GALLEN, ROME AND THE
SECOND SOPHISTIC

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This thesis is entirely my own original work.

Christopher Jon Elliott
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ABSTRACT

Galen of Pergamum is principally famous for his works on anatomy, medicine and moral philosophy. He is also noted for his acerbic temperament, his affirmations of his own brilliance and his denigration of the education, morals and lifestyle of his medical opponents and of anyone who viewed differently the things that he held dear. On his arrival in Rome he used a variety of techniques reminiscent of those used by the sophists in order to establish his place amongst the social and intellectual elite both as a physician and as a philosopher. At this and later points in his career his rhetoric emphasised the quality of his Greek education which included a thorough grounding in mathematics. He also appealed to his philosophic lifestyle and to his social connections in Rome in order to differentiate himself from the general run of doctors and to promote his own agenda. In this dissertation I examine his writings with the object of testing the validity of Galen’s claims in these areas and, in the process, to come to a deeper understanding the social and intellectual environments that formed him and with which he interacted. Special attention is given to his literary and rhetorical education and his knowledge of the exact sciences. One consequence of studying his training in rhetoric was the reconstruction of a rhetorical template which, though of a kind possibly mentioned in passing by Quintilian, is not to be found in any of the extant manuals on rhetoric. In the matter of the exact sciences particular consideration is given to his knowledge of geometry and the construction of sundials, as his views on these subjects form the foundation to his approach to philosophical and medical knowledge. Thus a substantial section is devoted to the manner in which Galen could have gained his certainty in these matters.
Galen’s rhetoric also makes much of his family’s social status and his personal relationship to the royal court. These matters are examined in relationship to our present knowledge of Greek society and the *familia Caesaris* at the time. A consequence of this latter enquiry was some insights into the work habits of Marcus Aurelius.

Galen not only wished to be known as Rome’s leading physician and anatomist but also as one who practised the philosophic lifestyle. The background to Galen’s decision in this last matter is assessed together with an examination of passages that while suggesting that much of his language and sentiment was a reflection of Platonic values also show that his commitment to a life of asceticism was real.

What also emerges in this study is that there was considerable tension between the world in which he wished to live and the world as it was. This shows especially in his aggressive rejection of the *salutatio* and other Roman social conventions, his frustration at the early reception of his medical theories and teaching, and his desire to sustain the educated *koine* Greek of his homeland against the social pressures which were attempting to restrict educated Greek to the dialect and vocabulary of ancient Attica.
ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations have been restricted to Galen’s works apart from the following:

TLG Thesaurus Linguae Graecae

GALEN’S WORKS

AA De anatomes administrationibus libri ix
Adhort. Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas
Adv.Lyc. Adversus Lycum libellus
Adv.Typ.Scr. Adversos eos qui de typis scripserunt vel de circuitibus
Aff.Dig. De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione
Alim.Fac. De alimentorum facultatibus libri iii
Ant. De antidotis libri ii
Ars Med. Ars medica
Art.Sang. An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur
At.Bil. De atra bile
Bon.Hab. De bono habitu liber
Bon.Mal.Suc. De rebus boni malique suci
CAM De constitutione artis medicae ad Patrophilum
Caus.Morb. De causis morborum liber
Caus.Puls. De causis pulsuum libri iv
Caus.Resp. De causis respirationis
Caus.Symp. De symptomatum causis libri iii
CC De causis contentivis
Com.Hipp. De comate secundum Hippocratem liber
Comp.Med.Gen. De compositione medicamentorum per genera libri vii
Comp.Med.Loc. De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri x
Cons. De consuetudinibus
CP De causis procatarcticis
<table>
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<th>Cris.</th>
<th>De crisibus libri iii</th>
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<tr>
<td>Di.Dec.</td>
<td>De diebus decretoriis libri iii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Di.Hipp.Morb.Ac</td>
<td>De diaeta Hippocratis in morbis acutis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diff.Feb.</td>
<td>De differentiis februm libri ii</td>
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<td>Diff.Puls.</td>
<td>De differentia pulsuum libri iv</td>
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<td>Diff.Resp.</td>
<td>De difficulate respirationis libri iii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dig.Insomn.</td>
<td>De dignotione ex insomniis</td>
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<td>Dig.Puls.</td>
<td>De dignoscendis pulsibus libri iv</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foet.Form.</td>
<td>De foetuum formatione libellus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloss.</td>
<td>Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[Glossarium]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hipp.Aph.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis aphorismos commentarii vii</td>
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<td>Hipp.Art.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis librum de articulis et Galeni in eum</td>
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<td></td>
<td>commentarii iv</td>
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<td>Hipp.Elem.</td>
<td>De elementis ex Hippocrate libri ii</td>
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<td>Hipp.Epid.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis librum primum epidemicarum commentarii</td>
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<td></td>
<td>libros, i-iv</td>
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<td>Hipp.Fract.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis librum de fracturis commentarii iii</td>
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<td>Hipp.Off.Med.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii iii</td>
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<td>Hipp.Prog.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis prognosticum commentaria iii</td>
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<td>Hipp.Prorr.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis prorrheticum i commentaria iii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hipp.Vict.</td>
<td>In Hippocratis vel Polybi opus de salubri victus ratione</td>
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<td></td>
<td>privatorum commentarius</td>
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<tr>
<td>HNH</td>
<td>In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum commentarii iii</td>
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<tr>
<td>HRCIS</td>
<td>De hirundinibus, revulsione, cucurbitula, incisione et scarificatione</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hum.Pro.</td>
<td>De humero iis modis prolapso quos Hippocrates non vidit</td>
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<td>HVA</td>
<td>In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria iv</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inaeq.Int.</td>
<td>De inaequali intemperie liber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inst.Log.</td>
<td>Institutio logica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inst.Od.</td>
<td>De instrumento odoratus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lib.Prop.</td>
<td>De libris propriis liber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc.Aff.</td>
<td>De locis affectis libri vi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marc.</td>
<td>De marcore liber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Med.Exp.</td>
<td>De experientia medica</td>
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<td>Med.Nam.</td>
<td>De nominibus medicis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mel.</td>
<td>De melancholia</td>
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<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>De methodo medendi libri xiv</td>
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<td>MMG</td>
<td>Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo libri ii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morb.Diff.</td>
<td>De morborum differentiis</td>
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<td>Morb.Temp.</td>
<td>De morborum temporibus liber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mot.Musc.</td>
<td>De motu musculorum libri ii</td>
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<td>Musc.Diss.</td>
<td>De musculorum dissectione ad tirones</td>
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<td>Nat.Fac.</td>
<td>De naturalibus facultatibus</td>
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<td>Nerv.Diss.</td>
<td>De nervorum dissectione</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opt.Corp.Const.</td>
<td>De optima corporis nostri constitutione</td>
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<td>Opt.Doct.</td>
<td>De optima doctrina</td>
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<td>Opt.Med.</td>
<td>Quod otimus medicus sit quoque philosophus</td>
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<td>Opt.Sect.</td>
<td>De optima secta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ord.Lib.Prop.</td>
<td>De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugenianum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oss.</td>
<td>De ossibus ad tirones</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part.Art.Med.</td>
<td>De partibus artis medicatvae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part.Hom.Diff.</td>
<td>De partium homoeomerum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parv.Pil.</td>
<td>De parvae pilae exercitio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecc.Dig.</td>
<td>De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHP</td>
<td>De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis</td>
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<td>Plat.Tim.</td>
<td>In Platonis Timaeum commentarii fragmenta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plen.</td>
<td>De plenitudine liber</td>
</tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>De propriis placitis fragmenta inedita</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praen.</td>
<td>De praenotione ad Posthumum (Epigenem)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praes.Puls.</td>
<td>De praesagitione ex pulsibus libri iv</td>
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<td>Pitis</td>
<td>De ptisana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puer.Epil.</td>
<td>Pro puero epileptico consilium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puls.</td>
<td>De pulsibus libellus ad tirones</td>
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<tr>
<td>QAM</td>
<td>Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequuntur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qual.Incorp.</td>
<td>Quod qualities incorporeae sint</td>
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<tr>
<td>San.Tu.</td>
<td>De sanitate tuenda libri vi</td>
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<td>Sem.</td>
<td>De semine libri ii</td>
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<td>Sept.Part.</td>
<td>De septimestri partu</td>
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<tr>
<td>SI</td>
<td>De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sim.Morb.</td>
<td>Quomodo morborum simulantes sint deprehendendi</td>
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<td>SMT</td>
<td>De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri xi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soph.</td>
<td>De sophismatis seu captionibus penes dictionem</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub.Nat.Fac.</td>
<td>De substantia facultatum naturalium fragmentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subf.Emp</td>
<td>Subfiguratio empirica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symp.Diff.</td>
<td>De symptomatum differentiis liber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syn.Puls.</td>
<td>Synopsis liborum suorum de pulsibus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>De temperamentis libri iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ther.</td>
<td>De theriaca ad Pisonem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thras.</td>
<td>Thrasybulus sive utrum medicinae sit an gymnasticae hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot.Morb.Temp.</td>
<td>De totius morbi temporibus liber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trem.Palp.</td>
<td>De tremore, palpitione, convulsione et rigore liber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tum.Pr.Nat.</td>
<td>De tumoribus praeter naturam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typ.</td>
<td>De typis liber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>De usu partium.</td>
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<td>Us.Puls.</td>
<td>De usu pulsuum</td>
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<td>Ut.Diss.</td>
<td>De uteri dissectione</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ut.Resp.</td>
<td>De utilitate respirationis liber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ven.</td>
<td>De venereis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ven.Art.Diss.</td>
<td>De venarum arteriarumque dissectione</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ven.Sect.Er.</td>
<td>De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum</td>
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<td>Vict.At.</td>
<td>De victu attenuante</td>
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