήρων μήτε τῆς ἐπιδέσεως ἀφικνεῖσθαι δυναμένης αὐτῶν, ἢ φθάνοι τις ἰχώρ αὐτόθι συνειλεγμένος, ἢ καὶ τις ὀδύνη συνοῦσα, κολληθῆναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος ἀδύνατον ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ συναγωγῇ.

glue or binding for what has been brought together to remain so. The cure of such bodies will be spoken about in what follows.

But let me complete the discussion about those things that can be united, since what we are seeking here is the cause of the coalescence. As in the case of the hollow wounds, where Nature is the cause of flesh production, so too, in the case of simple wounds, Nature is the cause of coalescence. As a consequence, if you bring together accurately the [tissues] that have been set apart, they grow together without any other artificial contrivance externally. And let me tell you, the indicator of the bringing together becomes different again, so that having started out from here, you will seek out those things through which you will achieve this. For when you encompass the wound in an encircling bandage with two points of origin, or place sutures or a fibula, or one of these things, or all of them, you will bring what has been divided to the same point. And it is necessary that what is used to encompass [the wound] is neither unduly soft, nor as it were flabby, so that it holds it together safely but is not so hard as to cause compression. But the application should not be so loose as to achieve nothing nor so strong as to cause pain by compression. If you do these things, and if it is a wound alone without *kakochymia*, flux, *dyskrasia*, inflammation, or some other abnormality, it will unite completely. If, on the other hand, because of the magnitude, it is impossible for the separated bodies to be apposed accurately right to the depths, or it is impossible for sutures, fibulae or binding to come near to them, or some ichor has collected in the spot beforehand, or pain is present as well, primary closure (conglutination) of such a wound is out of the question.

191K τό τε γὰρ ὀδυνώμενον ἐρεθίζει τι πλεον ἐπιρρεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἐπιρρεῖ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ γε δύναμις ἀρρωστοῦσα τῶν ὀδυνωμένων τε ἅμα καὶ 191K τετρωμένων | μορίων οὐκ οἴσει τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ πλείονος βαρυνθήσεται, κακ τούτου πάντως μὲν ἰχώρες περιττοί, θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ μὴ καὶ φλεγμονὴ γενήσεται. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ χωρὶς ὀδύνης ὁ ἰχώρ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν συναχθέντων χειλῶν τοῦ ἔλκουσ εἶη παρακείμενος, ἢ καὶ τις χώρα γίγνοιτο μεταξὺ κενῆ μὲν ἰχώρος, ἀέρος δὲ πλήρης, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται κολληθῆναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος ἐκ μόνης τῆς συναγωγῆς· ὅ τε γὰρ ἰχώρ ἤδη διακόπτει τὴν ἔνωσιν αἱ τε μεταξὺ τῶν ἐνωθησομένων χώραι κεναὶ κωλύουσιν ἄψασθαι τὰς ἐπιφανείας ἀλλήλων ὥστ' ἐκεῖνά γε τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἔλκουσ ἢ φύσις δέεται προσαρκῶσαι πρότερον, ἵνα συμφύσῃ· μικρὰ δὲ δῆπουθέν ἐστιν οὕτως, εἰ καλῶς συναχθῆ τὸ ἔλκος, ὡς μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ τὸ πλείστον γε δέισθαι δυοῖν. ἐν οὖν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φαρμάκου χρεία ξηραίνοντος τὸ μόριον, ἵν' εἴτε τις ἤδη παρακείμενος ἰχώρ εἶη, τοῦτον ἐκδαπανήσῃ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα συρρεῖν εἰς τὰς κενὰς χώρας κωλύσῃ. νῦν οὖν 192K πάλιν ἀναμνήσθητί μου τοῦ σαρκωτικοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ μετρίως ξηραίνοντος, ἵν' εἰδῶμεν εἴτε ξηραντικώτερον | αὐτοῦ χρῆ τὸ κολλητικὸν ὑπάρχειν εἴτε μῆ. τὸ μὲν δὴ σαρκωτικὸν εἰ σύμπαν ἐξεδαπάνη τὸ ἐπιρρεόν αἷμα, τὴν ὕλην ἂν οὕτως ἀφηρέιτο τῆς σαρκώσεως. τὸ δὲ γε κολλητικὸν ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως δέεται γενέσεως σαρκός, ἢ σμικρὰς παντάπασιν ὥστε μᾶλλον αὐτὸ χρῆ ξη-

If there is a wound that is painful, provoking excessive inflow, or if the inflow is normal, but the capacity of the parts both wounded and weakened by pain will not tolerate the normal inflow but will be weighed down by it as if by a greater flux, and from this the ichors are especially excessive, it would be surprising if inflammation didn't arise. Moreover, if ichor without pain is present between the apposed margins of the wound, or also if some space empty of ichor but filled with air occurs in between, it is impossible for such a wound to be conglutinated with a single apposition because the ichor now breaks down the union and the empty spaces between the [margins] that are to be united prevent the parts contacting one another, so that in those parts of the wound Nature requires prior assistance for them to coalesce. Obviously these factors are so minor that, if the wound is coapted well, it needs one or two days at the most [to heal]. Within this time there is need of a medication which dries the part in that, if some ichor is already present, it will consume this and prevent future flow into the empty spaces. Now recall once again my enfleshing medication that is moderately drying, in order that we may know whether what is conglutinating needs to be more drying than this or not. Certainly, if what is enfleshing entirely consumes the flowing blood, it would in this way take away the material of flesh production. In fact, what is conglutinating either does not need generation of flesh at all or only very little. As a result, there is a greater necessity for this to dry than to produce 191K 192K

ραίνειν τοῦ σαρκωτικοῦ. ταύτη τε οὖν ἀλλήλων διοίσει μικράν τινα διαφοράν, ἑτέραν τε μεγάλην, ἥ τὸ μὲν σαρκωτικὸν εὐθὺς χρῆ καὶ ῥυπτικὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ξηραίνει τὸ περιττὸν τῆς ὑγρότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ῥύπον ἀφαιρῆ· τὸ δὲ κολλητικὸν οὐ ῥύπτειν οὐδὲ ἀποσμάει, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἅπαν εἰς ταῦτόν συνάγειν ἅπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν· ὅπερ, οἶμαι, πέφυκε δρᾶν ὅσα τῶν φαρμάκων αὐστηρὰ καὶ στύφοντα καλεῖται ταῦτα γὰρ εἰς ταῦτό συνάγειν καὶ πιλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπορρῦπτειν, οὐδὲ καθαίρειν πέφυκεν. ὥστε μάλιστα πάντων φυλαξώμεθα τὸ στύφον φάρμακον, ἔνθα σαρκῶσαι πρόκειται δυσσαπολύτως ἐμπλάσσει τοῖς ἔλκεσι τὸν ῥύπον·

193K οἶνος οὖν ἄριστον φάρμακον ἐλκῶν ἀπάντων ἢ ἔλκη. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ προσθείημεν τῷ | λόγῳ ἢ ἔλκη, ταῦτόν, οἶμαι, νοήσεις· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ παρακοῦσαί τινα πρόσκειται χάριν ἀναμνήσεως, οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν τι διοριζόμενον. ὡς εἴ γέ μοι μεμνημένος εἶης τῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ λόγων ἀπάντων, τῶν περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ὄνομα σημαινομένων τε καὶ ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων, οὐδὲν ἔτι σοι δεήσομαι τὰ τοιαῦτα διορίζεσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἀρκέσει μοι καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν διελέσθαι τὰς ἀπλᾶς διαθέσεις τῶν συνθέτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη μὲν πού τι πρόσθεν εἴρηται, ῥηθῆναι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται καὶ νῦν, οὐ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἔνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως ἐξαπατάμενοι διαφορὰς ἐλκῶν εἶναι τὸ κοῖλον καὶ ὀμαλές, ἔναιμόν

flesh. And in this way, materials will differ from each other in terms of both a minor and a major difference, since what is enfleshing must also be immediately cleansing, so that it not only dries the excess of moisture but also takes away the filth. What conglutinates does not cleanse nor does it wipe away. On the contrary, it brings the whole substance together as one, which is, I think, what those medications that are called harsh and astringent in nature do. For these medications are by their nature able to join into one and to press close but not to cleanse thoroughly or purify. As a result, let us above all guard against the astringent medications in that here, where what confronts us is to create flesh, they cause the filth to adhere to wounds in such a way that it is difficult to remove.

Wine is the best medication for all wounds insofar as they are wounds. And even if I do not add to the discussion what wounds are, you will, I think, understand this [as I do], for to prevent misunderstanding, something is added as a reminder, not as something it is necessary to define. So if, in fact, you are reminded by me of all the discussions in the book prior to this one—those concerning the matters that are signified and underlying in relation to each term—I shall no longer need to distinguish such things for you. It will be enough for me just to divide off the simple conditions from the compound in relation to each of these. Something has already been said previously somewhere about these, but now it will need to be said again, not so much for the sake of the matter itself, but because the majority of doctors, being deceived by the term, think that the differentiae of wounds are hollow and flat, bleeding and

τε καὶ παλαιόν, ῥυπαρόν τε καὶ καθαρόν, ἀφλέγμα-  
τόν τε καὶ φλεγμαῖνον. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἔσται διελέ-  
σθαι τίνες μὲν αἱ οἰκείαι διαφοραὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν εἰσι,  
τίνες δ' ἐπιπλοκαὶ διαθέσεων ἐτέρων. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν  
ὀλίγον ὕστερον

194K ἡ δὲ συνήθης διδασκαλία τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἥνπερ δὴ  
καὶ νῦν ἠξιάμην ἀσκηθῆναι, κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχει, ἢ  
μάλιστα τῶν ἀπλῶν ἐκάστης διαθέσεως ἴδιον ἴαμα  
λεγόντων αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Ἰπποκράτους. ἡ  
γάρ τοι μέθοδος ἡ θεραπευτικὴ κατὰ τοῦτον ἂν μάλι-  
στα προῖοι τὸν τρόπον, ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀπλῶν ἰδίᾳ  
διελθόντων ἡμῶν· ἔπειτ' αἰθῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συνθέτοις  
ἅπασιν ἐτέραν μίαν ἐπιδειξάντων μέθοδον· ὥσπερ καὶ  
εἰ δύο ἦν ὄντως κατὰ δίαιταν νοσήματα, τό τε στεγνὸν  
καὶ τὸ ῥοῶδες, ἰδίαν ἐκατέρου θεραπείαν εἰπόντας,  
οὕτως ἐχρῆν ἐπιπεπλεγμένου μνημονεύειν, ὡς οἱ περὶ  
τὸν Θεσσαλὸν ἀξιούσι, τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον,  
ἐπειδὴ τῶν μὲν ἐλκῶν ἢ ἔλκη πάντων ἐν εἶδος ὑπάρ-  
χει, τῶν φλεγμονῶν δ' ἢ φλεγμοναί, καὶ τούτων ἕτε-  
ρον εἶδος ἔν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν χρῆ τῶν ἐλκῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν  
φλεγμονῶν εἰπόντας θεραπείας, οὕτως ἤδη συνάπτειν  
εἰς ταῦτόν ἀμφοτέρας. τοῦτ' οὖν εἰ ποιήσασμεν, ἔλκη  
μὲν ἅπαντα ξηραίνεσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ στύφεσθαι δεό-  
μενα, κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην μέθοδον εὐρήσομεν, οὐ μὴν  
καὶ ῥύπτεσθαι γε κοιλότητα δ' ἐν σαρκὶ ξηραίνεσθαι  
μὲν καὶ ῥύπτεσθαι, στύφεσθαι δ' οὐκέτι.

195K καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν τρόπον ὃν ἔμπροσθεν εἶπο-  
μεν ἐπὶ τῶν κοίλων ἐλκῶν, ἢ ἀνάλογον καὶ νῦν ἐπι-

chronic, filthy and clean, and noninflamed and inflamed. It  
will be necessary, then, to distinguish what the proper  
differentiae of wounds and the combinations of other con-  
ditions are. But [more on] this a little later.

The customary teaching by the ancients, which is ac-  
tually what I also wish to be practiced now, is in accord  
with nature. They particularly say that there is a specific  
cure for the simples of each condition, and most of all Hip-  
pocrates [says this]. For truly the therapeutic method  
would go forward especially in this manner, if we were to  
do over each of the simple conditions individually. On the  
other hand, if we demonstrated another, single method for  
all the compound conditions, just as if there were really  
two diseases in relation to regimen—obstruction and flux-  
ion—when we spoke of a specific treatment of each, in the  
same way it would be necessary to make mention of what  
has been combined, as the followers of Thessalus think is  
right. Similarly, I believe, whenever there exists one form  
of all wounds as a wound, and of inflammations as an in-  
flammation another single form, it would be necessary  
to speak of the treatment of wounds specifically and of  
inflammations specifically, and in this way now to join both  
into the same. If we do this, we will discover that all  
wounds need to be simultaneously dried out and drawn to-  
gether in accord with the stated method, but not in fact to  
be cleansed also. On the other hand, we will find that a  
cavity in flesh [needs to] be dried out and cleansed, but no  
longer to be drawn together.

And further, just as I said before in the case of hollow  
wounds, we shall now also analogously consider the nature  
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σκεψόμεθα τοῦ σώματος τὴν φύσιν, εἰ μαλακὴ καὶ βρωδῆς, ἢ σκληρὰ καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ σύντονος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ προτέρα καθ' ὅσον ὑγροτέρα, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων ἤττον ξηραίνοντων δεήσεται· ἡ δευτέρα δὲ καθ' ὅσον ξηροτέρα, κατὰ τοσοῦτον αὖ καὶ ἤδε καὶ σφοδρότερον ξηραίνοντων δεήσεται καὶ μᾶλλον στυφόντων. ὁ γοῦν Ἐμπειρικός, οἶμαι, κἀνταῦθα παίδων μὲν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀπαλοσάρκων μνημονεύσει, νεανίσκους καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ θαλαττουργοὺς ἀντιτάττων αὐτοῖς· οὐ μὲν ὅτι γε διὰ μὲν τὴν ὑγρότητα τῆς κράσεως ἐπὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐώραται τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν φαρμάκων εὐδοκιμοῦντα· διὰ δὲ τὴν ξηρότητα πάλιν ἕτερα, θερισταῖς καὶ ναύταις ἀρμόττουτα συνιέναι δυνάμενος, οὔτε τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον σῶμα θεραπείας ἀκριβῶς στοχάσεται καὶ τῆς ἀποτυχίας οὐχ εὐρήσει τὴν αἰτίαν. ὥστε οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εὐπορήσει μεταβολῆς, ὅποταν ἀποτυγχάνῃ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας αὐτῷ προεγνωσμένα. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καθόλου περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων εἰρηταί μοι τῶν κολλητικῶν· ἐξῆς δ' ἄλλη τις μέθοδος εἰς τὴν σκευασίαν τε καὶ | τὴν σύνθεσιν αὐτῶν διαφέρουσα προσέρχεται· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ κοίλοις ἔλκεσιν ὁ βουλόμεθα προσφέρομεν εὐθύς, εἴτ' οὖν ξηρὸν εἴθ' ὑγρὸν φάρμακον· ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ ἐπιπάττειν ἢ ἐμπλάττειν αὐτὰ παντὶ μορίῳ τοῦ ἔλκους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄχρι βάθους ἱκανοῦ γεγεννημένων τραυμάτων, ἐπειδὴν ἄπαξ συναγάγωμεν τὰ χεῖλη, ψαῦσαι τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει διηρημένων οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ. χρὴ τοίνυν οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰ ξηραν-

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of the body—if it is soft and flabby, or hard, dry and contracted. First, to the degree that it is moister, so also it will require the drying medications less. Second, to the degree that it is drier, so it will again now require stronger drying medications and astringent medications more. At all events, the Empiric, I think, will here also call to mind children and women, and those with soft flesh, contrasting these with young men, farmers and people who earn their living from the sea. It is not because of the moistness of the *krasis* in children and women that he has seen such medications as highly regarded, nor again is it because of the dryness that he is able to recognize others suitable for reapers and sailors. Nor will he make an accurate estimation of the treatment in relation to each body, or discover the cause of failure, so that he will not procure change for the better whenever he fails with those things previously known by him through experience. I stated this in general terms regarding the conglutinating medications. Next, some other method comes to the fore, which pertains to the preparation and composition of these medications. For we immediately apply what we wish to hollow wounds, whether this is a dry or moist medication. It is possible to sprinkle or smear these on every part of the wound. In the case of wounds that have reached a considerable depth, as soon as we first bring the margins together, it is not possible to contact those things that are separated in the depths. Accordingly, we must not simply consider whether the

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τικόν ἐστὶ καὶ αὐστηρὸν μετρίως τὸ φάρμακον, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ βάθους ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυνατὸν ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι. ψιμμίθιον γοῦν καὶ λιθάργυρος στύφει καὶ ξηραίνει μετρίως· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιπάσσης αὐτὰ δίκην τέφρας ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τετραμένου, πλέον οὐδὲν ἀνύσεις· οὐ γὰρ διῦκνείται τῶν οὕτω ξηρῶν φαρμάκων εἰς τὸ βάθος ἢ δύναμις. ὑγρότης οὖν αὐτοῖς δεήσει τινός, ἢ ὁποῖόν τι τῶν ἐμπλαστικῶν φαρμάκων, ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑγροτέρων τι γένηται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων πραγματείας ἐστὶν ἴδιον, οὐκ αὐτῆς τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου· καὶ εἰ δόξαιμεν αὐτοῦ δεῖσθαι τε πρὸς τὰ παρόντα, κὰν ἐπὶ προήκοντι τῷ λόγῳ μνημονεύσαιμεν. |

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5. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οὐλλῆς δεόμενον ἔλκος ἐπάνειμι, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ πρῶτος μὲν εἶη καὶ τούτου σκοπὸς ἐκ τούτου γένους τοῦ κοίλου. γεννησάτω γὰρ χρή τι τῶν ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐνώσαι τὰ διεστηκότα· τρόπον δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ τούτου γεννᾶται τὸ λείπον ἢ ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοίλου. ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἷμα, τούτῳ δ' ἡ σὰρξ ὕλη. πληροῦται μὲν οὖν τὸ κοῖλον ὑπὸ τῆς γεννωμένης σαρκός, τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος ἐχούσης· εἰς οὐλλῆν δὲ ἀφικνεῖται τὸ ἥδη πεπληρωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ γεννωμένου δέρματος, ἐκ τῆς ὑποβεβλημένης σαρκός τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ σὰρξ μὲν ἢ αὐτὴ τῷ εἶδει τῇ διεφθαρμένη δύναται γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος· δέρμα δ' οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γεννηθῆναι τοιοῦτου ἀκριβῶς οἶον ἦν τὸ

medication is moderately drying and constricting, but also whether it is able to reach to the depths. At any rate, white lead and litharge<sup>12</sup> constrict and dry moderately but, if you sprinkle these like ashes around the part that has been wounded, you will accomplish nothing more, for the potency of the medications that dry like this does not reach to the depths. They will need some moisture so that it may be one of the emplastic medications of the moister kind. This, however, is proper to the matter of the synthesis of medications and not to the matter of the therapeutic method itself. And if we should decide that we need this for our present purposes, we may call it to mind as the discussion proceeds.

5. I shall return to the wound that stands in need of a scar, which I spoke of a little earlier as having its first indicator from this class of hollowness. For it is necessary to generate something of what has perished and not simply unite what has separated. However, what is lacking is in this instance regenerated in another way than in the case of a hollow wound, because the material in that is blood whereas in this it is flesh. The cavity, then, is filled by the regenerated flesh which has its origin from the blood. What has already been filled comes to a scar through the generated skin which has its origin from the underlying flesh. But flesh that is the same in kind to that which has been destroyed can be regenerated in the hollow ulcer, whereas it is not possible for generated skin to be exactly of

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<sup>12</sup> See Dioscorides, V.103 and V.102 respectively, for the preparation and use of these medications. Also see Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, XIII.407K ff. on cerussa (white lead) and XIII.394K ff. on litharge.

διεφθαρμένον, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον μὲν τι δέρματι καὶ τὴν  
χρείαν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον ἀποπληροῦν, οὐ μὴν ἀκριβὲς  
δέρμα. διὰ τί μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν γεννήσαι  
δέρμα τὸ ἅπαξ ἀπολλύμενον, ὥσπερ σάρκα καὶ πι-  
μελὴν γεννώμεν, ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐστι προβλημάτων·

198K ὅπως δ' ἂν τις μιμήσαιο καὶ φύσιν καὶ χρείαν δέρ-  
ματος, | ἐκ τῆς νῦν ἐνεστώσης πραγματείας, ἧς τὴν  
μέθοδον ἤδη λέγομεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρόκειται σκεπάζειν τὴν  
σάρκα συμφύτω τινὶ σκεπάσματι, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ  
εἰς οὐλήν ἀγαγεῖν τὸ ἔλκος, ἧτοι δέρμα γεννητέον  
ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ἢ τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ ἐπιπολῆς δέρματι παρα-  
πλήσιον ἐργαστέον· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ γεννηθῆναι δέρ-  
μα, τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρα πειρατέον ἐργάζεσθαι. τίς οὖν ὁ  
τρόπος τῆς ἐργασίας; ἢ ἀλλοίωσις δηλονότι· σαρκὸς  
γὰρ τι μῦριον οὐκέτι σάρκα μένειν, ἀλλ' οἷον δέρμα  
γενέσθαι βουλόμεθα· πῶς οὖν ἀλλοιωθήσεται; κατὰ  
τινα τῶν ἀλλοιουσῶν δηλονότι ποιότητων· ἦκει γὰρ  
αὐθις ἐνταῦθα, κὰν μὴ θέλωμεν, ὁ περὶ τῶν στοιχείων  
λόγος, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲ ἐπουλωτικὸν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν  
φάρμακον, οὐ μόνον σαρκωτικὸν ἢ κολλητικόν. ἐπεὶ  
τοίνυν τὸ δέρμα τῆς σαρκὸς ξηρότερόν ἐστι καὶ  
πυκνότερον, εἰ ξηραίνοιμεν καὶ στύφοιμεν τὴν σάρκα,  
δέρματι παραπλησίαν ἐργασόμεθα. τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον  
ἔχεις ἤδη τῶν ἐπουλωτικῶν φαρμάκων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρκει  
199K τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ τὰ κολλητικὰ ξηραίνοντά τε ἦν καὶ  
στύφοντα. ὅπη | ποτ' οὖν διοίσει ταῦτ' ἐκείνων, εἰς  
αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπων τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξευ-  
ρήσεις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς κολλήσεσι τῶν ἡλκω-

the kind that was destroyed, although it is somewhat like  
skin and is able to fulfill the use of skin despite not exactly  
being skin. And this is why it is not possible for us to regen-  
erate the skin that has been completely lost in the way we  
regenerate flesh and fat, since it is derived from the [class  
of] natural barriers.

How someone might imitate the nature and use of skin  
is now the matter in question. I speak now about the  
method of this. Since what lies before us is to cover the  
flesh with some united covering membrane, for this is to  
bring the wound to a scar, we must either regenerate skin  
or create a surface on top of the flesh resembling skin. But  
as it is not possible to regenerate skin, what remains is that  
we must attempt to make [such a surface]. What, then, is  
the way of doing this? It is change, obviously. For we wish  
some part of the flesh to remain flesh no longer but to be-  
come skin, as it were. How will it be changed? Clearly it  
will be in relation to some of its changing qualities. For  
here again there arises, even if we do not wish it to, the dis-  
cussion about the elements, without which there is no dis-  
covery of a cicatrizing medication, much less one which is  
enfleshing or conglutinating. Since skin is drier and thicker  
than flesh, if we dry and contract the flesh, we will make it  
like skin. You already have the chief point of the cicatrizing  
medications, but this is not enough. The conglutinating  
medications are also drying and contracting. You will dis-  
cover the way in which these medications will somehow  
differ from those by directing your attention to the actual  
substance of the matter. For since, in the conglutination of

μένων ξηραίνεσθαι χρή τὸ ἐπιρρέον, ὡς ἀπέριττον μένειν τὸ πεπονθὸς μέρος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπουλώσεσιν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐπιρρέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐν ταῖς σαρκῶν ὑγρὸν ἐκδαπανᾶσθαι προσήκει, πολὺ δὴ πού ξηρότερον εἶναι χρή τὸ συνουλωτικὸν φάρμακον τοῦ κολλητικοῦ· τῷ μὲν γὰρ κολλήσονται, σκοπὸς εἰς οὗτος μόνος ἐκδαπανῆσαι τὸ περιττὸν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἄψασθαι κηκίς οὖν ὀμφακίτης ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ τῆς ροιᾶς λέμματα καὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτίας ἀκάνθας ὁ καρπός, μετρίως ξηραίνοντα φάρμακα· χαλκίτις δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς κεκαυμένος καὶ λεπὶς χαλκοῦ καὶ μίσυ καὶ στυπτηρία σχιστὴ πολὺ τούτων σφοδρότερα· μίσυ μὲν καὶ χαλκίτις μάλιστα, μετριώτερον δ' ἢ λεπὶς τοῦ χαλκοῦ· καὶ τούτου μετριώτερον ὁ κεκαυμένος χαλκός, εἰ δὲ καὶ πλύναις αὐτόν, τὸ ἀδηκτότατον ἔξεις φάρμακον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἤδη τῆς περὶ φαρμάκων συνθέσεως πραγματείας, ἡ ἐπομένης τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν φαρμάκων γινῶναι προηγείται τῆς θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου· καὶ λέλεκται περὶ αὐτῶν ἑτέρωθεν· τὸ δὲ συνθεῖναι τὰ φάρμακα μετὰ τὴν θεραπευτικὴν ἔστι μέθοδος. ὅταν γὰρ αὕτη μὲν διδάξῃ τὰ

200K

<sup>13</sup> Peter English lists the agents as follows: unripe Oake-apples, Rinde-pile, fruit of Egyptian thorn, Red Vitriol, burnt Brasse, Offall of Brasse and Vitriol. References to Dioscorides are as follows: oak gall, I.146; rind of pomegranate, I.153; various kinds of Akantha, III.14–20; chalcitis, V.115; burned copper, V.87; scales of copper, V.89; *misu*, V.117; alum, V.123.

wounds, it is necessary to dry up the inward flow, so it is necessary for the affected part to remain without superfluity. In those wounds being cicatrized, it is appropriate to consume not only the flow but also the surrounding moisture in the flesh, so the cicatrizing medication must of course be very much more drying than the conglutinating medication, because in what will conglutinate there is this one objective alone, which is to consume what is in excess of normal, whereas in the other case (i.e. cicatrizing) there is not only this objective, but also that of binding what is normal. Thus here, unripe oak gall, the rind of pomegranate and the fruit of the Egyptian thorn are moderately drying medications. Chalcitis, burned copper, scales of copper, *misu* and divided alum are very much stronger than these, especially *misu* and chalcitis, whereas scales of copper are more moderate and burned copper more moderate than this, and if you wash it, you will have the least mordant medication.<sup>13</sup> This now pertains to the matter of the compounding of medications that is subsequent to the therapeutic method. Knowledge of the potencies of the medications precedes the therapeutic method and I have written about these elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> The compounding of medications, however, comes after the therapeutic method. For whenever this instructs generally—I speak of

200K

<sup>14</sup> The treatises on medications are repeatedly referred to throughout this work. The main ones are *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, XI.379–892K and XII.1–377K; *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locum*, XII.378–1007K and XIII.1–361K; and *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, XIII.362–1058K. It is presumably the order of study of these works that is being spoken of here.



καθόλου, λέγω δὲ τὸ ξηραίνειν ἢ ὑγραίνειν, ἢ ψύχειν ἢ θερμαίνειν, καὶ ἤτοι μετρίως τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἢ σφοδρῶς, ἢ ἀμυδρῶς, εἰδῶμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπεσκεμμένοι, τῆν-καῦτα πῶς ἂν τις ταῦτα μίξειεν ἐπιτηδείως τῇ χρεία προσήκει σκέπτεσθαι γίνεται γοῦν οὕτως διττὴ τις ἢ περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων μέθοδος· ἑτέρα μὲν ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν, ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ τῆς συνθέσεώς τε καὶ σκευασίας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ λείπον ἔτι τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἀπιέναι χρὴ μεθόδου.

201K 6. Δεῖπει δ', ὡς οἶμαι, τὸ περὶ τῶν ὑπεραυξανόμενων σαρκῶν εἰπεῖν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ὑπερσάρκωσιν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πλείους τῶν ἰατρῶν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νόσημα τοῦ γένους τοῦ παρὰ τὸ ποσόν, ἢ τὸ πηλίκον τῶν μορίων· ἰξέεστω γὰρ ὡς ἂν ἐθέλοις ὀνομάζειν ἐκ ταυτοῦ δὲ γένους καὶ ἡ κοιλότης ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἧς προειρήκαμεν. ὡς οὖν ὃ καλοῦσιν ἔλκος κοῖλον οὐχ ἔν ἐστι πάθος, ἀλλὰ κοιλότης τε ἅμα καὶ ἔλκος, οὕτως ἔλκος ὑπερσαρκῶν οὐχ ἔν ἐστι πάθος, ἀλλ' ὑπερσάρκωσις τε ἅμα καὶ ἔλκος, ἐνδείκνυται δὲ τὸ τῷ μεγέθει παρὰ φύσιν τὴν πρώτην ἐνδειξίν, ἣν δὴ καὶ σκοπὸν τῆς τῶν ἰαμάτων εὑρέσεως ἐλέγομεν εἶναι, τοῦ πλεονάζοντος τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν· ὑπὸ φαρμάκων δ' αὕτη γίνεται μόνον, οὐκέθ' ὑπὸ φύσεως, ἀνάπαλιν ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ σαρκώσεως καὶ κολλήσεως εἶχεν· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἔργα, τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ διακλύοντα τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῆς ἐκκοπτόντων· ἢ δὲ τῶν ὑπεραυξηθεισῶν σαρκῶν καθαίρεσις οὐδὲν μὲν τῆς

drying, moistening, cooling, or heating and doing this either moderately, strongly, or weakly—we also know the potency of each of the simple medications since we have given consideration to this specifically. And then we consider in what circumstances it is appropriate for someone to mix these so they are suitable for use. At any rate, in this way there is a twofold method regarding medications. One pertains to their potency and the other to their synthesis and preparation. But we must return to what still remains of the method regarding wounds and ulcers.

6. What does remain, I think, is to speak about the increased growth of flesh which the majority of doctors also call overgrowth of flesh (exuberant flesh). This too is a disease from the class that relates to the size or magnitude of the parts, for let it be permissible to name it as you might wish. And a cavity (hollowness), about which I have spoken previously, is also from this same class. Therefore, as what people call a hollow wound is not one single affection but hollowness and a wound simultaneously, in the same way, a wound with excess flesh is not one single affection but an overgrowth of flesh and a wound simultaneously. And the wound, by its unnatural size, displays its primary indication, which I also said is the indicator of the discovery of cures; that is, the removal of what is excessive. This only occurs through medications and no longer through the agency of Nature, contrary to what obtains in the growth of flesh and the conglutination of wounds, for those are actions of Nature itself, medications eradicating those things that impede its (i.e. Nature's) functions. The reduction of the overgrowth of flesh is not an action of Nature; it occurs

202K φύσεώς ἐστὶν ἔργον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἰσχυρῶς ξηραίνοντων γίνεται φαρμάκων. παράκειται δὲ ταῦτα τὰ φάρμακα τοῖς τε ῥύπτουσι ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐπουλοῦσι, ὡς πολλοὺς διαμαρτάνοντας ἐνίοτε τὸ καθαιρετικὸν φάρμακον ἢ ὡς ῥύπτου καθαρτικόν, ἢ ὡς ἰ εἰς οὐλήν ἄγον παραλαμβάνειν· οἷον αὐτίκα τὸ μίσυ καὶ ἡ χαλκίτις εἰ ὑγρᾷ φύσει προσάγοιτο, τῶν καθαιρόντων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐπουλούντων ἐστίν· ὅθεν εἴ ποτε τοιούτοις ἀναγκασθείημεν χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἐπούλωσιν, ἐτέρων δηλονότι μὴ παρόντων, ὡς ἐλαχίστοις αὐτοῖς χρησόμεθα, μόνον τὸν πυρήνα τῆς μήλης καθιέντες εἰς ἄκρον λελειωμένα τὰ φάρμακα· κάπειθ' οὕτως οἷον χυοῦν τινα τοῖς τῆς ἐπουλώσεως δεομένοις ἐπιβάλλομεν μορίοις. εἰ δὲ καὶ καθαιρεῖν βουλοίμεθα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, δαψιλέστερον ἐπιθήσομεν. ἰὸς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καθαιρετικώτερος, ὡς ὅλως ἐκπεπωκέναι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἐπουλούντων· εἰ δὲ καὶ καύσειας αὐτά, δριμύτερα μὲν ἦττον, ἐπουλωτικώτερα δὲ ποιήσεις. εἰ δὲ καὶ πλύναις, ἠπιώτερα.

203K μέμνησαι δὲ δῆπου καὶ σὺ τὸν ἄνευ λογισμοῦ θεραπεύοντά ποτε τὸ ῥυπαρὸν ἔλκος, τῷ συνήθει φαρμάκῳ τῷ χλωρῷ, μινύντα μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ μέλι, πολλαῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις εὐρίσκοντα ῥυπαρὸν ὁμοίως· εἴτ' ἀπορούμενόν τε καὶ ὄπη μεταβῆ μὴ γινώσκοντα· συνέβαινε ἰ γὰρ οὐ καθαίρεσθαι μόνον τὸν ῥύπτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκαθαίρεσθαι τι καὶ συντήκεσθαι τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκός, ἰσχυροτέρου τοῦ φαρμάκου τῆς τοῦ κάμνοντος ὑπάρχοντος φύσεως. εἴθ' ὁ μὲν ἱατρὸς αἰ

through medications that are strongly drying. These medications are closely connected with those that cleanse vigorously and cause cicatrization, so that many err at times with respect to the reducing medication, taking it to be one that cleanses the filth or leads to a scar. For example, *misu* and *chalcitis*, if you apply them to a moist nature, are more of the reducing than the scar-inducing sort. Whence, if at some time we are compelled to use such things for the purpose of scar production (other things presumably not being to hand), we use them very sparingly, sending down the head of the probe only, after triturating the medications to an extreme degree. And then, in like manner, we apply a powder alone to the parts that are in need of cicatrization. If, however, we also wish to remove excess [flesh], we will apply it more abundantly. Verdigris is more reducing than these so that it altogether stands out among the class of cicatrizing agents.<sup>15</sup> And if you burn those so they are less sharp, you will make them more cicatrizing. If you also wash them, you will make them more soothing.

Presumably you remember, too, the person who was once, without any reasoning, treating a filthy wound with the customary green medication, having mixed honey with it, and who discovered after many days in succession that it was just as filthy. Then he was bereft of ideas and did not know which way to turn, for what happens is that not only 203K is the filth removed, but also something of the underlying flesh is removed with it, and is dissolved when the medication is stronger than the nature of the patient. Then the doctor is always in the habit of mixing more of the honey

<sup>15</sup> Dioscorides describes the preparation and use of two types of verdigris; see V.91 and V.92.

πλέον ἀνεμίγνυε τῷ φαρμάκῳ τοῦ μέλιτος, ἵνα δὴ σφοδρότερον καθήρειεν, ὡς ἐλλιπῶς τοῦ προτέρου τοῦτο δράσαντος. ἐγίγνετο δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον· εἰς ὅσον γὰρ ἐπετείνετο τῇ δριμύτητι τὸ προσφερόμενον, εἰς τοσοῦτον συνετήκετο μὲν ἡ ὑποκειμένη σὰρξ, ὃ δὲ τῆς συντήξεως ῥύπος εὐρισκόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλκουσ ἐξηπάτα τὸν ἰατρόν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος τοῦ φαρμάκου. τούτου μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν, οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ἢ ἄγνοια· καὶ γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ῥυπαρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν ὁμοίως φαίνεται τὸ ἔλκος ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν φαρμάκων, ἀλλὰ τοι κοιλότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν τε καὶ συντηκόντων γίγνεται· καὶ προσέτι τοῖς χείλεσιν ὀχθῶδες, ἐρυθρόν τε καὶ ὑποφλεγμαῖνον, ἔστιν ὅτε δὲ καὶ δάκνεται σαφῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου φαρμάκου.

204K τὸ δ' ἦρτον ἢ ἢ προσήκει ξηραῖνον οὔτε δῆξιν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὧν εἶπον ἐργάζεται, δῆλον δ', οἶμαι, κατὰ τούτων ἐστὶν ὡς ὃ μὲν Ἐμπειρικός, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα διωρισμένη χρήσαιτο τῇ πείρᾳ, τό γε μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ προσήκον εὐμηχάνως οὐκ ἔχει. μόνῳ δ' ὑπάρχει τοῦτο τῷ κατὰ μέθοδον ἰατροῦντι, τὴν ὄντως δηλονότι μέθοδον, ἣν ἐγὼ νῦν διέρχομαι.

7. Τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀμεθόδων Θεσσαλειῶν μέθοδον ὄνομα μόνον οἶσθα δήπου κενόν, ἔρημον ἔργου παντός· οἱ γε τοσαύτης τε καὶ τηλικαύτης οὔσης μεθόδου περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλκῶν ἴασιν οὔτε τοῖς τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ἐχρήσαντο διορισμοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν φαρμάκων εὔρεσιν οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβον

with the medication, so that it actually purifies more strongly, just as it purified deficiently when he did this previously. Everything that is contrary occurs because, to the extent that the application was increased in its sharpness, so to this degree the underlying flesh was dissolved, the revealed filth of the colliquescence in the wound deceiving the doctor [into thinking] that the medication accomplished nothing. The ignorance of this relates to the diagnosis and not only to the therapeutic method. And especially also, the wound or ulcer appears to an equal degree filthy and moist in the case of both medications, but becomes more hollow in the case of those that are strong and liquefying. And it is raised at the margins as well, and red, and somewhat inflamed, and sometimes also the person clearly feels the bite of such a medication.

It is appropriate that the medication dries less and does not cause biting nor any of the other things I spoke of. It is, I think, clear in relation to these things that the Empiric, even if he uses experience that reflects particular discrimination, is not in fact skillful in changing to what is appropriate. This is [still] reserved only for the man who heals by the method that is obviously the true method, and the one I am now going over. 204K

7. You know, I presume, that the method of the amethodical Thessaleians is just an empty name devoid of all function. In fact, although there was such a great and substantial method for the cure of wounds, those people did not use the distinctions of the Empirics for the discovery of medications, nor did they take up the indication from

τὴν ἐνδειξιν, ὡς οἱ Δογματικοὶ μόνον δ' εἰπόντες ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις γνωρίζεται, τὸ δεῖσθαι τὸ μὲν κοῖλον ἔλκος πληρώσεως, τὸ δὲ πλήρες ἐπουλώσεως, τὸ δ' ὑπερσαρκοῦν καθαιρέσεως, καὶ τὸ μὲν ῥυπαρὸν καθάρσεως, τὸ δὲ καθαρὸν ἐπουλώσεως, τὸ δὲ ἔναιμον καὶ κολλήσεως, ἐλκῶν θεραπείας οἴονταί τινα μέθοδον εἰρηκέναι τοσοῦτον ἀποδέουσι γινώσκειν ὡς ταῖς

205K μὲν ὑγροτέραις | φύσει τῶν ἥττον ξηραϊνόντων φαρμάκων ἐστὶ χρεία, ταῖς δὲ ξηροτέραις τῶν μᾶλλον. ὁ τοίνυν παρ' ὅλον τὸν λόγον ἐφάνη σαφῶς αὐθις ἀναληπτέον ἵν' ἡμεῖς τε μάλιστα προσέχωμεν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν, οἱ τ' ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὴν παλαιὰν μέθοδον διαφθείροντες ἐναργέστερον γνώσῃ ὅσον ἀμαρτάνουσιν.

ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν σαρκώσεως δεομένων ἐλκῶν, ἔν τι τοῦτο παράδειγμα προχειρισάμενος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φθάνω τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιημένος. εἶθ' ἐξῆς περὶ πάσης ὁμοῦ τῆς ἰάσεως ἐν τῷ καθόλου ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον. ἐφάνη τοίνυν οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ σκοποῦμένοις, οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπαντα φύσις δεομένη φαρμάκων, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀσθενέστεραι καὶ μαλακώτεραι τῶν μαλακωτέρων, αἱ δ' ἰσχυρότεραι καὶ ξηρότεραι τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων. οὕτω δὲ καπὶ τῶν εἰς οὐλήν ἀγομένων ἐλκῶν εἶχε καὶ προσέτι τῶν κολλήσεως δεομένων. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν φαρμάκων αἱ μαλακαὶ φέρουσι φύσεις. ἐν δὲ τῇ διεξόδῳ ταύτῃ τοῦ λόγου κατάφωρον γίγνεται σαφῶς ὅτι τε τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεπτέον ἐστὶ τοῦ κάμνοντος, ὅτι

206K τε καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνθρωπον | ἰδίᾳ τίς ἐστὶ θεραπεία·

the actual nature of the matters as the Dogmatics did. After simply stating what was known even by laymen—namely, that a hollow wound or ulcer needs to be filled, one that is filled needs to be scarred over, one that has an excess of flesh needs to be reduced, one that is filthy needs to be cleaned, one that is clean needs to be scarred over and one that is blood-filled (recent) needs to be conglutinated—they think they have stated a method of treatment for wounds: that's how far they fall short of knowing that the need for drying medications is less in more moist 205K natures but more in those that are drier. Accordingly, we must again take up what was clearly apparent throughout the whole discussion so that we direct our attention particularly to this, and so that all those others who corrupt the age-old method may know more clearly how much they are mistaken.

I shall begin with the wounds that require enfleshing, choosing this as one example, since I have also previously made the discussion about this. Then next, I shall make the discussion about every common cure in general. Thus, it seemed to those considering [the matter] not by reason alone, but also by experience, that not every nature requires the same medications; those that are weaker and softer need softer medications and those that are stronger and drier need stronger medications. Along the same lines, in wounds being brought to cicatrization, there is in addition a need for conglutination. For soft natures simply tolerate none of the strong medications. In the course of the same discussion it becomes clearly apparent that it is the nature of the patient we must consider because the treat-

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καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως ἴδιον ἀρρητόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην ἀληπτον, οὗτος ἂν ἄριστος ἰατρὸς εἴη τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπάντων νοσημάτων, ὁ μέθοδόν τινα πορισάμενος ἐξ ἧς διαγνωστικὸς μὲν τῶν φύσεων ἔσοιτο, στοχαστικὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκάστης ἰδίων ἱαμάτων.

τὸ δ' οἶεσθαι κοινὴν τινα ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι θεραπείαν ἐσχάτως ἡλιθίον ἐστίν· ὅπερ οἱ ἀναισθητότατοι νομίζουσι Μεθοδικοί. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἐστάναι τὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἔφασαν ἅπαντα θεωρήματα, τουτέστιν ἐπιστημονικὰ καὶ βέβαια ταῖς γνώσεσιν ὑπάρχειν. εἶναι τε τὴν γνώσιν αὐτῶν τέχνην τινὰ κοινοτήτων, οὐκ ἰδιοτήτων, ὡσπερὶ τὸν κοινὸν καὶ γενικὸν ἀνθρώπον θεραπεύοντες, οὐ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος. ὡς οἷν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐθέως κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐσφάλησαν, οὕτω κἀν τῷδε θεραπεύεται μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ γενικὸς ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν ἕκαστος, ἄλλος ἄλλην ἔχων δηλονότι κρᾶσίν τε καὶ φύσιν. οἱ δ' οἴονται μίαν θεραπείαν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων | εἶναι. ἐγὼ δ' εἰ καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν ἀκριβῶς ἠπιστάμην ἐξευρίσκειν, οἶον ἐπινοῶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, αὐτὸς ἂν ἦν τοιοῦτος· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον τοῦτο, τὸ γοῦν ἐγγυτάτω προσιέναι καθόσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν αὐτὸς τε ἀσκέιν ἔγνωκα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύομαι. πειρῶνται μὲν οὖν εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἀποχωρεῖν μὲν τῶν κοινῶν, προσέρχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις· ἀλλ' ὅσον καὶ τούτοις ἐνδεὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλειον εἶρηται πρόσθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ παίδων, ἢ γυναικῶν, ἢ γερόντων,

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ment is specific to each person. And third, in addition to these factors, since what is specific to each nature is inexpressible and incomprehensible in terms of very precise knowledge, the person who provides a method on the basis of which he would be a diagnostician of natures and an estimator of the specific cures for each [nature] will be the best doctor for all the individual diseases.

To think there is some common treatment for all people is foolish in the extreme. But this is what the Methodics, men who are absolutely lacking in perception, think. And because of this, they are in the habit of saying that all their theories of medicine stand, that is to say, are scientific and secure in their means of knowing. And they are in the habit of saying that their knowledge is a craft of "communities" and not of specifics, just as if they were treating a "common" and generic person and not a series of individuals. Thus, as they tripped up in all other things right at the beginning, so too did they trip up in this, for it is not the "common" and generic person that is treated but each one of us, having clearly a different *krasis* (temperament) and *physis* (nature). They think, however, there is one treatment for all people, and if I had also known how to discover precisely the nature of each person, like I think Aesculapius did, I would myself be like him. But since this is impossible, I have decided to approach as closely as is possible for a man, and myself, to practice this, and to exhort others [to do so]. The Empirics try as far they can to go away from the common and approach the specific, but I said before how much they fall short of perfection. For it is not that you must separately distinguish children, women,

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ἢ μαλακῆν ἐχόντων καὶ λευκῆν τὴν σάρκα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἐκείνοι ποιούσι, προσδιοριστέον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὑγρότητος ἢ ξηρότητος ἔχει τὸ σῶμα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἐμπειρικοὺς ἰατροὺς ἄλλων τε πολλῶν ἔνεκεν ἀποδέχεσθαι χρῆ καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν προσέρχεσθαι πειρῶνται καθόσον ἐγχωρεῖ τῇ τοῦ κάμνοντος ἰδιότητι. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς διορισμοὺς ἅπαντας οὓς διορίζονται, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθῶν ἐπάγουσιν, ὡς κἀντεῦθεν εὐπορήσαντες οἰκειότερων τῷ κάμνοντι βοθημάτων. εἰρήσεται δ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπὶ ἢ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθῶν, κἀκεῖ ἀποδείξομεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς τοῦ κάμνοντος φύσεως, ἐξευρηθῆσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους διορισμόν.

τοῦτον οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ Ἐμπειρικοὶ παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰατρόν, εἰ πολλάκις εἶη παραγεγονῶς τῷ νοσοῦντι, βέλτιον ἂν ἰᾶσθαι φασι τοῦ μὴ παραγεγονότος· εἶθ' ὅταν ταῦτα πάντα προσθῶσιν, οὐπω βεβαίαν οὐδ' ἐπιστημονικὴν ἔχειν φασι τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ κάμνοντος ἰάσεως τὴν γνῶσιν. ὁ δ' ἀναισχυντότατος Θεσσαλὸς ἐν μόνον εἰδῶς, ὅτι τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος πληρωτέον, ἐστῶτά τε καὶ βεβαία φησι τὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς εἶναι θεωρήματα. καίτοι τοῦτό γε πάντες, ὡς εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν, ἄνθρωποι γινώσκουσιν, οὐχ οἱ νῦν μόνον, ἀφ' οὗ Θεσσαλός, ὁ δεύτερος Ἀσκληπιός, εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸ Δευκαλίωνος, οἴμαι, καὶ Φορωνέως, εἶπερ γε κἀκεῖνοι Δογικοί τε ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ γινώσκειν ὡς

the aged and those having soft, pale flesh and other such things as they do; what you must separately define is how the body is in terms of moistness and dryness. It is necessary for the Empiric doctors to accept [this] because of many other factors, and particularly whenever they attempt to come as far as is possible to what is specific for the patient. After all, in the distinctions they do make, they also bring forward that based on customs, as here too they have recourse to more specific remedies for the patient. In what follows I shall say even more about customs; here I shall offer clarification about knowing what is specific in the nature of the patient, and I shall show that the distinction based on custom was known to the ancients.

The Empirics, then, accept this [distinction] in addition to other matters, and besides this, they also say that the doctor himself, if he is often in attendance on the sick person, would be better able to effect a cure than if he were not in attendance. Then, when they add all these things, they say they still do not have a secure and scientific knowledge of the specific cure of the patient. But the most shameless Thessalus, who knows one thing alone—that you must fill the hollow wound—says his theories of medicine are established and firmly based. And yet all men know this, as I said before, and not only those of the present day, from the time when Thessalus, the second Aesculapius, came among men, but also, I believe, those before Deucalion and Phoroneus, at least if those men were also Dogmatics.<sup>16</sup> But in addition to knowing that the hollow

<sup>16</sup> Deucalion and Phoroneus were ancient, semimythical figures; *OCD*, pp. 460 and 1175 respectively. Galen's point is about the ancient awareness of method in medicine.

σαρκωτέον ἐστὶ τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος, ἔτι κακέينو συν-  
 ἰεσαν, ὡς ὁ γινώσκων τὰ φάρμακα τὰ σαρκώσοντα  
 τοιοῦτον ἔλκος, ἐκείνος ἰατρός ἐστίν.

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εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας εὔρηται ταῦτα, ἢ δῆλον ὡς  
 ἐμπειρικῶς ἡμῖν ἰατρευτέον ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ ἐκ λόγου,  
 λογικῶς· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλο μὲν εὔρηκεν, ἄλλω δέ τι  
 νῦν ἐπιδεξίως χρήσεται. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἐμπειρικοὺς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις τις ἡμῖν  
 ὅπερ δὲ λέγων ἀπέλιπον, ἡ ὄντως ἰατρικὴ τῆς τοῦ  
 κάμνοντος ἐστόχασται φύσεως· ὀνομάζουσι δέ, οἶμαι,  
 τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἰδιοσυγκρασίαν, καὶ πάντες  
 ἀκατάληπτον ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ὄντως ἰατρικὴν Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνι παραχωροῦσιν. ἤρτηται δὲ ὁ λόγος οὗτος σύμ-  
 πας ἀπὸ διττῶν ἀρχῶν· ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐναργῶς φαινο-  
 μένων τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς τε καὶ Τηρητικοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν  
 στοιχείων τοῖς Λογικοῖς. ὅτι τε γὰρ ἄλλον ἄλλο  
 φάρμακον ὠφελεῖ σχεδὸν ἤδη καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐπίσταν-  
 ται· συμφωνεῖ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων  
 λογισμὸς. εἰ γὰρ ὑπόθοιο πεντεκαίδεκα διαφορὰς  
 εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον ἐν ταῖς κράσεσι  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως, ἀνάγκη  
 δήπου σε καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων οἷς μέλλεις χρήσασθαι  
 πεντεκαίδεκα διαφορὰς ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ τὰς μὲν  
 μᾶλλον, τὰς δὲ ἥττον ξηραίνουσας, ἢ ἐκάστη φύσει  
 τὸ προσήκον ἐξευρίσκει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ξηροτέρας  
 φύσεως ἄλλας πεντεκαίδεκα διαφορὰς ὑποθέμενος  
 ὡσαύτως κατ' ἐκείνης ἄλλων πεντεκαίδεκα δέοιο φαρ-

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wound or ulcer is something you must en flesh—they do  
 still understand that—they realize that the one who knows  
 the medications that are enfleshing in such a wound is the  
 doctor.

Therefore, if these things are discovered through expe-  
 rience, it is clear that he must cure the wound empirically.  
 If, on the other hand, they are discovered by reason, he  
 must cure it rationally. For certainly, if he discovers noth-  
 ing different, he will now use something else appropri-  
 ately. But we have some dispute about this with the Em-  
 pirics. What I omitted to say is that what is truly the art of  
 medicine is to make an estimation of the nature of the pa-  
 tient. I believe many doctors call this “idiosyncrasy” and all  
 agree that it is incomprehensible. Because of this, they  
 leave the true art of medicine to Aesculapius and Apollo.  
 This argument in its entirety has a dependence on two  
 “principles”—that from the things which are clearly appar-  
 ent to Empirics and “Observers,” and that from the ele-  
 ments to the Rationalists. Even children almost know al-  
 ready that different medications are of benefit to different  
 people, while reasoning derived from the elements also  
 agrees with this. For if you were to postulate that there are  
 fifteen differentiae in terms of more or less in the *krasias*  
 (temperaments) of people, in the case of the moist nature  
 alone, it is I presume necessary that you also know fifteen  
 differences of medications which you intend to use, and  
 that some are more drying and some less, so that for each  
 nature you may discover what is appropriate. And if you  
 also postulate fifteen other differentiae of the drier nature,  
 in that nature you will similarly need fifteen other medica-

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μάκων, ἔσται σοι τὰ πάντα τριάκοντα φάρμακα πρὸς τριάκοντα φύσεις ἡρμοσμένα, καὶ τούτους προσηκόντως χρῆσθαι δυνήσεται μόνος ὁ περὶ κράσεως σωμάτων ἀκριβῶς ἐπεσκεμμένος.

ἄρ' οὖν εἰ μὲν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα εἴη ξηρότερον τὴν κρᾶσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ξηραντικωτέρων ἀφεληθήσεται φαρμάκων; εἰ δὲ μόριον αὐτοῦ τι τῶν ἄλλων φύσει ξηρότερον ὑπάρχει, τῶν ἥττον ξηραίνοντων δεήσεται; ἢ πρόδηλον κἀνταῦθα τὸ μὲν ξηρότερον τῇ κράσει μόριον τῶν ξηραντικωτέρων, τὸ δ' ὑγρότερον τῶν ἥττον ξηραίνοντων προσδεῖσθαι; καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ὅλον παραλείπεται τοῖς ἀμεθόδοις Θεσσαλείοις, ἐν ἐπὶ παντὸς μορίου φάρμακον ἡγουμένοις ἀρμόττειν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπειρίας ὅσον πλεονεκτοῦσι κἀν τῷδε τῶν Θεσσαλείων Μεθοδικῶν, τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπονται τῶν ὄντως μεθοδικῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν. ἔχουσι γὰρ δὴ κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς τῆς πείρας διδαχθέντες ἄλλο μὲν τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐλκῶν, ἄλλο δὲ τῶν ἐν ὠσίν, ἢ ἄρθροις, ἢ σαρκῶν, ἢ δέρματι μόνῳ φάρμακον. ἀλλ' ὅτι γε κἀνταῦθα μεταβαίνειν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἀδυνατήσωσιν, ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων εὐδηλον.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτάρκως διώρισται, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέλθωμεν τοῦ λόγου, μινύντες ἀπάσας τὰς συμπιπτούσας ἔλκει διαθέσεις, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀρξάμενοι τῆς δυσκρασίας. εἰ γὰρ ἦτοι πρόσθεν εἴη κατὰ δὴ τινα συντυχίαν, ἢ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τῆς ἐλκώσεως τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἠλκωμένη σὰρξ γένοιτο θερμότερα τοῦ δέοντος, ἢ ψυχρότερα, δεήσει τὸ φάρμακον οὐ μόνον ξηραίνειν μετρίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ θερμαίνειν

tions, so you will have thirty medications in all suitable for thirty natures. Only the person who has made accurate observations of the *krasis* in bodies will be able to use these medications appropriately.

Thus, if the whole body is too dry in terms of *krasis*, will it be benefited by the more drying medications whereas, if some one part of it is more dry in nature than the others, will it need less of those [medications] that are drying? Or is it clear that the part which is more dry in *krasis* needs in addition more of those medications that are drying, whereas the part that is moist needs less of those medications that are drying? All of this has been left aside by the amethodical Thessaleians, who think that one medication is suitable for every part. The Empirics have as much of an advantage over the Thessaleian Methodics in this as they are inferior to those who are truly methodical and rational. Those men, taught as they are by experience, certainly have one medication for wounds in the eyes, another for wounds in the ears, another for wounds in the joints, another for wounds in the flesh, and another for wounds in the skin alone. But the fact that here too they are unable to change to another medication is clear from what has been said previously.

8. However, since I have also established a sufficient distinction regarding these matters, let me return again to the beginning of the argument and bring together all the conditions that befall a wound, beginning from the primary *dyskrasia*. For if it is either before its occurrence or at the actual time of the wounding that the wounded flesh becomes warmer or colder than it should be, it will require a medication that is not only moderately drying, but also



ἢ ψύχειν εἰς τοσοῦτον, εἰς ὅσον ἢ ὑποκειμένη σὰρξ ἐξέστη τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ σάρκωσιν, ἢ πλήρωσιν, ἢ κόλλησιν, ἢ ἐπούλωσιν ἔλκους ὀρθῶς ποτε γενέσθαι τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς ἐχούσης κακῶς, οὐδὲ εἰκὴ πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν ἔργα φύσεως εἶναι σύμπαντα ταῦτα. κάθαρσιν μέντοι τῶν ῥυπαρῶν καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῶν ὑπεραυξηθέντων ἐγχωρεῖ γενέσθαι

212K καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν | τὴν σάρκα· μόνον γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων ἦν ἔργα. διὸ καὶ μείζων ἢ πρόνοια γιγνέσθω σοι τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν ἠλκωμένων μορίων, ὅποτε σαρκούν ἢ κολλᾶν ἢ ἐπουλοῦν ἐθέλεις αὐτά. σφίζεσθαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰς κινήσεις τῆς φύσεως αἷς εἶπετο τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον· οὐ σωθήσονται δ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ πάντῃ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοι τὸ μόριον. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ φλεγμονή τις ἅμα τῷ ἔλκει τύχοι, πρὶν ταύτην λύσαι, σαρκούν, ἢ κολλᾶν, ἢ ἐπουλοῦν οὐκ ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτό, κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον εἰ καὶ χωρὶς φλεγμονῆς εἴη μόνη δυσκρασία τῶν εἰρημένων, οὐδὲν ἐλπίζομεν γενέσθαι πρὶν ἐκείνην ἰᾶσθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἔνδειξις τις εἰς τὴν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων φαρμάκων εὔρεσιν γίνεται· ξηραίνοντα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἅπαντα, διέφερε δ' ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον. οὐ μὴν ὅπως γε τοῦ θερμαίνειν ἢ ψύχειν εἶχεν εἴρηται πού πρόσθεν, ἀλλ' ἢ μεθόδός πως ἀναγκάζει καὶ τοῦτ' ἐρευνᾶσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς εἰ ξηραῖνον, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ σφόδρα θερμαῖνον, ἢ ψύχον ἐπισκέπτεσθαι χρή.

213K φεῦξῃ | τουγαροῦν ὑοσκύαμον καὶ μανδραγόραν

heating or cooling to the degree that the underlying flesh departs from normal. It is not possible for enfleshing, filling, conglutination or cicatrization of a wound to occur properly at any time when the underlying flesh is bad. Nor was I without purpose when I said before that these are all actions of Nature. Nevertheless, it is also possible for cleansing of what is filthy and removal of what is overgrown to occur apart from there being normal flesh because these are simply actions of the medications. On which account, too, let your prior consideration about the *eukrasia* of the wounded parts be greater when you wish to enflesh, conglutinate, or cicatrize them. It is necessary that the actions of Nature, which each of the things mentioned follow, be preserved. They will not otherwise be preserved unless the part is entirely in accord with nature. Therefore, just as when some inflammation happens together with the wound, nobody would attempt to enflesh, conglutinate or cicatrize before resolving the inflammation, in the same way, I think, if even apart from the inflammation, there should be a *mono-dyskrasia* of those things spoken of, we shall not expect anything to occur before that is cured. Again here a certain indication arises toward the discovery of the previously mentioned medications, because all those that are drying are different from one another in terms of more or less. In fact, not only was how they are heating or cooling spoken of before to some degree, but the method also compels us to search this out in some way. It is not simply necessary to consider whether a medication is drying, but also whether it is strongly heating or cooling as well.

Accordingly, you will avoid henbane, mandrake and 213K

καὶ κώνειον, ὡς πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ψύχοντα, καίτοι  
ξηραίνει γε εἰς τοσοῦτον, εἰς ὅσον ἔλκος ξηραίνεσθαι  
ὀφείλει. καὶ ῥητίνη καὶ πίσσα καὶ ἄσφαλτος, εἰ καὶ  
ξηραίνει συμμετρως, ἀλλὰ πέρα γε τοῦ προσήκοντος  
ἔστι θερμά· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτοῖς χρήσαιτο  
μόνοις ἄνευ τοῦ τοῖς ἀτρέμα ψύχουσιν ἐπιμίξας, ἐν ἑξ  
ἀπάντων εὐκρατον ἀπεργάσασθαι φάρμακον. εἰ δὴ  
ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καθάπερ οὖν ἔχει προσεπιβλέπειν  
δεήσει καὶ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἡμᾶς ἀέρος κρᾶσιν·  
οἷον γὰρ φάρμακόν τι καὶ οὗτος ἕξωθεν προσπίπτων  
τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐπειδὴν ἀμέτρως ἔχη θερμότητος ἢ  
ψύξεως, ἐμποδῶν ἴσταται τῇ θεραπείᾳ. χρῆ τοίνυν  
ἀντιπεπονημένοι τὰ φάρμακα ταῖς ἀμετρίαις αὐτοῦ.  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ψυχροτέροις μὲν τῇ  
δυνάμει χρήται κατὰ τὰς θερμὰς ὥρας, θερμοτέροις δὲ  
κατὰ τὰς ψυχράς. οἶσθα δὲ δήπου κἀνταῦθα τῶν  
ἀναισθητῶν τινὰ Μεθοδικῶν ὁμολογήσαντα μὲν ἐπι-  
βλέπειν ὅπως ἔχει θερμότητος ἢ ψύξεως ὁ περιέχων  
ἄῤῥ τὸν κάμνοντα, μὴ μέντοι τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους  
ἐπισκέπτεσθαι συγχωροῦντα, ὥσπερ | τῶν ὀνομάτων  
214K τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὥρας βλαπτόντων ἢ ὠφελούντων, ἀλλ'  
οὐ τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν, ἢ οὐ διὰ ταύτην ἀποβλε-  
πόντων εἰς αὐτὰς τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τῷ μέλλοντι  
μεθόδῳ τινὶ θεραπεύσειν ἔλκος, ἐπὶ τε τὰ στοιχεῖα  
πρῶτα καὶ μάλιστα παραγίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ  
ἔτους καὶ τὰς κράσεις τῶν σωμάτων ὅλων τε καὶ κατὰ  
τὰ μόρια ἐπιβλέπειν ἱκανῶς οἶμαι δεδεῖχθαι. πάλιν δ'

hemlock as more than moderately cooling, although they  
are in fact drying to the degree that the wound needs to be  
dried. And there are also pine resin, pitch and asphalt, al-  
though they do also dry moderately; nevertheless, they are  
hot to a greater degree than is appropriate, and because of  
this, nobody would use them on their own without mixing  
[them] with things that are gently cooling to make a single  
*eukratic* medication from all [the components]. If this is  
actually the situation, to the extent that it is, there will be  
the need to look in addition at the *krasis* of the ambient air  
for, just as with a medication, this too impacts on bodies ex-  
ternally, and whenever it is disproportionately hot or cold,  
stands in the way of treatment. Accordingly, it is necessary  
that the medications [given] act in a contrary way to its im-  
balances. And because of this, Hippocrates also used med-  
ications that were colder in potency in the hot seasons of  
the year and hotter in the cold seasons. You know, of  
course, that here too one of the stupid Methodics, having  
agreed to observe whether the air surrounding the patient  
was hot or cold, nevertheless did not agree to consider the  
seasons of the year, as if the names of the seasons were  
harmful or helpful, but not their *krasis*, or that it was not  
because of this *krasis* that the doctors of old considered  
them.

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But it has, I think, been demonstrated sufficiently that  
it is essential for anyone intending to treat a wound by a  
certain method to pay particular attention to the primary  
elements, the seasons of year and the *krasis* of bodies as a  
whole, and also to look at the parts. On the other hand, we

ἀναμνηστέον κἀνταύθα τὸ καὶ πρόσθεν εἰρημένον ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ξηρόν τε καὶ ὑγρὸν ἐνδείξεως· ὡς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μὲν ὑγροτέρα φύσις ὑγροτέρων ἐδέϊτο τῶν φαρμάκων, ἢ δὲ ξηροτέρα ξηροτέρων, οὕτως καὶ νῦν ἢ μὲν θερμότερα θερμότερων, ἢ δὲ ψυχροτέρα ψυχροτέρων δεήσεται, ἔμπαλιν δὲ τῆς ἐνδείξεως γιγνομένης ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ὁμοίων ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐνδεικτικά, τὰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ἐναντίων, εἴ γε τὰ μὲν φυλάττεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διαφθείρεσθαι χρή.

215K 9. Τὸ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰς κράσεις τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν μορίων ἐπιβλέπειν | χρήναι τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς ἔλκος ἰάσασθαι δεδεῖχθαι μοι νομίζω σαφῶς· καὶ ὡς μὲν πρῶτος σκοπὸς τῆς ἰάσεως ἐκ τῆς διαθέσεως λαμβάνεται μόνῃς, ἐξευρεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐγχωρεῖ τὰ βοηθήματα, πρὶν ἐπὶ τε τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν σωμάτων ἀναβῆναι καὶ τοῦ κάμνοντος ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν κράσιν, ὅλου τε τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ πεπονθότος μέρους, εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος κράσιν συνεπισκεπτομένους· ἥτις ἐκτείνεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιδήμιους καταστάσεις καὶ προσέτι τὰς χώρας. ὅτι δὲ πολλάκις ἐναντίαι ἐνδείξεις γίνονται κατὰ μίαν θεραπείαν, ὅπως τε χρὴ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας, εἰρήσεται μὲν ἐπιπλέον ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς, εἴη δ' ἂν οὐκ ἄπο τρόπου καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ βραχὺ διελθεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶμαι θαναμαστόν ὑγροτέραν μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὴν κράσιν τοῦ κάμνοντος, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πεπονθὸς μόριον ξηρό-

must also remember here what was previously said in the case of the indication that relates to dry and moist; for as in those, the moister nature always needs moister medications, and the drier nature, drier medications. So now also the hotter nature will need hotter medications and the colder nature, colder medications, there being a contrary situation, surely, when the indication is from these things contrary to nature than when it is from those things in accord with nature. The things that are indicated by an accord with nature are those things like themselves, and by a contrariety to nature, those things opposite to themselves, if it is necessary to preserve the former and destroy the latter.

9. What I have shown clearly, I think, is that the person who is going to cure a wound properly ought to pay close attention to the *krasias* of the bodies, the seasons of the year and the natures of the parts, and that the primary indicator of the cure is taken from the condition alone. 215K However, it is not yet possible to discover the remedies here before proceeding to the elements of the body and considering the *krasis* of the patient, both of the whole body and of the affected part, and to jointly consider with this right away the *krasis* of the surroundings, which extends to local conditions and regions as well. I shall state at greater length in what follows that contrary indications frequently arise in relation to a single treatment, and how we must handle such [indications], although it would not be out of place to go over them briefly now also. For it is, I think, not surprising for the *krasis* of the patient to be

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 τερον, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ὑγρότερον, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν κρᾶσιν  
 ξηροτέραν ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ κατὰ θερμότητα καὶ ψύξιν  
 ὑπεναντίως ἔχειν τῇ κράσει τὸ μόριον πρὸς τὸ ὅλον.  
 ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα τῆς μέσης ὑπῆρχε κρᾶ-  
 σεως, ἣν ἀρίστην ἐδείκνυμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνεκά | γε τῆς  
 τοῦ κάμνοντος φύσεως ἐνεωτερίζομεν ἐν τοῖς φαρμά-  
 κοῖς, οὕτως ἐπειδὴν ἦτοι ξηρότερον ἢ ὑγρότερον, ἢ  
 ψυχρότερον ἢ θερμότερον ἢ τοῦ δέοντος, ἐπιτείνειν εἰς  
 τοσοῦτον χρῆ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν φαρμάκων, εἰς ὅσον  
 καὶ τὸ σῶμα φυσικῆς ἐπέιληπται δυσκρασίας. οὐ γὰρ  
 δὴ ἐπιλελήσμεθα γε, τίς μὲν ἢ φυσικὴ δυσκρασία, τίς  
 δ' ἢ παρὰ φύσιν. εἴρηται γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐν ἄλλοις  
 καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἀνωμάλου δυσκρασίας  
 γράμματι.

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 φέρε τοῖνυν ὅλην τὴν κρᾶσιν τοῦ κάμνοντος σῶμα-  
 τος ὑγροτέραν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖσθαι τῶν ἥττον  
 ξηραίνοντων φαρμάκων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πεπονηθὸς μόριον  
 τῶν φύσει ξηροτέρων ὑπάρχειν, οἷά περ ἐλέγομεν  
 εἶναι τὰ ἥττον σαρκώδη. τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε κατὰ  
 τοὺς δακτύλους καὶ τὰ ἄρθρα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν ρίνα  
 καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν  
 ἵνα χόνδροι πολλοὶ καὶ ὑμένες καὶ σύνδεσμοι καὶ  
 ὀστᾶ καὶ νεῦρα, πιμελῆ δὲ καὶ σὰρξ ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως, ἢ  
 ἐλαχίστη, διάφορος δ' ἐν τούτοις ἢ ἐνδειξις ἀπὸ τε τοῦ  
 πεπονηθότος μέρους ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ κάμνον-  
 τος. ὥστε εἰ μὲν ὅσῳ τοῦ κάμνοντος | ἢ κρᾶσις ὑγρο-  
 τέρα πέφυκε τοῦ συμμέτρου, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ τὸ μόριον  
 εἴη ξηρότερον τοῦ συμμέτρου, μήτε προστιθέσθαι τι

more moist, while the affected part itself is more dry, or  
 this to be more moist and the whole *krasis* more dry. In like  
 manner too, in relation to heat and cold, there may be an  
 opposition in *krasis* between the part and the whole. Thus,  
 just as when the whole body is of moderate *krasis*, which  
 we showed was best, we would change nothing in the med-  
 ications for the sake of the nature of the patient, so when-  
 ever the body is more dry, more moist, more cold, or more  
 hot than it should be, it is necessary to increase the  
 potencies of the medications to the degree that the body  
 has been taken over by a natural *dyskrasia*. Nor, certainly,  
 will we lose sight of what is a natural *dyskrasia* and what is  
 an unnatural *dyskrasia*. I spoke about these *dyskrasias* in  
 other [works] and particularly in the treatise *On Irregular  
 Dyskrasia*.<sup>17</sup>

Suppose, therefore, the whole *krasis* of the patient's  
 body is more moist, and because of this, needs less of the  
 drying medications, whereas the affected part itself is  
 among those things that are more dry in nature, of the sort  
 which I said were less fleshy. Examples are found in the  
 fingers, joints, ears, nose, eyes and teeth, and in summary,  
 in a place where there is much cartilage, membrane, liga-  
 ment, bone and nerve but very little fat and flesh, or none  
 at all. In these places, the indication from the affected  
 part is different to that from the nature of the patient. As  
 a result, if the part is drier than normal to the same ex-  
 tent that the *krasis* of the patient is more moist in nature  
 than is normal, I undertake neither to add nor take away

<sup>17</sup> *De inaequali intemperie*, VII.733–52K (translated by M. Grant, 2000).

μήτ' ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ φαρμάκου, τοιοῦτον δὲ προσφέρειν, οἷον ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ συμμέτρου τῆ κράσει σώματος ἐν συμμέτρῳ τῆ κράσει μορίῳ γεγονότος ἔλκος παρελάβομεν. εἰ δὲ πλεον εἶη τὸ μόριον τοῦ μετρίου ξηρότερον, ἢ ὅσῳ τοῦ σώματος ἢ κρᾶσις ὑγροτέρα, τοσοῦτον ἐπιτείνεσθαι χρῆ ξηρότητι τὸ φάρμακον, ὅσον ὑπερβάλλει τὸ μόριον τῆς ὅλης κρᾶσεως. οἷον εἰ τέσσαρσι μὲν ἀριθμοῖς εἶη τὸ ἠλκωμένον μέρος ξηρότερον τοῦ συμμέτρου, τρισὶ δ' ἀριθμοῖς ἢ φύσις τοῦ νοσοῦντος ὑγροτέρα τῆς εὐκράτου, πρόδηλον ὡς ἐνὶ τοῦ συμμέτρου μορίου τὸ νῦν ἠλκωμένον ἔσται ξηρότερου δεόμενον φαρμάκου, ὅτι δὲ ἅπαντα ταῦτα στοχασμῷ λαμβάνεται καὶ ὅτι κάλλιστα δυνατός ἐστι στοχάζεσθαι ὁ γεγυμνασμένος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων λογισμοῖς ἀντικρυς δῆλον.

218K ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων ἐναντίαι πολλάκις ἐνδείξεις καθ' ἓνα γίνονται χρόνον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι δέομαι λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ θερμόν | τε καὶ ψυχρόν ἐνδείξεων ἀνάλογον τοῖς εἰρημένοις νοεῖσθαι δυναμένων· ἐφ' ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφ' οἷς εὐθὺς αἱ ἐνδείξεις τέμνονται, καὶ χρῆ τὴν μὲν ἡσυχάσαι κατὰ γε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θεραπείας, ἐνεργῆσαι δὲ ἐτέραν· οἷον ὅταν ἔλκος ἢ κοιλόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἱκανῶς ῥυπαρόν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ διαθέσεις αἱ παρὰ φύσιν ἐν τούτοις τρεῖς εἰσιν, ἔλκος καὶ κοιλότης καὶ ῥύπος. ἢ δὲ τῆς ἰάσεως τάξις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ ῥύπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει, τῷ μῆτε κολληθῆναί τι, μῆτε σαρκωθῆναι δύνασθαι, πρὶν καθαρὸν γενέσθαι. δευτέραν δὲ χώραν ἢ τῆς

anything by way of the medication, whereas I would undertake to apply such a medication in the case of a body balanced in *krasis*, when a wound has occurred in a part that is balanced in *krasis*. If the part is drier than normal by as much as the *krasis* of the body is moister, it is necessary to increase the medication to the extent that the dryness of the part exceeds the whole *krasis*. If, for example, the wounded part is four magnitudes more dry than normal, and the nature of the diseased person three magnitudes more moist than the *eukratic*, it is clear that the part which is now wounded will be in need of a medication drier by one magnitude than a balanced part. It is, however, patently obvious that all these things are arrived at by guesswork, and that someone practiced in calculations about these matters is best able to carry out the estimation.

So then, in the case of all such things, opposite indications often arise at one time. I need say nothing further about the indications in relation to heat and cold since they can be understood analogously to what has been said. In other cases also, there are times when the indications are immediately divided and it is necessary to set aside one at the beginning of treatment and to activate another—for example, whenever a wound is hollow and at the same time excessively filthy. For the conditions that are contrary to nature in these cases are three: a wound, a cavity and filth. However, the order of the cure starts with the removal of the filth, in that it is not possible for the wound to be conglutinated or enflashed before it becomes clean. The cure of the cavity will take second place, for if we were either to

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κοιλότητος ἴασις ἔξει· εἰ γὰρ ἦτοι κολλήσασθαι, ἢ ἐπουλώσασθαι, ἢ καθόλου φάναι θεραπεύσασθαι τὸ ἔλκος, οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ πληρῶσαι τὴν κοιλότητα. φέρε τοίνυν μὴ μόνον ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ τρία περὶ τὸ μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φλεγμονήν, ἢ ἐρυσίπελας, ἢ γάγγρναν, ἢ τινα δυσκрасίαν ἀπλήν ἢ σύνθετον, ἅρ' οὐκ ἐνταῦθα πρόδηλον ὡς εἰ μὴ τις πρότερον ἐκείνην ἴασαιτο, πληρῶσαι σαρκὶ τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ; λέλεκται γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν ὡς ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς γένεσις ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἀρχεται τῆς ὑγιούς· ἐκ φλεγμαιοσύνης δὲ καὶ | δυσκράτου καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν νοσοσύνης, οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ γεννηθῆναι νέαν σάρκα.

σκοπὸς οὖν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἔστω σοι τριττός. εἷς μὲν ὡς ὁ ἐξ αἰτίων τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι λαμβανόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὡς ὁ τὸν ὦν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον ἔχων· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐπειγόντων τε καὶ κατεπειγόντων ὀνομαζόμενος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐκрасία τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς αἰτίας λόγον ἔχει, συμφύουσά τε τὸ ἠλκωμένον αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναπληρούσα τὸ κοῖλον. ἡ δὲ καθαρότης τοῦ ἔλκους τὸν ὦν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον· καὶ ταύτην ὁ ῥύπος διακόπτων κωλύει τὴν θεραπείαν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔλκος ὡς πρὸς τὴν κοιλότητα τὸν ὦν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον. εἰ γὰρ εἰς οὐλλήν ἀχθείη τὸ ἔλκος, οὐκέθ' οἶόν τε σαρκῶσαι τὴν κοιλότητα. πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν ἀποβλέπων ἐξευρήσεις τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἰάσεως· οἶον ἢ φλεγμονὴν καὶ κοιλότητος καὶ ἔλκος καὶ ῥύπος ἅμα κατὰ ταῦτ' ὑπάρχει μῶριον· ὅτι χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φλεγμονήν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν

conglutinate or cicatrize, or to speak generally, if we were to treat the wound beforehand, it would no longer be possible to fill the cavity. Suppose, therefore, that it is not only these three things that involve this part, but also inflammation, erysipelas, gangrene, or some simple or compound *dyskrasia*. Is it not clear here that, unless someone were to cure that beforehand, it would not be possible to fill the hollow wound with flesh? For I have also said before that the genesis of flesh begins from healthy underlying flesh, whereas from flesh that is inflamed or *dyskratic*, or in a word diseased, it is not possible for new flesh to be regenerated.

In all such combinations, let your indicator be threefold. One indicator will be that taken from the causes of what is about to exist. The second indicator is like that which has the ground of *sine qua non*, and the third indicator is what may be termed pressing or urgently requiring attention. The *eukrasia* of the underlying flesh has the ground of cause, what is wounded being united by this and the cavity filled. The cleanliness of the wound has the ground of those things *sine qua non*, and the filthiness, since it interrupts this, hinders the treatment. And the wound itself, by virtue of the cavity, has the ground of those things *sine qua non*. If the wound is brought to a scar, it is no longer possible to fill the cavity with flesh. If you pay attention to these things, you will discover the order of the cure. For example, if inflammation, hollowness, wound, and filthiness are present at the same time in the same place, it is necessary to cure the inflammation first, the

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ῥύπον, τρίτον δὲ ἰάσασθαι τὴν κοιλότητα, καὶ τέταρτον τὸ ἔλκος. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἢ τε τάξις καὶ ἢ τῶν σκοπῶν εὐρεσις ἐντεύθειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ | κατεπεύγοντος σκοπὸς ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν ἄλλοις δ' ἔστί· ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ κινδυνεύει πρῶτης καὶ μάλιστα διαθέσεως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκείνην πρῶτον ἰατέον. ἐνίοτε δὲ οὐ πρῶτην μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνην αὐτὴν· οἶον εἰ νυγείσης κεφαλῆς μνὸς ἀκολουθήσειε σπασμός, εἴτα πρὸς μηδενὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἰαμάτων καθίσταται· διατεμῶν γὰρ ὄλον τὸν μὲν ἐγκάρσιον, ἰάση μὲν τὸν σπασμόν, ἀλλὰ πηρώσεις τινὰ τῶν τοῦ μορίου κινήσεων. οὗτω δὲ καὶ φλεβὸς ἢ ἀρτηρίας αἰμορραγούσης ἀμέτρως ὁ διατεμὼν ὄλον ἐγκάρσιον τὸ ἀγγεῖον οὐκέτι μὲν ἰάσασθαι δύναται τὸ ἔλκος αὐτοῦ· τὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰμορραγίας κίνδυνον ἐπέσχευ. ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῦρον νυγὲν ἀναγκαζόμεθα πολλάκις ἐγκάρσιον διακόπτειν, ὅταν ἦτοι σπασμούς, ἢ παραφροσύνας, ἢ ἀμφότερα μεγάλα καὶ δυσίατα βλέπωμεν ἐπόμενα τῇ τρώσει. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξάρθρημα μεθ' ἔλκους ἐπειδὴν γένηται κατὰ τι τῶν μειζόνων ἄρθρων, τὸ μὲν ἔλκος ἰώμεθα, τὸ δὲ ἐξάρθρημα καταλείπομεν ἀνίατον· ὅτι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγχειρούντων ἰάσασθαι, σπασμοὶ τοῦπίπαν | ἔπονται.

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τρίτος οὖν οὗτος σκοπὸς ἔστιν ὁ πρὸς τὸ κατεπεύγον γιννόμενος, ἕτερος ἐκείνων τῶν δύο τῶν ὀλίγων ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων. οὐ γὰρ ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ ὡς αἰτιὸν τι σκοπεῖν, ἢ ὡς τὸν ὦν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον ἔχον, ἢ ὡς κατεπεύγον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὸ κατεπεύγον ἐνίοτε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἀνίατον ἀναγκάζειν

filthiness second, the hollowness third, and the wound fourth. So then, the order and discovery of the indicators are here in what has been said. However, the indicator of what is urgent is not in these things but in others. You must first treat that condition from which the person is primarily and particularly in danger. Sometimes the condition is not only the primary one, but also the only one. For example, if, when the head of a muscle is pierced, a spasm follows which is settled by none of the specific cures, you will cure the spasm by cutting the whole muscle across, but you will incapacitate some of the movements of the part. So too, when a vein or artery is hemorrhaging excessively, someone who cuts the whole vessel across transversely is no longer still able to cure the wound, although he has put an end to the danger from the hemorrhage. But also, we are often compelled to cut transversely across a pierced nerve, whenever we see either spasms or derangements which are significant and difficult to treat following the wounding. And in the same way, whenever a dislocation arises with a wound in one of the major joints, we must cure the wound but leave the dislocation as incurable in that, if we also attempt to cure this, spasms generally follow. This third indicator, then, is what is directed toward what is most urgent; it is different from the other two that were spoken about a little earlier in that it is not the same to consider something as a cause, or as having the ground of *sine qua non*, or as being urgent. But also, what is urgent is sometimes such as to compel another condition to be left

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ἐτέραν ἀπολιπέσθαι διάθεσιν, εἴρηται, καὶ ὡς ἡ διάθεσις αὕτη πολλάκις ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γίνεται, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νευνημένων νεύρων, ἢ τευόντων, ἢ αἱμορραγούντων ἀγγείων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς κεφαλὰς τετραμένων μυῶν· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρθρήματος ἅμα καὶ ἔλκους οὐκ αὐτὸ ποιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ ἰώμεθα τὸ γενόμενον. εἰρήσεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτι περὶ τούτων ἐπιμελέστερον.

10. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ παρόντι συγκεφαλαιώσασθαι βούλομαι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκείας διαφορὰς τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐπανελθὼν, ἵν', εἴ τις κἀντεῦθεν ἔνδειξις ἰαμάτων ἐστί, μηδὲ ταύτην παραλίπωμεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν φλεγμαῖνον ἔλκος καὶ τὸ σηπόμενον ἀναβιβρωσκόμενον τε καὶ γαγγραινούμενον | ἐρυσιπελατώδες τε καὶ καρκινῶδες ἀνώδυνόν τε καὶ ὀδυνῶδες, τὰ τ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λέγουσιν ὡς διαφορὰς ἐλκῶν, εἰ μὲν ἄλλως τις διέρχοιτο θεραπείαν ἐμπειρικὴν ἀναγράφων, οὐκ ἀμφισβητητέον αὐτῷ διαφορὰς ἐλκῶν ὀνομάζοντι· μυριάκις γὰρ εἴρηται τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐρίξειν· εἰ δ' ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μέλλων ἐρεῖν τι τεχνικὸν ὑπὲρ ἐνδείξεων, ἐπιδεικτέον αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν εἰρημένας ἀπάσας διαθέσεις ὑπάρχειν συνθέτους, ἄλλας δ' εἶναι διαφορὰς ἔλκους ἀπλοῦ καὶ μόνου, χωρὶς ἐτέρας τινὸς ἐπιπεπλεγμένης αὐτῷ διαθέσεως. εἰ γὰρ ἀπλῶς διαιρέσεως γενομένης ὑπὸ τινος ὀξέος τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ τρώσαντος ἐναπομαχθείη τῷ διηρημένῳ, γένοιτ' ἂν οὕτως ἐλκῶν διαφοραὶ πάμπολλαι, λοξῶν, εὐθειῶν, ἐλικοειδῶν, ἀγκιστροειδῶν, ἄλλως ὅπως οὖν ἐχόντων. αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ διαφοραὶ πᾶσαι παρὰ τὸ σχῆμα.

as incurable, as was said, and this condition itself often occurs iatrogenically, as in the case of pierced nerves or sinews, or hemorrhaging vessels, or in the case of muscles that have been wounded in their heads. In the case of dislocation coincident with a wound, we do not do this; rather we simply do not cure what has happened. Still more will be said about these matters in what follows.

10. For the present, I wish to summarize the established argument by returning to the specific differentiae of wounds, so that, if there is also here some indication of cures, we do not leave this out. Therefore, in respect of the inflamed wound, the putrefying erosion, gangrene, erysipelas; cancers (both painless and painful), and other such things which [doctors] speak of as differentiae of wounds and ulcers, if someone, when describing them, were to go over the empirical treatment differently, we must not dispute with him if he names these differentiae of wounds. I have said countless times that there is no need to contend about names. If, however, we are about to say something practical about indications, as here, we must point out to him that all the conditions spoken of are compound, whereas other differentiae of a wound are simple and single, not having any other condition combined with them. If, when a division occurs simply due to something sharp, the form of what is wounded takes an impression from what has divided it, in this way very many differentiae of wounds will arise, [such as] oblique, straight, spiral or unciniate, or whatever else there is. All these are differentiae pertaining to form.

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223K παρὰ δ' αὖ τὸ μέγεθος ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον  
 ἕτεραι μυρίαὶ καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ μείζον καὶ  
 μικρότερον ἔλκος ἔλκους λέγεται τι καὶ γίνεται καὶ  
 μὲν δὴ καὶ βραχὺ καὶ μακρὸν ἐπιπολῆς τε καὶ | βαθύ,  
 καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον ἐν τῇ  
 κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἢ τὸ πηλίκον, ἢ τὸ ποσόν, ἢ ὅπως ἂν  
 ἐθέλοι τις ὀνομάζειν διαφορᾶ. καὶ εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως  
 ἔχει, πάντως δήπου καὶ ὁμαλὲς καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἔλκος  
 ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς διαιρέσεως ἔσται. κατὰ μήκος γάρ, εἰ  
 οὕτως ἔτυχε, ἀνεσχισμένου τοῦ μηροῦ τὸ μὲν ἄνω  
 μέρος τῆς διαιρέσεως ἐνδέχεται βαθύ, τὸ κάτω δὲ  
 ἐπιπόλαιον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ ἔμπαλιν ἐπιπολῆς μὲν τὸ ἄνω,  
 βαθύ δ' εἶναι τὸ κάτω. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ διεσπᾶσθαι  
 κατὰ τι, ἢ τοῦπίπαν καὶ διατετμηῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ τρώ-  
 σαντος ὑποδύντος ὑπὸ τὸ δέρμα λοξόν, μέρος μὲν τι  
 τοῦ ἔλκους φαίνεσθαι, μέρος δ' ἕτερον ὑπὸ τῷ δέρματι  
 κατακεκρῦφθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν εἶναι  
 μερῶν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων, ἅπαντα  
 καὶ ταῦθ' ἔλκων εἰσι διαφοραί. παρὰ δ' αὖ τὸν χρόνον  
 ἕτεραι διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔλκων, παλαιὸν καὶ ἔναιμον ἢ  
 πρόσφατον ὀλιγοχρόνιον τε, καὶ πολυχρόνιον, ἐν  
 ἅπασιν δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον πάμπολυ.

224K κατὰ μὲν αὐτὴν τοῦ ἔλκους τὴν φύσιν | αὐταὶ δια-  
 φοραί, κυριώταται μὲν αἱ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πρά-  
 γματος ἢ τε παρὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἢ παρὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς  
 διαιρέσεως, ἢτοι κατὰ τὸ μήκος, ἢ βάθος, ἢ κατ'  
 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διαστάσεις, ὁμαλότητά τε καὶ ἀνω-  
 μαλίαν τὴν ἐν τούτοις. ἔξωθεν δὲ προσιοῦσαι τὸν ὄν

Pertaining to size in terms of more or less, there is also a  
 myriad of others for small and large; larger and smaller are  
 terms used of a wound and do occur. Moreover, there is  
 also short or long of the surface, and in the depths, and in  
 relation to each of these, more or less in the differentiae, in  
 relation to magnitude, size, amount or whatever someone  
 might wish to call it. And if these things are so, then of  
 course there will in general be a regular and an irregular  
 wound in the depth of the division. If it should happen that  
 the thigh is torn open longitudinally, it is possible for the  
 division of the part above to be deep and of the part below  
 to be superficial, or conversely, for the division of the part  
 above to be superficial and of the part below deep. Fur-  
 thermore, when there is tearing away of something, or in  
 general something has been cut through, and the wound  
 goes under the skin obliquely, one part of the wound is ap-  
 parent whereas another part is concealed under the skin,  
 and this is either from the parts above, or from the parts  
 below, or from those [torn] obliquely. All these are  
 differentiae of wounds too. In terms of time also, there are  
 other differentiae of wounds—long-standing and bleed-  
 ing, recent and acute, chronic—while in all these there are  
 very many degrees in respect to more and less.

In relation to the actual nature of the wound, these are  
 the differentiae. The most characteristic are those pertain-  
 ing to the substance of the matter, which relate to the form  
 and amount of the division, or pertain to the length or  
 depth, or to both dimensions, and to the regularity and ir-  
 regularity in these. Those things that come into play exter-

οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον ἔχουσαι· παρά τε τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἔλκος, οὕτω γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρόσφατον καλεῖται, τὸ δὲ παλαιόν, καὶ παρὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι τε καὶ μὴ φαίνεσθαι πᾶν ἢ μέρος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς γενέσεως τρόπον ἐν τῷ τμηθῆναι πᾶν ἢ διασπασθῆναι πᾶν· ἢ τι μὲν τετμηθῆσθαι μέρος αὐτοῦ, διεσπᾶσθαι δ' ἕτερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γέγονε τὸ ἔλκος ἐκλογίζοιο διαφοράς, οἷον εἰ πέρασ μνός, εἰ ἀρχῆ μνός, εἰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ μνός, εἰ δέρμα ἐστὶ τὸ ἠλκωμένον, εἰ ἡπαρ ἢ γαστήρ, εἴεν ἂν δήπου καὶ αὐταὶ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς συνίστανται τὴν γένεσιν ἔχουσα. ὅταν δ' εἴποι τις ἦτοι φλεγμαῖνον ἔλκος, ἢ ὑπερσαρκοῦν, ἢ κοῖλον, |  
 225K εἴ τ' οἴηται<sup>6</sup> παραπλησίας εἰρηκέναι διαφορὰς ἐλκῶν, ἅς νῦν ἤδη πέπαυμαι λέγων, οὗτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν τῇ θεραπευτικῇ μεθόδῳ σφαλῆσεται.

τὸ γὰρ φλεγμαῖνον ἔλκος οὕτωςι λεγόμενον ὁμοιον μὲν ἔχει τὸ τῆς ἐρμηνείας σχῆμα τῷ μικρὸν ἔλκος, οὐ μὴν τό γε δηλούμενον ὁμοιον ὑπάρχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπολῆς ἢ βαθὺ κατηγορήσαντες τοῦ ἔλκους, οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ διαφορὰν ἐμηνύσαμεν· τὸ φλεγμαῖνον δ' οὐδ' ὅλως ἐστὶν ἔλκος διαφορὰ· δύναται γὰρ φλεγμῆναι μόριον καὶ χωρὶς ἔλκους. ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ἐνταυθοῖ μὲν ὑπαλλάξαι δυνατὸν· εἰ γὰρ εἴποις ἔλκος τῷδέ τινι γεγονέναι μετὰ φλεγμονῆς, οἰκειότερόν γε τῷ πράγματι καὶ σαφέστερον ἐρμηνεύσεις· οὐ μὴν εἰ

nally have the ground of *sine qua non* and depend on the time for which the wound exists, so it is called recent or old; and depending on whether it is visible or not, it is called whole or part. Now there is also the manner of its creation, whether the whole is cut through or torn asunder, or one part of it has been cut through but another part torn asunder. And if you reckon the differentiae on the basis of the place in which the wound has occurred—for example, if it is at the end of the muscle, or the beginning of the muscle, or the middle of the muscle, or if the skin has been wounded, or the liver or stomach—these would be, of course, differentiae of wounds. If these things are so, they have their genesis not from their own specific nature but from the places in which they exist. But whenever someone speaks of an inflamed wound, or an exuberant ulcer, or a hollow [wound or ulcer], if he thinks that he has articulated differentiae of wounds that are similar, which differentiae I have now already stopped speaking about, he will inevitably be mistaken in the method of treatment.

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For the inflamed wound, when spoken of in this way, has a similar form of interpretation to that in respect to a small wound, but what in fact is signified is not similar. This is because, when we speak about the superficiality or depth of the wound, we disclose a specific differentia of it. And being inflamed is not entirely a differentia of a wound. For it is possible for a part to be inflamed without a wound, from which, I think, it is also possible to change the terminology here. For if you were to say a wound has occurred in such and such a part along with inflammation, you will be describing it more specifically and more clearly, but this is

<sup>6</sup> B; ἢ κοῖλον, οἶεται K

φαίης μετὰ μεγέθους μὲν τῷδε, μετὰ σμικρότητος δὲ ἄλλῳ γεγόνεναι. καὶ γὰρ οἰκειότερόν τε τῷ πράγματι καὶ σαφέστερον ἐρμηνεύσεις, εἰ τῷδε μὲν τι φάιης ἔλκος μέγα γεγόνεναι, τῷ δὲ αὖ μικρόν. ὅθεν εἰ οἶόν τ' ἦν καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὑπαλλάττειν ὡς καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ πράγματι πρεπωδεστέραν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούσουσι σαφεστέραν, οὐ χρή κατοκνεῖν οὕτω ποιεῖν ἀρχὴ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ σοφίζεσθαι περὶ τὰ πράγματα τὸ καὶ τῇ | λέξει χρῆσθαι διωρισμένη.

τίς οὖν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἡ μέθοδος; εἰπεῖν γὰρ χρὴ παράγγελμά τι καὶ οἶον σκοπὸν ᾧ προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν ἀεὶ δυνασόμεθα διορίζεσθαι ταχέως εἴτε διαφορὰν εἴρηκέ τις ἡστινοσοῦν διαθέσεως, εἴτ' ἐπιπλοκὴν ἑτέρας. ἔστω δὴ σοι διορισμὸς ὅδε· τὸ δυνάμενον ἰδίᾳ ποτὲ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ συστήναι, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς διαφορά. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν καὶ σμικρότης, ὁμαλότης τε καὶ ἀνωμαλία καὶ χρόνος καὶ σχῆμα τῶν ἑτέροις συμβεβηκότων ἐστίν. ἔλκος δὲ καὶ φλεγμονὴ καὶ γάγγραινα καὶ σηπεδῶν ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ δύναται συστήναι, διαθέσεις γὰρ τινες εἰσι τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν παρὰ φύσιν, οὐ τὰ ταῖς διαθέσεσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβεβηκότα. πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβεβήκεν ἦτοι μικροῖς ἢ μεγάλοις ὑπάρχειν, ἢ ὁμαλέσιν, ἢ ἀνωμαλοῖς, ἢ προσφάτοις, ἢ παλαιοῖς, ἢ φαίνεσθαι προχείρως, ἢ κεκρύφθαι καὶ μὴ βλέπεσθαι· τὸ φλεγμαίνεω δ' οὐκ ἔστι τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔλκει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὸ σήπεσθαι καὶ γαγγραινοῦσθαι. πάντα γὰρ

not the case if you were to say it has occurred along with largeness in this part, or with smallness in another part. And you will be describing the matter more specifically and more clearly, if you were to say that a large wound occurs in this part, or again, a small wound. From which, if it were possible by changing the terminology to bring about something more appropriate in the matter being spoken of and clearer to those listening, you must not shrink from doing this. The starting point of not being sophisticated about matters is to use terminology that is defined.

What, then, is the method in such things? For it is necessary to articulate some instruction or objective, as it were, with which, when we focus our attention [on it], we are always able to distinguish quickly if someone has stated a differentia of any condition whatsoever, or if another condition is involved. So then, let this be your definition: what can exist separately in some way and of itself would not at any time be a differentia of anything else. Therefore, largeness and smallness, regularity and irregularity, and time and form are among the contingent attributes in other things. A wound, inflammation, gangrene and putrefaction are each separate and able to exist independently in that they are conditions of our bodies contrary to nature, and not things contingent to the conditions of necessity, for they are necessarily contingent to all the things spoken of, whether they are small or large, regular or irregular, recent or long-standing, readily apparent or concealed and not visible. But inflammation is not one of those things occurring contingently to a wound just as putrefaction and gan-

227K ταύτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν νοσημάτων γένους, εἴ γε παρὰ | φύσιν εἰσὶ διαθέσεις καὶ βλάπτουσι ἐνέργειαν.

ἐτέρῳ δ' αὖ πάλιν τρόπῳ ἔλκος ὀδυνώμενον ἢ ἔλκος ῥυπαρὸν λέγεται μὲν ὡς τις ἔλκος διαφορά, σύνθετον δέ τι δηλοῦται κἀνταῦθα, πλὴν ἕτερον τρόπον ἢ ὡς φλεγμαῖνον ἔλκος ἐλέγετο καὶ σηπόμενον. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ διάθεσις ἢ φλεγμονὴ καὶ ἢ σηπεδῶν ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ ὁ τε πόνος καὶ ὁ ῥύπος ἐκ τοῦ τῶν συμπτωμάτων γένους. οὕτω δὲ κἀπειδὰν εἴπη τις ἔλκος, ἢ κακόχυμον, ἢ ῥευματικόν, ἢ ἀναβιβρωσκόμενον, αἰτίαν συνεμφαίνει τῇ διαθέσει. καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὡς οἶον στοχεῖά τινα τῆς θεραπευτικῆς ἐστὶ μεθόδου τὰ πρῶτά τε καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ ἀσύνθετα νοσήματα, καὶ διὰ τούτ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν νοσημάτων ὑπομνήματι πάντ' ἐξηριθμησάμεθα ταῦτα. διοίσει δ' οὐδὲν ἢ πρῶτα λέγειν, ἢ ἀπλὰ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πρῶτον, ἀπλοῦν, καὶ εἰ ἀπλοῦν, πρῶτον· ὥστε καὶ στοιχειῶδες. ἔνδειξις δὲ ἰάσεως ἀπὸ τῶν διαφορῶν οὐχ ἀπασῶν γίνεται. τὸ γὰρ πρόσφατον ἢ παλαιὸν ἔλκος οὐδὲν ἐνδείκνυται, καίτοι δοκεῖ τισιν, ἀλλὰ παραλογίζονται |

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σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὡς κἀν τοῖς κατὰ δίαιταν ἑτέραν μὲν ἀρχῆς, ἑτέραν δ' ἐπιδόσεως, ἄλλην δ' ἀκμῆς τε καὶ παρακμῆς ἔνδειξιν εἶναι λέγοντες· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐρεῖν μέλλοντες, οὐ δεόμεθα νῦν μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον· ἀλλ' ὅσον εἰς τὰ παρόντα μόνον αὐταρκές ἐροῦμεν.

τὸ ἔλκος τὸ πρόσφατον, ἐπειδὴ τούπιπαι ἀνευ τε

grene are not. For all these are from the class of diseases, if they are conditions contrary to nature and harm function. 227K

In another way again, a wound is said to be painful or filthy, as a differentia of a wound. However, here something compound is signified, but in another way than by saying it is inflamed or putrefying, whereas in the former case, the pain and filth are from the class of symptoms. In such a way also, whenever someone mentions *kakochymia*, or subject to flux, or eroding, in respect to a wound or ulcer, he is indicating a cause at the same time as the condition. And clearly, among those things that are, as it were, elements of the method of treatment, there are the primary, simple and uncombined diseases, and because of this, we enumerated all these in the treatise *On the Differentiae of Diseases*.<sup>18</sup> It will make no difference whether we say primary or simple, for if something is primary it is simple, and if it is simple it is primary, so that it is also elementary. An indication of a cure arises from the differentiae but not from all of them. A recent or long-standing wound indicates nothing and yet to some it seems to do so. But they mislead themselves if they say that in wounds there is an indication according to regimen that is different at the beginning, during the progression, during the peak, and during the abatement. As I intend to say still more about these things in what follows next, I do not need to prolong the discussion now, but will say only what is sufficient for the present purposes.

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They think that a recent wound, because it generally

<sup>18</sup> *De differentiis morborum*, VI.836–80K. For an analysis of Galen's classification, see I. Johnston (2006), pp. 65–80.

διαθέσεως ἐτέρας ἐστὶ καὶ σύμπτωμα μηδὲν μηδέπω ἔχει συνόν, ἐτέραν οἴονται<sup>7</sup> ποιείσθαι τὴν ἔνδειξιν τοῦ παλαιοῦ· τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἔλκος· ἐστὶ δὲ τοιοῦτον ᾧ μήτε κοιλότης τις σύνεστι μήτ' ὀδύνη μήτε ῥύπος, ἀπασῶν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήλλακται διαθέσεων, αὐτῆς δὲ μόνης δέεται τῆς ἰδίας ἰάσεως, ἧς ὁ σκοπὸς ἔνωσις, ἢ κόλλησις, ἢ σύμφυσις, ἢ συνέχεια. μυριάκις γὰρ εἴρηται τὸ καλεῖν ὡς ἂν ἐθέλη τις, ἔνθα μηδὲν βλάπτεται τὸ πρᾶγμα. εἴτ' οὖν πρόσφατον εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος εἴτε παλαιόν, ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δέεται θεραπείας, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διαφορᾶς ἰδίων ἐνδεικνυμένης. εἰ μέντοι κοιλότητα βαθεῖαν ἔχει κατακεκρυμμένην ὑπὸ τῷ δέρματι, | σκέπτεσθαι<sup>8</sup> πότερον ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν μερῶν εἴη, ὡς ὑπορρεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς ἰχῶρας κατάντεις, ἢ κάτωθεν, ὡς αὐτόθι συνίστασθαι.

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τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑπορρύσεις ἐχόντων ἢ αὐτῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τῶν δ' οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡμᾶς χρῆ μὴχανᾶσθαι τινὰς ἐκροάς· διττὴ δ' ἢ μὴχανή· ποτὲ μὲν ἀνατέμνοντί σοι τὴν κοιλότητα σύμπασαν, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀντιδιαιροῦντι μόνον ἐν τῷ πυθμένι. τὸ δ' ὅτε χρῆ τούτων ἐκάτερον δρᾶν ἢ τε τῶν χωρίων ἐνδείξεται φύσις καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἔλκους μέγεθος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ χωρία σφαλερὰν ἔχει τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ ἔλκος εἴη μέγα, βέλτιον ἀντιδιαιρεῖν, εἰ δὲ τὰναντία, τὸ ἀνατέμνειν ἄμεινον. ἢ δ' ἐπίδεσις ἀρχέσθω μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν,

<sup>7</sup> B (cf. putant KLat); οἴον τε K

exists without another condition and doesn't yet have any symptom combined with it, produces an indication that is different from a wound that is long-standing. But this is not the case. It is itself a wound pure and simple. It is such that there is no hollowness present with it, nor pain, nor filthiness, and it is free from all other conditions and requires the specific cure of itself alone, of which the aim is union, conglutination, growing together, and [restoration of] continuity. For I have said countless times that you may call something whatever you wish when it causes no harm to the matter. Whether such a wound is recent or long-standing, it always needs the same treatment; the differentia based on time indicates nothing specific. If, however, it has a deep cavity that has been hidden under the skin, consider whether it involves superficial parts, in which case the ichors flow out in a downward direction from it, or involves deep parts, in which case they remain on the spot.

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For those [wounds], then, which have flow downward, the treatment is the same as for the others, whereas for those that do not, we need to contrive some outflow. The contriving is of two kinds: sometimes it is [achieved] by cutting open the cavity in its entirety, and sometimes simply by making a counter-incision in the base. The nature of the places and the size of the wound indicate when you should do each of these things. If the places also make division dangerous and the wound is large, it is better to make a counter-incision. If the opposite applies, laying open is better. However, the bandaging must begin in the parts

<sup>8</sup> BK; <χρή> fort. nos (cf. oportet KLat)

τελευταίω δὲ κάτω ἵνα περ ἢ ἐκροή. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὰ τετραμένα μόρια σύμπαντα διαφορὰ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐπικαιροτάτη πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἰάσεως ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ὡς ὁμοιομερῶν, ἧς δὲ νῦν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, ὡς ὀργανικῶν ἔστιν ἔνδειξις. εἰρήσεται μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἢ ὡς ὁμοιομερῶν, ἢ ὡς ὀργανικῶν σωμάτων ἐνδείξεως ἐπὶ πλεον ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς·

230K ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς | οἰκείας διαφορὰς τῶν ἐλκῶν ἰτέον εἴτ' ἐγκάρσιον ἢ εὐθύ, καὶ μέχρι βάθους ἢ ἐπιπολῆς, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα διοριστέον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκάρσια διὰ τὸ τὰ χεῖλη μᾶλλον αὐτῶν διεστηκέναι τε καὶ ἀφεστηκέναι τῆς συναγωγῆς ἀκριβεστέρας δέεται· ὥστε καὶ ραφαῖς καὶ ἀγκτήρσιν ἐπὶ τούτων χρηστέον. ὅσα δὲ κατὰ τὰ μῆκος τῶν μυῶν ἐγένετο, ταῦτ' ἐκ δυοῖν ἀρχῶν ἐπιδῶν οὔτε ραφῶν οὔτε ἀγκτήρων δεήση. εἰ δ' ἄλλως ἐπιδεῖν ἐθελήσῃς ἢ ἀγκτήρσιν καὶ ραφαῖς, ἀρκέσουσιν ἢ ἐλάχισται παντελῶς αἱ ραφαί. καὶ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ξηραίνουσι θεραπεύσεις φαρμάκοις, εἴ τι τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων μέμνησαι· τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ καὶ τὸ μετρίως ξηραῖνον ἀντάρκως ἰάσεται. τὰ δ' εἰς βάθος διήκοντα πάντως μὲν ἤδη καὶ μεγάλα δέεται δὲ τῆς ἐκ δυοῖν ἀρχῶν ἐπιδέσεως καὶ τοῦ μὴ προπετῶς κολληθῆναι τὰ χεῖλη· τὰ δ' εἰς βάθος τε καὶ μῆκος ἐπὶ πολὺ προήκοντα διχῆ τ' ἂν εἴη μεγάλα καὶ διττὴν ἔχει τὴν ἔνδειξιν, ὡς καὶ τῶν πάνν ξηραιόντων δέισθαι φαρμάκων, καὶ μὴ συνάγεσθαι προπετῶς τὰ χεῖλη | καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν ἀρχῶν ἐπιδεῖσθαι καὶ ράπτεσθαι διὰ βάθους.

231K

above and finish at those below where the outflow is. It has been stated previously that the differentia which pertains to all the wounded parts is most advantageous as an indication of the cure. But in the case of *homoiomerous* [parts], that [differentia] which I just now called to mind is an indication, as in the case of organic [parts]. Still more will also be said, of course, in what follows about the indication as pertaining to either *homotomeres* or to organic bodies.

For the present, we must again go to the specific differentia of wounds. We must distinguish whether [the wound] is oblique or straight, and whether it extends deeply or is superficial, and whether it is small or large. For oblique [wounds], because their margins are more separated and apart, require greater precision in being apposed, so that we should use both sutures and fibulae in these cases. However, for those wounds that occur in the long axis of the muscles, when you bind these from the two ends, you will need neither sutures nor fibulae. If you do wish to bind otherwise, either with fibulae or sutures, the least number of sutures in total will suffice. Larger wounds you will treat with medications that dry out more, if you recall something of what was previously said. Those that are small, moderate drying will cure sufficiently. Those that penetrate completely to the depths and have already become noticeably large need to be bound from the two ends and not to have the margins prematurely conglutinated. On the other hand, those that are both deep and very long, as they are big in two directions, have also a twofold indication; that is, they require strong drying medications and not to have the margins brought together prematurely, and

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οὕτω δὲ κἂν εἰ πολλὰς ἐπιπεπλεγμένας ἴδοις διαφο-  
 ράς, ἐκάστην ἰδίαν ἔνδειξιν ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὲν μὴ  
 μάχονται, πάσαις χρῆσθαι κράτιστον· εἰ δὲ πῃ καὶ  
 διαφέρουντο, πῶς χρῆ διορίζεσθαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 εἴρηται μὲν πού κἂν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, εἰρήσεται δὲ κἂν  
 τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐπιπλέον. ἤδη γάρ μοι καιρὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ  
 καταπάνειν ἐνταυθοῖ τὸ τρίτον τῶνδε τῶν ὑπομνη-  
 μάτων. ἐν δὲ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸ τετάρτῳ περὶ τῶν ἅμα τοῖς  
 ἔλκεσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ γινομένων διαθέσεων ὁ λόγος  
 ἡμῖν ἔσται. συναναγράφομεν δ' αὐταῖς καὶ τὰς τῶν  
 προηγουμένων αἰτίων θεραπείας.

deeply. Thus, even if you see many differentiae intermin-  
 gled, each having a specific indication, if they are not con-  
 flicting, it is best to use all of them. If, however, they also  
 differ in some way, how we must distinguish among them  
 was spoken of to some extent in what has gone before and  
 will be expanded on in what follows. For already it  
 seems to me timely to bring the third of these books to an  
 end here. In the fourth, after this one, my discussion will  
 deal with conditions arising frequently in conjunction with  
 wounds. Along with these, I shall write about the treat-  
 ments of the *proeugoumentic* (internal antecedent) causes.

## BIBΛION Δ

232K 1. Ἐν τι γένος ἦν νόσου καὶ ἡ τῆς συνεχείας λύσις, ἐν  
 ἅπασιν μὲν τοῦ ζῆφου τοῖς μέρεσι γινομένη, προσαγο-  
 ρενομένη δ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἐν ἅπασιν. ἕλκος μὲν γὰρ ἐν  
 σαρκώδει μορίῳ, κάταγμα δ' ἐν ὀστέῳ, σπάσμα δ' ἐν  
 νεύρῳ καλεῖται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ  
 ἀπόσπασμα καὶ τὸ ῥήγμα καὶ τὸ θλάσμα, τὸ μὲν ἐν  
 συνδέσμῳ γινόμενον, τὰ δ' ἐν ἀγγείοις τε καὶ μυσίν ἐκ  
 βιαίας πληγῆς ἢ καταπτώσεως ἢ τινος ἑτέρας ἰσχυ-  
 ρᾶς κινήσεως. ἡ δ' ἐκχύμωσις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἅμα  
 τῷ θλασθῆναί τε καὶ ῥαγῆναι γίνεται, συμπίπτει δέ |  
 233K ποτε καὶ κατὰ ἀναστόμωσιν ἀγγείων καὶ τὴν καλον-  
 μένην ὑπὸ τινῶν διαπήδησι, ἕτερόν τι γένος συν-  
 εχείας λύσεως ὑπάρχουσαν τηνικαῦτα. καὶ μὴν καὶ  
 κατὰ ἀνάβρωσιν ἐνίοτε διαφθίρεται τὸ συνεχὲς ἐν  
 τοῖς τοῦ ζῆφου μέρεσιν· ἀλλ' ἤδη μικτὴ διάθεσις τοῦτο  
 συνεφέπτεται γὰρ ἑτέρου γένους νοσήματος, ὑπὸ τὸ  
 ποσὸν τῶν μορίων πεπτωκότος· ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κοίλων

<sup>1</sup> The Greek terms are given primacy in this opening state-  
 ment. Subsequently, the English terms in brackets are used and  
 where there is more than one possibility, context determines

## BOOK IV

1. There is one particular class of diseases, dissolution of 232K  
 continuity, which, although it occurs in all parts of the  
 organism, is not similarly named in them all. Thus, it is  
 called *helkos* (wound, ulcer, sore) in a fleshy part, *katagma*  
 (fracture) in a bone and rupture in a *neuron* (nerve, sinew,  
 tendon). *Apospasma* (avulsion), *rhēgma* (laceration) and  
*thlasma* (bruising)<sup>1</sup> are also of this class, the former occur-  
 ring in tendons and the latter two in vessels and mus-  
 cles from a violent blow, or a falling down, or some other  
 strong movement. Ecchymosis occurs along with bruising  
 and rupture in many instances. However this happens,  
 whether from anastomosis of vessels or from what is called 233K  
*diapedesis* by some, it is another class of dissolution of con-  
 tinuity under these circumstances.<sup>2</sup> And further, some-  
 times the continuity in the parts of the organism is de-  
 stroyed by erosion, but this is already a mixed condition,  
 being connected with another class of disease since it falls  
 under the quantity of the parts, as I showed previously in

which is used. See also section 6, on terminology, and section 9, on  
 diseases and symptoms in the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> These two terms, *anastomosis* and *diapedesis*, are both still  
 in use. *Anastomosis* has, however, a quite different meaning now.  
 Linacre has "by an opening of the mouths of vessels"; see his  
 p. 172.



ἐλκῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐδείκνυμεν. ἔστι γὰρ οὖν καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τούτων ἢ γένεσις διττή, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ περιαιρέσεως  
 ἀποτελουμένη, ποτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀναβρώσεως· ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν  
 περιαιρέσεις ὅπως γίνεται πρόδηλον· ἢ δὲ ἀνάβρωσις  
 εἰ μὲν ἔνδοθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῴου τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει,  
 χυμῶν ἔστι μοχθηρῶν ἔγγονος· εἰ δὲ ἔξωθεν, ἐπὶ  
 φαρμάκοις ἢ πυρὶ συνίσταται. καὶ δὴ καὶ προσέχειν  
 χρῆ τὸν νοῦν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐλέγετο, καὶ διορί-  
 ζεσθαι τὰς ἀπλᾶς διαθέσεις τῶν ἐπιπεπλεγμένων·  
 ἀπλήν μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἀπλῶ νοσήματι καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν,  
 οὐχ ἀπλήν δὲ ἐπὶ συνθέτῳ ποιείσθαι προσήκον. ἦτις  
 μὲν οὖν ἔστι μέθοδος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν συνθέτων ἰάσεσιν  
 ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. χρῆ δ' οὐ τὸ καθόλου μόνον αὐτῆς  
 ἐκμαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑκατέρωθεν μέρους γεγυμνάσθαι.

234K

καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ τούτοις ἐτέρων ἔστι χρεία μεθόδων  
 πολλῶν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις μερικῶν· ἐφ' ἑκάστου γὰρ  
 εἶδους νοσήματος ἴδιον εἶδος ἔστι μεθόδου. πάλιν οὖν  
 ὅσον ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστι τῆς τῶν ἐλκῶν ἰάσεως, ἐν τῷδε  
 τῷ γράμματι λεγέσθω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ μὴ ἐνθένδε ποιη-  
 σαμένους. ἔλκος ἅπαν ἦτοι μόνον ἔστιν αὐτὸ καθ'  
 ἑαυτό, μήτε συνεισβαλοῦσης αὐτῷ διαθέσεως ἐτέρας  
 μήτε προηγησαμένης μήτε ἀκολουθησάσης, ἢ μετὰ  
 τινος ἐτέρας ἦτοι μιᾶς ἢ καὶ πλειόνων συνίσταται. καὶ  
 τούτων τῶν διαθέσεων ἔναι μὲν οὐ μόνον εὐθύς ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσαντο ἔλκος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καὶ μείζον  
 ἐργάζονται· τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὄν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγον ἔχουσιν  
 ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἴασιν· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἴρηται  
 πρόσθεν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μείζον ἐργαζομένων τὸ ἔλκος ἐν

the case of hollow wounds and ulcers.<sup>3</sup> The genesis of these is twofold, brought about in part by a stripping away, and in part by erosion. How the stripping away occurs is clear. However, the erosion, if it has its genesis from within the organism itself, is a by-product of bad humors whereas, if its genesis is external, it arises from medications or fire. Furthermore, as I also said before, it is necessary to direct attention to distinguishing the simple conditions from those that are compound for, in a simple disease, it is appropriate to also make the treatment simple, while in a compound disease it is not appropriate to make the treatment simple. What the method is in regard to the cures of compound diseases was spoken of earlier. Not only is it necessary to learn this thoroughly in general terms, but also to become practiced in it in individual cases.

234K

Even in these cases there is the need for many other methods which are, one might say, particular, in that there is a specific kind of method for each kind of disease. Therefore, let me again say whatever remains to be said about the cure of a wound, making a start from here, in this book. Every wound either exists by itself alone, there being no other condition appearing together with it, or preceding or following it, or it coexists with some other condition, either one or more. And some of these conditions not only produce a wound right from the start but also make it still larger, while some have the ground of *sine qua non* in respect of the cure. But I spoke about these earlier. In this [book] I shall speak about those things that make the

<sup>3</sup> Book 3 above.

τῷδε λεχθήσεται. διττὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν σκοπός, ἢ ἐκκόψαι τελείως ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις, ἢ νικῆσαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάβην. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὰν σμικρὰ παντελῶς ἢ διάθεσις ὑπάρχη, δυνατὸν ἐργάσασθαι μεγάλης δ' οὕσης τὸ ἔλκος εἰς οὐλήν ἀγαγεῖν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, πρὶν ἐκείνην ἰάσασθαι. |  
 235K τίνες οὖν αἱ τοιαῦται διαθέσεις καὶ πόσαι σκεπτεύου ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἀρξάμενοις ὅθεν κὰν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἠρξάμεθα. πᾶν ἔλκος, εἴτε μετὰ κοιλότητος εἴτε καὶ μόνον ὑπάρχει, τῆς θ' ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς δεῖται κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης καὶ μηδενὸς μεταξὺ παρεμπύπτουτος εἰς τὰ κολληθησόμενα χεῖλη, καθάπερ πολλάκις γίνεται, τρίχα καὶ ψάμμον καὶ ῥύπον, ἔλαιόν τε καὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐμποδίσαι τὴν κόλλησιν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶον συμπτώματά τινα τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐστί, κωλύσαι μὲν ὁπότε παρείη τὴν ἴασιν δυνάμενα, ποιῆσαι δ', εἰ μὴ παρείη, μὴ δυνάμενα.

τῆς δ' ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς ἢ διάθεσις αἰτίας λόγου ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γινόμενον· ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ καὶ διὰ αὐτὴν ἢ τε κόλλησις τῶν διεστώτων καὶ ἢ σάρκωσις τῶν κοίλων γίνεται. χρὴ τοίνυν ταύτην ἀκριβῶς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν, ἵν' ἐκάτερον ἐκείνων ἀμέμπτως ἐπιτελήται· τὸ καλῶς δ' ἔχειν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπάρχει κρᾶσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. εὐκρατον μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῶς εἶναι προσήκει τὴν ὑποκειμένην σάρκα πρὸς κόλλησίν τε καὶ σάρκωσιν ἐλκῶν. ἀρ' οὖν ἀρκεῖ  
 236K τοῦτο μόνον, | ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπιρρέον αἷμα χρηστὸν καὶ σύμμετρον εἶναι χρή; ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο παντὸς

wound larger. There is a twofold aim regarding these: either to completely eradicate such conditions from the body or to overcome the harm arising from them. At least whenever the condition is in all respects small, this can be achieved. However, when it is large, it is not possible to bring the wound to a scar before that condition is cured. Therefore, we must carefully consider what such conditions are, and how many there are, starting with those we started with before. Every wound, whether it exists with a cavity or alone, needs the underlying flesh to be in accord with nature, and for there to be nothing lying between the margins to be conglutinated, as often happens when hair, sand, dirt, oil, or some other such thing hinders the conglutination. But these things are, as it were, symptoms of the wounds which, when present, are able to prevent the cure—something they can't do if they are not present.

The condition of the underlying flesh has the ground of cause in relation to what happens, for it is both from this and due to this that either the conglutination of separated [margins] or the enfleshing of cavities occurs. Therefore, it is necessary for this [underlying] flesh to be exactly in accord with nature so that each of those things is faultlessly accomplished. But to be right is for it to have its proper *krasis* just as it also is for all other things. Therefore, it is appropriate for the underlying flesh to be precisely *eukratic* in respect of the conglutination and enfleshing of wounds. Is this alone enough or must the blood which  
 236K flows in be good for its purpose and in due proportion? What seems to me to be true above all is that blood which

μᾶλλον ἀληθὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ· τό τε γὰρ διεφθαρμένον αἷμα τοσοῦτον ἀποδεῖ πρὸς κόλλησιν ἢ γένεσιν σαρκὸς ἐπιτήδειον ὑπάρχειν, ὥστ' αὐτὸ πολλάκις ἀναβιβρώσκειν καὶ ἑλκοῦν τὸ σῶμα· τό τε πολὺ πλάδον ἐν τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις περιττὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἐμποδῶν ἵσταται ταῖς ἰάσεσιν, ὡς πον καὶ πρόσθεν ἐδείκνυτο. καὶ τρεῖς οὗτοι τρόποι τῶν δυσιάτων ἑλκῶν εἰκόασιν ὑπάρχειν· ὁ τ' ἐκ τῆς δυσκρασίας τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκὸς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς μοχθηρίας τοῦ τ' ἐπιρρέοντος αἵματος, καὶ τρίτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς ποσότητος. ἢ οὐχ ὧδε χρῆ τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἀλλ' ὧδὶ ποιήσασθαι μᾶλλον; ὡς τῶν δυσιάτων ἑλκῶν τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσκρασίαν τῆς ἠλκωμένης σαρκός, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐπιρρέοντα χυμὸν γίνεται τοιαῦτα· καὶ ὡς τῆς μὲν δυσκρασίας δύο ἕστωσαν διαφοραί, ποτὲ μὲν ταῖς ποιότησι μόναις οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης τῆς ὑποκειμένης σαρκός, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μετ' ὄγκου τινὸς ἐπικτήτου. τῆς δ' ἐπιρροῆς ἕτεροι δύο, τό τε ποσὸν καὶ τὸ ποιὸν τῶν ἐπιρρέοντων χυμῶν· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μίγνυσθαι συμβέβηκέ | τινας τῶν εἰρημένων διαθέσεων, ἢ καὶ πάσας ἅμα. χρῆ δ' οὐ πασῶν δήπουθεν ἅμα λέγεσθαι τὴν μέθοδον τῆς ἰάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἰδίᾳ.

237K

2. Τῆς μὲν οὖν σαρκὸς αὐτῆς ἰάση τὴν δυσκρασίαν, εἰ μὲν ἀυχμῶδης καὶ ξηρὰ φαίνοιτο, τέγγων εὐκράτῳ πολλάκις ὕδατι. καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ χρῆσιν ὁ σκοπὸς ἕστω σοι τῆς κατανηλήσεως, ὅταν πρῶτον εἰς ἔρευθός τε καὶ ὄγκον αἴρηται τὸ μόριον, ἀφίστασθαι τηρικαῦτα· διαφορήσεις γὰρ ὁ εἰλκυσας καταιονῶν

is corrupted is so lacking in terms of being useful for conglutination and the generation of flesh that it itself often erodes and ulcerates the body. Also, the abundant humor existing in the wounded parts acts as a hindrance to the cures by creating a superfluity, as was also shown somewhere before.<sup>4</sup> And these appear to be the three kinds of wounds that are difficult to cure: one because of a *dyskrasia* of the underlying flesh, one because of a bad quality of the inflowing blood, and a third because of the quantity [of the inflow]. Or should we not make such a division, but rather the following? That among wounds that are difficult to heal, there are those that are due to the *dyskrasia* of the wounded flesh and those that are due to the inflowing humor, and that there must be two differentiae of the *dyskrasia*: at one time when the underlying flesh is not in accord with nature by the qualities alone, and at another time with some added swelling. And there are two other differentiae of the flow in respect of the quantity and quality of the inflowing humors. Sometimes it happens that some of the aforementioned conditions are mixed, or all of them at the same time. It is presumably not necessary to state the method of cure of all of these conditions at once, but of each individually.

237K

2. You may cure the *dyskrasia* of the flesh itself, if it appears parched and dry, by moistening it frequently with *eukratic* water. In each such use let your indicator to stop perfusion be the time when the part is first raised to redness and swelling because, if you perfuse further, you will disperse what you have attracted. As a result, you will

<sup>4</sup> See Book 2, 117–18K.

ἐπιπλέον ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἔσται σοι πλεόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 φαρμάκων ἢ δύναμις ὑγροτέρα τις ἔστω τῆς ἔμ-  
 προσθεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγιούς σαρκὸς παρηνημένης· εἰ δ'  
 ὑγροτέρα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ σὰρξ φαίνοιτο, τὰ ἐναντία  
 ποιητέον, ἐπιτείνοντα μὲν τῶν φαρμάκων τὴν δύναμιν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον, ὕδατι δὲ μηδ' ὅλως χρώμενον· ἀλλ'  
 εἰ καὶ ἀποπλῦναι δέοι τὸ ἔλκος, οἶνος, ἢ ὀξύκρατον,  
 ἢ ἀφέψημα πόας αὐστηρᾶς παρασκευαζέσθω. κατὰ  
 ταῦτα δὲ τὴν μὲν θερμότεραν τοῦ δέοντος σάρκα  
 ψυκτέον, τὴν δὲ ψυχροτέραν θερμαντέον. ἔσται δὲ  
 238K ἑκάτερα δῆλη καὶ χροιά καὶ ἀφῆ καὶ τῆ τοῦ κάμνοντος  
 αἰσθήσει· ἰ ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ πυρώσεως ὁμολογοῦσιν  
 αἰσθάνεσθαι, ποτὲ δ' ἐπιδήλου τινὸς ψύξεως κατὰ τὸ  
 μόριον· καὶ χαίρουσιν ἢ τοῖς ψυχροῖς φαρμάκοις ἢ  
 τοῖς θερμοῖς· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐρύθημα λεπτὸν ἐπανθεῖ,  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ λευκότερον ἢ χροιά. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν οὐ  
 τῆς παρουσίας ἐστὶ πραγματείας διορίζειν· οὐ γὰρ  
 διαγνωστικὴν μέθοδον, ἀλλὰ θεραπευτικὴν ἐνεστη-  
 σάμεθα· τῆ δὲ ἀκολουθία πως τοῦ λόγου συνεξέδρα-  
 μεν· αὐτὸς οὖν ἐπανέλθωμεν ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔξ ἀρχῆς προῦ-  
 θέμεθα.

τῶν σὺν ὄγκῳ τινὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἠλκωμένων μορίων  
 ἰᾶσθαι χρή πρότερον τὸν ὄγκον· ἥτις δὲ τῶν παρὰ  
 φύσιν ἐστὶν ὄγκων ἀπάντων ἴασις ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς εἰρή-  
 σεται· νυνὶ δ' ὅσον ἐξ αὐτῶν συνήπται τῆ τῶν ἔλκων  
 θεραπείᾳ ρητέον. ἐπειδὴν τὰ χεῖλη μόνα τῶν ἔλκων  
 ἐπὶ πλεόν ἀχροίας ἢ σκληρότητος ἦκοι, περιτέμνειν

achieve nothing more. But also, let the potency of the  
 medications be somewhat more moist than previously ad-  
 vised in the case of healthy flesh. If, however, the flesh  
 seems more moist than normal, you must do the opposite,  
 increasing the potency of the medications to a greater dry-  
 ness, using no water at all. But if the wound or ulcer does  
 need to be washed, prepare wine, oxykraton,<sup>5</sup> or a decoct-  
 ion of an astringent herb. On the same basis, you must  
 cool flesh that is hotter than it should be and heat flesh that  
 is colder. Each will be clear from the color and feel [of the  
 flesh] and from the perception of the patient, for sometimes  
 238K patients admit to a feeling of burning, and sometimes of  
 unusual coldness in the part, and they will welcome either  
 cold or hot medications respectively. In some a slight red-  
 ness appears on the surface, while in others the skin color  
 is whiter. These are not, however, distinctions to be made  
 in the present treatise, for I am not establishing a diagnos-  
 tic method but a therapeutic one. I have, to some extent,  
 gone off at a tangent in the discussion. Therefore, let me  
 return once more to the matters I raised at the beginning.

When parts are ulcerated in association with some ab-  
 normal swelling, it is necessary to cure the swelling first.  
 What the cure of all unnatural swellings is, I shall speak  
 about in what follows. In this discussion now I must speak  
 about as much of these as is connected to the treatment of  
 ulcers.<sup>6</sup> Only when the margins of the ulcer reach a greater  
 degree of decoloration and hardness is it necessary to ex-

<sup>5</sup> Described in L&S (under posca) as "an acidulous drink of  
 vinegar and water"; see Pliny *HN*, 27.4.12 #29 and the *OED*,  
 where there is reference to this passage.

<sup>6</sup> "Ulcer" is now used instead of "wound" for *helkos* as the dis-  
 cussion has moved on to obviously chronic lesions.

αὐτὰ χρῆ μέχρι τῆς ὑγιούς σαρκός· ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ μέχρι πλέονος ἢ διάθεσις ἐκτείνηται, σκέψις ἐνταῦθα γίνεται πότερα περικοπτέον ἅπαν τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστίν, ἢ θεραπευτέον ἐν χρόνῳ. καὶ δῆλον ὡς καὶ τῆ 239K  
 τοῦ κάμνοντος εἰς τοῦτο προσχρηῆσθαι | δεῖ προθυμίας· τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ πλείονι θεραπεύεσθαι βούλονται χωρὶς τομῆς· ἔτιοι δὲ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν ὑπομένειν εἰσὶν ἔτοιμοι τοῦ θάττου ὑγιᾶναι χάριν. οὗτω δὲ καπὶ τῶν ἐπιρρέοντων τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις μέρεσι μοχθηρῶν χυμῶν ἢ μὲν ὡς ἠλκωμένων ἰασις ἐν τῷδε λελέξεται, ἢ δ' ὡς κακοχυμίας ἢ πλήθους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκείνων λογισμοῖς. ὅταν οὖν ὀλίγῳ τε πλείω καὶ μὴ πολλῶ φαυλότερος ἢ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἐπιρρέων τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις χυμός, ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναστέλλειν προσήκει, στύφοντά τε καὶ ψύχοντα τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἠλκωμένων χωρία. χρῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπίδεσιν ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπονθότος, ἐπινέμεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑγιές, ὡς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ γμασις ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἔλκεσις αὐτοῖς προσαγόμενα φάρμακα ξηραντικώτερα τῶν τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἔλκεσις προσαγομένων ὑπαρχέτω.

μὴ δυναμένης δὲ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων κρατηθῆναι τῆς ἐπιρροῆς τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῆς ἐπισκεψάμενον, ἐκείνην ἐκκόπτειν πρότερον. εἰ μὲν οὖν δι' ἀτονίαν τινὰ τοῦ δεχομένου τὸ ρεῦμα μορίου τοῦτο συμβαίνει, ταύτην 240K  
 ἰατέον· εἴη δ' ἂν ἔτι τοῦτο τῶν ἠλκωμένων | μορίων

cise them as far as healthy flesh. When the condition extends further, the issue arises as to whether you must excise everything that is contrary to nature, or treat over a period of time. On this point it is clear that you also need to take into account the wishes of the patient, in that some want to be treated over a longer time without excision, while some are prepared to submit to anything at all for the sake of a more rapid return to health. The cure of bad humors flowing into the ulcerated parts as ulcerating agents has been addressed in this work; the cure of *kakochymia* and abundance as ulcerating agents has been addressed in the specific considerations of those [conditions].<sup>7</sup> Whenever the humor flowing into the ulcerated parts is not very much more in amount and not much worse than normal, it is appropriate to divert and repel it by contracting and cooling the places lying before those that are ulcerated. And it is necessary to start the binding from what has been affected and extend it to what is healthy, as Hippocrates directed in *Fractures*.<sup>8</sup> But also, the medications applied to ulcers themselves must be more drying than those applied to simple wounds.

If the flow cannot be controlled by medications, after looking into its cause, eradicate that first. If the flow occurs due to some weakness of the part receiving the flux, you must cure this weakness. Besides, this may be a specific cure for ulcerated parts. If, however, it is due to abundance 240K

<sup>7</sup> See, respectively, *De temperamentis*, I.664K, and *De plentudine*, VII.547K.

<sup>8</sup> Galen makes several references in this work to the Hippocratic technique of binding or bandaging; see Hippocrates, *Fractures IV* in particular, although bandaging is discussed throughout that treatise.

οἰκεία τις ἴασις· εἰ δὲ διὰ πλήθος ἢ κακοχυμίαν ἦτοι παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἢ τινος τῶν ὑπερκειμένων μορίων, ἐκεῖνα πρότερον ἐπανορθώτεον. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀτονία τοῦ μέρους, δι' ἣν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πλείους τοῦ δεόντος ἀφικνοῦνται χυμοί, πάντως μὲν ἐπὶ δυσκρασία γίνεται, οὐ μὴν ἀπάσῃ γε ἔπεται ἀτονία δυσκρασία· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἢ ἠλκωμένη σὰρξ δύσκρατός ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀτονος· ἐνίοτε δ' ἄμφω, δύσκρατός τε ἅμα καὶ ἄρρωστος· αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεον<sup>1</sup> ἐκτροπαὶ τῆς δυσκρασίας ἀτονίας εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τοῖς πεπονθόσι. ἰατέον δὲ ταύτας, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται, τὰς μὲν θερμὰς ψύχοντα, τὰς δὲ ξηρὰς ὑγραίνοντα, καὶ τὰς μὲν ψυχρὰς θερμαίνοντα, τὰς δὲ ὑγρὰς ξηραίνοντα· καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ συζυγίαν εἰ ψυχρότερός τε ἅμα καὶ ὑγρότερος ὁ τόπος εἴη, θερμαίνοντά τε καὶ ξηραίνοντα· κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως, ἀεὶ ταῖς κρατούσαις ποιότησι τὰς ἐναντίας προσάγοντα.

λογισμὸς δὲ τούτου τοιόσδε τὸ κατωρθωμένον ἅπαν οὐκ ἐν ζώοις μόνον ἢ φυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν σύμμετρόν τί ἐστι καὶ μέσον ἁπάντων τῶν διημαρτημένων· ὅτου | γὰρ ἂν μῆτ' ἀφελεῖν ἔστιν μῆτε προσθεῖναι μηδὲν ἢ μόριον ἢ ποιότητα πάντη τοῦτ' ἀμέμπτως ἔχει· τὸ δ' ἀφαιρέσεως τινὸς ἢ προσθήκης χρῆζον ἐκπέπτωκε μὲν ἤδη τῆς ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς, ἐπανελθεῖν δ' αὐτὴν ἐτέρως ἀμήχανον αὐτῷ χωρὶς τοῦ τὸ μὲν περιττὸν ἀφελεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἑλλείπον προσθεῖναι. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν μορίοις τισὶν ἑλλειπόντων ἢ πλεοναζόντων ἕτερος λόγος·

or *kakochymia*, either of the whole body or of one of the overlying parts, you must correct those things first. Weakness of the part, due to which humors come to it in excess of requirements, always arises due to a *dyskrasia*, although weakness does not in fact follow every *dyskrasia*. And because of this, the ulcerated flesh is itself only *dyskratic*, but not also weak. Sometimes, however, it is both; that is, *dyskratic* and weak at the same time. What is more, the deviations are causes of the *dyskratic* weakness in the affected parts. You must cure these, as I said before, by cooling those that are hot, moistening those that are dry, heating those that are cold, and drying those that are moist. Furthermore, in a conjunction, if the place is colder and more moist at the same time, [treat it] by heating and drying, and the same with the other conjunctions, always applying the opposites to the prevailing qualities.

The rationale of this is as follows: every correction of all these qualities that have gone wrong, not only in animals and plants so affected but also in everything else, lies in an equilibrium and balance, for whatever it is impossible to either remove anything from or add anything to, whether it be a part or a quality, is entirely without fault. If, however, it requires some removal or addition, it has already departed from the best constitution, and it is impossible to restore this in one way or another without removing what is in excess or adding what is deficient. In fact, there is another discussion about the deficiencies and excesses in certain parts.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See *De morborum causis*, chapter 8, VII.34-35K.

<sup>1</sup> B; ἐπιπλέον K

ἐν οἷς δὲ ἐπικρατεῖ τις ποιότης, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα  
 νενικῆσθαι τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀναγκαῖον, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐκ τῆς τέως κεκρατημένης, αὐθις ἀντεισ-  
 αγομένης ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι. ψυχῶν γὰρ τὸ τεθερ-  
 μασμένον ἅμα μὲν ἀντεισάξεις τὸ λοιπόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
 καθαρεῖς τὸ πλεονάζον. ὥστε ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τῶν κατὰ  
 δυσκρασίαν τινα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεστηκότων τὴν  
 ἴασιν γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τῇ δυνάμει οὕτω μὲν  
 ἢ δι' ἀπουσίαν ὑπὸ ρεύματος ἐνοχλουμένη σάρξ, ἢ τι  
 μόριον ἕτερον σαρκῶδες· ἐπειδὴν τὴν τῆς δυσκρασίας  
 πρότερον ἰαθῆ διαθέσιν, ἐφεξῆς δηλονότι καὶ τὴν τῆς  
 ἐλκώσεως ἰαθήσεται, οὐκ ἄλλως μὲν νῦν θεραπευ-  
 θεῖσιν<sup>2</sup> | τὴν δυσκρασίαν, ἄλλως δ' εἰ χωρὶς ἔλκους  
 ἐπεπόνθει. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὡς οὐχ ἔλκους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ  
 δυσκρασίας ἴδιος ἢ τοιαύτη πᾶσα θεραπεία. κατὰ δὲ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰ δι' ἕτερόν τι μόριον ἢ καὶ τὸ  
 σύμπαν σῶμα πληθωρικὸν ἢ κακόχυμον ὑπάρχον  
 ἐπιρρέον τι τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις μέρεσι μοχθηρὸν ἴασα-  
 σθαι χρῆ πρότερον ἢ τὸ τοῦ ρεύματος αἴτιον ἢ καὶ τὸ  
 σύμπαν σῶμα. κατὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ κίρσους πολλακίς  
 ὑπερκειμένους τῶν ἠλκωμένων μορίων ἰασώμεθα πρό-  
 τερον, ἢ ἐφεξῆς ἰασώμεθα τὸ ἔλκος, καὶ τῶν σπλη-  
 νωδῶν τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλο τι μόριον ἐπίσημον  
 πεπονηθέντων ἐκεῖνο πρότερον ἐκθεραπεύσαντες, οὕτως  
 ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλκῶν ἴασιν ἀφικόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐδεμία τῶν  
 ἰάσεων τούτων αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔλκους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τινος  
 ἐτέρας διαθέσεως ἢ τοῦ γεννώσης ἢ αὐξανούσης τὸ  
 ἔλκος.

In those in which some quality prevails, it is here imme-  
 diately necessary for the opposite to be overcome and, in  
 respect of the restoration of what has been overcome up to  
 that time, it is necessary that this be reintroduced. By cool-  
 ing what has been heated, you will at one and the same  
 time restore the deficiency and reduce the excess. Conse-  
 quently, it is absolutely necessary for the cure of those  
 things that have departed from an accord with nature by  
 virtue of a *dyskrasia* to occur through those things that  
 are opposite in capacity. This applies when flesh, or some  
 other fleshy part is afflicted by weakness due to a flux.  
 Whenever you cure the condition of the *dyskrasia* first,  
 what follows, clearly, is that the condition of the ulceration  
 will be cured, although you have treated the *dyskrasia* no  
 differently than if it had occurred apart from ulceration.  
 From this it is also clear that every such treatment is spe-  
 cific, not to the wound or ulcer, but to the *dyskrasia*. In the  
 same way, if something bad is flowing to the ulcerated parts  
 because either some one part or the whole body is *pletho-  
 ric* or *kakochymous*, it is first necessary to cure the cause of  
 the flux or also the whole body. Therefore, in the same way  
 too, I often cured tortuous veins (varices) overlying the  
 ulcerated parts so that I could next cure the ulcer. And, in  
 the case of people suffering splenic disease, or people in  
 whom some other important part has been affected, when  
 I have first thoroughly treated the spleen, or the part in  
 question, I shall come to the cure of the ulcer. But none of  
 these cures is of the ulcer itself, but of some other condi-  
 tion which either gives rise to, or exacerbates, the ulcer.

242K

<sup>2</sup> B; θεραπευθεῖσα K

3. Καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τοῦτο καιρὸς διορίσασθαι ἤδη, τὸ μηδὲν τῶν προκαταρξάντων τῆς διαθέσεως αἰτίων ἐνδείκνυσθαι τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ταύτης ἐνδείξειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄρχεσθαι τῆς διαθέσεως, ἐξευ-  
 243K ρίσκεσθαι δὲ ἢ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐνεργείας ἀπὸ τε τοῦ πρώτου σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πεποιηθέντος μορίου φύσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος κράσεως, ὅσα τε ἄλλα τούτοις ἐστὶν ὁμογενῆ. συνελόντι γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν μηκέτι ὄντων ἐνδείξειν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεστι λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις εἰς διάγνωσιν τῆς διαθέσεως, ἀδήλου παντάπασιν ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἀναγκαζόμεθα πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τοῦ προκατάρξαντος αἰτίου, δόκησις τοῖς πολλοῖς γίνεται κακῆνιο συνενδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἴασιν τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει. μαθήσῃ δ' ἐναργῶς ἐφ' ὧν ἐγγωρεῖ ἀκριβῶς γινῶναι τὴν διάθεσιν. εἴτε γὰρ ἐκχύμωσις, εἴθ' ἔλκος, εἴτε ἐρυσίπελας, εἴτε σηπεδῶν, εἴτε φλεγμονὴ κατὰ τι μέρος ὑπάρχει, περιττὸν ζητεῖν τὸ αἴτιον ποιῆσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖ οὕτως γὰρ ἅμα τε τὸ γεγονὸς θεραπεύσομεν ἤδη ἅμα τε τὸ ποιοῦν ἔτι ποιεῖν διακωλύσομεν. εἰ δ' ἐποίησε μὲν, ἀπηλλάγη δέ, τὸ μὲν γεγονὸς ἰασόμεθα, τὸ δὲ οὐκέτι ὄν οὐδ' ἂν ἐκκόπτειν προαιρώμεθα, δυνησόμεθα τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων αἰ θεραπείαι, τῶν δὲ ἔσεσθαι μελλόντων αἰ  
 244K προφυλακαί· τὰ δὲ μήτ' ὄντα μήτε βλάψαι ἢ προσδοκώμενα καὶ τοῦ θεραπευτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ προφυλακτικοῦ μέρους τῆς τέχνης ἐκπέπτωκεν.

3. It is time now to make this distinction again—that none of the *prokatartik* causes of the condition indicates the treatment. The indication of treatment starts from the condition itself, while it is discovered in respect of the  
 243K functions individually from the primary indicator, the nature of the affected part, the *krasis* of the ambient air, and such other things as are cognate with these. In short, it is not possible to take an indication of any value from something that does not still exist. But because, when it comes to a diagnosis of the condition, it is often completely obscure to both reason and the senses, we are compelled to inquire about the *prokatartik* cause, it being an opinion held by many that this contributes to the indication of the cure. However, this is not so. You will learn clearly from which things it is possible to recognize the condition accurately. If ecchymosis, ulcer, erysipelas, putrefaction, or inflammation exists in some part, it is superfluous to seek the effecting cause, if this is not now still acting. So we shall treat, at one and the same time, what has already occurred, and we shall prevent what is producing it from still acting. If, however, the latter has acted and gone, we shall cure what has occurred, but we shall be unable to eradicate what no longer exists, even if we should wish to do so. Treatments pertain to those things that exist; prophylactic measures pertain to those things that will exist in the future. Those things that neither exist, nor are expected to cause harm, fall outside the scope of both the therapeutic  
 244K and the prophylactic parts of the craft.



ὥστε οὔτε ἔνδειξις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν εἰς θεραπείαν οὔτε προφυλακὴ τις, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνου, ὡς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὰς ἐκπιπτούσας τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίγνωσιν διαθέσεις ἢ γνώσις τοῦ προκατάρξαντος αἰτίου χρησίμη, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπειρίας ἰατροῖς ὡς μέρος τῆς ὅλης συνδρομῆς, ἐφ' ἣ ττηρήκασι τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ τὸ προκατάρξαν αἴτιον ἐνίοτε προλαμβάνεται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τῶν λυττῶντων κυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἰοβόλων ἀπάντων θηρίων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν Δογματικῶν ἐκείνων, ὅσοι χωρὶς ἐνδείξεως λογικῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνης ὁμολογοῦσι θεραπεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτους ὡς ἐν μέρος τῆς ὅλης συνδρομῆς τὸ προκατάρξαν αἴτιον ζητεῖται, τοῖς δ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἔμπροσθεν πείρας ἐγνωκόσι τῶν ἰοβόλων θηρίων τὰς δυνάμεις, ἔνδειξιν δὲ θεραπείας ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνουσιν, οὐκ εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἰάσεως τὸ προκατάρξαν αἴτιον γνωσθέν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῆς παρούσης διαθέσεως ἐπίγνωσιν συντελεῖ.

φέρει γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι μὲν τὸν ἰὸν τοῦ σκορπίου ψυχρὸν εἶναι τῇ δυνάμει καὶ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ | τὴν τῆς ἰάσεως ἔνδειξιν, ἔχειν δὲ μηδὲν μὴ πω  
245K σημείον ὅτι τοιαύτη τις ἐν τῷδε τῷ σώματι διάθεσις ὑπάρχει, δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἰ πυθοίμην ὅτι σκορπίος ὁ πλήξας, ἐκθερμαίνειν πειράσομαι τό τε σύμπαν σῶμα καὶ τὸ νευγμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόριον, οὐκ ἀναμείνας ἔτι τὴν πείραν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ πράγματος τῆς φύσεως λαβὼν τὴν ἔνδειξιν. ἐδείχθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων ὑπομνήμασι, ἐν οἷς ἠξίωσα γεγυμνάσθαι πρότερον, ὅτω μέλλει τι καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ὄφε-

Consequently, there is no indication from these things with regard to treatment or prophylaxis. As I said, the knowledge of the *prokatarktic* cause is useful only in respect of the conditions which fall outside our recognition. Yet for Empiric doctors the *prokatarktic* cause is sometimes taken as part of the whole syndrome, on the basis of which they make trial of the treatment, as in the case of rabid dogs and all venomous creatures. Now there are those Dogmatics who admit that they treat such things from experience alone quite apart from the logical indication. And indeed, the *prokatarktic* cause is sought by them as one part of the whole syndrome, although for those who know the potencies of venomous creatures from prior experience and take an indication of treatment from these potencies, knowledge of the *prokatarktic* cause does not contribute to the indication of cure, but to the recognition of the present condition.

Suppose I know the poison of the scorpion is cold in terms of potency, and take the indication of cure as being from the coldness, without as yet having any sign that such a condition exists in this particular body. Clearly, if I believe that a scorpion was what stung [the person], I shall attempt to heat the whole body thoroughly as well as the part that has been pierced by it. I won't wait for further experience, but will take the indication from the very nature of the matter. For it was shown in the treatises on medications, with which I think it worthwhile for anyone who intends to benefit from what is now being discussed to be-

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λος ἔσεσθαι, μηδεμίαν ἄνευ πείρας εὐρίσκεισθαι δύναμιν ἦν γὰρ ἂν δήπου μακάριον εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ θεάσασθαι λιθάργυρον, ἢ καστόριον, ἢ κανθαρίδας εὐθέως ἐγίνωσκειν αὐτῶν τὰς δυνάμεις. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἅπασιν αἱ διαμαρτίαι τοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι τοῦ μέτρον καὶ τοῖς ἐλλείπουσιν, οὕτω κἀναυθὰ γίνονται καὶ δις διὰ πασῶν, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ὡς ἔοικεν ἀντάδουσι ἀλλήλοις οἷ τε μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον ὁμολογοῦντες ἐπίστασθαι γε τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν φαρμάκων ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ πείρᾳ, οἷ τε καὶ πρὸς τῆς μιᾶς πείρας ἀξιῶντες ἐπίστασθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προπετές, εἰ χρῆ προπετές εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον, | καὶ θάτερον ἢ τελέως ἀναισθήτων ἐστὶν ἢ φαινερώς ἐριζόντων.

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ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, οὐ χρῆ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἀκούειν ποθεῖν, εἰρημένων ἐπὶ πλέον ἔν τε τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν περὶ κράσεων κἀν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων ὑπομνήμασιν· ἀλλ' εἰς διάγνωσιν τῶν διαθέσεων ἕνα τῶν προκαταρξάντων αἰτίων συντελεῖ· ἔνθα δ' οὐδὲν λανθάνει τῆς παρουσίας διαθέσεως, οἷχεται καὶ τοῦ προκατάρξαντος ἢ χρεία· εἴρηται μὲν οὖν μοι κἀν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ὡς οὐ δεῖ συνάπτειν ἐς ταῦτ' ἄμφοτέρας τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὴν Ἐμπειρικὴν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Λογικὴν. ἀναμεμνήσθω δὲ κἀν νῦν ὡς

<sup>10</sup> There is the general statement that nothing of the medical craft is discovered apart from experience in the pseudo-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus* (XIV.676K). No statement of the sort referred to (i.e., on potencies) was located in the three treatises on

come familiar, that no potency is discovered apart from experience.<sup>10</sup> Of course, it would be a blessing if someone, by looking at litharge, castoreum or the cantharides, immediately knew their potencies. But, as in all things, errors arise due to those who exceed the mean or fall short, and so too do they arise here. And not only once but twice, it seems, they are thoroughly out of tune with each other, there being those who even today don't acknowledge that they know the potencies of the medications from such experience, and those who think they know them from a single experience. Truly this is rash, if we must say that rash refers to what is impossible; otherwise they are either absolutely stupid or obviously contentious.

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But, as I said, we must not now be desirous of hearing about these things, since they were spoken of at greater length in the third of the treatises on *krasis* and in those on medications.<sup>11</sup> But some of the *prokatarktic* causes do contribute to a diagnosis of the conditions. However, where nothing of the existing condition eludes us, the usefulness of the *prokatarktic* [cause] also vanishes. Therefore, I said in what has gone before that there is no need to bring both teachings together as one. Rather, we should make the Empirical and Rational distinct. Bear this in mind, as I propose now to go over the Rationalist teaching

medications listed in Book 3, n. 14. Galen's descriptions of the three medications mentioned may be found in his *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* at XII.224K ff., XII.337-41K, and XII.363K ff.

<sup>11</sup> Book 3 of *De temperamentis*, I.646-94K (translated by P. N. Singer, 1997, pp. 266-89), and the treatises on medications referred to in the previous note.

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ἐπειδὴ πρόκειται μόνην τὴν Λογικὴν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διελθεῖν, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ προσκείτοί που περὶ τινος τῶν λεγομένων, ὡς οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς κατὰ μέθοδον ἰατρούουσιν, ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν λογίζεσθαι τινα τοῦτο καὶ προστιθέναι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς προσεθήκαμεν ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν προκαταρξάντων αἰτίων εἰς ἔνδειξιν θεραπείας ἐστὶ χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ εἰς διάγνωσιν ἐνίοτε | διαθέσεως, ὁμολογοῦντες ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπειρικῶς ἰωμένοις ὁτιοῦν, ἐν τι τῶν τῆς ὄλης συνδρομῆς μορίων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ προκατάρχον αἷτιον, εἴτ' οὖν λογικῶς τᾶλλα θεραπεύοιεν εἴτε δι' ἐμπειρίας ἅπαντα· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐφεξῆς λόγον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη προσγράψαι τοῦτο.

πάλιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν, ἀρχὴν ὁμολογουμένην λαβόντες ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἤδη κεκρήμεθα φάσκοντες, τὴν τῆς θεραπείας δεομένην διάθεσιν αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν τὸν πρῶτον σκοπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένην· ἐκ δὲ τούτου τᾶλλα πάντα λαμβάνεσθαι· τούτῳ δ' ὅτι τῷ σκοπῷ κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει τῶν προκαταρχόντων αἰτίων οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν μάλιστα τῶν ἐλκῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ λόγος ὠρμήθη, μαθήσῃ. γεγενήσθω γοῦν ἔλκος ἐξ ἀποστήματος· ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, δῆλον ὡς ἐκ μοχθηρῶν χυμῶν οὕτω γὰρ εἴωθεν ἡ φύσις ἐν νόσοις ἐκκαθαίρουσα τὸ σῶμα τὸ περιττὸν ἅπαν ὠθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δέρμα· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐλκωθῆναι συμβαίνει, τῷ δ' ὄλῳ σώματι ἐκκεκαθάρθαι. τίς οὖν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλκῶν ἴασις; οἷα περ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων

alone in these treatises. If it is something not related in some way to one of the things being discussed, inasmuch as it is not absolutely true but only true for those who treat by method, calculate what one of their followers would add from his own experience. What I now propose is that no *prokatarktic* cause is useful as an indication for therapy, but that it is sometimes useful for the diagnosis of a condition, since I concede that, for those who cure in any way empirically, the *prokatarktic* cause is also one of the parts of the whole syndrome, whether they treat some things rationally or everything empirically. It should not be necessary to write this again in the discussion that follows.

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Therefore, let me return once more to what was proposed, taking as an agreed principle what I have already used previously when I said that the actual condition that requires treatment is what reveals the primary indicator, and that it is from this that everything else is taken. From this you will learn that none of the *prokatarktic* causes has anything in common with the indicator, and especially in ulcers, from which the discussion took its origin. Let us assume, at any rate, that an ulcer arises from an abscess.<sup>12</sup> But if this is the case, it is clear that it is from bad humors, for this is how, in diseases, Nature customarily clears out the body, forcing all superfluity towards the skin. Therefore, it is by the whole body being cleared out that ulceration occurs. What, then, is the cure of such ulcers? It is

<sup>12</sup> Here *helkos* clearly refers to what in modern terminology is an ulcer.

248K ἀπάντων οἷς οὐκ ἐπιπλέκεται διάθεσις οὐδεμία κακο-  
 ήθης. | ἀλλ' εἴ περ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον ὡς οὐδεμία  
 παρὰ τῆς ποιησάσης τὸ ἔλκος αἰτίας ἔνδειξις εἰς τὴν  
 θεραπείαν ἐγένετο. καὶ μὴν εἴ περ ἔμενεν ἡ κακοχυ-  
 μία, πάντως ἂν πον καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἔνδειξιν  
 ἐλάβομεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ἄτοπον ἦν δεῖσθαι θερα-  
 πείας τὸ μηκέτ' ὄν, ἢ ἐνδείκνυσθαι θεραπείαν τὸ μὴ  
 δεόμενον αὐτῆς· ὥστε παντοίως ἄτοπον ἐκ τοῦ προ-  
 κατάρξαντος αἰτίου ἔνδειξιν λέγειν γίνεσθαι θερα-  
 πείας. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ τοῦτο, δῆλον ὡς τὸ παρὸν αἴτιον  
 ἔνδειξιν ποιήσεται.

τίς οὖν ἡ ἔνδειξις; ἀκριβολογουμένῳ μὲν ἡ προφυ-  
 λακτικὴ προσαγορευομένη, καταχρωμένῳ δ' ἡ θερα-  
 πευτικὴ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐλκῶν τῆς ἰάσεως, εἴθ'  
 ἀπλῶς ἔλκη μόνον εἴτε καὶ μετὰ κοιλότητος ὑπάρχει  
 κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον ἡ ἴασις ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν τε καὶ  
 προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ λυπήσοντα τὴν φύσιν ἀποτελεῖ-  
 ται. καὶ ὅλως ἐφ' ὧν τὸ γινόμενον αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως  
 ἔργον ἐστίν· ὡς κόλλησις ἔλκους καὶ σάρκωσις, ἐκ  
 τοῦ προφυλακτικοῦ γένους ἐστίν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπι-  
 μέλεια· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἴασις λέγεται πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀν-  
 θρώπων. καὶ τούτῳ διώρισταί τοῦ προφυλακτικοῦ |  
 249K μέρους τῆς τέχνης, τῷ διάθεσιν μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν ἤδη  
 τινὰ νοσερὰν ἐκκόπτεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς  
 προφυλακτικῆς, κωλύεσθαι δὲ γίνεσθαι τὴν μηδέπω  
 γεγεννημένην κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον.

ὥστε κἀναυθα περὶ ὀνομάτων ἐρίζοντες ἀγνοοῦσιν  
 οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν ἰατρῶν. ἐχρήν δ' αὐτοῦς, εἰ περὶ

like that of all the other ulcers in which no *kakoethical* con-  
 dition is implicated. But if this is the case, it is clear that no  
 indication regarding treatment arises from the cause  
 which produces the ulcer. If, however, the *kakochymia*  
 were still present, we would somehow have taken the indi-  
 cation entirely from this. And apart from anything else, it  
 would be strange for something that no longer exists to re-  
 quire treatment, or for something to indicate treatment  
 that does not need it. So in every way it would be strange to  
 say that the indication of treatment arises from the *pro-  
 katarktic* cause. Therefore, although this is not so, it is  
 clear that a cause which is present will provide an indica-  
 tion.

What indication, then? In precise terms, it is what is  
 called prophylactic; in terms of use, it is what is called ther-  
 apeutic, inasmuch as in the case of the ulcer itself, whether  
 it is simply an ulcer alone or is one of those with a cavity,  
 strictly speaking the cure is accomplished by avoiding and  
 guarding against things which will distress Nature. And in  
 general, in the case of these things, what has occurred is  
 an action of Nature itself. Thus, the conglutination and  
 enfleshing of an ulcer is the responsibility of those things  
 from the prophylactic class, although "cure" is the term  
 used by everybody. And for this reason, there is a distinc-  
 tion to be made in the prophylactic part of the craft be-  
 249K tween the eradication of some already existing disease  
 condition, which is one kind of prophylaxis, and prevent-  
 ing the occurrence of what has not yet happened, which is  
 another kind of prophylaxis.

Consequently, here too, younger doctors who argue  
 about names are ignorant. What they ought to do, if they

πραγμάτων ἐσπούδαζον, ἐξευρεῖν ὡς δύο εἰσὶν αἱ  
 πρῶται διαφοραὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῖς ἰατροῖς. ἢ γὰρ  
 τὰς οὐσας ἤδη διαθέσεις ἐξ ὧν πράττουσι θερα-  
 πεύουσιν, ἢ τὰς οὐκ οὐσας γενέσθαι κωλύουσι. τὸ μὲν  
 δὴ τὰς οὐσας ἐκκόπτειν, εἶτε τὰ διακόπτοντα τὰς  
 ἐνεργείας τῆς φύσεως ἐκποδῶν ποιουμένους εἶτε καὶ  
 αὐτούς τι διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων ἐργαζομένους, ἅπαντες  
 ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύειν ὀνομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ κωλύειν γενέ-  
 σθαι προφυλάττεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μετὰ κακοχυμίας  
 ἠλκωμένα θεραπεύουσιν οἱ λόγῳ τε καὶ μεθόδῳ τῇ  
 τέχνῃ προσιόντες, ἅμα μὲν ἐκείνην ἐκκαθαίροντες,  
 ἅμα δὲ τὰ διακόπτοντα τὰς κινήσεις τῆς φύσεως  
 ἀναιροῦντες. ἅμφω δ' ἐστὶν ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ταῦτα  
 προφυλακτικά. κωλύει γάρ, ὡς κὰν τῷ πρὸ τούτου  
 δέδεικται λόγῳ, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥύπον ἐπιτρέφε-  
 σθαι τοῖς ἔλκεσιν, ἢ ὑγρότητα πολλήν, ἢ μοχθηράν. |

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4. Οὐκ οὖν ἐν ὀνόμασι μικρολογεῖσθαι καλόν, ἀλλ'  
 ἄμεινον εἰπεῖν τινα μέθοδον ἰάσεως ἐλκῶν, οἷαν ἡμεῖς  
 ἐν τε τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ κὰν τῷδε διεξῆμμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν  
 γὰρ καὶ θαυμάζω τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ,  
 γράφοντος ὡδί πως ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κακοηθῶν ἐλκῶν  
 ἰάσεως·

Εἰσὶ δὲ σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖαι καὶ αἱ κοινότητες αἱ  
 τῶν χρονίων ἐλκῶν καὶ μὴ ὑγιαζομένων, ἢ  
 κατουλουμένων καὶ πάλιν ἀναλυομένων· πρὸς  
 τῷ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν μὴ συμφυομένων σκέπτεσθαι τί  
 ἐστὶ τὸ ἐμποδίζον καὶ τοῦτ' αἴρειν, τὸ δ' ἐπου-  
 λούμενον καὶ ἀναξαινόμενον ἀναγκάζειν κρα-

are serious about these matters, is to discover that there  
 are two primary differences in the functions of doctors.  
 They either treat already existing conditions by the things  
 they do, or they prevent conditions that have not occurred.  
 To eradicate conditions that now exist, either by removing  
 those things that interrupt the functions of Nature, or by  
 acting on them through medications, is what all men call  
 "treatment"; to prevent them occurring is "prophylaxis."  
 Furthermore, those who treat what has been ulcerated in  
 association with *kakochymia*, proceeding by reason and  
 method, simultaneously purge the *kakochymia* and re-  
 move those things interrupting the actions of Nature. Both  
 these things are, in a strict sense, prophylactic. As has been  
 demonstrated in the discussion prior to this one, this pre-  
 vents all those things which maintain the filth in an ulcer;  
 that is, either excessive or bad moisture.

4. No good [will come] from a hair-splitting examina-  
 tion of names; better to speak about a method of cure for  
 wounds and ulcers such as I went through in the discussion  
 prior to this one, and in this one itself. For I marvel at the  
 stupidity of Thessalus when he writes about the cure of  
*kakoethical* ulcers as follows:

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The "communities" of ulcers that are chronic and  
 unhealed, or that have scarred over and broken  
 open again, are extremely pressing. On this point, in  
 the ulcers that have not united, consider what the  
 hindrance is and remove this. When there is scar-  
 ring that has broken open again, it is necessary to re-

τείν τῆς οὐλῆς, μετασυγκρίνοντας τὸ πάσχον μέρος, ἢ καὶ κοινῶς ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ δυσπαθές τοῦτο ποιεῖν διὰ τῶν τοῦτο δρώντων βοηθημάτων.

ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ χειρουργίας βιβλίῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς προειπὼν ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ πλέον ὧδέ πως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων γράφει

Τὰ δὲ χρόνια τῶν ἐλκῶν καὶ μὴ ὑγιαζόμενα, ἢ κατουλούμενα καὶ ἀναξαινόμενα ἐμφαίνει· τὰ μὲν εἰς οὐλὴν μὴ συνερχόμενα ἐκκόπτειν τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν σύμφυσιν | γίνεσθαι καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν τοὺς πεπονθότας τόπους καὶ παραπλήσια ποιήσαντας τοῖς νεοτρώτοις πάλιν ἐναίμως ἰᾶσθαι, κὰν μὴ κρατηθῆ, παρηγορεῖν τὴν φλεγμονὴν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν προσάγειν ἐπιμέλειαν· τὰ δ' εἰς οὐλὴν ἐρχόμενα καὶ ἀναλυόμενα, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλκώσεις ὁμοίως θεραπεύειν τοῖς προσφάτως φλεγμαινούσι, καταπλάσμασι τοῖς παρηγοροῦσιν, ἕως ἂν παύσῃται ἡ ἀγανάκτησις· ἐνδούσης δὲ συνεργεῖν εἰς ἐπούλωσιν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φοινίσσειν τὰ κύκλω μέρη, πλατὺν περιλαμβάνοντας τόπον τῷ διὰ τοῦ νάπυος μαλάγματι, ἢ τινι ἐτέρῳ μεταβάλλειν δυναμένῳ, καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ἀναιρεῖν. μὴ ληγόντων δὲ καὶ κοινῶς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, μετασυγκρίνοντας αὐτὸ διὰ γυμνασίων ποικίλων καὶ αἰώρας καὶ ἀναφωνήσεως παρόντων ἐμπείρων, καὶ διαίτης κατὰ

<sup>13</sup> Here and in the two subsequent instances we have followed

pair the scar by altering the state of the pores of the affected part, or also of the whole body jointly, and this is not easy to do with the remedies which [normally] do this.<sup>13</sup>

This, then, is what Thessalus proclaims in his book about surgery, right at the start, and what he enlarges on in what follows, when he writes on these same matters thus:

Those wounds and ulcers that are chronic and unhealed, or have scarred over and broken open again indicate [the following]. In those that do not unite in a scar, eradicate those things that are preventing the union and “refresh” the affected places, making them like recent wounds again, to cure when bleeding. And even if it is not overcome, mitigate the inflammation and apply the rest of the treatment. In those [wounds and ulcers] that have come to scarring and broken down, treat the things that are irritating and ulcerating, as you would in recent inflammations, soothing them with poultices until the pain and irritation has ceased. Then encourage [the wound or ulcer] to close over into a scar. After this, redden the parts in a circle, surrounding the flat place with the emollient made from mustard, or from something else able to bring about change and achieve comfort. If there is still no abatement, attend to the care of the whole body generally, altering the state of the pores using various exercises, passive and vocal, with experienced people present.

Linacre (pp. 185–86) in taking the statement attributed to Thessalus by Galen as a direct quotation from a work no longer extant.

πρόσθεσιν αὐξανομένης τε καὶ μειουμένης, ἀρ-  
χῆς ἐντιθεμένης διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ ραφανίδων ἕμετον.  
χρησθαι δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ λευκοῦ ἑλλεβόρου δόσει  
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷς χρώμεθα ἐπὶ τῶν |  
ὑπαγομένων διαίτη χρονίων καὶ δυσασπυρίπτων  
παθῶν.

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αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ ῥήσις. ἄξιον δὲ θαυ-  
μάσαι τὰνθρώπου τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἢ τὴν τόλμαν· εἰ  
μὲν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέπεισεν ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει, τὴν  
ἀναισθησίαν· εἰ δ' ἐπιστάμενος ὡς οὐδὲν λέγει παρα-  
κρούεσθαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἅπαντας ἤλπικε, τὴν  
τόλμαν.

ἐκ τῶν χρονίων ἐλκῶν, ᾧ γενναιότατε, τίς ἔνδειξις  
γίνεται θεραπείας; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἐκ τῶν προσ-  
φάτων οὐθ' ὄλως ἐκ χρόνου κατ' οὐδὲν τῶν νοσημάτων  
ἔξευρον οὐδεπώποτε τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς  
διαθέσεως, ἣν ἰᾶσθαί μοι πρόκειται. καθόλου γὰρ εἰάν  
εἰς τὸν χρόνον ἀποβλέπη τις, ὡς ἔνδειξιν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
λαμβάνειν, ἑτέραν μὲν πάντως ἢ δευτέρα τῶν ἡμερῶν,  
ἑτέραν δ' ἢ τρίτη παρέξει τὴν ἔνδειξιν· οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ  
τετάρτη τῆς πέμπτης ἑτέραν· καὶ τούτων ἀπασῶν ἡ  
ἕκτη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη τῶν μετὰ ταύτας. ὥστ'  
οὐκέτι τὰς διαθέσεις ἅς θεραπεύομεν ἐπισκεψόμεθα  
καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔνδειξιν ληψόμεθα; καὶ τοί γε τούτου  
ἀλογώτερον οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι δυνατόν ἐστι. πῶς οὖν  
ἀναγκαῖαι αἱ κοινότητες αἱ τῶν χρονίων ἐλκῶν εἰσιν,  
οὐδέν | γε ἐνδείκνυσθαι δυναμένου τοῦ χρόνου καθ'  
ἑαυτόν; οὐ δῆπου γὰρ ἐπειδὴν ὑπὸ κακοχυμίας ἔλκος

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If the food intake has been increased, decrease this  
too, making a start with vomiting induced by rad-  
ishes. Also use the administration of white hellebore  
and all the other things that we use in those affec-  
tions subject to regimen that are chronic and hard to  
get rid of.

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This is Thessalus' statement. Either the foolishness or  
the audacity of the man is worthy of wonder. If he con-  
vinced himself that he spoke correctly, it is foolishness.  
If he knew he was talking nonsense, but had hoped to  
deceive all his readers, it is audacity.

What indication of treatment arises, my most noble  
friend, from chronic wounds and ulcers? Neither from  
these, nor from those that are acute, nor from the time in  
general, have I ever discovered the treatment in any dis-  
ease. Rather, it is from the condition itself, which lies be-  
fore me to cure. In general, if someone pays attention to  
the time, so as to take an indication from this, no doubt the  
second day will provide another indication, the third day  
another, and in the same way also, the fourth day another  
and different from the fifth day, and different from all  
these, the sixth, and each of the others after these. Conse-  
quently, will we no longer consider the conditions which  
we are treating and take an indication from these [days]?  
Indeed, it is impossible to think of anything more illogical  
than this. How, then, are the "communities" of the chronic  
ulcers necessary when the time of itself is in fact unable to  
indicate anything? For we will not, I presume, take a dif-

253K

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ἀναβιβρώσκηται, διάφορον ἔνδειξιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμεθα μετὰ τέτταρας μῆνας ἢς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλάβομεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐάσαιμι χρονίσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος, ἀλλ' εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκκόψαιμι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γνωρίζειν δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς τὰ πολλά, καὶ τὴν ἔνδειξιν ἀπὸ τῆς διαθέσεως λαμβάνειν ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ χρόνος δὲ τί πλέον ἡμᾶς διδάξει τοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμοῦ, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐκ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν, πλὴν εἰ τοῦτο λέγειν ἠβουλήθη ὁ Θεσσαλός, ὡς εἰς διάγνωσιν τῶν τοιούτων ἐλκῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἀναμείναι τὸν χρόνον. ἀλλ' οὕτω γε πρῶτον μὲν ἂν ιδιώτης εἶη παντάπασιν, εἰ μηδέποτε πρὸ τοῦ χρονίσαι τὸ ἔλκος ὁμολογῆί διαγνώναι δύνασθαι τὴν διάθεσιν. ἔπειτα δὲ σαφῶς ἂν ἔτι καὶ τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσειεν, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλου μὲν ἢ τῆς ἰάσεως ἔνδειξις, ἐξ ἄλλων δὲ ἢ διάγνωσις γίνεται τῆς διαθέσεως.

254K ἔστω γὰρ τι συμβάλλεσθαι τὸν χρόνον εἰς τὴν διάγνωσιν ἀλλ' ἢ γε ἔνδειξις τῆς ἰάσεως οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου. τί γὰρ | ἂν εἶη πρὸς ἔπος, εἴ τι χρονίζει τῶν ἐλκῶν, ἐκκόπτειν τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν σύμφυσιν γίνεσθαι καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν τοὺς πεπονητότας τόπους; εἰ γὰρ διὰ ρεῦμα κακότητες, ὧ γενναιότατε, τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ ἔλκους ἐν διαθέσει τιμὴ γέγονε, τί πλέον ἐξομεν, ἂν περικόψωμεν αὐτὰ πρὶν ἰάσασθαι τὸ ρεῦμα; μείζον ἐργασόμεθα δηλονότι τὸ ἔλκος, ὡσπερ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ θεραπευόντων ἔλκη. τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας μενούσης τῆς καὶ πρότερον αὐτὰ σκληρὰ καὶ τυλώδη

ferent indication from this, when an ulcer is eroded by *kakochymia*, after four months than we took right at the start. I would not allow such an ulcer to become chronic, but would eradicate its cause right at the start. Furthermore, it is possible to recognize the condition from the start in many cases, and it is necessary to take the indication from the condition. What more the time will teach us other than the sum of the days, I am, by the gods, unable to guess, unless Thessalus wanted to say this: that for the diagnosis of such ulcers it is necessary to wait a certain time. But if this were so, he would first be altogether a layman, if he admits that he is never able to diagnose the condition before the ulcer becomes chronic. And then, clearly, he would also be admitting that the indication of the cure arises from one thing, while the diagnosis of the condition arises from others.

For suppose that time contributes something to the diagnosis, but in fact the indication of the cure is not from the time. What would be the point, if any, in the ulcers that are chronic, of eradicating those things that are preventing union occurring and “refreshing” the affected places? For if, my most noble fellow, due to a *kakoethical* flux, the margins of the ulcer are in a certain condition, what more would we gain should we cut all around these before curing the flux? Quite clearly we shall make the ulcer bigger, just as some do when they treat ulcers like him. If the cause, which previously made the margins hard and cal-

254K



ποιησάσης οὐδὲν ἔσται πλέον ἐκ τοῦ περιτέμνειν ἄλλο γε ἢ μέγεθος ἔλκουσ· πάλιν γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιτμηθέντα τοῖς πρότερον ὁμοίως ἔσται τυλώδη καὶ σκληρά. καὶ τοί γ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ σοφώτατος Θεσσαλός, ὡς ἐκκοπτέον ἐστὶ τὰ τυλώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ κακόχροα τῶν ἠλκωμένων μορίων, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἐκκόπτειν κελεύει τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν σύμφυσιν καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκκόπτειν τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν σύμφυσιν αἷτια συνεβούλευε, παλαιός τ' ἂν ἦν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐγὼ τε οὐδὲν ἂν ἐμεμφόμην αὐτῷ, παρήνηται γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν, ὅσοι γε λόγῳ | τιμὴ καὶ μεθόδῳ περὶ θεραπείας ἐλκῶν ἔγραψαν, ὡς ἐκκοπτέον ἐστὶ τὰς ἐργαζομένας αἰτίας αὐτά, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων νοσημάτων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐλκῶν ἔτι μενούσης τῆς ποιούσης αὐτὰ αἰτίας κάλλιον ἐκείνην πρότερον ἐκκόπτειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων νοσημάτων οὐ κάλλιον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὧν τὸ ποιοῦν ἔτι πάρεστιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῆς θεραπείας ἀρκτέον.

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εἰ δὲ τὰ κωλύοντα τὴν σύμφυσιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰτίων ἀπάντων ὅσα τοῦτο πέφυκε δρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χειλῶν εἴρηκε μόνον, ὡς ἐξ ὧν ἐπιφέρει δῆλός ἐστιν, πλέον ἀγνοεῖν ἔοικεν ἢ γινώσκειν εἰς ἐλκῶν ἴασιν. εἴη μὲν γὰρ ἂν ποτε καὶ τοῦτο μόνον αἷτιον τοῦ μὴ θεραπεύεσθαι τὸ ἔλκος· εἴη δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἦττον, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ἢ χωρὶς ὄγκου παρὰ φύσιν ἐν τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις μέρεσι δυσκрасία καὶ ἢ μετ' ὄγκου μὲν τινος, ἀλλ' οὐ

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lous, remains operative, nothing will be gained from the excision other than making the ulcer bigger, for those margins that are cut around will become hard and callous like they were previously. And indeed, the most sapient Thesalus did not add this: that we must cut around those ulcerated parts that are callous, hard and of a bad color. Rather, he simply directs us to eradicate those things preventing union and to "refresh." If he did advise the eradication of the causes preventing union, and such was the reasoning of the ancients, I would have no quarrel with him, for this was what was recommended by almost all the doctors of old, or at least those who wrote about the treatment of ulcers based on some theory and method: that is, that you must eradicate the causes which bring them about, just as, I believe, is also the case with all other diseases. It is certainly not the case with ulcers that, when the cause creating them still remains, it is better to eradicate that first, whereas with other diseases, it is not better. Rather, in all cases (i.e. ulcers and other diseases), when what caused them is plainly still present, we must begin the treatment from that.

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If, however, he is saying that those things which prevent union are not among all the causes which by nature do this, but only in the case of the margins, as he clearly does from the things he brings up, he seems to me more ignorant than knowledgeable when it comes to the cure of ulcers. For sometimes this might be the sole cause of the ulcer not being treatable. However, no less might it be a *dyskrasia*, either without an abnormal swelling in the ulcerated parts, or with one, but one which absolutely does not need to be

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πάντως τοῦ γε περιτομῆς δεομένου· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις  
 256K ἔτι σκιρρὸς ὑπερκείμενος, ἢ σπλῆν μέγας, ἢ τις ἐν  
 ἥπατι κακοπραγία καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἀπάντων ἀτονία  
 τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεπουθότος, | ἐπίτασις οὐσα  
 δυσκρασίας καὶ ἥδε· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡ καθ' ὅλον τὸ  
 σῶμα κακοχυμία μέγιστον τῶν αἰτίων ὅσα λυμαίνε-  
 σθαι τοῖς ἔλκεσι πέφυκεν. ἐνοχλεῖ δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ καλουμένη πληθώρα.

τούτων ἕκαστον εἰ κελεύει ἐκκόπτειν Θεσσαλός,  
 ἐπαινώ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἐπόμενον τοῖς παλαιοῖς· εἰ  
 δὲ τὰ χεῖλη μόνον, ἐν ἐκ πολλῶν ἔγνωκε, ὃ μὴδὲ τοὺς  
 αἰπόλους λαμβάνει. εἰ γὰρ σκληρὰ καὶ τετυλωμένα  
 καὶ πελιδνὰ καὶ μέλανα καὶ τινα ἄλλην ἐπίσημον  
 ἄχροιαν ἔχοντα θεάσαιτό τις αἰπόλος ἔλκουσ χεῖλη,  
 πάντως τολμήσει περικόπτειν αὐτά. καὶ γὰρ τοῖ<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 προχειρότατόν ἐστι τὸ περικόψαι μείζον δέ γε καὶ  
 τεχνικώτερον ἰᾶσθαι φαρμάκοις. Θεσσαλὸς δὲ οὔτε  
 τῶν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων δυναμένων μαλαχθῆναι χειλῶν εἰς  
 γνώσιν ἠκέ ποτε, καὶ γὰρ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπο-  
 στῆναι τελέως τοῦ τοιοῦτου μέρους τῆς τέχνης, ὥσπερ  
 οὖν ἐμφαίνει καὶ αὐτός, οὐθ' ὅλως ἐμπειρίαν ἢ λογι-  
 κὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν οὐδενὸς φαρμάκου· καθότι  
 καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ περὶ φαρμάκων ἐνδείκνυται βιβλίον.  
 257K ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένων  
 ἐπὶ προήκοντι τῷ λόγῳ | διαλέξομαι περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν  
 χρονίων ἐλκῶν ἰάσεως, ἣν ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ  
 ῥήσει Θεσσαλὸς ἐποιήσατο, πρόκειται μοι τό γε νῦν  
 εἶναι διελθεῖν.

cut out. And in addition to these factors, there may be an  
 overlying scirrhoty, or an enlarged spleen, or a bad condi-  
 tion of the liver, or apart from all these, a weakness of the  
 256K affected part itself, this being an intensification of the  
*dyskrasia*. Furthermore, a *kakochymia* of the whole body  
 is the most significant of the causes that are by nature  
 harmful to ulcers. But no less disturbing to them is so-  
 called *plethora*.

If Thessalus were to give instruction to eradicate each  
 of these things, I would commend the man as following the  
 ancients. If, however, it is the margins only, he knows one  
 thing among many, and a thing which does not even elude  
 goatherds. For if a goatherd were to see the margins of an  
 ulcer hard, callous, livid and black, or having some other  
 notable discoloration, he would certainly have the courage  
 to excise them. And in fact, the excision is very easily done.  
 It is, however, better and more skillful to cure with medi-  
 cations. Thessalus, on the other hand, has never come to  
 the realization that the margins [of an ulcer] can be soft-  
 ened by potent medications, for they say he distanced him-  
 self completely from this part of the craft, just as he himself  
 also reveals, and he seems to have no empirical or theoretic-  
 al knowledge of any medication. This is also revealed by  
 his book on medications. But I shall speak about what was  
 incorrectly stated in those [works] as the discussion pro-  
 ceeds. The matter that I now propose to go over is that concern-  
 257K ing the cure of chronic ulcers, which Thessalus related  
 in the previously quoted passage.

ἄμεινον μὲν ἦν δήπου μὴ χρόνια καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
κακοήθη ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι  
καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς γενέσεως εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν  
ἐκάστου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐφ' ἔλκει κοινὴν ἀπάντων αὐτῶν  
οἷαν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ γράμματι διήλθον ἰδίαν δ' ἐφ'  
ἐκάστου, κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐργαζομένης αἰτίας εἶδος, ὡς ἐν  
τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ διωρισάμην. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ποι-  
ήσας καὶ νεωτεροποιεῖν τοὺς ἠλκωμένους τόπους ἀξιῶ  
καὶ παραπλήσια τοῖς νεοτρότοις ἀπεργασάμενος  
ἐναίμους ἰᾶσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν γε ναί, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,  
ἐναργῶς ἂν τις γνωρίσειε τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς τέχνης  
ἐγγεγυμνασμένος, ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου γέγραπται ταῦτα  
μηδέποτε προνοήσαντος ἔλκους. ἐναίμως ἰᾶσθαι  
δύναται τις, ἔλκος χρόνιον ὅμοιον τοῖς νεοτρότοις  
ἐργασάμενος, ἀγκτήρσι συναγαγὼν ἢ ράψας αὐτοῦ  
τὰ χεῖλη ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδενί, ἐναίμῳ δέ τιμι φαρ-  
μάκῳ καὶ μόνῃ σὺν αὐτῷ θαρρήσας ἐπιδέσει; τίς οὐκ  
οἶδεν ὡς πᾶν ἔλκος κακοήθες εὐθύς καὶ ἰ κοιλόν ἐστίν,  
ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀναβρώσεως γενόμενον; ἄρ' οἶν, ὦ σοφώτατε  
Θεσσαλέ, πρὶν σαρκωθῆναι τὸ κοῖλον ἔλκος, εἰς σύμ-  
φυσιν ἀχθῆναι δύναται; ἢ οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἐναίμως  
ἰᾶσθαι; μάτην τοίνυν αὐτὸς σὺ τῶν κοίλων ἐλκῶν τὸν  
σκοπὸν οὐ κόλλησιν, ἀλλὰ πλήρωσιν ἔγραψας. εἰ δὲ  
καὶ μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸ κοῖλον ἦν ἅπαν ἔλκος κακοήθες, ἀλλὰ  
τοί γ' ἐν τῷ νεωτεροποιεῖν, αὐτοῦ τὰ χεῖλη περι-

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Presumably it is better not to call these chronic but *kakoethical* (chronic and intractable), and to set out in detail their nature, and to speak of the causes of their genesis and the treatment of each, as I did go over the treatment that is common to all [wounds and] ulcers, insofar as they are [wounds and] ulcers, in the third book. What is specific to each, in terms of the kind of effecting cause, is as I have distinguished in this discussion. He, however, does none of these things, but considers it right to “refresh” the ulcerated places, and having made them like recent wounds, to cure them while they are bleeding. By Asclepius, anyone practiced in the actions of our craft would clearly know that these things have been written by a man who has never given any thought to a wound or ulcer. Is anyone able to cure what is bleeding, [say] a chronic wound or ulcer, having made it like a recent wound, by bringing its margins together with fibulae<sup>14</sup> or suturing them, or with none of these things, but with some blood-stanching medication, placing his confidence in binding alone together with this medication? Who does not know that every *kakoethical* wound or ulcer is at once also hollow, as it would be if it occurred due to erosion? Is it possible then, most sapient Thessalus, for a hollow wound or ulcer to be brought to union before it is filled with flesh? Or is this not to cure what is filled with blood? Accordingly, you yourself wrote incorrectly that the objective in hollow ulcers is not conglutination but filling. If any *kakoethical* ulcer is not hollow in and of itself, certainly in the “refreshing,” when we cut

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<sup>14</sup> “Fibula” is the Latin term for the Greek ἀγκτήρ, a type of pin used for bringing wounds together; see Celsus, V.26(23) and the Introduction to LCL, *Celsus*, vol. II, p. lxi.

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κόπτοντας ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἶμαι καὶ κοῦλον γίνεται καὶ πλείστην ἴσχει τῶν χειλῶν τὴν διάστασιν ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἔτι κολληθεῖς αὐτὸ καὶ συμφύσεις ἐναίμως. εἰ γὰρ προσάγειν ἐπιχειρήσεις βιαίως τὰ διεστώτα πάμπολυ χεῖλη, φλεγμανεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὐ συμφύσεται δέ. τούτου καὶ μόνου συνιέναι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Θεσσαλός· ἐπιφέρει γοῦν, κἂν μὴ κρατηθῆ, παρηγορεῖν τὴν φλεγμονήν. ἄμεινον δὲ ἦν γράψαι καὶ μὴ κρατηθέντων παρηγορεῖν τὴν φλεγμονήν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ οὐ κρατηθήσεται. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρηθεῖ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ καὶ παρέλθοιμεν αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοιμεν, ὅτι γε τελῶς ἀποκεχώρηκε | τῆς κοινότητος ἧς αὐτὸς ὑπέθετο πρόδηλον παντί. εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμποδίζον ἐξαίρησομεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι περὶ τῆς τῶν χρονίων ἐλκῶν ὡς χρονίων κοινότητος ληψόμεθα.

ἀλλ' ἔστω καὶ τοῦτο. θεασώμεθα δὲ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, γράφει γοῦν ὧδε·

Τὰ δ' εἰς οὐλήν ἐρχόμενα καὶ ἀναλυόμενα κατὰ μὲν τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλκώσεις ὁμοίως θεραπεύειν τοῖς προσφάτως φλεγμαίνουσι.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φησί· Φοινίσσειν τὰ κύκλω μέρη τῷ διὰ τοῦ νάπυος μαλάγματι. τί φῆς, ἄνθρωπε, κἂν δριμύ, κἂν θερμὸν ρεύμα τὸ φερόμενον ἦ, φοινίσσειν χρῆναι νάπυϊ τὸ μόριον; ἢ ὅπερ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἔμελλεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεσσαλείου ταχέως πάθοι φαρμάκου, πᾶν ἐλκωθέν τε καὶ ἀναβρω-

away its margins as you direct, it necessarily becomes hollow, I believe, and maintains a very considerable separation of the margins. As a consequence, I do not know how you will still conglutinate and unite it when it is bleeding because, if you attempt to bring the widely separated margins together forcibly, there is inevitably inflammation, and there will not be union. And Thessalus seems to me to focus on this alone. At any rate, he adds that, even if the inflammation is not overcome, you will mitigate it. It would be better to write *when* the inflammation is not overcome, for inevitably it will not be overcome. But even if this too were to be conceded by Thessalus, we would pass over it without very precise examination, so it is clear to everyone that he has totally abandoned the “community” which he himself postulated. If we take away what is causing the hindrance, we will get nothing else anymore about the “community” of chronic ulcers as being chronicity.

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But enough of this. Let us see what follows. Anyway, he writes thus:

Those [ulcers] that have come to scarring and are breaking down are, in their exacerbations and ulcerations, to be treated in like manner to those that have recently become inflamed.

After this, he says: “Redden the parts all around with the rubifacient made from mustard.” Why do you say, my good man, that it is necessary to redden the part with mustard, even if a sharp or hot flux was what is carried in? Is it so that what was going to be affected by the flux over a long time might be affected quickly due to the Thessaleian medication, everything being ulcerated and eroded? The

260K θέν; τὰς γὰρ διὰ ψύξιν ἢ ὑγρότητα πολλὴν ἄνευ  
 θερμασίας ἐπιφανοῦς ἀτονίας τῶν μερῶν φοινιγμοῖς  
 ἐθεράπευον οἱ παλαιοί. σὺ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ πάντων χρεῶ,  
 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μὴ διορισάμενος, εἴτε δι'  
 ἀτονίαν τοῦ μέρους, εἴτε διὰ κακοθήθειαν τοῦ ρεύματος,  
 οὐ θεραπεύεται τὸ ἔλκος. ἔπειτα δ' ὑπαλλάττων τὴν  
 τάξιν, ὅταν γὰρ κατακαύσας τῷ | νάπυϊ τὸ μέρος ἀνύ-  
 σσης μὴδέν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἔρχη θερα-  
 πείαν· ἔμπαλιν δ', οἶμαι, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ  
 περὶ τούτων ἔγνωσται, τὸ σύμπαν σῶμα πρότερον  
 ἀπέριπτον ἐργασαμένους τολμᾶν ἐπιφέρειν τι τῷ μο-  
 ρίῳ θερμαῖνον καὶ δριμύ φάρμακον. ἔλκειν γὰρ ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτὰ πέφυκεν ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἅπαντα τὰ τοι-  
 αῦτα δίκην σικύας. ἐὰν μὴ φθάσης κενώσας αὐτό,  
 χορηγίαν ρεύματος ἐγκαταλείψεις τῷ δριμύ φαρ-  
 μάκῳ. τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἐμπειρικοῖς ἰατροῖς ὡμολό-  
 γηται καὶ τοῖς Δογματικοῖς· τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις  
 ἐδόκει τῶν φιλοσόφων· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κάκεινον μέμνηται  
 Θεσσαλός, οὐ χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσασθαι μάρτυ-  
 ρας, ὡς ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ καλῶς ἰάσασθαι πρὸ  
 τῆς ὅλης κεφαλῆς, οὐδὲ ταύτην ἄνευ τοῦ παντὸς  
 σώματος. οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων ἐγίνωσκον  
 ὑπὲρ νοσημάτων ἰάσεως· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης καὶ  
 Διοκλῆς καὶ Πραξαγόρας καὶ Πλειστόνικος καὶ πάν-  
 τες οἱ παλαιοί.

261K Θεσσαλὸς δὲ μόνος ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ νάπυος  
 ἤκει φάρμακον πρῶτον· εἴθ' ὕστερον ἐπιμελείται τοῦ  
 παντὸς σώματος· οὐκ οὐκ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα | φρονίμως

ancients treated the weaknesses of the parts, due to  
 marked cold and moisture without conspicuous heat, with  
 rubefacients. You, however, use them regularly in all cases  
 without first distinguishing whether it is because of the  
 weakness of the part or the *kakoethical* nature of the flux  
 that the ulcer is not [effectively] treated. And then you  
 change the order. For when you accomplish nothing after  
 burning the part with the mustard, you come to the treat-  
 ment of the whole body. Conversely, I think, those who  
 know about these things from both theory and experience,  
 having previously rendered the whole body free of super-  
 fluity, venture to apply some medication that is hot and  
 pungent to the part. For all such [medications] naturally  
 draw from the whole body toward themselves like a cup-  
 ping glass. If you do not evacuate the whole body before-  
 hand, you will leave behind an abundance of the flux with  
 the pungent medication. This was a matter of agreement  
 among both the Empiric and the Dogmatic doctors, and  
 also seemed right to the best philosophers. Seeing that  
 Thessalus remembered those men too, it is no bad thing to  
 call them as witnesses [to the fact] that it is not possible to  
 cure an eye properly before curing the whole head, or to  
 cure the head without curing the whole body. This is how  
 Aristotle and Plato understood the cure of diseases, as also  
 did Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Pleistonicus and all  
 the ancients.

Thessalus alone, contrariwise, comes first to the medi-  
 cation made from mustard, and then later takes care of the  
 whole body, so he does not here propose anything at all in a

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οὐδὲν ὑποτιθέμενος. ἐνὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἐκκενώσαντα τὸ σῶμα καθαίροντι φαρμάκῳ, μετὰ τοῦτο χρηστῶς ἀνατρέφειν, ἀναφωνήσεώς τε μέμνηται καὶ γυμνασίων αἰωρήσεών τε καὶ διαίτης ἐκ περιόδου μεταβαλλομένης καὶ τινος ἀπὸ ραφανίδων ἐμέτου κάπειτα τὸν κολοφῶνα τούτοις ἐπάγει, τὸν ἐλλέβορον αὐτόν, ὁ χωρὶς περιεργίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἅπαντα θεραπεύειν. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι δύναμαι πῶς ἂν τις χεῖρον, ἢ μακρότερον, ἢ περιεργότερον ἔλκος ἰάσαιοτο.

φέρε γάρ, ἵν' ὡσπερ ἔργῳ πολλάκις ἐωράκαμεν, οὕτω καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πλάσωμεν ἄνθρωπον ἰάσεως ἔλκος κακοήθους δεόμενον. ἔστω τις ὑγιαίνων μὲν τᾶλλα, κνησάμενος δ' ἐξαίφνης ὅτιοῦν μόριον, εἰ βούλει πηχυν, ἐγειράτω παραχρήμα φλύκταιναν· εἴτ' αὖθις καὶ αὖθις κνησμῶδες γιγνέσθω ταῦτὸ τοῦτο μόριον· ἐκραγείσης δὲ τῆς φλυκταίνης ἔλκος κακόχρονον, ἀνωμάλως ἀναβιβρωσκόμενον γενέσθω· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς συμπιπτέτω. λεγέτω δὴ τις ἐνταῦθά μοι τῶν Θεσσαλείων ἰατρῶν ὄντινα χρῆ τὴν τρόπον ἰᾶσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλκος. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ φημι | κακοήθές τε πάντως ὑπάρχειν αὐτό, καὶ 262K διὰ τοῦτο συνεπισκέψομαι παραχρήμα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος διάθεσιν, ὅποια τίς ἐστίν. εὐρήσω γὰρ ἔκ τε τῶν περὶ τὸ ἔλκος συμπτωμάτων καὶ τῶν περὶ σύμπαν τὸ σῶμα φαινομένων σημείων, ὅποιοις μάλιστα τὴν ἰδέαν ἐστὶν ὁ πλεονάζων χυμὸς· καὶ τοῦτον ἐκκενώσω φαρμάκῳ παραχρήμα· καὶ οὐκ ἀναμενῶ

sensible way. For having evacuated the body once only with a purging medication, after this he nurtures it beneficially, and mentions vocal and passive exercises, a periodically changing regimen, and vomiting induced by radishes. And then, as the culmination of these measures, he introduces hellebore itself, and claims, without further elaboration, to treat everything. I cannot imagine how anyone could cure a wound or ulcer in a worse, or more time-consuming and ineffectual way.

Suppose we paint a picture in words of a man requiring cure of a *kakoethical* ulcer such as we have often seen in practice. Suppose it is someone who is healthy in other respects and suddenly becomes itchy in any part whatsoever—the forearm, if you wish—and that it immediately becomes raised into a pustule. Then, suppose this same part is repeatedly affected by itching and, when the pustule bursts open, the ulcer is of a bad color and irregularly eroded. And suppose this happens within three or four days from the onset. Then let one of the Thessaleian doctors here tell me in what way I ought to cure such an ulcer. I say this is, in every respect, a *kakoethical* ulcer, and because of this, I shall immediately consider what the condition of the whole body is as well. I shall discover from the symptoms pertaining to the ulcer and from the visible signs pertaining to the whole body, what kind of humor is most in excess, and I shall immediately evacuate this with a medication. I shall not wait for some condition that is

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τὸν πῆχυν ὅλον τὰνθρώπου διάθεσίν τινα κακοήθη καὶ δυσίατον σχεῖν.

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, τὰς ἐκείνων δηλονότι φυλάττοντες ὑποθήκας, πρῶτον ἀναμενοῦσι χρόνιον γενέσθαι τὸ ἔλκος, ἵν' εἰς τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐμπέση κοινότητα τῶν χρόνιων ἑλκῶν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ὄν ἄμεινον μακρῷ κακοηθῶν ἑλκῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ χρόνιων ἐνδεικτικὴν θεραπείας ὑποθέσθαι κοινότητα. εἶτα δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκκόψουσι καὶ νεωτεροποιήσουσι καὶ συνάξουσιν ὡς εἰς κόλλησιν, ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ διὰ τοῦ νάπυος χρήσονται φαρμάκῳ, τούτου δ' ἀνύσαντος μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναφωνήσεις τε καὶ τὰς αἰωρήσεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς τῆς διαίτης κατὰ περιόδους μεταβολὰς ἀφίξονται· κάπειτα καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ ραφανίδων ἐμέτοις | 263K | χρήσονται, καὶ μηδὲ τούτων ἰασαμένων τὸ ἔλκος ἑλλέβορον δώσουσιν· ἂν δὲ μηδ' οὗτος ἀνύση μηδὲν, ἀποπέψουσιν εἰς Λιβύην τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔδει προσγεγραφέναι τὸν Θεσσαλὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θαυμαστῇ τῶν ἑλκῶν τῶν κακοηθῶν ἰάσει. κατατρίβει γοῦν ἐν ἀναφωνήσεσιν, αἰώραις τε καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὥσπερ καχεξίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ κακοχυμίαν θεραπεύων. καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ μήτε γνωρίζων ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄρτι συνιστάμενον ἔλκος κακοήθες, ἀναμένουσιν τε χρόνιον αὐτὸ γενέσθαι καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπουλωθῆναι, πολλάκις δ' ἀναλυθῆναι πρὸ τοῦ γινῶναι τί ποιητέον ἐστίν; ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν πυρέξαντας ὑπερβάλ-

<sup>15</sup> The distinction between these terms is considered in the

*kakoethical* and difficult to cure to involve the man's whole forearm.

Thessaleians, however, if they clearly adhere to their own precepts, will first wait for the ulcer to become chronic so that it may fall into the wondrous "community" of chronic ulcers, as though this were not much better than the *kakoethical* ulcers, but without the "community" of chronicity to suggest an indication of treatment. Then there are two alternatives: either they will excise, "refresh," and bring together [the margins] as for conglutination, or they will first use the medication made from mustard, and when this accomplishes nothing, they will proceed to vocal, passive, and other exercises, and the periodically changing regimen. Then they will use vomiting induced by radishes, and when these measures fail to cure the ulcer, they will give hellebore. Should this 263K achieve nothing, they will send the person off to Libya, for Thessalus ought to have written this as well, in addition to his wondrous cure of *kakoethical* ulcers. At all events, he wastes time on vocal and passive exercises and such things just as if he is treating *kachexia* rather than *kakochymia*.<sup>15</sup> And what is there to wonder at, if at one time they do not admit to recognizing a *kakoethical* ulcer existing acutely, and they wait for it to become chronic and often scarred over, and frequently broken down, before knowing what must be done? And they think it right for those who are fe-

Introduction, section 6, on terminology. In summary, *kakochymia* is a disorder of the humors defined in *De probis pravisque alimentorum succis*, VI.749K and Book 13 of the *MM* (891K), while *kachexia* is similar in meaning to the Latinized form still in use—a bad general state of the body with wasting.

λειν ἀξιούσι τὸν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἤτοι γενησόμενον ἢ μὴ γενησόμενον παροξυσμόν· οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἄρα τὴν περὶ κρίσεων ἐκμεμαθήκασιν θεωρίαν, ἢ τῆς μελλούσης ἀκμῆς τοῦ νοσήματος ὑπάρχουσι προγνωστικοί. τί δὴ συμβαίνει πολλάκις; ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης κατασῆπσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀπηλλάχθαι δυναμένους εὐθύς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν.

264K οὐχ ἅπαξ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἢ δὶς, ἢ τρίς, ἀλλὰ μυριάκις αὐτοὶ τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἰπυρεξάντων ἐλουσάμεθα, ἅμα τῷ παύσασθαι τὸν πρῶτον παροξυσμόν· τοὺς τε διδασκάλους ἡμῶν ἐθεασάμεθα ταυτὸ τοῦτο ποιούντας· ἀδεῶς τε τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶσθαι συνεχωρήσαμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πυρέζοντας, οὐδ' ὁ σοφώτατος Θεσσαλός, ὁ τὴν πρώτην διάτριτον ἐξευρών, ἐταρίχευεν ἂν ὄλαις, οἶμαι, τρισὶ λιμοκτονήσας ἡμέραις· εἶθ' οὕτως ἔθρεψεν ἂν, οἶμαι, δηλαδὴ μετρίως τεταρταίους. εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνακομίζων μόλις ἐκταίους ἢ ἑβδομαίους ἀπέλυσε ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τοὺς ἅπαξ πυρέξαντας. οὕτως αἰεὶ κατασῆπουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι, κἂν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ραδίως αὐτῶν ἦν δυνατόν.

ὀλιγίσταις οὖν ἡμέραις οἷόν τε θεραπευθῆναι κακότητες ἔλκος ἀρχόμενον ὁ Θεσσαλός εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ καὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἐκπίπτειν ἐᾷ. τὸ γὰρ ἀναμένειν πολλάκις μὲν αὐτὸ συνουλωθῆναι, πολλάκις δ' ἀναλυθῆναι, ἴν' εἰδῆ εἰ κακότητες, κάπειτα τῆς θεραπείας ἀρξάμενον οὐδ' οὖν οὐδὲ τότε καθαιρεῖν εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ

brile in any way whatsoever to go beyond the third day, whether a paroxysm will occur or not. In this way, they are either completely conversant with the theory about crises, or they are prescient regarding the impending peak of the disease. So what does in fact often happen? Patients who could be up and about straightaway on the second day, in their hands rot away in their beds.<sup>16</sup>

Not once only, or two or three times, but on countless occasions, I myself bathed many of those who were febrile at the time of cessation of the first paroxysm. And I saw my teachers doing this same thing, and was untroubled in allowing the regimen to continue so they would not still be febrile—these patients whom the most sagacious Thessalus, discovering the first three-day period, would have caused to waste away, starving them, I imagine, for three whole days. Then, I believe, he would nourish them for four days, moderately of course. Next, having gradually and with difficulty carried them through six or seven days, he would bring back those who were once febrile to their customary situation. So he always allowed those people to waste away like this in their affections—even those who could easily have been relieved.

Therefore, Thessalus allows an incipient *kakoethical* ulcer that can be treated in a very few days to degenerate for a year or an even longer time. For the delay frequently allows it to become scarred over, and often to break down again, so that he may know if it is *kakoethical*, and then, neither having begun the treatment nor at that time

<sup>16</sup> To give added force to his criticism of the Methodics, Galen foreshadows his attack on them for their management of fevers in later books.



265K τῷ διὰ τοῦ νάπτους μὲν πρῶτον, εἴτ' αἰώραις ἀναφωνή-  
σεσί τε καὶ διαίταις χρῆσθαι, κάπειτα ῥαφανίσιν, εἴθ'  
οὕτως ἔλλεβόρω, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐνιαυτὸν | ἀναμένοντός  
ἐστίν; εἴτ', ὧ πρὸς θεῶν, ἕξ ἡμερῶν, ἢ τὸ πλείστον  
ἑπτὰ, δυναμένου τάνθρώπου τεθεραπεύσθαι, μῆνας  
ἀναμενούμεν πολλούς, ἵνα δηλαδὴ πρῶτον μὲν γνώ-  
μεν εἰ χρόνιον ἐστίν, ἔπειτα δ' ἀρξώμεθα τῆς θεραπεί-  
ας; καὶ τίς ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνιων ἐλκῶν ἰδίαν ὑποθέσθαι  
κοινότητα, μηδὲν εἰς τὰς ἰάσεις ἡμᾶς ὠφελούσαν; ἐνὸν  
μὴ χρόνιων, ἀλλὰ κακοθηῶν, οὐ κοινότητα μὰ Δία  
οὐδὲ τούτων ἐνδεικτικὴν, ἀλλὰ θεραπείαν γράψαι.  
συμβέβηκε μὲν γάρ τισιν ἔλκεσί τε καὶ νόσοις κακοθή-  
θεσιν ὑπάρχειν, οὐ μὴν ἀπὸ τούτου γε ἢ τῆς θερα-  
πείας ἐνδειξις, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν διάθεσις αὐτῆ τὸν πρῶτον  
τῆς ἰάσεως ὑπαγορεύει σκοπὸν· ἕξ ἐκείνου δ' εὐρίσκε-  
ται τὰ ποιητέα καθ' ὃν ἐγὼ διελέλυθα τρόπον. ὥστε  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ μεθόδῳ θεραπεύειν, ὃ ποιούμεν ἡμεῖς  
ἐπόμενοι τοῖς παλαιοῖς· εἴ γε χρὴ τὴν μέθοδον ὁδὸν  
τινα εἶναι καθόλου μίαν ἀπάντων κοινὴν τῶν κατὰ  
μέρος. ὃ δὲ γε κἄν τούτῳ σφάλλεται καὶ τὸ πάντως  
ὑπάρχον τοῖς ὀτιοῦν μεθόδῳ ποιοῦσι, τοῦτο τὴν μέθ-  
οδον αὐτὴν εἶναι νομίζει. γνῶσιν μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν |  
266K ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστὶ τὸν μεθόθῳ πᾶν ὀτιοῦν ἐργαζόμενον  
ὁμοιότητός τε καὶ ἀνομοιότητος, οὐ μὴν αὐτό γε τοῦτ'  
ἐστίν ἢ μέθοδος, ὁμοίου τε καὶ ἀνομοίου γνῶσις. οὐδὲ  
τοῦτο λέγει Πλάτων ἢ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὧν τολμᾶ κατα-  
ψεύδασθαι Θεσσαλός.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ ταῦτ' ἐξελέγ-

purged immediately, he first uses the medication prepared from mustard, and then passive and vocal exercises, and regimen, and next radishes, and then, in the same way, hel-  
lebores. What is this if not delaying for a year? By the gods, 265K  
in a person who could have been treated in six or, at the most, seven days, must we wait many months, so that we might first know clearly if it is chronic, and then begin the treatment? And why is it necessary to postulate a "community" specific to chronic ulcers, if it gives us no help with our treatments? Although it is possible [to do so], do not write of chronic [ulcers] but of *kakoethical* ones, and not of a "community" indicative of these, by Zeus, but of their treatment. With some ulcers and diseases, it does happen that they are *kakoethical*, but the indication of treatment is not in fact taken from this. Rather, it is the condition itself that suggests the primary indicator of the cure. We discover what is to be done from that in the manner which I recounted in detail. This is to treat by method, which is what we who follow the ancients do. If there should be some methodical path it will, in general, be one common to all [conditions] in turn. In fact, even in this he is mistaken and thinks it is true that for those who do anything whatsoever by method, this is the actual (i.e. the right) method. It is necessary for someone who does anything at all by method to have knowledge of similarity and difference, but not [to believe] that similarity and dissimilarity is itself the method. Neither Plato nor Aristotle says this which Thessalus dares to falsely claim about them.

266K But now is not the time to refute this claim. I shall re-

χειν. αἰθις οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ἐπάνειμι καὶ δείξειν ἐπαγγέλλομαι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς μίαν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἰάσεσι, τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἕως τοῦ τέλους ὁμοίαν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον πάθος ἰδία τις φαίνεται μέθοδος ἰάσεως, ἀλλὰ τό γε κοινὸν ἐφ' ἀπάσαις γένος ἐν ὑπάρχει. ἀρχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ χρὴ τῆς ἐνδείξεως ἀπὸ τῆς διαθέσεως, ἣν θεραπεύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν· ἐπισκέπτεσθαι δὲ καὶ διορίζεσθαι πότερον ἤδη πέπαυται τὸ ποιήσαν αἴτιον τὴν διάθεσιν, ἣ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συνεπαύξει τε καὶ ποιεῖ· κἄπειτα πεπαυμένου μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶνδε τῶν ὑπομνημάτων εἰρημένην μέθοδον ἰτέον· ἔτι δὲ ποιούντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷδε. τῇ γὰρ αὐτῇ μεθόδῳ τῆδε καὶ φλεγμονῆς ἰ καὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν νοσημάτων τὰς ἰάσεις ἐξευρήσομεν, εἰ μὲν μηκέτι γίνονται μηδὲν, μὴ προσχρώμενοι τοῖς προηγησαμένοις αἰτίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς μόνης τῆς διαθέσεως ὀρμώμενοι· εἰ δέ τι καὶ νῦν γίνονται, καὶ διττὸν σκοπὸν τῆς θεραπείας ὑποτιθέμενοι καὶ τᾶλλ' ἐξῆς ὡς εἴρηται ποιούντες.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀναισθησίας τῶν ἐπομένων τῷ Θεσσαλῷ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον· οὐκ ἐπειδὴν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀμαρτάνωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυσπαθείας τε καὶ μετασυγκρίσεις, ἀτονίας τε καὶ ῥώσεις καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα λέγοντες ὀνόματα σημαινόμενα πρὸς αὐτῶν,

<sup>17</sup> Presumably Galen is referring to the distinction between the treatment of an as yet uncomplicated wound and that of a

turn once more to the therapeutic method, and will undertake to show that it has the one point of origin in all cures, and that the path from beginning to end is the same in all particulars. Consequently, if a specific method of cure is apparent for each affection, there is a single class in common for all cures. For it is always necessary to begin the indication from the condition we are trying to treat, although it is also necessary to consider and determine whether the cause which produced the condition has already ceased, or is currently still helping to increase [the condition] and acting. If it has ceased, we must go to the method described in the third book of this treatise; if it is still acting, we must go to the method in this book.<sup>17</sup> For by this same method, we shall discover the cures of inflammation, fever, and in short, of all diseases. If there is nothing still occurring, we would not be making use of the *proeugoumentic* causes but would make a start from the condition itself alone. If, however, there is at the time something else also occurring, we would postulate a second indicator of treatment and do the other things in order, as was said.

But I also think it right to be amazed at the stupidity of those who follow Thessalus. It is not that they are mistaken in such things, but that they speak of *dyspathia* and *metasyncrisis*,<sup>18</sup> of weakness and strength, and many other such things, using terms that signify something to them, but

chronic inflamed wound, which might properly be termed an ulcer, and lesions like this—for example, an abscess or pustule that has burst and is chronically discharging.<sup>18</sup> In this further rant against the Methodics, we have simply transliterated the technical terms, which Galen thinks are meaningless anyway. For a detailed discussion of the theory, see J. Vallance (1990).

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οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ἐρωτηθέντες, ἀποκρίνασθαι δύνανται. τί γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μετασυγκρίνειν τὴν ἕξιν ἐπὶ τῶν χρονιζόντων ἀπάντων οὐθ' ὡσαύτως ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σαφῶς οὔτε νουνεχῶς ἀποκρίνονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἢ παλαιὸν ἢ παρά τινι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν γεγραμμένον τοῦνομα, τάχ' ἂν ἴσως ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι γράφουσιν ἐνόησαμεν ἐφ' ὅτου πράγματος ἐπιφέρουσιν αὐτό· νυνὶ δέ, τῆς γὰρ τούτων ἐμπληξίας ἐστὶν οἰκείον, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου γεγενημένον ὑποθέσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα αὐτῶν | δόγματα δίκαιοι δῆπουθέν εἰσι τοὺς ἰδίους ὀνειρούς ἐξηγεῖσθαι· ὅθεν συγκρίνεσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ διακρίνεσθαι τοῖς ὄγκοις καὶ πόροις ὑποθεμένοις, ἢ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν, ἢ ὅλως ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτα τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα, μόνους ἐγχαρεῖ λέγειν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ λέγουσι καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι. καὶ δῆτα καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ἐν τῷ κανόνι ταύτας κατασκευάζων τὰς ἀρχὰς νεωτεροποιεῖ μὲν τι κακῆ παρὰ τὰ Θεμίσωνί τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ δοκοῦντα· διδάσκει δ' οὖν ὁμοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην οὐκ ἀσαφῶς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μὲν τινι πόρων τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἡμᾶς ὑποθέμενος, ἐν ἀμετρίᾳ δὲ τὸ νοσεῖν, ἐπάνοδον εἶναι τὴν θεραπείαν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν συμμετρίαν τῶν πόρων ὑπέλαβεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλός, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ποροποιΐας ὅλον ὑπαλλάττεσθαι νομίζει, κακὴ ταύτης τῆς ὑπολήψεως ἦκει τὸ μετασυγκρίσεως ὄνομα, ταῦτὸν δηλοῦν δυνάμει τῷ τῆς μεταποροποιήσεως.

<sup>19</sup> We have followed Linacre in assuming that the unstated

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[what this is] they cannot even today answer when asked. For they do not distinguish either clearly or sensibly what the state of *metasyncrisis* is in the case of all chronic [ulcers],<sup>19</sup> even to one another in the same way. If it is a term, either an ancient one or one written by one of the Greeks, perhaps from what those men write we would know to what matter they are applying it. Now however, since it is a characteristic of their stupidity arising from the hypothesis of Asclepiades,<sup>20</sup> as do the rest of their theories also, they are right, I suppose, to interpret their peculiar dreams, with their postulations of bodies coming together and separating, and of *onkoi* (corpuscles) and *poroi* (pores), or atoms and void, and it is possible for them alone to speak of altogether impassible and immutable first elements, as they do when they speak of and continually use these terms. And to be sure, Thessalus too, in his canon, when he formulated these principles, created something novel there besides the suppositions of Themison and Asclepiades. Indeed, he teaches this conceptual scheme of his not without clarity. He does not simply postulate, as Asclepiades does, that our being healthy depends on a certain balance of *poroi*, whereas our being sick depends on an imbalance, and he does not simply take treatment to be a return to the original balance of the *poroi*. Thessalus does think along these lines, but he thinks that the whole manner of the state of the pores is changed, and from this assumption comes to the term *metasyncrisis* which signifies the same as the term *metaporopoiesis* in terms of force.

noun is "ulcer," although Galen could be making a more general claim—for example, about conditions or diseases.

<sup>20</sup> Asclepiades was, in a sense, the founder of Methodic theory.

269K οὐκ ἐχρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς ἀποχωρεῖν τῶν ἀδήλων  
 κελεύει καὶ μόναις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ταῖς ἐναργῶς  
 φαινομέναις κοινότησιν, ἐν τούτοις ἴτι Δογματικοῖς  
 χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. Ἄλλὰ μὴ δογματικῶς ἄκουε  
 λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, φασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφελῶς· εἰώθασιν γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τινες τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πάλιν  
 ἐφ' ἕτερον ἡμᾶς ἄγοντες ὄνομα τὴν ἀφέλειαν, ἣν οὐδ'  
 αὐτὴν ἐγὼ γοῦν ἔχω νοῆσαι τί δηλοῖ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς  
 αὐτοὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξηγούνται, πάλιν εἰς ἕτερον ὄνομα  
 μεταλαμβάνοντες ληρωδέστερον τὸ βιωτικῶς, εἰτ'  
 αὐθις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξηγούμενοί φασι δηλοῦσθαι πρὸς  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡσαύτως, ἴσον  
 ἂν εἴη δήπου τὸ ἀφελῶς τῷ μὴ διηρθρωμένως μὴδ'  
 ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ἀτέχνως τε καὶ χωρὶς ἐπιστήμης ἀπά-  
 σης· φθέγγονται μὲν γὰρ οἱ προπετέστεροι τῶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων ὀνόματα τεχνικὰ μετὰ τινων ὑπονοῶν οὐδὲν  
 ἔχουσῶν ἔρεισμα, τοῖς δ' ἐρωτήσασιν ὃ τί ποτε δη-  
 λούσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀποκρίνασθαι σαφῶς. εἰ δὲ τοῦθ'  
 ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ οἱ Θεοσάλαιοι πεποιθῆναι, φθέγγε-  
 σθαι μὲν τινα, μὴ γινώσκειν δ' ἀκριβῶς ἃ λέγουσιν,  
 αὐτὸ δήπου προσίενται τὸ πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ὀνειδι-  
 ζόμενον. ἢ γοῦν μετασύγκρισις εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν ἰ  
 270K ποροποιίαν ἐναλλάττεσθαι λέγοιτο, νοῦν μὲν ἔξει τινὰ  
 καὶ δηλώσει τι πρᾶγμα, ληρωδῆς δ' ἔσται πολυειδῶς.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ὄγκων καὶ πόρων τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν συν-  
 ἔστηκεν οὔτ' εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἦν, ἔχει τις δεῖξαι  
 πῶς ἐξαλλάττει τὸ νᾶπυ τὴν ποροποιίαν, οὔτ' εἰ καὶ  
 τοῦτ' εἶχε τις δεῖξαι, κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἣν τῆς

But in these matters he ought not to have gone away  
 from the unseen things and exhorted us to turn our atten-  
 tion to the manifestly apparent “communities” alone, still  
 using the Dogmatic terms in these. “But,” they say, “do not  
 269K listen when he speaks ‘dogmatically’ but only when he  
 speaks simply.” For some of his followers are accustomed  
 to apprehend it in this way, directing us back again to an-  
 other term in respect of simplicity—a simplicity which is  
 such that I, at any rate, do not grasp what it signifies. But if,  
 as they themselves explain it, they change from a term in  
 common use to another, quite silly term, and when they  
 come to explain this in turn, they say what is signified by  
 him is like what is signified by the majority of people, this is  
 the equivalent presumably of explaining what is simple in a  
 way that is neither clearly articulated nor precise, but is na-  
 ive and devoid of all science. For these overreckless men  
 spout technical terms with deep meanings devoid of founda-  
 tion, and when asked at some time what they signify,  
 they have no clear answer. If even the Thessaleians admit  
 that they are affected in this way, and that they say certain  
 things without knowing precisely what they are saying,  
 then they are accepting the very thing we reproach them  
 for. Anyway, *metasyncretisis*, if it is said in the case of a  
 change in the state of the pores, will have a certain sense  
 and will signify something, but it will be in a foolish and  
 complicated way. Our bodies are not composed of *onkoi*  
 and *poroi*.<sup>21</sup> Nor, even if this were true, is anyone able to  
 show how mustard changes the state of the *poroi*. And  
 even if someone were able to show this, he would not be in  
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<sup>21</sup> On the nature of *onkoi* (corpuscles) and *poroi* (pores), see J. Vallance (1990), chapter 1, pp. 7–43.

αίρέσεως αὐτῶν, ἀρκεῖσθαι φασκόντων ταῖς φαινο-  
 μέναις κοινότησι. μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ χρῆσθωσαν τῷ  
 ὀνόματι, μηδὲ πράγμαθ' ἡμῖν παρεχέτωσαν· ἔνεστι  
 γὰρ δήπου καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ χρῆσασθαι τῷ τῆς μετα-  
 συγκρίσεως ὀνόματι τὴν θεραπείαν εἰπεῖν τῶν χρο-  
 νιζόντων ἐλκῶν ἐτέροις ὀνόμασιν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Ἐμπει-  
 ρικοὶ ποιοῦσιν.

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ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀτονίας προσηγορία κατὰ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς φλυαρεῖται δέδεικται πρόσθεν ἐν  
 τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς Ἐμπειρικοὶ προσ-  
 φέρονται τοῦνομα, πλέον οὐδὲν δηλοῦσι τοῦ μὴ σφύξε-  
 σθαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν· εἰ δέ τις ὑποτίθεται δυνάμεις  
 τὸ ζῶον διοικεῖν, οἷας ἡμεῖς τε λέγομεν ἅπαντες  
 τε σχεδὸν οἱ παλαιοί, πρὸς τῷ τοῖς Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 δόγμασιν ἐναντία τίθεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀδήλων τε καὶ  
 διαπεφωνημένων ἢ ἐφάψονται, καίτοι φεύγειν ταῦτα  
 παρακελευόμενοι. τί λέγεις ὦ ἄνθρωπε; τὸ μετασυν-  
 κρίνειν ἀποσαφήνισον ἡμῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πό-  
 ρους ὑπαλλάττειν, καὶ ψεῦδη καὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπάπτῃ·  
 εἰ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ῥώννυσθαι τε καὶ ὑγιάζεσθαι τὸ  
 μόριον τοῦ σώματος, ἢ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον, οὐδὲν ἂν  
 πλέον ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν ἀποφαίνη, πλὴν ὀνό-  
 ματος. γινώσκουσι γὰρ δήπου κακῆνοι τῶνδὲ τινων  
 προσαγομένων τῶν βοηθημάτων ὑγιάζεσθαι τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον, ἀλλὰ τί ποιοῦντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσασιν. οὔτε  
 γὰρ εἰ τοὺς πόρους ὑπαλλάττουσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν  
 βοηθημάτων, οὔτ' εἰ συμμετρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκπορίζουσιν,  
 οὔτ' εἰ σύμπαυ ἀλλοιοῦσι κατὰ ποιότητα τὸ θεραπευ-

agreement with their sect, since they say they are satisfied  
 with the apparent "communities." And so let them not use  
 this term or present the matter to us. For it is possible, I  
 presume, to speak of the treatment of chronic ulcers with  
 other terms apart from using the term *metasyncrisis*, just  
 as the Empirics do.

It has also been shown before (in the second book) that  
 the term "weakness" (*atonia*) is used nonsensically by  
 them in the same way. For if they apply the term as the  
 Empirics do, they signify nothing more than the nonpres-  
 ervation of function. If, however, they propose that certain  
 capacities, of the kind we and almost all the ancients speak  
 of, govern the organism and, in addition to this, they postu-  
 late things contrary to the opinions of Asclepiades, they  
 touch on things that are obscure and are points of disagree-  
 ment. And yet they exhort us to avoid these things. What,  
 my dear chap, are you talking about? Make clear to us what  
 the meaning of *metasyncrisis* is. If it is that the *poroi* un-  
 dergo change, you are being deceptive and are touching on  
 obscurities. If, on the other hand, it is that this particular  
 part of the body, or the whole person, is strong and healthy,  
 you would be making clear here nothing more than the  
 Empirics do without the term. For even those men, I pre-  
 sume, know that when some of these remedies are applied,  
 the person becomes healthy. What they do not know, when  
 they do these things, is why. For it is possible for one of the  
 Empirics to say that the potencies of the remedies do not  
 change the pores, or produce balance in them, or change

271K

272K

όμενον μόριον, ἔχει τις εἰπεῖν τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν σωφρονοῦσιν, ἐν μόνον ἐπίστασθαι λέγοντες, ὡς τῷ τοιῷδε νοσήματι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν προσφερομένου τοῦ διὰ νάπυος φαρμάκου, πολλάκις ἐτήρησάν ὠφέλειαν ἀκολουθοῦσαν. οὐ μὴν μεθόδους γε φθέγγονται καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνουσι καὶ σεμνύνονται τῇ τοιαύτῃ γνώσει καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς λοιδοροῦνται καὶ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην τὸ | μηδὲν ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸνναντίον ἐπαινοῦσί τε καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντά φασιν ἀληθεύειν αὐτόν.

ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν ἀπάντων καταφρονήσας Θεσσαλὸς ἔλκουσ κακοήθους Ἐμπειρικὴν ἀναγράφων διδασκαλίαν οὐκ αἰσθάνεται καίτοι γ' εἰ καὶ τούτο δεόντως ἐποίησεν, ἦν ἂν τι πλέον ἐξεργασμένος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔοικεν, ὑπαλλάττων τὴν τάξιν τῶν βοηθημάτων καὶ πρότερον χρώμενος τῷ τοῦ πεπονθότος μέρους, πρὶν ἂν τὸ σύμπαν σῶμα παρασκευάσαι. τούτο γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν ἀμαθίας ἔχει μόνον γοῦν σχεδόν τι τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἅπασιν ὠμολόγηται καίτοι γε τῶν πλείστων διαπεφωνημένων, τὸ πᾶν σῶμα κενὸν καὶ ἀπέριττον ἐργάζεσθαι, πρὶν ὅτιοῦν μόριον ἰσχυροῖς ὑποβάλλειν βοηθήμασιν. εἴτε γὰρ τῇ πείρᾳ κρίνειν ἐθέλει τις ἂν, εἴτε καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, τρίτον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον κριτήριον οὔτε κατ' ἄλλην τέχνην οὔτε καθ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ἔχομεν, εὐρήσει μέγιστον κακὸν ὑπάρχον, ὅταν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐπικουρίας δεομένου, πρὶν ἐκείνου προνοήσασθαι, τῷ πεπονθότι μορίῳ προσφέρει τις

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the whole part being treated in terms of quality. Those men, then, are of sound mind when they claim to know one thing alone; that in this particular disease, and at this particular time, when they apply the medication made from mustard, they often observe a benefit that follows. At least they don't talk about methods, or raise their eyebrows, or exalt themselves with such knowledge, or revile the ancients and accept nothing Hippocratic but, on the contrary, they praise him and say that he speaks the truth in almost every instance.

Thessalus, however, since he despises both Hippocrates and all other doctors, does not understand the Empiric teaching on *kakoethical* ulcers when he describes it. Indeed, if he had done this as he ought, he would have achieved rather more. But he does not seem to do even this, changing the order of the remedies and using them first on the affected part before providing for the whole body. This betokens an excess of ignorance. Although they disagree on most things, the one thing that almost all doctors do agree on is to make the whole body empty and without superfluity before subjecting any part of it whatsoever to strong remedies. If anyone wishes to judge, either by experience or by reasoning—and we have no other, third criterion, whether in relation to another craft or to life as a whole—he will discover that it is very harmful, whenever the whole body requires succor, if he gives thought to the affected part before the whole body, and applies any sort of

273K ὁτιοῦν δριμύ καὶ θερμόν φάρμακον· ἢ ἔλκει γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ δίκην σικύας ἐξ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος τὰ περιτώματα καὶ στηρίζει δυσλύτως κατὰ τὸ πεπονθὸς μέρος.

ἄξιον οὖν ἐρέσθαι τοὺς Θεσσαλείους, πόθεν ἐπήλθε τῷ Θεσσαλῷ τοιαῦτα φλυαρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλκῶν κακοηθῶν ἰάσεως· οὔτε γὰρ Ἐμπειρικός οὐδέ τις τῶν πρόσθεν οὔτε Λογικός ἀνὴρ οὕτως ἔγραψεν· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Θεσσαλός, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τις τολμήσειεν εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ πείρα συμφωνεῖν ἢ τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν τοιαύτην τάξιν τῶν βοηθημάτων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖξαι δύνανται, πῶς ὁ χρόνος, οὐχ ἢ διάθεσις ἐνδείκνυται καὶ τὸ τούτου μειζόν ἐστι, πῶς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεσσαλός, ἀξίων σκέπτεσθαι τί τὸ ἐμποδίζον ἐστὶ τὴν συνουλώσιν τῶν ἐλκῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκκόπτειν, οὐχὶ τελέως ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος; ἅμα μὲν οὐκ εἰδῶς ὡς τοῦτ' ἀρκεῖ μόνον, ἢ χρονιότης δὲ τῶν ἐλκῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔπος, ἅμα δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ἐλκῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων νοσημάτων τοῦτο ποιητέον ἐστίν, ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ παραινέουσιν. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνονται παρ-  
274K ακοῶς δὲ ἐκάστοτε λέγοντες ὡς δῆθεν ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκότες ἢ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους, ἢ τὴν ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν παλαιῶν γνώμην, ὀρθῶς φασι τὸν Θεσσαλὸν ἀποφήνασθαι χρονίων ἐλκῶν εἶναι τινα κοινότητα μίαν. οὕτω γοῦν καὶ Ἱπποκράτην γινώσκειν ἐν τῷ *Περὶ ἐλκῶν* ὧδέ πως γράψαντα· Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπαλαιωμένων ἐλκῶν ξυμφέρεται αἷμα ποιεῖν ἀπορρέειν πυκνά, ὅπως ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι.

sharp and hot medication. This draws to itself the superfluities of the whole body, like a cupping glass, and fixes them indissolubly in the affected part. 273K

It is, then, worth asking the Thessaleians how it came to Thessalus to talk such nonsense about the cure of *kakothical* ulcers. For no Empiric of those who came before, nor any Dogmatic, wrote in this way. But not even Thessalus himself, nor any of those who follow him, will dare to say they agree with such an order of remedies on the basis of either experience or reasoning. Nor are they able to show how the time rather than the condition provides the indication. And much more than this, how is this Thessalus, who thinks it worthwhile to consider what is hindering the cicatrization of the ulcer and excise it, not absolutely stupid? At one and the same time, he does not know that this is sufficient alone, and that the chronicity of wounds and ulcers is of no relevance, and that this does not apply to wounds and ulcers alone, but also must be done to all other diseases, as the ancients recommend. But they have no answer for us on these matters, saying on each occasion that there has been a misunderstanding and that they have, would you believe, learned accurately the Hippocratic concept or that of another of the ancients, and they say Thessalus is right to declare that there is one "community" of chronic wounds and ulcers. At least they do know that Hippocrates, in the [work] *On Wounds (Ulcers)*, wrote as follows: "It is beneficial to make blood flow away from long-standing wounds and ulcers repeatedly in whatever way seems opportune."<sup>22</sup> 274K

<sup>22</sup> Hippocrates, *Peri hekōn* 2, LCL, *Hippocrates*, vol. VIII, pp. 344-45.

τάχα οὖν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη, καίτοι μὴ προηρημένον με περὶ τῆς Ἱπποκράτους γνώμης ἐνταυθοῖ διέρχεσθαι, δηλώσαι τι κἂν διὰ κεφαλαίων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· εἴη δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν διανοίας ἐξήγησις ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐκείνοι γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἅτε μήπω δουλεύοντες αἰρέσει δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ καθαρῶ καὶ ἀπλῆ τῇ διανοίᾳ σπουδάζοντες ἐξευρίσκουν τι χρηστὸν εἰς τὰς ἰάσεις, ἔμελλον δὴπου τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πείρας εὐρήσειν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου· καὶ γράψουν γε τὰ εὐρημένα πολλαχόθι μὲν χωρὶς τοῦ προσθέναι τὸν τρόπον τῆς εὐρέσεως, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ σὺν τούτῳ· καὶ τοῦτό γε ποιήσειν αὐτὸ τῆς ὠφελείας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιδέξιον χρήσιν τῶν εὐρημένων ἠλπιζόν τι συντελέσειν τοῖς ἔπειτα τὸν τρόπον τῆς εὐρέσεως γνωσθέντα, | **275K** τηρικαῦτα μὲν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψον· εἰ δὲ μή, περιττόν τε λέγειν ἠγοῦντο καὶ παρέλειπον, ὅτι γὰρ εἴ πέρ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἢ βραχυλογία τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐτετίμητο, πάντες ἤδη τοῦτο γινώσκουσι κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω· καὶ διὰ γε ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ Ἱπποκράτης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παλαιοὶ τὸ μέσον ὑπερβαίνοντες ἐνίοτε τῷ πρώτῳ τὸ τρίτον συνάπτουσιν. εἰ γὰρ σημείον μὲν εἴη τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου, τούτῳ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔπειτο τὸ τρίτον, οὕτως ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ πρώτῳ τὸ τρίτον ὑπερβαίνοντες τὸ δεύτερον. ἔδειξα δὲ πολλάκις τοιαῦτα τοὺς τ' ἄλλους παλαιοὺς καὶ μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ἱπποκράτην γράψαντα, καὶ χρή τὸν βουλόμενον ἐθάδα γενέσθαι παλαιῆς ἐρμηνείας ἐν ἐκείνοις γυμνά-

Although I have not previously chosen to discourse on the opinion of Hippocrates here, perhaps it would be better to make known something about this, even if only in summary. This same discussion would also be no less a statement of the thought of the ancients. For those men, inasmuch as they were not yet slaves to any school of opinions, were eager to discover, by understanding pure and simple, what was useful for cures. They intended, I presume, to discover some through experience and some through reason, and to write about those discoveries in many places without adding the manner of discovery, although sometimes with this as well, at least if it would be of benefit for the readers. Since they anticipated to some extent that knowing the manner of discovery would contribute something to the skillful use of the discoveries by those who followed, then under those circumstances they wrote precisely. If not, they believed that to speak was superfluous and omitted [to do so]. Apart from anything else, this was because brevity had been prized by the ancients—everyone already knows this, even if I do not say [it]. For this very reason, not only Hippocrates but also the other ancients, if they passed over the middle, sometimes connected the third to the first. For if the first was a sign of the second, and the third followed this of necessity, in this way they impute the third to the first, passing over the second. I have shown often that the other ancients, and most of all Hippocrates, wrote such things, and it behooves someone who wishes to become familiar with the ancient



σασθαι. νυνὶ δ' αὐτὸ τὸ προβεβλημένον ἐξηγήσομαι μόνον.

5. Ὅσα γὰρ τῶν ἐλκῶν, ἀπάντων ὀρθῶς καὶ δεόντως γιγνομένων ὁμως οὐ θεραπεύεται, καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν κακοήθη, χρονίζει δὲ πάντως ὅταν τὴν ὡς ἐλκῶν μόνην αὐτοῖς τις ἐπάγει θεραπείαν. ἥτις δ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν ὡς ἐλκῶν ἴασις ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ διώριστα. ταῦτα ἰ γοῦν τὰ ἔλκη καὶ κακοήθη καὶ πεπαλαιωμένα καὶ χρονίζοντα καλοῦσιν, ἀδιαφόρως χρώμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διαγνῶναι τὴν διάθεσιν, ὅτι κακοήθης, ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις γνωρίσμασι καὶ τὸ χρονίζειν αὐτὰ πάντων τῶν δεόντων γιγνομένων ἔχει τινὰ μοῖραν. οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ χρονίζειν ἢ χρόνια καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐνδείκνυται θεραπείαν· ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τούτου τὸ μοχθηρῶς διακεῖσθαι τὸ ἠλκωμένον μόριον ἔνεστι συλλογίσασθαι τούτου δ' εὐρεθέντος εὐπορηῆσαι τῆς θεραπείας. πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; εἰ μὲν μόνα τὰ περιέχοντα μόρια τὴν ἔλκωσιν οὕτως εἴη διακείμενα, ταῦτ' ἐξιασάμενον· εἰ δὲ σύμπαν τὸ σῶμα κακοχυμίας τινὸς εὐρίσκειτο μεστόν, ἐκείνην ἐκκενώσαντα. σημεῖον μὲν οὖν τῆς κακοχυμίας τὸ χρονίζειν τὰ ἔλκη· τοῦ συμφέροντος δ' ἡ εὐρεσις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ χρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κακοχυμίας.

ὥστ' εἶναι τρία ταῦτ' ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλων, τὸ σημεῖον, τὴν διάθεσιν, τὴν θεραπείαν· σημεῖον μὲν τὸ χρονίζειν· διάθεσιν δὲ τὴν κακοχυμίαν· θεραπείαν δὲ τὴν ταύτης κένωσιν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοὺς παλαι-

interpretations to be practiced in those things. Now I shall explain the actual proposition alone.

5. Doctors call *kakoethical* those ulcers which, despite everything being done correctly and properly, are nevertheless not cured, and to all intents and purposes become chronic whenever someone applies to them the treatment that is solely for ulcers. What the cure is of ulcers as ulcers has been defined in the book prior to this one. Anyway, they call these ulcers *kakoethical*, long-standing and chronic, using the terms for them without distinction. And indeed, when it comes to diagnosing the condition—that it is *kakoethical*, along with the other notable features—the chronicity is one part of all the essential aspects. It is not actually this chronicity itself, or being called and being chronic, which indicates the appropriate treatment, but from this [chronicity] it is possible to infer the bad state of the ulcerated part. Once this is discovered, you will find the means of treatment. How and in what manner? If only those parts containing the ulcerated area are affected in this way, you will cure these completely. If, however, the whole body is found to be full of *kakochymia*, you evacuate that. Chronicity in ulcers is, then, a sign of *kakochymia*. The discovery of what is useful is not, however, from the chronicity but from the *kakochymia*.

Therefore, there are these three things that follow each other: the sign, the condition, and the treatment. Chronicity is the sign, *kakochymia* is the condition, and the evacuation of the *kakochymia* is the treatment. In regard

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277K οὐς ἢ ὑπερβαίνοντας τὸ μέσον ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον εὐθέως ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου παραγίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ἐποίησεν εἰπὼν· Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπαλαιωμένων ἐλκῶν ξυμφέρει αἷμα ποιέειν πυκινά, ὅπως ἂν δοκέῃ καιρὸς εἶναι· οὐ τῆς παλαιότητος δῆπουθεν ἐνδειξαμένης τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μοχθηρίας τοῦ αἵματος· ἐπιφέρων γοῦν αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ· Κωλύει γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλκεα ὑγιαίνεισθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα σύμπαντα αἵματος σηπεδόν, καὶ ὃ τι ἐξ αἵματος μεταστάσιος γεγένηται· καὶ δὴ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον αἰθῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ συνιόντων εἰς οὐλήν ἐλκῶν διεξιῶν, Οὐδ' ἦν, φησι, τὰ περιέχοντα τοῦ ἔλκεος μελανθῆ αἵματος σηπεδόνι, ἣ καὶ κισσοῦ παρέχοντος τὴν ἐπιρροήν, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐθέλει συνιέναι, ἦν μὴ τὰ περιέχοντα τοῦ ἔλκεος ὑγία ποιήσης· εἶτα καὶ περὶ τῶν κισσῶν τῆς ἰάσεως γράφει· καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἔτι καθάρσεως μέμνηται τοῦ σύμπαντος σώματος ἐπὶ τε ἄλλοις τισὶ τρώμασι καὶ οἷς σφακελίσαι κίνδυνος, ἔρρησί τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐσθιομένοισιν· οὕτω δ' ὀνομάζειν εἴωθε τὰ ἀναβιβρωσκόμενα· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς πάλιν

278K ᾧδὲ πὼς φησιν· Ἐπὶ παντὶ ἢ ἔλκει, ἐρυσιπέλατος ἐπιγενομένου, κάθαρσιν ποιέεσθαι παντὸς τοῦ σώματος·

καὶ ὅλως εἰ θελήσαις ἐπιμελῶς διελθεῖν τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν βιβλίον, εὐρήσεις αὐτὸν ἀεὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν διαθέσεων τὴν ἐνδειξὴν λαμβάνοντα· προσχράμενον δὲ ποτε τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τὴν τῆς διαθέσεως διάγνωσιν· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει μάθους ἂν ἐκ πρώτης μὲν ἀρχῆς

to this, the ancients often passed over the middle to come straight to the third from the first, just as Hippocrates also did when he said: "And it is useful to make the blood flow repeatedly from long-standing ulcers in whatever way seems opportune."<sup>23</sup> It is not, of course, the chronicity which indicates the treatment but the bad condition of the blood. At any rate, he himself goes on to say: "For it particularly prevents such ulcers being restored to health, as also does every other putrefaction of blood, and whatever has arisen from a transformation of the blood."<sup>24</sup> And indeed, shortly after, when he again goes over ulcers not coming together to form a scar, he says: "If the parts surrounding the ulcer become black due to putrefaction of blood, or also due to a varix providing the flow, they are not able to unite unless you make those parts healthy."<sup>25</sup> Then he writes about the cure of varices. In addition to these [observations], he mentions as well purging of the whole body for certain other wounds in which there is also a danger of gangrene, for the herpetic ulcers, and for all those that are "eaten away" (for this is how he is accustomed to name erosions). And furthermore, in what follows, he again speaks thus: "For every ulcer, when erysipelas supervenes, carry out purging of the whole body."<sup>26</sup>

In general, if you wish to go over his book *On Wounds (Ulcers)* carefully, you will find he always takes the indication from the conditions, although he sometimes makes use of the time in regard to the diagnosis of the condition. That this is the case, you may learn from the very begin-

<sup>23</sup> See n. 22 above.

<sup>24</sup> Hippocrates, *Peri hekton*, pp. 346-47.

<sup>25</sup> Op. cit., pp. 368-69.

<sup>26</sup> Loc. cit.

τοῦ συγγράμματος, ἐχούσης ὡδε: Ἐλκεα ξύμπαντα οὐ  
 χρή τέγγειν πλὴν οἴνω· ὅτι πολλάκις ἑτέρα διάθεσις  
 ἐπιπλακείσα τῷ ἔλκει κωλύει τὴν ὡς ἔλκουσ προσ-  
 φέρεσθαι θεραπείαν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν διδάσκων φησί·  
 Τὸ γὰρ ξηρὸν τοῦ ὑγιέος ἐγγυτέρω ἐστί, τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν  
 τοῦ μὴ ὑγιέος. εἴθ' ἐξῆς· Τὸ γὰρ ἔλκος ὑγρὸν ἐστί· τὸ  
 δὲ ὑγιὲς ξηρὸν ἐστί. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καθ' ὅλον τὸ σύγ-  
 γραμμα τῆς θεραπείας τῶν ἐλκῶν ἀπάσης σκοπὸν  
 ποιησάμενος τὸ ξηραίνειν, οὕτως ἤδη τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 ἐξευρίσκει, σὺν τῷ καὶ πολλάκις ἀναμιμνήσκει ἡμᾶς  
 τοῦ σκοποῦ. ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ γράφαι, τῶν δὲ ἐλκῶν ὃ τι  
 μὲν ἂν ὀξεὶ βέλει ἢ<sup>4</sup> διατμηθῆ ἢ διακοπῆ, ἐνδέχεται  
 καὶ ἔναιμιον φάρμακον τὸ κωλύον διαπύειν καὶ ἀναξη-  
 ραίνειν· γίνεται γὰρ ἀπορρέοντος τοῦ αἵματος ξηρότε-  
 ρον. | καὶ πάλιν· Ὀκοῖα δ' ἂν καθαρθέντα καλῶς καὶ  
 ἐς τὸ δέον αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον θεραπεύεται, πλὴν εἰ  
 θλασθῆ. καὶ πάλιν, Ὁ τι δ' ἂν μὴ δύνηται προσθεῖ-  
 ναι, ἢ σὰρξ ὑγρὴ ἐοῦσα αἰτίη ἐστίν· ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις  
 ἅπασιν ἀναμιμνήσκει τοῦ πρώτου σκοποῦ τῶν ἐλκῶν  
 τῆς ἰάσεως.

Ἐλκουσ γὰρ ἢ ἔλκος ἐστὶν ἴαμα τὸ ξηραίνεσθαι  
 μετρίως· εἴρηται δ' ἢ ἀπόδειξις ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου  
 βιβλίῳ. τοῦ μέντοι μεθ' ἑτέρας διαθέσεως ἢς πρώτης  
 χρή ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, οὐκ ἔθ' ὡς ἔλκουσ  
 ἐστὶν ἢ θεραπεία μόνου, ἀλλὰ πρώτη μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς  
 διαθέσεως, ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῦ ἔλκουσ· εἴτε γὰρ φλεγμονή

<sup>4</sup> ἢ om. videtur B, recte fort.

ning of the book, which has the following: "All ulcers  
 should not be moistened other than with wine."<sup>27</sup> This is  
 because often another condition interwoven with the ulcer  
 prevents the application of the treatment for ulcers. And  
 when he teaches the cause, he says: "For dryness is nearer  
 to health, whereas moistness is nearer to not being  
 healthy."<sup>28</sup> Then next [he says]: "For the ulcer is moist,  
 while what is healthy is dry."<sup>29</sup> Because of this, since he  
 made drying the objective of every treatment of ulcers  
 throughout the whole treatise, he already reveals in this  
 way particular instances by which he reminds us often of  
 this objective. Thus, in this [work] he wrote: "In those  
 wounds which are cut through or gashed by a sharp arrow,  
 it is possible for a blood-stanching medication to prevent  
 suppuration and drying out. For when blood flows, drying  
 occurs." And again: "Those wounds that are purged prop-  
 erly and to the extent that is necessary are always treated  
 toward the more dry unless there is bruising." And again:  
 "If union cannot come about, the cause is the moist flesh."  
 In all such instances he reminds us of the primary objec-  
 tive of the cure of ulcers.

The cure of an ulcer *qua* ulcer is to dry moderately. The  
 demonstration was set out in the book prior to this one. Of  
 course, when the ulcer occurs with another condition  
 which demands primary care, the treatment is no longer  
 that of an ulcer alone, but first of that condition and next  
 after that of the ulcer. For if there is some inflammation,

<sup>27</sup> This is the opening sentence of Hippocrates' *Peri helkōn*,  
 pp. 342-43.

<sup>28</sup> These two statements immediately follow  
 the opening sentence.

<sup>29</sup> For this and the several immedi-  
 ately following references, see Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn*, p. 343ff.

τις, εἴτε μελανότης, εἴτ' ἐκχύμωσις, εἴτ' ἐρυσίπελας, εἴτ' οἰδημα περὶ τὴν ἠλκωμένην συσταίη σάρκα, πρώτης ἐκείνης χρὴ ποιείσθαι τὴν θεραπείαν. ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τὸ ἔλκος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ ὅτι θεραπεύεται προσηκόντως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὸν μείζον ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται, παντί που δῆλον· εἴτε γὰρ θλασθείη τὰ πέριξ χωρία τοῦ ἔλκους, εἴτε φλεγμονή τις, εἴτ' ὄγκος ἕτερος ἐν αὐτοῖς συσταίῃ, τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκείνης τῆς διαθέσεως ἴασιν ἐξευρήσομεν, εὖ εἰδότες ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἰαθῆναι τὸ ἔλκος πρὶν ὑγιᾶναι τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνέστη. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἱπποκράτης ἀναμνησκων ἡμᾶς ὦν εὐθύς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἀπεφήνατο, τά τ' ἄλλα τὰ μικρῶ πρόσθεν εἰρημένα προσέγραψε καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάδε·

Τῶν δ' ἐλκείων ὅτι μὲν ἂν ὀξεὶ βέλει ἢ διατμηθῇ, ἢ διακοπῇ, ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἑναίμων φάρμακον τὸ κωλύον διαπύειν καὶ ἀναξηραίνον. εἰ τις δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βέλους ἐθλάσθη τε καὶ διεκόπη σάρξ, ταύτην ἰατρεύειν, ὅπως διάπυος ὡς τάχιστα γένηται ἡττόν τε γὰρ φλεγμαίνει καὶ ἀνάγκη τὰς σάρκας τὰς θλασθείσας καὶ κοπέισας καὶ σαπίσας καὶ πύον γεννωμένας ἐκτακῆναι, ἔπειτα βλαστάνειν νέας σάρκας.

δηλοῖ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ σαφῶς ὡς μόνως ἐκείνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις μέρεσι γινομένων διαθέσεων οὐ χρὴ ξηραίνειν ἐφ' ὧν ὅτι τάχιστα γεννησάι βουλόμεθα πύον, εὐθύς συνεμφαίνων ὅτι μετὰ σήψεώς τινος γεννᾶται τὸ πύον. ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ σηπόμενα θερμῶ καὶ ὑγρῶ τοῦτο πάσχει, καὶ τοῖνον

blackness, ecchymosis, erysipelas or edema existing in the flesh around what is ulcerated, we must make the treatment of that primary. Anyway, it is clear to everyone that, unless the ulcer is being treated properly during this time, it becomes much larger than it was. If the areas around the ulcer are bruised, or there is some inflammation, or some other swelling exists in them, we will find the specific cure of that condition, knowing full well that it is not possible for the ulcer to be cured before the place in which it exists is made healthy. Because of this, Hippocrates himself also reminded us of those things he had stated right at the start of the book when he wrote, in addition to the other things mentioned a little earlier, as follows:

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In the case of wounds that are cut through or gashed by a sharp arrow, it is possible for a blood-stanching medication to prevent suppuration and drying out. However, if some flesh is bruised and gashed by the arrow, treat this in such a way that suppuration is produced as quickly as possible because then it will be less inflamed. Of necessity, the flesh which has been bruised, beaten and putrefied, and has generated pus, dissolves away and then produces new flesh.

He clearly makes known in this work that, among the conditions occurring in the wounded or ulcerated parts, it is not necessary to dry only those in which we wish pus to be generated as quickly as possible. He directly indicates at the same time that pus is generated with some putrefaction. However, all things that putrefy suffer this due to heat and moisture. Therefore, we also apply plasters made

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καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ὠμηλύσεως καταπλάσματα θερμαίνοντά τε καὶ ὑγραίνοντα προσφέρομεν ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐκπυῆσαι δεομένων | διαθέσεων. ὠμήλυσις γὰρ δι' ὕδρελαίου καὶ ἄρτος δι' ὕδρελαίου καὶ καταϊόνησις δι' ὕδατος θερμοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ ἡ τετραφάρμακος δύναμις, ἅπαντά τε τὰ θερμαίνοντα καὶ ὑγραίνοντα διαπνύσκει τάχιστα. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φλεγμαίνουσι μορίοις, ἐπειδὴν ἤδη σφύζῃ σφοδρότερον, ὡς ἀπελπισθῆναι τὴν χωρὶς διαπνύσεως ἴασιν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἅπαντες οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσφέρουσι φάρμακα, πρότερον δ' οὐ. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰπποκράτης ἐναργῶς ἡμᾶς διδάσκει κατὰ τε τὴν προγεγραμμένην ῥῆσιν, ἐν ἧ κελεύει τὰ μὲν χωρὶς τοῦ τεθλάσθαι τετρωμένα μόρια ξηραίνειν ὡς μάλιστα, τὰ δ' ἅμα θλάσει τινὲ γεγεννημένα διαπνύσκειν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ μέντοι κάπειδαν εἶπη,

Τὰ δὲ ἔλκεα ὅσα μὴ καλῶς καθαρθέντα ἐς τὸ δέον, αἰεὶ πρότερον ἄρξεται βλαστάνειν, ταῦτα ὑπερσαρκέει μάλιστα· ὅκοια δ' ἂν καθαρθέντα καλῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ δέον αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον θεραπεύεται, πλὴν εἰ θλασθῆ, ταῦτα οὐχ ὑπερσαρκέει ὡς ἐπιπολύ.

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καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλὴν εἰ θλασθῆ προσκείμενον ἀναμιμνήσκει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν | προγεγραμμένην λέξιν εἰρημένου, τοῦ χρῆναι πάντα ξηραίνεσθαι πλὴν τῶν θλασθέντων.

<sup>30</sup> Compounded from wax, resin, pitch, and fat; see *De sim-*

from barley meal that are both heating and moistening in all conditions requiring suppuration. For barley meal made with a water-oil mixture, bread made with a water-oil mixture, irrigation with copious hot water, the "tetrapharmaceutical potency,"<sup>30</sup> and all those things that are heating and moistening, very quickly cause thoroughgoing suppuration. Because of this too, all the ancients applied such medications to parts that are inflamed, whenever they are already throbbing quite severely such that a cure is despaired of without suppuration, but not before this. This is something Hippocrates himself also clearly teaches us in the previously quoted statement in which he recommends that parts that have been wounded without bruising be dried to the maximum extent, while those parts [in which wounding] has occurred along with some bruising be brought to thoroughgoing suppuration as quickly as possible. Indeed, he says,

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Those wounds that are not purified properly and to the necessary extent before new growth begins always have the greatest excess of flesh, while wounds that are purified properly and to the extent that is necessary are always treated by what is more drying unless they are bruised, as they do not have an excess of flesh to any great extent.<sup>31</sup>

The addition here "unless they are bruised" reminds us of what was said in the previously written statement—that all wounds and ulcers need to be dried except those that are bruised. 282K

*plicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, Book 2, XII.328K. <sup>31</sup> This is not an exact quotation; see Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn*, pp. 348–49.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅποτε τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα καταπλάσσεται  
θερμαίνοντι καὶ ὑγραίνοντι καταπλάσματι, κατὰ πρῶ-  
τον λόγον γίνεται τοῦτο· τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐχ ὡς ἴαμα τῆς  
διαθέσεως, ἀλλ' ὡς παρηγορία τοῦ συμπτώματος·  
ἐπεὶ τοὶ τὰ τῶν φλεγμονῶν αὐτῶν ἰάματα τῆς ξηρο-  
τέρας ἐστὶ δυνάμειος. ἄκουσον γοῦν λέγοντος τοῦ  
Ἱπποκράτους, Καταπλάσματα οἰδημάτων καὶ φλε-  
γμασίης τῆς ἐν τοῖς περιέχουσιν, εἰ ἐφθῆ φλόμος, καὶ  
τῆς τριφύλλου τὰ φύλλα ὡμὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιπέτρου τὰ  
φύλλα ἐφθὰ καὶ τὸ πόλιον· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ξηραί-  
νειν πέφυκε, καθότι κὰν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων ὑπομνή-  
μασιν ἐλέγετο. καὶ ἡ σύντομος θεραπεία τῶν φλε-  
γμαίνοντων μορίων, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτελεῖται  
φαρμάκων, ἃ ἦτοι τελέως ἐξιάται τὴν διάθεσιν· ἢ εἰ  
καὶ καταλείπει τι βραχὺ διαπνύσκον, ἐτέρου χρήζει  
φαρμάκου δριμέος ἐκκεοῦν δυναμένου τὸ πῦον· ἢ  
εἴπερ λεπτὸν εἴη τὸ περιέχον δέρμα καὶ θάπτον ἀπαλ-  
λάξαι τὸν κάμνοντα βουλόμεθα, τομῆς ἐστὶ χρεία. ἢ  
283K δὲ διὰ τῆς ὠμηλύσεως ἀγωγή τῶν φλεγμαινόντων | ἐκ  
τοῦ παρηγορικοῦ τρόπου τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν, οὐ τοῦ  
θεραπευτικοῦ τε καὶ ἀγωνιστικοῦ· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς  
τῶν τοιούτων διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς πλέον ἐροῦμεν.

ὅτι δὲ τὰ ἔλκη πάντα ξηραίνειν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης  
κελεύει καὶ ὅτι τὸν σκοπὸν εἶναι τῆς ἰάσεως ἀπεφή-  
νατο τῆς διαθέσεως ἐνδειξαμένης, οὐ τοῦ χρόνου,  
σαφῶς ἤδη μοι δεδείχθαι νομίζω. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ μᾶλλον  
πεισθῆναι βούλεται, τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν βιβλίῳ τὰν-  
δρὸς ἐπιπλέον ὀμιλησάτω πάντα, γνώσεται γὰρ ἕναρ-

According to the first statement, this does not occur  
when those wounds that are inflamed are poulticed with a  
heating and moistening cataplasm. This is not applied as a  
cure of the condition but as a paretoric of the symptom,  
since surely the cures of inflammations themselves are of a  
more drying potency. At any rate, listen when Hippocrates  
says: "Cataplasms for swelling and inflammation involving  
the surrounding parts [are to be of] boiled mullein, the un-  
cooked leaves of the trefoil (clover), the boiled leaves of  
sedum and hulkwort."<sup>32</sup> All these are drying by nature in the  
manner spoken of in the treatises on medications. A short-  
ened treatment of the inflamed parts is accomplished by  
such medications, which either completely get rid of the  
condition or, if anything suppurating remains even to a  
slight degree, there is need of another sharp medication  
which is able to clear out the pus. If, however, the sur-  
rounding skin is thin and we wish to release the patient  
more quickly, there is need of an incision. The carrying  
away of the inflammation through barley meal is from the  
paregoric part of the craft and not from the therapeutic or  
"aggressive" part. But I shall speak more about the differ-  
ence between such things in what follows.

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I have, I think, already clearly shown that Hippocrates  
recommends drying of all wounds and ulcers, and that he  
declared the indicator of the cure to be from the indicat-  
ing condition and not from the time. If, however, anyone  
wishes to be persuaded further, let him attend all the more  
to Hippocrates' book on wounds and ulcers and he will  
clearly know this very thing: that there is one cure of all

<sup>32</sup> Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn* 11, pp. 352-53.

γὼς αὐτό τε τοῦτο τὸ μίαν εἶναι πάντων ἐλκῶν ἴασι  
καθόλου τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ δε-  
δειγμένην, ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτῳ κάκεινο μαθήσεται, τὸ  
μηδεμίαν ὑπάρχειν ἔνδειξιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μήτ' ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἐλκῶν μήτ' ἐπὶ τῶν φλεγμονῶν μήθ' ἀπλῶς ἐπ'  
ἄλλης ἡστινοσοῦν διαθέσεως.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου γεγόναμεν, ἐπιδείξαι  
δίκαιον ὡς οὐ μόνον ὧν ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν εὐρετῆς ὁ  
Ἱπποκράτης ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσα  
χρῆ γινώσκειν τὸν μέλλοντα καλῶς ἔλκος ἰάσασθαι.  
φαίνεται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄνευ τινὸς ἐτέρας δια-  
θέσεως ἐλκῶν ἐξευρῶν τὴν ἴασι, | ὡς ἐν τῷ ξηραίνειν  
ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν διαθέσεων ἀπασῶν, ἐκάστης ἰδίᾳ  
κατ' εἶδος. ἦτοι γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἐπιρρεῖ τῷ δεδεγμένῳ τὴν  
ἐλκωσι μορίῳ μοχθηρὸς χυμὸς, ἢ ἐπιρρεῖ· μηκέτι  
μὲν οὖν ἐπιρρέοντος, αὐτὸ μόνον ἰᾶσθαι χρῆ τὸ  
πεπονηθός· εἰ μὲν ἦτοι πελιδνόν, ἢ μέλαν, ἢ ἐρυθρόν  
εἴη, σχάζοντάς τε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀφαιροῦντας· εἴθ'  
οὕτως παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐπιθέντας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε,  
σπόγγον ξηρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ὑγρότερον· οὐ γὰρ  
ἀγνοήσειεν οἰμαί τινα τὸ ἢ μόριον ἀποφάσεως ἔχον  
ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ οὕτως εἶπε, ξηρότερον,  
οὐχ ὑγρότερον· ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ξηραίνουσι φαρμάκοις  
χρωμένους, εἴτ' εἰ πάλιν δεήσειεν, αἰθις αἵματος  
ἀφαιροῦντας· εἴτ' αἰθις τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ἄχρις  
ἂν ἐξυγιασθῆ τελέως· εἰ δὲ τὰ χεῖλη σκληρὰ καὶ  
τυλώδη φαίνονται, περιτέμνοντας αὐτά· καὶ γὰρ δὴ  
καὶ περὶ τούτων φησί· Τῶν δ' ἐλκῶν τὰ κυκλωτέρῃ ἦν

wounds and ulcers in general, [and it is] the one I have  
shown in the book prior to this one. In addition to this, he  
will learn that there is no indication from the time—not in  
the case of wounds and ulcers, not in the case of inflamma-  
tions, and not, in short, in the case of any other condition  
whatsoever.

Since I have come to this point in the discussion, it is  
fitting to show that Hippocrates is not only the discoverer  
of those things I went over just now, but also of all the other  
things someone who intends to cure a wound or ulcer  
properly must know. Not only did he quite clearly discover  
the cure of wounds and ulcers not associated with some  
other condition, which lies in drying, but also of all other  
conditions, each one individually in terms of kind. For the  
bad humor either no longer flows to the part receiving the  
ulceration, or it does flow. If it is no longer flowing, it is  
necessary to cure only what is actually affected. If this is  
livid, black or red, it is necessary to cure by scarifying  
and releasing the blood, and then immediately applying a  
sponge that is more dry rather than more moist, as he said.  
I do not believe anyone will be ignorant about the part  
which the force of negation has here, as he stated it in this  
way—"drier not more moist." Thereafter, use the drying  
medications, and if needed again, a further removal of  
blood, and next in turn do the same things again until such  
times as health is restored completely. If, however, the  
margins [of the ulcer] appear hard and callous, excise  
them. Indeed, he speaks further about these matters as  
follows: "If ulcers that are circular are somewhat concave,

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ὑπόκοιλα ἤ, ἐν κύκλῳ περιτέμνεται χρῆ τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, ἢ πάντα, ἢ τὰ ἡμίσεια τοῦ κύκλου, κατὰ μήκος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

285K γέγραφε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἅμα τοῖς ἔλκεσιν ὄγκων | ἀπάντων, ὡς χρῆ θεραπεύειν ἕκαστον ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κισσῶν ὅταν καὶ διὰ τούτους ἔλκη δυσίατα γίνηται, δῆλον ὡς ἐπιρρέοντός τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἠλκωμένοις μορίοις. οὕτως δὲ κάπειδὰν ἐξ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος ἢ ἐπιρροῇ γίνηται, καθαίρειν κελεύει τὸ πᾶν ἐν οὐδενὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἔνδειξιν λαμβάνων· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ γελοῖον ἀπὸ μιᾶς κοινότητος ἐνδείξεις οὕτω πολλὰς καὶ διαφερούσας καὶ πολλακίς ἐναντίας γίνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ συγχωρήσασαιμεν ἐνδείξιν τινα περὶ τοῦ χρόνου λαμβάνεσθαι, τίς ποτέ ἐστιν αὐτῇ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, αὐτὴν ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ περιλαμβάνοντα, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ποιοῦμεν οὐχ ἡμεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεσσαλός, ἐν γούν ἐνδείκνυται καθόλου τὸ στεγνὸν πάθος αὐτῷ τὸ χαλᾶν ὡσπερ γε καὶ τὸ ῥοῶδες ἐν ἑτερον τὸ στέλλειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔλκη τὸ μὲν ῥυπαρὸν καθαίρεσθαι δεῖται, τὸ δὲ κοῖλον πληροῦσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀμαλὲς ἐπουλοῦσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὑπερσαρκοῦν καθαιρέσθαι, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον· λεξάτω τοῖνυν ἡμῖν οὕτω | 286K κάπὶ τοῦ κεχροισμένου τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἔν, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἕκαστον· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει καὶ γὰρ καὶ περιτέμνειν αὐτὰ φησι χρῆναι. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἔνδειξις αὐτῆ γούν ἔχουσα περὶ τοῦ χρόνου γίνοιτο; καὶ τῷ διὰ τοῦ

it is necessary to cut around in a circle those things being removed, either the whole of the circle or half, along the length of the person (i.e. vertically).<sup>33</sup>

He has also written about all the swellings [that occur] together with ulcers, that we must treat each one, and in 285K like manner also about the varices.<sup>34</sup> Whenever, due to these [varices], ulcers become hard to heal, it is clear that there is some flow from them to the ulcerated parts. In the same way too, whenever the flow occurs from the whole body, he recommends purging the whole [body], in no instance of these taking the indication from the time. For surely it is ludicrous that from one "community" there arise indications which are numerous, different and often conflicting. And if we were to agree to take some indication from the time, whatever that indication is, we would be right to speak of it as encompassed under one heading, just as we do in the case of all the others—and not only us but even Thessalus himself. The affection of constriction indicates one thing to him, at least in general terms, and that is relaxation. In the same way too, flux indicates one other thing, and that is repression. But also in ulcers themselves, there is need to purify the filth, fill the cavity, and cicatrize the flat [ulcer] but reduce the exuberant [flesh], according to the author himself. Therefore, let him tell us if 286K chronicity in the case of a wound or ulcer is another one thing like those are. But he cannot. For in fact, he says you should also cut around them. And indeed, what actual indication that makes sense would arise from the time?

<sup>33</sup> See Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn*, pp. 348–49.

<sup>34</sup> Swellings are considered in *Peri helkōn*, 10 and 11, and varices in 25.



νάπνος χρῆσθαι φαρμάκῳ, καθ' οὗ τὸ κενὸν ὄνομα φθέγγεται, τὴν μετασύγκρισιν; ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοις, τοῖς ἀπὸ ραφανίδων ἐμέτοις; καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπειδὴν μηκέθ' εὐρίσκη μηδέν, ἐλλεβόρω; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἔφην, κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπὶ πλέον εἰρήσεται, δεικνύντων ἡμῶν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὸς νοσήματος ὁ χρόνος ἐνδείκνυται, σημεῖον μέντοι πολλάκις γίγνεται τῆς διαθέσεως.

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6. Ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱπποκράτην· θαυμάζω γὰρ τῆς ἀκριβείας τὸν ἄνδρα κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κὰν τῷ μὴ παραλιπεῖν εἰς ἐνδειξιν διαφέροντα σκοπὸν οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνὸς μόνου ἢ δυοῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν νοσημάτων. ἔστι δ' οὗτος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς διαθέσεως λαμβανόμενος· οὐ μόνον οἱ Μεθοδικοὶ παρῆιδον, οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦτό γε θαυμαστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Λογικῶν οἱ ἡ πλείστοι· καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἅπαντες οἱ Ἐμπειρικοί. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ πληθωρικῇ καλουμένῃ συνδρομῇ κένωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τετηρήσθαι λέγωσιν, ἀντικρυς ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὡς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῶν περὶ τὸν κάμνοντα γιγνομένων ἀποβλέποντες, ἐπὶ τὸ κενοῦν παραγίγνονται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι διότι καὶ αἱ καθάρσεις κενώσεις εἰσὶν, οὐδ' αὐταὶ πρὸς τῆς πληθωρικῆς διδασκόμεναι συνδρομῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν φλεβοτομίαν αὐτὴν ἐνίοτε, καίτοι μὴ παρουσίας τῆς πληθωρικῆς συνδρομῆς, δίκαιόν ἐστι παραλαμβάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν εἴη τὸ νόσημα καὶ ῥώμη δυνάμεως, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν φλεβοτομήσειε τῶν ὠμλληκότων τοῖς ἔργους τῆς τέχνης.

Does he use a medication made from mustard for that on which he bestows the empty name, *metasyncrisis*? Further, on top of this, does he use vomiting induced by radishes? And as his final step, does he use hellebore when he finds nothing [else works]? But these things, as I said, will be spoken of further in what follows when we show that the time indicates nothing in the case of any disease. It is, however, often a sign of the condition.

6. I shall return again to Hippocrates, for I am amazed at the precision of the man, not only in all other things, but also by no means least in his not neglecting to distinguish the indicator when it comes to an indication, and not just in one or two diseases, but in absolutely all diseases. He is the one who takes [the indication] from the severity of the condition—something which not only the Methodics overlooked (this at least is not surprising), but also the majority of the Rationalists, as in another way did all the Empirics. For whenever, in the so-called “plethoric syndrome,” they say evacuation has been observed by them, they admit outright that they disregard all the other occurrences involving the patient and undertake evacuation. I do not say this because purgings are also evacuations, or because it is these that are taught in relation to the “plethoric syndrome,” but that sometimes, with respect to phlebotomy itself, even when the plethoric syndrome is not present, it is appropriate to have recourse to this. For if the disease and the strength of capacity are both strong, there is nobody familiar with the actions of the craft who would not carry out phlebotomy.

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αὐτοὺς γοῦν ὀρώμεν τοὺς Ἐμπειρικούς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκ καταπτώσεώς τινος ἢ ἄλλης πληγῆς θλασθῆ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν φλεβοτομίαν ἐρχομένους· καίτοι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ὑγίαινεν ἐκεῖνος, μηδεμίαν ἔχων πληθωρικήν συνδρομήν. ὧ δὴλον ὡς οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς φλεβοτομίας, ἀλλ' ἢ τε τοῦ νοσήματος ἰσχύς καὶ ἡ ῥώμη τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀφωρισμένων τοῦ λόγου τῶν παιδίων. καὶ γὰρ αὐ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον, εἴ τις ὑγίαίνων | ἔτι καὶ μηδὲν μηδέπω βεβλαμμένος ἐν τῇ πληθωρικῇ γένοιτο συνδρομῇ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἀνάγκη φλεβοτομῆν· ἀλλ' ἄρκει τῷ μὲν ἀσιτία, τῷ δὲ ὀλιγοσιτία, τῷ δ' ὑπαγωγῇ γαστρός, ἢ κάθαρσις, ἢ πλείω λουτρά· τῷ δὲ τινι καὶ γυμνάσιον ἤρκεσε μόνον ἢ τρίψις πολλή· φλεβοτομία δ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐμπειρικῶν τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι προσάγεται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ ἢ κάθαρσις ἐπὶ μόνῃ πλήθει χυμῶν μοχθηρῶν δεόντως παραλαμβάνεται· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἢ φλεβοτομία διὰ τε πλήθος αἵματος καὶ ἰσχυρὰν νόσον, οὕτω καὶ ἢ κάθαρσις διὰ τε πλήθος ἐτέρου τινὸς χυμοῦ καὶ ἰσχύον νοσήματος.

περὶ μὲν τῆς φλεβοτομίας ἐν ἐτέρῳ τέ μοι διήρηται λόγῳ κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς εἰρήσεται· περὶ δὲ τῆς καθάρσεως ἐν τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ δέεμι· χρήζουσι γὰρ αὐτῆς οἱ κάμνοντες οὐχ ὡς τὸ λυποῦν περίττωμα καθαιρούσης μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀντισπώσης τε καὶ κενούσης· καὶ

Anyway, we see Empirics themselves, whenever certain parts of the body are bruised severely by a fall or some other blow, proceeding to phlebotomy. And indeed, this is when the person in question was healthy a little while before, and had no plethoric syndrome. It is clear from this that [the plethoric syndrome] is not the indicator for phlebotomy. Rather, it is the severity of the disease and the strength of the capacity, although this argument does not apply to children. Also, in another way, if someone is healthy and has not yet been harmed by the plethoric syndrome, it is not necessary to carry out phlebotomy on this person. In some cases, fasting, moderation of diet, purging of the stomach downward, purification, or more frequent baths are sufficient. In one particular case, exercise alone and much rubbing were enough. Phlebotomy is not necessarily introduced by the Empirics themselves to those who are like this. In the same way, neither is purification necessarily undertaken on the basis of a large amount of bad humors alone, but just as phlebotomy is undertaken due to a large amount of blood and a severe disease, so purging is undertaken because of a large amount of some other humor and the severity of the disease.

I have gone over [the topic of] phlebotomy in another discussion.<sup>35</sup> I shall speak [more about it again] in what follows. In this discussion I shall go over purging, for patients have need of this, not only to purge the distressing superfluity, but also to draw it in the opposite direction and evac-

<sup>35</sup> Presumably the three treatises on the subject: XI.147-86K, XI.187-249K, and XI.250-316K. All have been translated by P. Brain (1984).

289K διὰ τοῦθ' Ἱπποκράτης ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι συγ-  
 γράμμασι κὰν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐπισκοπεῖται καὶ  
 τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ νοσήματος εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἢ καθάρσεως.  
 Ἱποκάθαρσις γάρ, φησι, τῆς κάτω κοιλίης ζυμφέρει  
 τοῖς πλείστοισι τῶν ἐλκῶν καὶ ἐν τρώμασιν ἐν κε-  
 φαλῇ ἐοῦσι καὶ ἐν κοιλίῃ καὶ ἐν ἄρθροισι καὶ ὅσα  
 σφακελίσαι κίνδυνος καὶ ὅσα ράπτεται καὶ τοῖς ἐσθι-  
 ομένοισι καὶ ἔρρησι καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι πε-  
 παλαιωμένοισι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ ὁκοῖα δ' ἂν μέλλῃ τις  
 ἐπιδέειν, ὑποκαθαίρειν τὴν κάτω κοιλίην. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 λόγῳ σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὅτι καὶ<sup>5</sup> τοῖς ἔλκεσιν  
 ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς τρώμασιν,<sup>6</sup> ὅταν ἰσχυρὰ γένηται  
 κάθαρσις, συμφέρει. τριχῶς γὰρ οὐ μόνον τούτων,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἀπάντων ἰσχυρῶν γιγνο-  
 μένων, ἢ διὰ τὸ κύριον τοῦ πεπονθότος μέρους, ἢ διὰ  
 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς διαθέσεως, ἢ διὰ τὴν κακοθήθειαν,  
 ἐκάστου τούτων ἰδίᾳ φαίνεται μεμνημένος ὁ Ἱππο-  
 κράτης, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ κοιλίᾳ τρα-  
 μάτων τὸ κύριον ἐμφαίνων τοῦ τετρωμένου μορίου.

290K κοιλίαν δ' ὅτι μὴ τὴν κάτω μόνην ἀκούειν νῦν χρῆ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄνω, πρόδηλον οἶμαι παντί· διαιρου-  
 μένου γὰρ τοῦ μεταξὺ τραχήλου καὶ σκελῶν κύτους  
 εἰς δύο μεγίστας κοιλότητας, ἢ πρώτη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ

<sup>5</sup> B; καὶ om. K      <sup>6</sup> Galen uses the Ionic form of this word  
 several times in the following lines, perhaps unconsciously so af-  
 ter having just included it in the immediately preceding quotation  
 from Hippocrates.

uate it. Because of this, Hippocrates in all the other treatises, and even in the one *On Wounds (Ulcers)*, also considered the severity of the disease as an indication for purging. "For," he says, "to purge the lower cavity<sup>36</sup> downward is beneficial in the majority of ulcers, and in wounds in the head, abdomen, and joints. Also purge the belly downward in those ulcers where there is a danger of gangrene, and those that are sutured, and in the erosions, herpetic ulcers, and other ulcers that have become long-standing. In the case of whatever anyone is intending to bind, purge the lower cavity downward." In this discussion, he clearly taught us that in all wounds and ulcers, whenever the purification is strong, it is beneficial, for there are three aspects, not only of these affections, but also of all other affections that are strong—the importance of the affected part, the magnitude of the condition and the *kakoethia*—and Hippocrates clearly made mention of each of these individually in the case of wounds in the head and abdomen, thus indicating the importance of the wounded part.<sup>37</sup> 289K

I believe it is clear to everyone that it is not only necessary to hear now about the cavity below, but also about the cavity above. For the trunk between the neck and the legs is divided into two very large cavities; the first is enclosed 290K

<sup>36</sup> In this context *koilia* is a body cavity, the upper one being the thorax and the lower one the abdomen; see Hippocrates, *Art.* 46, and Galen, *In Hippocratis librum de acutorum victu commentarii*, XV.896K.

<sup>37</sup> See Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn* 5, pp. 348–49.

θώρακος, ἢ δευτέρα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ περιτοναίου περιέχεται. καὶ δὴ τῶν τρωμάτων ὅ τι ἂν εἴη εἴσω τοῦ θώρακος, ἢ εἴσω τοῦ περιτοναίου διασχῆ, κίνδυνον οὐ σμικρὸν ἐπιφέρει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν συντρώσῃ τι τῶν ἔνδον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ταχέως κακοήθη γίνεται πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄρθροις τρώματα, καὶ τοῦτο σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἴσασι, ἐκ μὲν τῆς πείρας μόνῃς μεμαθηκότες οἱ ταύτῃ μόνῃ προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν τῶν τετρωμένων ὀργάνων οἷς ἐσπουδάσθη φύσεως σώματος ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν. ὅπου γὰρ τένοντες καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ἄσαρκα καὶ ὀστώδη χωρία, κίνδυνος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὀδνηθῆναι καὶ ἀγρυνῆσαι καὶ σπασθῆναι καὶ παραφρονῆσαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν τὰ τρώματα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσα ράπτεται, τουτέστιν ὅσα οὕτως ἐστὶ μεγάλα ὡς ραφῆς χρῆζειν, ἢ εἰ μὴ ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπιδέσεως γούν, ὑποκαθαίρεσθαι δεῖται. λέλεκται δ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ διότι χρῆ τὰ μεγάλα τῶν ἐλκῶν ἢ ραφαῖς, ἢ ἐπιδέσεσι συναγεσθαι.

καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσα σφακελίσει κίνδυνος, ἐν μεγέθει δηλονότι φλεγμονῆς ἐστὶ. καὶ τοῖνυν καὶ τὰ ἐσθιόμενα, | τουτέστι τὰ ἀναβιβρωσκόμενα, κακοήθη τε ἅμα καὶ κακοχυμίας ἐστὶν ἔκγονα. καὶ οἱ ἔρπητες δ' ἐπὶ χολώδει περιπτώματι συνίστανται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σύμπαντα τὰ παλαιούμενα κατὰ τινα τοιαύτην γίνεται πρόφασιν· ὥστ' εὐλόγως ἐπὶ πάντων τούτων ὑποκαθαίρειν συμβουλεύει. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ προελθὼν ἔτι τὰδε φησὶν· Ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔλκει ἐρυσιπέλατος ἐπιγενομένου κάθαρσιν ποιέεσθαι τοῦ σώματος ἐφ' ὁπότερα

by the chest wall and the second by the peritoneum. Further, should a wound penetrate the chest wall or peritoneum, it carries no little danger, particularly when it wounds one of the [structures] within at the same time. But also, that all wounds in the joints quickly become *kakoethical* is something almost everyone knows, both those who have learned from experience alone, directing their attention solely to this, and those who have learned from the nature of the wounded organs themselves—that is, those by whom a knowledge of the nature of the body is diligently pursued. For wherever there are tendons and nerves, and fleshless and bony places, there is the danger of suffering pain, sleeplessness, spasms and delirium. These wounds and, in addition to these, those that are sutured, that is to say, those that are large enough to need suturing, or if not suturing, at least binding, require a downward purging. This is why it has been said in the earlier discussion that large wounds and ulcers need to be brought together with sutures or bindings.

Furthermore, in ulcers where there is a danger of mortification, this obviously lies in the magnitude of the inflammation. Moreover, those that are eaten away, that is to say, those that are eroded, are *kakoethical*, and at the same time, are born of *kakochymia*. The herpetic ulcers arise from a bilious superfluity, as do all the other long-standing [ulcers] from some such causes, so it is reasonable in all these cases that he (i.e. Hippocrates) recommends downward purging. Proceeding further, he says this: "In every ulcer, if erysipelas supervenes, carry out a purging of the body in whichever direction is beneficial for the ulcer, ei-

ξυμφέρει τῷ ἔλκει, εἴτε ἄνω εἴτε κάτω τούτου δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἡμᾶς τὸν διορισμὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ χυμῶν ἐδίδαξεν, ἀντισπᾶν μὲν κελεύων εἰς τὰναντία, παροχετεύειν δ' εἰς τὰ πλάγια· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐπειδὴν μάλιστα ρέπη, τότε ἀντισπαστέον· εἴρηται καὶ περὶ τούτου κατ' ἐκείνο τὸ βιβλίον. ὥστε καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἔτι φέροιο σφοδρῶς τὸ ρεῦμα, διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντισπάσομεν ἄνω μὲν γενομένου τοῦ ἔλκους κάτω καθαίροντες, εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι συσταίῃ, τὴν ἄνω κοιλίαν κενοῦντες· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πεπαυμένου καὶ κατὰ τὸ μόριον ἐστηριγμένου παροχετεύειν ἄμεινον· ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ἢ μετὰληψις καὶ ἡ ὄρμη καὶ ἡ ὀκλή τὰ καθαίροντι φαρμάκω | ῥάων ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον.

292K

ὅτι δ' ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤδη καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ἄπτεται τῶν τῆς τέχνης μερῶν, τοῦ περὶ τὴν τῶν χυμῶν ἴασιν, οὐκ οἶμαι τινα λανθάνειν· ὅθεν κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς αὐτὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πάλιν ἐπαναλαβεῖν καὶ τελειῶσαι σύμπαντα. νυνὶ δ' ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ νοσήματος, ἣν εἰ καὶ μέγεθός τις ὀνομάζειν ἐθέλει, σκοπὸν ἔστι ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀφαιρέσεως αἵματος, ἢ καθάρσεως, καὶ ὡς Ἱπποκράτης ἀπάντων πρῶτος ὦν ἴσμεν ἐξεῦρε τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν ἐπιδείξαι βούλομαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων νοσημάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς λόγοις ἐπιδείξω, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλκῶν ἐν τῷδε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν καθάρσεων ἤδη μοι λέλεκται. τριχῶς γὰρ ἐκάστου νοσήματος ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, διὰ τὸ κύριον τοῦ πεπονθότος μορίου, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς διαθέσεως καὶ τρίτην τὴν κακοῆθειαν αὐτοῦ, ἀπάντων τούτων ἐμνημόνευσεν Ἱπποκράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ καθάρσεως λόγῳ.

ther upward or downward."<sup>38</sup> The determination of this itself, he taught us in the work on humors, directing us to draw away to the opposite [parts] or to divert to the sides. In fact, whenever it particularly inclines one way or another, you must at that time draw it away. There is discussion about this in that book. As a result, if the flux is still flowing strongly at the time, we will draw it off through the opposites. When the ulcer occurs above, we purge downward; if it exists in the parts below, we purge the upper cavity upward. If, however, the flux has already stopped flowing and has become fixed to the part, it is better to divert it because nearer transfer, movement and attraction by the purging medication is easier from that which is near.

292K

It does not, I think, escape anyone's notice that this discussion already also touches upon another of the parts of our craft—that about the cure of humors. Accordingly, it will be necessary to take this up again and bring it fully to completion. For now, we must make the strength of the disease—or magnitude, if someone wants to term it thus—our indicator for the removal of blood or purging, and I wish to show that Hippocrates was the first of all those we know to discover this indicator. I shall deal with the other diseases in the discussions that follow; I shall deal with wounds and ulcers in this one. I have already spoken of the matters pertaining to purging. For the severity of each disease hinges on three factors: the importance of the affected part, the magnitude of the condition, and third, the *kakoethicity* of it; and Hippocrates made mention of all of these in the discussion on purging.

<sup>38</sup> See Hippocrates, *Peri helkōn* 9, pp. 348–49.

<sup>7</sup> B; τῆς K

293K τί δὴ οὖν, ἴσως φησί τις, οὐχὶ καὶ φλεβοτομεῖν ἐνίοτε συμβουλεύει διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς προφάσεις; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτο κελεύειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταχέων τε καὶ μετ' ἀποδείξεως, ὡς αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παλαιοῖς ἦν ἔθος. εἴση δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀναγνοὺς τήνδε τὴν ῥῆσιν αὐτοῦ. Ἐλκει νεοτρώτῳ παντί, πλὴν ἐν κοιλίῃ, συμφέρει ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος αἷμα ῥυῆναι αὐτίκα πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον· φλεγμαίνει γὰρ ἦσσον αὐτὸ τὸ ἔλκος καὶ τὰ περιέχοντα.

μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐλκῶν γεγραμμένην ἀναμνησθεὶς ὧν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι συγγράμμασι πολλάκις ὑπέθετο, μιμητὴν ἀξίων εἶναι τὸν ἱατρὸν οὐ τῆς φύσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ κακείων ὅσα αὐτόματα ὠφελεί, σαφῶς ἂν ἤδη τὴν γνώμην εἰδείης τοῦ παλαίου περὶ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ἀφαιρέσεως ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν τραυμάτων· εἰ γὰρ δὴ συμφέρει μὲν αἷμα ῥυῆναι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, οὐκ ἔρρῦν δέ, τὸ λείπον αὐτὸν χρῆ προστιθέναι· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτῶν ὧν ἐπιφέρει, συνάπτων γοῦν τῇ προειρημένῃ ῥήσει τήνδε φησί. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπαλαιωμένων ἐλκῶν συμφέρει αἷμα ποιεῖν ἀπορρέειν πυκνὰ, ὅκως ἂν δοκέη καιρὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐλκῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεχόντων τὸ ἔλκος.

294K ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προειρήκει, Ἐλκει νεοτρώτῳ παντὶ συμφέρει αἷμα ῥυῆναι, γιγνώσκων ἢ ὡς εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν κεχροτισμένων μνημονεύσειεν, οἴησεται τις ἐπὶ τῶν προσφάτων μόνων οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀποφῆνασθαι, διὰ τοῦτο δεόντως προσέθηκε τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπαλαιω-

Why, then, someone might perhaps ask, does he not sometimes recommend phlebotomy for the same reasons? Well, in fact, he does seem to me to order this, but briefly and with supporting proof, as was the custom for the man himself and for the other ancients. You will realize this first if you read again this statement of his: "In every recent wound, other than in a body cavity, it is of benefit for blood to flow immediately from the wound more rather than less, for the wound itself and the surrounding parts become less inflamed."<sup>39</sup> 293K

After this statement, written in his work *On Wounds (Ulcers)*, if you were to recall those things he often proposed in all the other treatises—it is a worthy aim for the doctor not only to be an imitator of Nature, but also of those things that are spontaneously beneficial—you would already have a clear idea of the knowledge of the ancient [doctor] about the removal of blood in severe wounds. Surely, if it is useful for blood to flow in such wounds but it does not flow, it behooves the doctor to add what is lacking. This is clear from those things he adds in conjunction with the previously quoted statement when he says this: "It is beneficial in long-standing wounds (ulcers) to make blood flow often in whatever way should seem to be opportune, both from the wound itself and from those parts surrounding the wound (ulcer)."<sup>40</sup>

He had previously said: "In every recent wound it is beneficial for blood to flow," knowing that if he were not to mention wounds that have become chronic as well, someone would think him to have demonstrated this in the case of recent wounds only. Because of this, he was right to 294K

<sup>39</sup> See Hippocrates, *Peri halkōn*, pp. 344–45.

<sup>40</sup> Loc. cit.

μένων ἐλκῶν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ αἵματος. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐκεῖνο καθόλου παρ' αὐτοῦ μεμαθήκαμεν, ὡς ἀρχομένων μὲν τῶν ρευμάτων ἀντισπᾶν προσήκειν, ἐστηριγμένων δὲ ἐν τῷ πεπονθότι μορίῳ τὴν κένωσιν ἢ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιέισθαι τοῦ πεπονθότος μορίου, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα πλησιέστατα, πρόχειρον ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν συλλογίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ἀφαιρέσεως, ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν πόρρωθεν, ἐξ ὑστέρου δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἠλκωμένων προσήκει ποιέισθαι.

καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς οἷς εἴρηκα προσθεῖς ὡς τὸν πλεονάζοντα χυμὸν ἐκκενοῦν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης συμβουλεύει, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀφαίρεσιν ἄξις, ὅταν τοῦτο κρατῇ, ποτὲ δ' ἦτοι ξανθῆς, ἢ μελαίνης χολῆς, ἢ φλέγματος ἀγωγὸν δώσεις φάρμακον, ἐκεῖνου μεμνημένος ἐν ἅπασιν τούτοις, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἔλκος ἢ ἔλκος οὐδεμία τῶν τοιούτων ἰάσεων, ἀλλ' ἦτοι κακοχυμίας συμπαρούσης, ἢ πλήθους, ἢ φλεγμονῆς, ἢ ἔρπητος, ἢ ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τοιούτου καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐνίοτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τι τοῖς ἔλκεσιν ἔνδειξιν ἰδίαν ποιεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου γράμματι, τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἐλκῶν ἀπάσας, ὅποσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὁποῖαι καὶ τίς ἐφ' ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἔνδειξις, ἐξηγησαμένου μου. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ νοσήματος ἔνδειξιν γίγνεσθαι κενώσεως, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ εἶπον τῷ λόγῳ, διότι τε μακροτέρας ἀποδείξεως ἔδειτο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ συνήπτου ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἔλκεσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ διεξήλθον ὅσον εἰς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον.

also add [the recommendation] to withdraw blood from chronic wounds. But if we have learned that from him in general—that is, when fluxes are beginning it is appropriate to draw them in the opposite direction, whereas when they are fixed in the affected part, it is appropriate to make the evacuation from the affected part itself, or those parts particularly close to it—we are now ready to draw a conclusion about the removal of blood. [This is that], in the beginning, it is appropriate to make the removal from what is distant, but later from the wounded [parts] themselves.

Further, I would add to those things I have said, that Hippocrates recommends evacuation of the excess humor, and that sometimes you will do this by means of the removal of blood, whenever this predominates, and sometimes you will give a medication that draws away yellow or black bile, or phlegm, being mindful, however, of that man in all these things, in that none of these cures is of a wound (ulcer) *qua* wound (ulcer), but of the coincident *kakochymia*, or excess, or inflammation, or herpes, or some other such thing. Moreover, sometimes one of those things occurring contingently in conjunction with wounds or ulcers produces a specific indication, just as the magnitude does. I spoke about these matters in the book prior to this one when I set out all the differentiae of wounds and ulcers, how many and of what sort they are, and what the indication is in each case. I did not say in that discussion that the indication for evacuation arises from the severity of the disease because it required a more lengthy demonstration, and because I did not link the care of the whole body with that of wounds and ulcers in that book. Here, however, I have covered as much as is useful for our present purpose.

295K

7. Ὁ γάρ τοι σύμπας λόγος ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνδείξεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος φάμεν τοῦ νοσήματος λαμβάνεσθαι καὶ μετὰ ταύτῃ ἡμᾶς ἀναμένει ῥηθῆναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χυμῶν ἰάσεως· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπονηθότων μορίων ἐνδείξεις εἰς τὴν θεραπείαν γιγνομένη, τελεώτερον ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ὑπομνήμασιν ἀποδοθήσεται. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν, τουτέστι τῆς κράσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας, οἷον τ' ἐστὶν | εἰς τὰς ἰάσεις λαμβάνεσθαι λέλεκται μόνον· ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεώς τε καὶ διαπλάσεως, ἔτι τε χρείας, ἀναισθησίας τε καὶ δυσαισθησίας ἐνδείξεις οὐκ εἴρηται· λεγέσθω δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅσον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐλκῶν ἴασιν διαφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν αἰσθητικὸν μόριον ἀνωδύνως ὅτι μάλιστα χρῆ πειρᾶσθαι θεραπεύειν· εἴρηται δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων ἢ τῶν ἀνωδύνων ὕλη. τὸ δὲ δυσαισθητότερον ἐγχωρεῖ καὶ διὰ τῶν σφοδροτέρων, εἰ ἡ διάθεσις οὕτω κελεύει· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦ μὲν κυρίου μορίου τὸν τόνον χρῆ φυλάττειν, ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς περὶ φλεγμονῆς λογισμοῖς ἀποδείξομεν· εἰ δέ τι μὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν χαλαστικὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς θεραπείας ἀλύπως δέχεσθαι. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐπιπλέον ἐροῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεώς τε καὶ διαπλάσεως τῶν μορίων ἐνδείξιν ἔτι προσθέντες, οὕτω καταπαύσομεν καὶ τουτὶ τὸ τέταρτον βιβλίον.

ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν ἐπενοήθη τὸν μὲν κατὰ τὴν κοιλίαν

7. The whole discussion is, then, about the sort of indication which I say to take from the severity of the disease. After this, what remains for me to state as well is the indication from age, and also that from the cure of the humors. In the same way, the indication pertaining to treatment that arises from the affected parts will be defined more completely in the books that follow. For now, I have said only as much as it is possible to take for the purpose of the cures from their nature, that is to say, from the *krasis* and the substance. The indication to be taken from the position and conformation as well as from use, loss of sensation and disordered sensation, has not been discussed. Let me also say as much about these as pertains to the cure of wounds and ulcers. Thus, we must particularly attempt to treat painlessly a part that is sensitive. The material of those things that are anodyne was spoken of in the [writings] on medications.<sup>41</sup> It is also possible, however, [to treat] a part with quite disordered sensation by means of stronger medications, if the condition is such as to demand it. And we must also preserve the strength of the important part, as I will show at greater length in my deliberations on inflammation. If, on the other hand, it is not such a part, it is possible for this to receive the relaxing effect of the treatment painlessly. I shall say more about these particular things in what follows, but in the present discussion I shall just add the indication to be taken from the position and conformation of the parts, and in this way put an end to this, the fourth book.

Here, what is to be considered is that in ulceration in-

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, *De simplicium medicamentorum secundum locos*, Book 11, XI.764K.



297K

ἡλκωμένον πίνειν τὰ φάρμακα, τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸν στόμαχον, οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδ' ἀθρόως ὅλα προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ τε καὶ συνεχῶς· ἐν γὰρ | τῷ παρέρχεσθαι καὶ ψαύειν ἢ ὠφέλεια τούτοις ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ περιέρχεσθαι καὶ πλησιάζειν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, ὥσπερ τῇ γαστρὶ. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὡς χρῆ παχύτερα προσφέρειν ταῦτα καὶ γλίσχρα, παρὰ τῆς θέσεώς τε καὶ διαπλάσεως ἢ ἔνδειξις. ἐπεὶ γὰρ διόδός τις ὁ στόμαχος ἐστὶ τῶν ἐσθιομένων τε καὶ πινομένων, διὰ τοῦτο πάντων τῶν ἔχεσθαί τε καὶ περιπήγνυσθαι καὶ προσκολλᾶσθαι δυναμένων ἐστὶ χρεία φαρμάκων, οὐ τῶν ἀποκλύζεσθαι καὶ διαρρεῖν ἐτοιμῶς πεφυκότων. περιπήγνυται μὲν οὖν παχέα, κολλᾶται δὲ τὰ γλίσχρα. τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παχέσιν ἐντέροις ἔλκη τῶν διὰ τῆς ἔδρας ἐνιεμένων χρήζει μᾶλλον φαρμάκων· ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ ταύτης ἐστὶ τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων· πορρωτέρω γὰρ ἤδη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ μέσα τῇ θέσει τῶν ἀνωθέν τε λαμβανομένων καὶ κάτωθεν ἐνιεμένων φαρμάκων. κοινὴ δ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς μορίων ἔνδειξις αἰρείσθαι μὲν τὰ συνηθέστατα τοῦ ζῶον τῇ φύσει καὶ σιτία καὶ φάρμακα· φεύγειν δὲ καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὰναντία· καίτοι γ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἑλκῶν ἄλυπος | καὶ ἡ τῶν τοιούτων χρήσις, ἰοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ κεκαυμένου καὶ λεπίδος χαλκοῦ καὶ καδμείας καὶ πομφόλυγος καὶ λιθαργύρου καὶ ψιμμυθίου. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ προσφέρειν τοῖς ἐντὸς. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν ἐν τε τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ κράσεων κὰν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων.

298K

volving the stomach, [patients should] drink the medications, whereas in ulceration involving the esophagus, the whole dose should not be applied all at once and suddenly, but gradually and at frequent intervals because the benefit to be gained with these is in the passage and the contact, not in being surrounded and in contact over a longer time, as is the case for the stomach. Moreover, the indication from the position and conformation is that we should apply those medications that are thicker and viscid. Because the esophagus is the passageway of what is eaten and drunk, the need is for all medications that have the capacity to stick fast, that is, to congeal and adhere, and not for those of a nature to be washed off and flow through readily. The thick are those that congeal and the viscid are those that adhere. Ulcers in the large intestines have a greater need for medications inserted *per rectum* because this is nearer. Ulcers in the small intestines need both because this is further on and is in the middle in terms of position for medications taken from above (*per os*) and inserted from below (*per rectum*). The common indication for all the internal parts is to take both foods and medications that are most compatible with the nature of the organism, but on the other hand, to avoid and shun those things that are incompatible. And yet, the use of such things for ulcers that are external is harmless—[things such as] verdigris, burned copper, scales of copper, cadmia, pompholyx, litharge and white lead. But do not apply such things to internal parts. There was discussion about the nature of these in the third [book of the work] *On Krasias (Mixtures)* and in the books on medications.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See Book 3, n. 14, for the three major works on medications. For the reference to *De temperamentis*, see I.649K.

αίρεισθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς τροφάς, εἰ μὲν εἰς οὐλήν ἀγαγεῖν, ἢ κολληθῆσαι βουλοίμεθα τὸ ἔλκος, αὐστηράς τε καὶ γλίσχρας καὶ ἀδήκτους· εἰ δ' ἀνακαθῆραι, ῥυπτούσας μετρίως. εἰς μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πάντων ἄριστον μέλι ἀπεφθον, τὰ δ' αὐστηρὰ πόματα καὶ αἰ τοιαῦται τροφαὶ πρόδηλοι παντί. καλῶ δ' αὐστηρὸν ὅπερ καὶ στύφον ὀνομάζεται, τὸ στρυφνὸν δὲ ἐπιτεταμένον ἐστὶν αὐστηρὸν. ὅσα δὲ φάρμακα λαμβάνεται τοῖς ἐντὸς ἄλυπα γέγραπται μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ φαρμάκων, εἰρήσεται δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν. ὑποκυστὶς δὴ βαλαύστιον καὶ κύτινοι ροιῶν καὶ κηκὶς καὶ ροιᾶς λέμματα καὶ Σάμιος ἀστήρ καὶ Δημνία σφραγὶς καὶ χυλὸς ροῦ καὶ ρόδων, ἀκακία τε καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἐντὸς ἔλκεσιν ἀρήγοντα, βλάβην δ' οὐδεμίαν ἐργάζεται περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα. διδόναι δ' αὐτὰ διὰ τινος τῶν στυφόντων ἀφεψήματος, ἢ μήλων κυδωνίων, ἢ σχίνου, ἢ βάτου ἀκρεμόνων, ἢ ἀμπέλων, ἢ μύρτων, ἢ καὶ δι' οἴνου τινὸς τῶν αὐστηρῶν.

εὐδηλος δὲ ἢ τοῦ οἴνου χρῆσις, ὡς πεφυλάχθαι χρῆ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν φλεγμονῶν ἄλλως δ' οὐδὲν κωλύει διδόναι. εὐδηλον δὲ ὡς καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν χρῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα φάρμακα, παρασκευάζοντα διὰ τε τῶν εἰρημέων ὑγρῶν καὶ προσέτι τραγακάνθης τε καὶ κόμμειως ἐπιμιγνύντα καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν στομάχῳ προσάξειν μέλλοντα. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀνακογχυλίζεσθαι μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν φάρυγγα καὶ τὰ παρίσθημα προσφέροντα κελεύειν χρῆ, κατέχειν δ' ὕπτιον ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν τῷ στόματι χαλαροῦς ἐργασάμενον ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆδε

The nutriments of choice, if we wish to bring the wound or ulcer to scarring or conglutination, are those that are bitter, viscid and nonbiting. If, however, we wish it to be cleansed, the nutriments of choice are those that are moderately abstersive, and to this end, the best of all is unboiled honey, while bitter drinks and foods of this sort are known to everyone. I call bitter that which is also termed astringent and I call astringent that which is intensely bitter. I have written about those medications that are harmless when taken internally in the works on medications and an outline of these will now be given: hypocist, the flower of wild pomegranate, the flower of cultivated pomegranate, oak gall, the rind of pomegranate, Samian earth, Lemnian earth, the juice of pomegranates and roses, acacia arabica, and other such things that are beneficial to internal ulcers, while causing no harm to the internal organs. Give these things by way of one of the harsh concoctions: quince apples, mastich, blackberry branches, grapevines, myrtle, and by one of the bitter wines.

It is clear, however, that the use of wine must be avoided at a time of inflammation; otherwise there is nothing to prevent us giving it. It is obvious, too, that these medications must be prepared by means of the previously mentioned liquids and with tragacanth and gum mixed in as well, particularly if you intend to apply them to ulcers in the esophagus. Furthermore, for ulcers of the pharynx and tonsils, we must direct that the things applied are gargled, whereas for ulcers involving the trachea, we must direct [the patient] to remain supine and hold [the medication] in the mouth for as long as possible while making all the

μῦς, ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρτηρίαν ἐλκῶν παραρρεῖ γὰρ οὕτως ἀτρέμα καὶ κατὰ βραχύ, σαφῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρτηρίαν τοῦ φαρμάκου· καὶ γὰρ κὰν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν εἶδεναί χρῆ παρηθούμενον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πόματος, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ὑγιαίνοντων, οὕτω | καὶ νοσοῦντων φυλάττεσθαι χρῆ τὸ πλέον, ὡς βηχῶν κινητικόν. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ παρὰ τὸν χιτῶνα τῆς ἀρτηρίας ὡσπερὶ παρὰ τοῖχον ὕδωρ φέρεται τὸ ὑγρόν, οὐκ ἐργάσεται βήχα, τὸ δ' εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς μέσας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐμπίπτον εὐθὺς βηχῶδεις ἀποτελεῖ.

ταῦτά γε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως καὶ διαπλάσεως τῶν μορίων εἴληπται πάντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὸ συμμιγῆναι μέλιτος ἅπασιν τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐλκώσεις φαρμάκοις ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν θώρακα καὶ τὸν πνεύμονα· μόνα γὰρ εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτων αὐστηρὰ προσφέροις φάρμακα, χρονίζει κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα, τῆς οὖν ἀναδόσεως αὐτῶν ὄργανον ὑπάρχει τὸ μέλι καὶ ἔστιν οἶον ὄχημα τι ταχείας φορᾶς, ἅμα τῷ μηδὲ βλάβπειν ἔλκη. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον αὐτό τε τὸ μέλι καὶ τῶν οὕρησιν κινούντων τινὰ μίγνυσθαι χρῆ τοῖς τῶν ἐλκῶν φαρμάκοις, ἐπειδὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν κύστιν καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς ἦ πεπονητότα. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰς διαγνώσεις τῶν ἡλκωμένων μορίων ἀπὸ τε τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ χρείας γίγνεσθαι καὶ τῆς θέσεώς τε καὶ διαπλάσεως, εὐδῆλον μὲν οἶμαι, κὰν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω, δείκνυται δ' | ἀνάρκως κὰν ταῖς περὶ τῶν πεπονητότων τόπων διαγνώσεσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ πρόκειται νῦν περὶ ἐκεῖ-

muscles in it relaxed. In this way there is a gradual flow of the medication clearly and perceptibly to the trachea itself, for it is by this being in accord with nature that we must know well that a substantial amount of the beverage has filtered through. But just as with those who are healthy, so too with those who are sick, we must be more on our guard, since it provokes coughing. As long as the liquid is carried in a circle alongside the wall of the trachea, that is, if the liquid is carried against the side, it does not provoke coughing. If, however, it falls into the central channel of the inspired air, it immediately brings about coughing.

In fact, all these medications are taken on the basis of the position and conformation of the parts. In addition to these medications, there is the admixture of honey with all the medications for ulcers involving the chest wall and lung. For if you exhibit only bitter medications in these cases there is a delay in the stomach. Honey is an instrument of the distribution of these medications and is, as it were, something that facilitates their rapid passage as well as not harming ulcers. On the same basis, it is necessary to mix the honey itself and one of the diuretics with the medications for ulcers whenever the bladder and kidneys have been affected. It is, I think, clear, even if I do not say so, that the diagnoses of the ulcerated parts arise from their substance, function and use, and from their position and conformation. This is adequately demonstrated in the diagnoses concerning the affected places.<sup>43</sup> But I do not propose to say anything about those matters now. Therefore, I

<sup>43</sup> A general reference to the *De locis affectis libri III*, VIII.1-451K, translated by R. E. Siegel (1976).

νων λέγειν· αὐθις οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπευτικὴν μέθοδον ἐπάνεμι. φημί δὴ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τὴν τῶν μορίων ἐνδείκνυσθαι θέσιν τε καὶ διάπλασιν· ἐπιδηῖσαι γὰρ τὸ ἠλκωμένον μόνιον οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ καλῶς ἄνευ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐνδειξιν ἢ ἐκ τῆς διαπλάσεως, ἢ ἐκ τῆς θέσεως, ἢ ἐκ συναμφοτέρων· ἐνιέναι τε τὸν αὐλίσκον τοῦ κλυστήρος εἰς τὴν ἔδραν ἐπιτηδείως οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρὶς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνδείξεως. καὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦ καυλοῦ φάρμακον ἐνιέναι πολλάκις εἰς τὴν κύστιν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ καθετήρος οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν, ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐστὶ καλῶς χρῆσασθαι αὐτῷ χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ θέσιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθαι καὶ διάπλασιν ὅλης τῆς κύστεως. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅπασιν πρόδηλον ὡς οὐκ ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν ὅλην θεραπείαν ὁ πεπονηθὼς τόπος συνενδείκνυται.

302K ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ῥηγμάτων, πλείους ἐνδείξεις φαίνονται συντρέχειν εἰς ταῦτό· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐξετάζοντο.<sup>8</sup> διότι γὰρ ἐν βάθει τοῦ σώματός ἐστι καὶ κατακέκρυπται, | διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ἐξηλλαγμένης παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα δεῖσεται. διότι δὲ σὺν ἐκχυμώσει μὲν πάντως, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ σὺν περιθλάσει τῆς ἐρρωγνίας σαρκὸς ἀποτελεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο πλείους ἰάσεις ἐνδείξεται· αἶε γὰρ τῷ πλήθει τῶν διαθέσεων οἱ πρότοι σκοποὶ τῶν ἰάσεων ἰσάριθμοι. λεχθήσεται μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς φλεγμονῆς λογισμοῖς ὡς ἰσχυροτέρων δεῖται φαρμάκων ἅπαντα τὰ διὰ βάθος πεπονηκότα σώματα τῶν ἐπιπολῆς ἀρρωστούντων. δῆλον δ' οἶμαι

shall return again to the method of treatment. What I do say, certainly, is that the position and conformation of the parts indicate these and many other things, for it is not possible to bandage the ulcerated part properly without taking the indication from the conformation, or from the position, or from both together. And it is not possible to insert the tube of a clyster into the anus effectively apart from such an indication. Furthermore, it is often necessary to insert a medication through the urethra into the bladder. There is no need to say anything about the catheter other than it is not possible to use this properly without knowing precisely the position and conformation of the whole bladder. In all such instances it is surely quite clear that the affected place contributes in no small measure as an indication to the whole treatment.

In the case of the so-called ruptures, more indications appear to come together to the same point and, moreover, are properly evaluated on the basis of the position. For that reason, when [structures] are in the depths of the body and concealed, they will, because of this, need a completely different treatment from those that are superficial. Since with ecchymosis above all, because it sometimes occurs with widespread bruising of the broken flesh, it will, for this reason, indicate more cures, for always the primary indicators of the cures are equal in number to the number of conditions. Therefore, I shall speak further [on this point], in the considerations on inflammation—that in those who are sick, all affected bodies that are deep require stronger medications than surface [structures]. And this much, I

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<sup>8</sup> B; ἐξετάζοντο K

καὶ νῦν ἤδη τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐκλύεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἔξωθεν φαρμάκων, ὅταν ἐν τῷ βάθει κατακεκρυμμένον ἢ τὸ δεόμενον τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελείας· ἐπιτείνειν οὖν αὐτὴν εἰς τοσοῦτον προσήκει εἰς ὅσον ἐκλύεσθαι μέλλει κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ βάθος ὁδόν.

αἱ δ' ἐκχυμώσεις ἅπασαι τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς ἰάσεως κένωσιν ἔξουσιν ὥστε θερμαινόντων αὐταῖς καὶ μετρίως ξηραίνόντων ἐστὶ χρεία φαρμάκων. ὅσα γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ξηραίνει, διαφορεῖ μὲν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιδηλοτέρων τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ἀπολείπει δέ τι λείψανον τῆς διαθέσεως σκιρῶδες καὶ δυσίατον. | εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς περὶ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὅσον εἰς τὰ παρόντα χρήσιμον αὐτάρκως λέλεκται. τά τε γὰρ ὑγραίνοντα καὶ θερμαίνοντα φάρμακα καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ συνήθως ἅπασιν ὀνομαζόμενα χαλαστικά καὶ τούτων ὅσα βραχὺ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ξηρότερον ἀποκεχώρηκεν, οὕτω δὲ σαφῶς οὐδ' ἐναργῶς ἐστὶ συντακτικά, τῶν ἐκχυμωμάτων ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἰάματα. χρή δὲ δηλονότι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τῷ ἐν βάθει τοῦ σώματος ῥήγμασι συνεπιτείνεσθαι τε τῇ δυνάμει καὶ δριμύτερα προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τμητικώτερα καὶ τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν ἐνεργέστερα τοσοῦτον εἰς ὅσον τοῦ δέρματος ἀποκεχώρηκε πρὸς τὸ βάθος ἢ ἐκχύμωσις. ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἴη ἂν καὶ ἡ τῆς σικύας χρήσις ὠφέλιμος· ὄργανον δὲ καὶ αὕτη τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐξεύρηται βιαίας ὀλκῆς. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι διαφορηθῆ τὸ σύμπαν ἐκχύμωμα, ξηραίνειν ἤδη σφοδρό-

think, is already now clear—that of necessity there is some degree of loss of potency of medications applied externally, whenever what is hidden in the depths has the need of benefit from them. It is appropriate, then, to increase this [potency] to the extent that it is anticipated it will be released in its passage to the depths.

All the ecchymoses will have evacuation as the indicator of the cure, so that for them there is the need of heating and moderately drying medications. Those that dry strongly disperse immediately from the beginning more obviously than those that are weaker and leave behind a remnant of the condition that is scirrhous and difficult to cure. These matters will be spoken of more precisely in what follows, but for now enough to be useful has been said for our present purposes. The medications that are moistening and heating, and those that are customarily called “relaxing” by everyone, and those that incline a little toward the drier, but are not yet clearly and manifestly astringent, are cures of all the ecchymoses. Obviously we must also increase these things for the ruptures in the depths of the body and apply those that are sharper in potency and more cutting, and in summary, more active to the extent that the ecchymosis is further removed from the skin toward the depths. On the basis of such considerations, the use of the cupping glass would also be beneficial, this too being discovered by doctors to be an instrument of strong drawing [capacity]. Nevertheless, whenever the whole ecchymosis is dispersed, it is already

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τερον ἐγχωρεῖ τὸ ῥήγμα καὶ συνάγειν ἐπιδέσει καὶ τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα πράττειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφύναι τὸ ἔλκος.

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εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τάχει διαφορηθεῖη τὸ ἐκχύμωμα, προσίεται ῥαδίως τὴν σύμφυσιν ἢ ἔρρωγυῖα σὰρξ· εἰ δ' ἐν χρόνῳ πλείονι διαφοροῖτο ἢ ῥύπος ἀξιόλογον ὑποτρεφόμενον ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῶν χειλῶν ἴσταται τοῦ ἔλκους· ὥστ' οὐκέθ' οἶόν τε συμφύναι τῷ ῥήγματι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν ὀτιοῦν αἷτιον ὑπομιμνήσκει ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ῥιγώσαντες καὶ ἀπεπτήσαντες καὶ πυρέξαντες καὶ σφοδρότερον ἐνεργήσαντες τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μορίοις εὐθέως ἀλγοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ συνέφυ τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ ῥήματος, ἀλλὰ παράκειται μόνον· ὥστε μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀφίστησί τε ῥαδίως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἐμπύπλησιν ὑγρότητος περιττῆς. καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἐκχύμωμα γίνεται συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμοιον τῷ κατ' ἀρχὰς, ἤνικα τὸ πρότερον ἢ σὰρξ ἔρραγη, πλὴν ὅτι νῦν ἰχώρος τινος μᾶλλον λεπτοῦ, κατ' ἀρχὰς δ' αἵματος ἦν τὸ ἐκχύμωμα; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾶον νῦν ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς διαφορεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴρηταί μοι πρὸς γε<sup>9</sup> τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐλκῶν λόγον ἀποχρήσοντα, καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐπιτίθημι καὶ τῷδε τετάρτῳ γράμματι.

<sup>9</sup> B; τε K

possible to dry the rupture more strongly and to bring it together with a binding, and in summary, to do all those things pertaining to union in the wound.

Therefore, if the ecchymosis is quickly dispersed, the ruptured flesh is readily allowed to come to union. If, however, it is dispersed over a longer period, significant filth grows up in the space between the margins of the wound or ulcer, so that it is no longer possible for the rupture to unite. Because of this, any cause whatsoever suggests these things because those who are cold, dyspeptic, feverish or functioning rather vigorously immediately feel pain in such parts insofar as the margins of the rupture do not grow together, but only lie beside each other, so that a slight cause easily keeps them away from each other and fills up the space between with moist superfluity. What else other than an ecchymosis arises regularly from these things like this at the beginning, when first the flesh is ruptured, except that now there is more of a thin ichor, whereas the ecchymosis was blood in the beginning? Because of this also, it disperses more easily at the beginning. This, then, will be enough for me to say in the discussion on wounds and ulcers, and so I now put an end to this fourth book.

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