

Galen's *De indolentia*

Edited by
CLARE K. ROTHCHILD and
TREVOR W. THOMPSON

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

88

Mohr Siebeck

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Galen's
De indolentia

Essays on a Newly Discovered Letter

Edited by

Clare K. Rothschild and
Trevor W. Thompson

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Printed in Germany.

The Editors dedicate this volume to the memory of

Paraskevi Kotzia (1951–2013) †

Ὅσον ζῆς φαίνου
μηδὲν ὅλως σὺ λυποῦ
πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν
τὸ τέλος ὁ χρόνος ἀπαιτεῖ.*

Paraskevi Kotzia was an Associate Professor of Classics at Aristotle University, Thessaloniki, where she also led the Center for Aristotelian Studies. She studied Classics at Aristotle University completing postgraduate studies in Classics, Philosophy, and Paleography at the Free University of Berlin. Her main research interests included Aristotle, the Aristotelian exegetical tradition, Plato and the Neoplatonists, ancient medicine, and ancient theories of language. She left behind extensive and multi-faceted contributions, most notably, *Ο σκοπός των Κατηγοριών του Αριστοτέλη* (*The Aim of Aristotle's Categories*), *Περί του μήλου ἢ Περί της Αριστοτέλους τελευτής* (*Liber de pomo*).

Her last major work was a critical edition of Galen's *De indolentia*.

* Seikilos, funeral epitaph; first-second century CE; Copenhagen inv. 14897

Acknowledgments

New discoveries are certainly not an ancient historian's bread and butter. They are in fact so rare that most historians exhaust entire careers without experiencing the thrill. It has been so long since Trevor first called me with news of the discovery of Galen's *De indolentia* that the precise date has vanished from memory. The excitement I felt on that day, however, never seems to wane as weekly I learn of a new dispute over the critical text, become embroiled in a debate over interpretation, or have the opportunity to share the discovery with someone who has not yet heard. It was four years ago that Trevor and I decided to translate the text together. This volume represents an unexpected journey prompted by this initial commitment.

The manuscript was collaboratively edited and prepared by Clare K. Rothschild (Lewis University) and Trevor W. Thompson (Abilene Christian University) between June 2012 and October 2013. We received excellent direction and feedback on aspects of this work from the authors and others. Other individual colleagues to whom we are grateful are Johan Thom (Stellenbosch) and L. Curt Niccum (Abilene Christian University). We also wish to thank Dean Ken Cukrowski (ACU College of Biblical Studies) for generously permitting Trevor to take on a time-consuming publication project. Finally, we wish to express utmost gratitude to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki at Mohr Siebeck for his interest in and special attention to the details of this manuscript and to Prof. Drs. Christoph Marksches and Christian Wildberg for its recommendation to the STAC series.

Chicago/Abilene, October 20, 2013

Clare K. Rothschild
Trevor W. Thompson

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Abbreviations and References

Ancient sources generally follow the abbreviations in *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies*, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999. For works in the *Corpus Galenicum*, the titles and abbreviations follow Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 in R. J. Hankinson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge University Press, 2008. Minor changes have been made to the titles of Galen's works to reflect the *The SBL Handbook of Style*. Each reference to the *Corpus Galenicum* includes, if available, its location in the standard edition of Karl Gottlob Kühn, ed., *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, Leipzig: C. Knobloch, 1821–33. Arabic numerals for Kühn references offer fastest access through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. In certain instances, individual contributors cite other critical editions, such as Johannes Marquardt, Iwan Müller, and Georg Helmreich, eds., *Galenı Pergameni Scripta Minora (SM)*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–93; *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum (CMG)*, Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914–present; the new Budé Galen series published by Les Belles Lettres. In such cases, we have supplemented the critical edition used by the author with the Kühn reference.

Galen of Pergamon

129 CE	Birth in Pergamum to a wealthy family of architects
143/144	Galen begins to study philosophy
145/146	Dream of Galen's father; Galen begins to study medicine
148	Death of Galen's father
149–157	Galen's travel and study of medicine in Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria
157	Galen returns to Pergamum
157–162	Physician to gladiators at Pergamum
161	Galen leaves Pergamum
162–166	First Roman Period
166–168	Return to Pergamum
168–169	Summoned to Aquileia; cares for victims of the great plague
169	Second Roman Period begins
169–176	Court physician to the Imperial family
192	Great Fire in Rome
ca. 216/217	Death

Introduction

I. Discovery

Introduction

The long-lost treatise *De indolentia* (Περὶ ἀλυπησίας/ἀλυπίας) or *On the Avoidance of Distress* is a letter from Galen to an unspecified addressee in which he describes how he responded to the fire that destroyed much of his library and medicines in 192 CE.¹ The manuscript, catalogued in the Vlatadon monastery as codex 14, is of unspeakable value to scholars of antiquity. As one of the foremost specialists on ancient medicine, Vivian Nutton observes:

The discovery in 2005 by a French research student of Vlatadon 14 in a monastic library in Thessalonica must rank with one of the most spectacular finds ever of ancient literature.²

Vlatadon Monastery

Today, the property of the Vlatadon/Vlataion monastery in Thessaloniki encompasses twenty-two acres of rocky and steep terrain with panoramic views of the surrounding area. It is heralded as the spot on which Paul established the Thessalonian church *ca.* 51 CE. The present monastery was founded *ca.* 1351 by Dorotheos and Markos Vlat(t)is. These brothers were priest-monks and members of the intellectual circle gathered around Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), a monk from Mount Athos who became the Archbishop of Thessaloniki. The church retains a number of the features of the original building. Its interior includes the well-known fresco, “Three Children in the Fiery Furnace.” Relics kept in the monastery include a few purportedly belonging to Athanasius (296–373 CE) and Gregory Nazianzus (329–391 CE). On the premises of the monastery, there is a bookstore, hostel, and museum. The monastery also houses the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies.³

¹ For Galen, see Véronique Boudon-Millot, *Galen de Pergame: Un Médecin Grec à Rome* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012) and Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (2d. ed.; London: Routledge, 2013).

² Vivian Nutton, “Embodiments of Will,” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 53, no. 2 (2010): 271–88.

³ Bibliography on Vlatadon monastery: Panteleimon Rodopoulos and Konstantinos Voloudakes, *Holy Royal Patriarchal and Stauropegic Monastery of Vlatadon* (Thessaloniki: Monastery



Vlatadon 14; f. 10v. with the permission of the Abbot of Vlatadon Monastery
(Copyright Vlatadon Monastery)

Catalogue of Eustratiades

In 1918, Sophronius Eustratiades created a catalogue of the holdings of the Vlatadon Monastery. In January 2005, Antoine Pietrobelli, a graduate student at the Sorbonne in Paris, visited the Patriarchal Institute to examine microfilm of manuscripts held at Mount Athos. He hoped to find additional evidence with which to prepare a critical text of *In Hippocratis de acutorum morborum victu* – his dissertation project under the direction of Véronique Boudon-Millot (doctorate received in 2008). While waiting for the microfilm, he examined Eustratiades's catalogue.⁴ In it, he observed that codex 14 (see Table 1 on page 6) contained

Vlatadon, 1999); Georgiou Stogioglou, *The Patriarchal Monastery of Vlatades in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1971).

⁴ Concerning Vlatadon 14, see Sophronius Eustratiades, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαοῦς-Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων (Thessaloniki 1918), 57, who unfortunately forgot to mention Περὶ ἄλμπτίας among the works by Galen contained in Vlatadon 14. This catalogue

Galenic treatises either nowhere else extant (*De propriis placitis*) or extant in only one other place (*De libris propriis*).

A few months later in March 2005, Véronique Boudon-Millot and Jacques Jouanna traveled to Thessaloniki to see the catalogue, microfilm, and codex.⁵ In her inspection of codex 14 on the microfilm, Boudon-Millot noticed important discrepancies between the titles listed in the catalogue and the works appearing in the codex. In the catalogue, Eustratiades listed only twenty-three of twenty-eight Galenic texts.⁶ The catalogue is represented in Table 2 on page 7. The five overlooked treatises are underlined.

was also published under the title ‘Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαοῦς-Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων’ in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 2 (1918) 97–107, 224–37, 274–83, 326–30, 386–404, 437–43, 473–75, 503–07, 708–17; 3 (1919) 29–45, 74–91, 137–50. Both catalogues are mentioned in Marcel Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (3rd ed. rev. and corr. by J.-M. Olivier; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 782. However, Vlatadon does not appear in the catalogue of Hermann Diels (*Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. I. Teil: Hippokrates und Galenos* [Berlin: Die Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1905]).

⁵ Cf. Véronique Boudon-Millot and Jacques Jouanna (with Antoine Pietrobelli), *Galien: Ne pas se chagriner* (Budé; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010), vii–ix. See Antoine Pietrobelli, “Variation Autour du *Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 14: un manuscrit copié au *xénon* du Kral, peu avant la Chute de Constantinople,” *Revue des études byzantines* 68 (2010): 95–126 [esp. 114]. The codex dates to the 15th century and is probably from Constantinople. It is written in a miniscule script; Pietrobelli later attributed folios 10v–18v to the hand of Andreiômenos. The manuscript has 281 folios and measures 305 × 220 mm (12.0079 × 8.6614 inches).

⁶ The number is twenty-one if the three books of *De crisisibus* [On Crises] are combined. The codex also includes two pseudo-Galenic texts. The first four pages of the codex are an unusual combination of strange medical comments, blank pages, a Greek botanical lexicon, another blank page, extracts of Hippocrates’ *De morbis mulierum*, another blank page, at which point appears *De sectis* (folio: 1r). Eustratiades counted 276 folios, but there are actually 281. Pietrobelli’s text separates one text into two, making six. The total number of complete Galenic texts is twenty-seven.

Table 1

ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΟΥ
ΠΡ. ΛΕΟΝΤΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Thessalonike. Monē Blateōn
'''

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ

ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΟΝΗ ΒΛΑΤΕΩΝ

(ΤΣΑΟΥΣ·ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙ)

ΑΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΩΔΙΚΩΝ

«Τὸ ἀναστηρίζειν ταῖς ἀναμνήσεσι τὰ
ὑπορχέοντα τῇ μῆκει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ὕψι
δύναμις ἀντιμάχεσθαι τῇ φθορᾷ, παρ' οἷς
οὐ δεκνίξει τὰς ψήφους ὁ φθόγος, πολλῆς
ἀξιοῦται τῆς εὐφημίας.»

(Κώδ. Ω 133 φ. 1α τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας).

ΕΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

Τύποις Σ. Παντελῆ καὶ Ν. Ξενοφωντίδου

1918

Table 2

— 37 —

14

*Γαληνοῦ περὶ αἰρέσεων**Χαρτ. 30×32. αἰῶν. ιε' φύλ. 276*

1) φ. 1α Περί αἰρέσεων. 2) φ. 13α περὶ τέχνης. 3) φ. 50α περὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς συνισταμένων παθῶν. 4) φ. 56α Γαληνοῦ ἐπιλήπτω παιδί ὑποθήκη. 5) φ. 59α περὶ τῶν ἐαυτῷ δοκούντων. 6) φ. 62α περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων. 7) φ. 62β περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων. 8) φ. 67α περὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας γυμνασίου. 9) φ. 68β ὅτι αἱ ποιότητες ἄσώματοι. 10) φ. 70β πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τύπου γράψαντας. 11) φ. 75β περὶ μελαίνης χολῆς. 12) φ. 80β περὶ τῆς τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων δυνάμεως. 13) φ. 83α περὶ πλήθους. 14) φ. 92β περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν. 15) φ. 99α περὶ προγνώσεως. 16) φ. 101α πῶς χρὴ ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς προσποιουμένους νοσεῖν. 17) φ. 101β τίνας δεῖ καθαιρεῖν καὶ ποίους καθαρτηρίους καὶ πότε. 18) φ. 104α περὶ κρίσεων βιβλίον α'. (ἐντεῦθεν ἡ γραφὴ ἄλλης χειρός). 19) φ. 118β περὶ κρίσεων βιβλίον β'. 20) φ. 133α περὶ κρίσεων βιβλίον γ'. (τρίτης χειρός γραφή). 21) φ. 149α εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης δξέων Ἰπποκράτους, οἱ δὲ περὶ πτισάνης, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κνιδείας γνώμας ἐξήγησις Γαληνοῦ Κλαυδίου Περγαμηνοῦ. (γραφή ἄλλης χειρός). 22) φ. 191β Γαληνοῦ εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης δξέων νοσημάτων. 23) φ. 239β Γαληνοῦ ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον προορητικῶν Ἰπποκράτους (τὸ τέλος ἐξέπεσεν).

15

*Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου λόγοι μετὰ σχολίων**Μεμβρ. 29×22 δίπτυχ. αἰῶν. ιγ' φύλ. 321*

1) φ. 3α λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα. 2) φ. 27β εἰς τὴν νέαν Κυριακὴν. 3) φ. 34β εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πεντηκοστήν. 4) φ. 47β εἰς τοὺς Μακαβαίους. 5) φ. 58β εἰς Κυπριανὸν μάρτυρα. 6) φ. 70β εἰς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον. 7) φ. 94α εἰς τοὺς λόγους καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπισωτὴν (Ἰουλιανόν). 8) φ. 104α εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ Κυρίου. 9) φ. 115α ἐπιτάμιος εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον. 10) φ. 175α εἰς τὰ ἅγια Φῶτα. 11) φ. 188α εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα. 12) φ. 221α εἰς Γρηγόριον Νύσσης τὸν ἀδελφὸν Βασιλείου. 13) φ. 225β εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἐπισκόπων συντακτῆριος καὶ ἐπιτῆριος. 14) φ. 242β περὶ φιλοπρωχίας. 15) φ. 267α εἰς τὸν πατέρα σιωπῶντα διὰ τὴν πληγὴν τῆς χα-

Vlatadon Codex No. 14⁷

2 *De sectis* (Περὶ αἰρέσεων; f. 1r–4v)

3 *Ars Medica* (Τέχνη ἰατρική; f. 5r–10r)

4 *De indolentia* (Περὶ ἀλυπίας; f. 10v–14v)

5 *De causa affectionum* (Περὶ αἰτίας παθῶν; pseudo-Galen; f. 15r–18v)

6 *Introductio sive medicus* (Εἰσαγωγή ἢ ἱατρός; pseudo-Galen; f. 19r–44v, l. 13 and f. 50r, l. 5–53)

7 *De morborum temporibus* (Περὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν; The manuscript entitles the first part: Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς παραοξυμοῖς καιρῶν. The second part, although belonging to the same work, is entitled Περὶ τῶν τοῦ ὅλου νοσήματος καιρῶν. f. 44v, l. 14–50r, l. 4 and f. 53v, l. 2 *ab imo*–56r, l. 17)

8 *Puero epileptico consilium* (Ἐπιλήπτῳ παιδὶ ὑποθήκη; f. 56r, l. 18–58v, l. 3)

9 *De propriis placitis* (Περὶ τῶν ἐαυτῷ δοκούντων; f. 59r–62v, l. 18);

10 *De libris propriis* (Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων; f. 62v, l. 18–65v, l. 8 *ab imo*)

11 *De ordine librorum suorum* (Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων τάξεως; f. 65v, l. 8 *ab imo*–67r, l. 8)

12 *De parvae pilae exercitio* (Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας γυμνασίου; f. 67r, l. 9–68r)

13 *Quod qualitates incorporeae sint* (“Ὅτι αἱ ποιότητες ἀσώματοι; f. 68v–70v, l. 26)

14 *Adversus eos qui de typis scripserunt* (Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τύπου [τύπων] γράψαντας; f. 70v, l. 27–75v, l. 3)

15 *De atra bile* (Περὶ μελαίνης χολῆς; f. 75v, l. 4–80v, l. 17)

16 *De purgantium medicamentorum facultate* (Περὶ τῶν καθαιρόντων φαρμάκων; f. 80v, l. 18–83r, l. 18)

17 *De plenitudine* (Περὶ πλήθους; f. 83r, l. 19–92v, l. 3)

18 *De praecognitione* (Περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκωιν; f. 92v, l. 3–99r, l. 2)

19 *De praenotione* (Περὶ προγνώσεως; f. 99r, l. 3–100r)

20 *De dignotione ex insomniis* (Περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐνυπνίων διαγνώσεως; f. 100v–101r, l. 8)

21 *Quomodo morbum similes sint deprehendendi* (Πῶς χρὴ ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς προσποιοιμένους νοσεῖν; f. 100v–101r, l. 8)

22 *Quos, quibus cathartici medicamentis et quando purgare oporteat* (Τίνας δεῖ καθαιρεῖν καὶ ποίοις καθαρτηρίοις καὶ πότε; f. 101v, l. 6 *ab imo*–103v, l. 4)

23 *De crisis* (Περὶ κρίσεων; f. 104r–147r; book 1 105r, l. 17–118v, l. 2 *ab imo*: book 2 f. 118v, l. 1 *ab imo*–133r, l. 11; book 3 133r, l. 11–147r)

24 *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentarii* (Εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων Ἱπποκράτους ὑπόμνημα; f. 149r–239v, l. 11; correct order: book 1 f. 149r–169r; book 2 f. 169r–172 213r–220v; 181r–191v; book 3 191v–212v; 173r–174r, l. 23; book 4 174r, l. 24–180v, 221r–228v, 261r–268v, 242r–249v; 235r–239v, l. 11)

25 *In Hippocratis prorrheticum I commentarii III* (Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον προρρητικὸν Ἱπποκράτους ὑπόμνημα; f. 239v, l. 11–103v l. 4; correct order: f. 239v–241v, 273r–276v, 269r–272v, 258r–v, 258/rv, 259r–260v, 229r–234v, 250r–257v)

The missing treatise occupying folios 10v to 14v has the title Περὶ ἀλυγισίας.⁸ Boudon-Millot provisionally identified it as Περὶ ἀλυπίας/*De indolentia* – Galen’s lost letter-treatise on moral philosophy. This identification was later confirmed by comparison with a paraphrase-summary of *Ind.* preserved in Arabic and Hebrew. In 2007, in a volume honoring Jouanna Boudon-Millot published an initial version of the Greek text with a preliminary French translation (hereafter: B-M). In 2010, Boudon-Millot and Jouanna collaborated on a critical edition published by Budé (hereafter: BMJ). This volume is part of a new Budé series (now four new text-translations) on the Galenic corpus.

⁷ Adapted from Pietrobello, “Variation Autour du Thessalonicensis Vlatadon 14,” 97–100.

⁸ Modern Greek: ἀλυγισία, “stiff.”

Modern Language Translations

Immediately following Boudon-Millot's first 2007 publication, translations into modern languages began to appear. Christopher P. Jones translated part of the text into English in an article in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (2009).⁹ Pier Luigi Tucci also translated sections of the text in two articles in *JRA* (2008, 2009).¹⁰ Vivian Nutton translated the entire piece into English based on his own reconstruction of the Greek text. A selection of Nutton's translations can be found in BMJ's commentary, Christopher Gill's *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism*,¹¹ and elsewhere. Cambridge University Press will publish the translation and commentary as the first volume in a series of Galen translations sponsored by the Wellcome Trust Programme under the leadership of Philip van der Eijk. Van der Eijk and his team aim to provide a coordinated series of English translations in a uniform format, accompanied by introductions, explanatory notes, bibliographies, glossaries, and indices.¹² Nutton's translation will appear in a volume entitled, *Galen: Psychological Works* edited by Peter N. Singer. With *Ind.*, this volume will include *Psychological Affections*, *Psychological Errors*, *Character Traits*, and *The Faculties of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body/The Soul's Dependence on the Body*. Nutton's translation pending, in 2011, we (Rothschild and Thompson) attempted to provide a diplomatic translation as a tool for getting the text out to a wider audience and encouraging further work. Our English translation based on the Greek text of BMJ appeared in *Early Christianity*, a relatively new journal published by Mohr Siebeck (Tübingen) and dedicated to the field of early Christian studies.¹³ We have since modified the translation incorporating newer recent readings and emendations.

Finally, at about the same time, Paraskevi Kotzia and Panagiotis Sotiroudis of Aristotle University in Thessaloniki constructed their own Greek critical edition of *Ind.* on the basis of the codex¹⁴ with a translation into modern Greek. A de-

⁹ "Books and Libraries in a Newly-Discovered Treatise of Galen," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22 (2009): 390–8.

¹⁰ "Galen's Storeroom, Rome's Libraries, and the Fire of A. D. 192," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008): 133–49 and "Antium, the Palatium, and the Domus Tiberiana Again," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22 (2009): 398–401.

¹¹ Christopher Gill, *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen & Stoicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹² Until 2011, the Loeb Classical Library had published only Galen's *On the Natural Faculties* (1916). Under the leadership of Jeffrey Henderson, however, three volumes comprising Galen's *Method of Medicine* appeared in that year translated by Ian Johnston and G. H. R. Horsley (*Galen: Method of Medicine* [3 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011]). Ian Johnston is currently working on two new Loeb volumes that will include Galen's *De sanitate tuenda*, *Ars Medica*, and *Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi* (planned publication in 2015).

¹³ Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, "Galen: 'On the Avoidance of Grief,'" *EC* 2, no. 1 (2011): 110–29.

¹⁴ Paraskevi Kotzia and Panagiotis Sotiroudis, "Γαληνού περί ἀλυσίας," *Hellenica* 60 (2010): 63–148.

tailed collation of both critical editions, plus an even more recent Italian diglot by Ivan Garofalo and Alessandro Lami are included at the end of this volume (see “Collation”).¹⁵

Recent Surge of Interest in Galen

With the discovery of *Ind.*, the world has witnessed a surge of interest in Galen. In addition to the various publication series noted above, the new annual journal *Galenos* is dedicated to Galenic studies¹⁶ and several conferences have convened on the topic of Galen’s life and work including: (1) “International Colloquium on Galen and the Vlatadon Codex at Vlatadon Monastery” in Thessaloniki on May 14, 2010; (2) “Seminario sul nuovo Galeno del codice Thessalonicensis 14 (XV sec.)” in Florence on November 22, 2010; (3) “New Approaches to Galen,” hosted by the American Philological Association (session organizer, Rebecca Fleming) in San Antonio, TX from January 6–9, 2011; and, (4) “Books and Quotes: Scientific Works and Scholarly Editions in the 2nd Century AD,” at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften from September 28–29, 2012.

II. Text and Context

English Title

In keeping with scholarly conventions in the field of Classics, this volume primarily refers to the newly discovered work by its Latin title, *De indolentia*. That said, a significant number of different English titles are in use among which are: *On the Avoidance of Grief*, *On Freedom From Grief*, *Avoiding Grief*, and *On Being Free of Sorrow/Pain*. The main source of the variety is that no single word in English adequately captures the wide range of meanings and possible nuances of the $\lambda\upsilon\pi$ - word group in Greek. The alpha privative only multiplies possibilities. The English title, *On the Avoidance of Grief*, was established by the first English translations of Galen’s *On My Own Books* (*Lib.Prop.* 19.45) in which Galen lists *Ind.* among his written works.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ivan Garofalo and Alessandro Lami, *Galeno: L’anima e il dolore*. De indolentia, De propriis placitis (BUR Rizzoli. Classici greci e latini; Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2012). We note also that Mario Vegetti published an Italian translation based on the Greek text of BMJ; see Vegetti, *Galeno: Nuovi scritti autobiografici* (Rome: Carocci, 2013). Numerous other emendations to the critical editions have been proffered, either individually or in groups, in books, articles, and papers (see “Bibliography”).

¹⁶ *Galenos: Rivista di filologia dei testi medici antichi* (beginning in 2007).

¹⁷ On the complicated nomenclature of the Galenic corpus in general, see “Appendix I: A Guide to the Editions and Abbreviations of the Galenic Corpus” and “Appendix II: English Titles and Modern Translations,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen* (ed. R. J. Hankinson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 391–403, and “Notes on Conventions,” in

Authenticity

The evidence points strongly, if not certainly, toward the authenticity of the Vlatadon 14 text of *Ind.* Four points are salient. First, as noted, in *Lib.Prop.* (K 19.45), Galen refers to a work entitled, *περὶ ἀλυπίας* as one of his writings.¹⁸ Second, comparison of the Greek text of Vlatadon 14 with the contents of Arabic and Hebrew epitomes of this work dated to the thirteenth-century confirms that the text in Vlatadon 14 is Galen's long-lost work. Third, miscellaneous biographical content of the treatise including details about the fire, Galen's age when he first arrives in Rome (i.e., "thirty-three," *Ind.* 34), and Galen's comments about his father and grandfather (*Ind.* 59) – accords with what we know about Galen's life from other works. Finally, the style and thought of *Ind.* are consistent with Galen's oeuvre. Treatment of the topic of λύπη in *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione* (*Aff.Dig.*), for example, demonstrates close agreement with treatment of λύπη in *Ind.*¹⁹ To our knowledge, authenticity of the newly discovered text has not yet been seriously disputed.

Date of Composition

Scholarly consensus quickly established 192–193 CE as the most probable date of composition of *Ind.* This date is based upon at least the following two factors. First, the treatise focuses on Galen's response (or lack thereof) to a fire in the city of Rome during the year 192 CE – a disaster attested by multiple sources (e.g., Cassius Dio 72.24; Herodian 1.14.2–6). Moreover, near the beginning of the treatise, Galen refers to the fire as "very recent" (*Ind.* 2). The fire, thus, functions as a solid *terminus post quem* for the treatise and the treatise seems to have been written not long after this catastrophic event. Second, however, *Ind.* 54–55 describes "recent" actions of Commodus in an unflattering light. Since Commodus continually threatened members of the royal court, the logic is that Galen would not have been openly critical of the emperor until after his death on December 31, 192 CE. Cumulatively, a date in the first half of 193 CE seems most likely for the composition of *Ind.*

Galenic Psychological Oeuvre

According to Galen, *Ind.* is part of a larger body of literature he classifies as moral philosophy (ἠθικά φιλοσοφία; K 19.45–46), including the following seventeen works:

Galen and the World of Knowledge (eds. C. Gill, T. Whitmarsh, and J. Wilkins; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ix–xv.

¹⁸ *περὶ ἀλυπίας* ἐν – "On the Avoidance of Grief in one book."

¹⁹ Cf. esp. *Aff.Dig.* (K 5.37, 43)

- (1) *On the Diagnosis and Cure of the Passions and Errors of the Soul* (listed as a single work in two volumes)
- (2) *Moral Character*
- (3) *Against Favorinus' Attack on Socrates*
- (4) *On the Avoidance of Grief*
- (5) *Purpose of Philosophy*
- (6) *The Relationship to his Hearers of One Making Public Demonstrations*
- (7) *People who Read in Secret*
- (8) *To Make the Punishment Fit the Crime*
- (9) *Encouragement*
- (10) *The Discourse with Bacchides and Cyrus in the Cilla of Menarchus*
- (11) *Attendance at Dialogues*
- (12) *To Orators in the Forum*
- (13) *Pleasure and Pain*
- (14) *What Follows from each Chosen Aim in Life*
- (15) *Things said in Public to the Adherents of Sects*
- (16) *Things said in Public Against Flatterers*
- (17) *Things said in Public in the Presence of Pertinax*

With regard to specific philosophical positions held, Galen is consistently appreciated as a paradigmatic example of eclecticism. That said, his approach may be more accurately described as personal philosophy (see essay by Asmis in this volume).²⁰ At times, his thinking picks up on Stoic (ἀπάθεια) or Epicurean (ἀταραξία) ideas. At other times, his comments indicate strong affinities with Aristotle. In the larger oeuvre, his discussions of the ψυχή favor the Platonic tri-partite model as opposed to the more unified Stoic approach. He also famously argues against the Stoics that the rational part of the ψυχή resides in the head. Although these issues do not arise *per se* in *Ind.*, (e.g., *Ind.* 76), Galen does discuss the ψυχή following the first citation of Euripides in *Ind.* 52, after which point ψυχή plays a prominent role.²¹ Other important terms from Stoicism include: φαντασία, γυμνάζειν (54), προσδοκεῖν (55), and παρασκευάζειν (2; 55); and the Epicurean expression, ἀοχλησία is the topic of discussion in *Ind.* 68:

Some suppose that freedom from disturbance is the good'. I myself believe that neither I, nor any another human being, nor any living creature exhibits. I observe that every living thing is compelled to perform its own functions both with respect to body and soul. I also treated this point with copious explanatory notes in some other works, especially in my *Against Epicurus*.

²⁰ According to *Aff.Dig.*, Galen received a broad philosophical training in Pergamum. He learned from a Stoic (a student of Philopator), a Platonist (a student of Gaius), and a pupil of Aspasius the Peripatetic, and an Epicurean from Athens (K 5.415–42).

²¹ E.g., 56–57; 60; 62; 68; 75; 76; 77; 81.

Epistolography

The generic classification of *Ind.* is somewhat uncertain. To be sure, the text begins as a response to a letter: “I received your letter in which you urged me to reveal to you what training, arguments, or doctrines prepared me never to be distressed” (*Ind.* 1). Yet the work, in its present form, does not contain the most common epistolary elements such as prescript (i.e., sender, address, or greeting), or proemium (prayer-wish for health or well-being, thanksgiving, remembrance, or expression of joy). Also, in the only occurrence of the common epistolary exhortation *παρακαλεῖν* in this text, Galen is the object not the (more typical) epistolary subject (*Ind.* 1).²² In *Ind.*, Galen does not request anything from the reader and indicates no pending travel plans. The work contains no closing with epilogue (e.g., concluding advice or plans for a visit) or postscript (i.e., greetings, wishes, signature, or date), although it does conclude with a reference to “sending” (*Ind.* 84). Current evidence does not permit definitive conclusions about the original form of *Ind.* The text could originally have included the typical introductory and concluding epistolary features, removed by an editor or copyist later on.

Throughout *Ind.*, Galen addresses the intended reader in the second-person singular. Although the addressee is never identified, Galen offers a few clues to his identity. He had apparently been in Rome with Galen (*Ind.* 1), remained in communication with people in Rome (*Ind.* 1), and was educated with Galen (*Ind.* 51, 57). Likewise, Galen addresses his reader in the second-person singular in *Aff.Dig.*, a work viewed as a tractate not a letter. In that work, Galen openly acknowledges an easy collapse between the public and private divide among publications. This may suggest that he ultimately expected *Ind.* to have a wide publication:

As for the question of how to discover them all, I could give an account of how I found them out in my own case, but will at present refrain, *since this pamphlet may at some point fall into the hands of others* – they too should first exercise themselves to find out their own errors. (*Aff.Dig.* [K 5.5], emphasis added)²³

Like Seneca, Galen’s letters were probably intentionally both public and private – written originally with a single individual in mind to address a question posed by that person, but eventually intended for a much wider audience. We choose, therefore, to identify the text as a “letter-treatise” – a tentative conclusion recognizing the problems of classification and leaving the door open for further research and reflection.

²² At *Ind.* 56, Galen does, however, “recommend” (*παρακελεύεσθαι*) – common to letters.

²³ ET: Peter N. Singer, *Galen: Selected Works* (Oxford World’s Classics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 102.

Consolation Literature

Although *Ind.* contains *topoi* common to consolation literature, this classification is problematic for at least a few reasons. First, Galen repeatedly affirms in this work, either by restating an observation of his reader or by his own statement, that he has never been distressed (*Ind.* 4–5, 29). He needs no consolation. Furthermore, the work offers no consolation or method of consolation for its intended reader – should he need it. On the contrary, Galen seems to intentionally create distress in the opening half of the work in his enumeration of items lost in the fire (see the essay of Rosen in this volume). This narration of loss builds in a kind of rhetorical crescendo. First, Galen notes the loss of an important dictionary. Next, he describes even greater losses, including limited editions and commentaries. Then, he poses the rhetorical question of what could be worse than what he has listed thus far (*Ind.* 31) – at which point he describes how he lost various irreplaceable items (*Ind.* 38). The *coup de grâce* is delivered when Galen finally describes the loss of two invaluable recipe collections. Even this, however, Galen says he bore very easily. He concludes, however, that one should not deduce from what he has said that he is impervious to distress. In an important caveat, he lists things that would distress him (*Ind.* 72a). In such cases, he explains that he would only be able to manage if he had food, water, shelter, and a book or a friend. In the case of severe physical pain, he says he could hope only to survive (78a–b, 79a).

Books, Literature, and Libraries

De indolentia provides important evidence for second-century literary culture (see the essay by Nicholls in this volume). The text covers a range of topics in this area of study, including Galen's aptitude for distinguishing genuine from false texts (*Ind.* 16), his nuanced lexical debates with other physicians (*Ind.* 23b–26), and his prolific scholarly activity (*Ind.* 14). Above all, however, this treatise offers information about ancient library culture. Nicholls refers to the text as “an invaluable new source for the book and library historian.”²⁴ Among other things, the reader learns of (1) rare editions and collections in the city of Rome held at the Palatine libraries; (2) rental by Roman intellectuals of nearby warehouses to store books and other valuable materials; (3) presence of catalogues in ancient libraries as aids to book patrons; and (4) Galen's access to and use of texts held in the libraries on the Palatine. In addition, Galen describes the activities of friends in Pergamum who, like his friends in Rome and other cities, placed copies of his works in the local public libraries (*Ind.* 21; see the essay of Touwaide in this volume).

²⁴ Matthew C. Nicholls, “Galen and Libraries in the *Peri Alupias*,” *Journal of Roman Studies* (2011): 123–42 [esp. 124].

Study of the Emotions, Passions, and Affections

Thanks to the work of scholars such as William V. Harris, Robert A. Kaster, and David Konstan, the last decade has witnessed increased attention to implications of the emotions, passions, and affections in ancient texts.²⁵ Taking the lead from contemporary science, scholars in a variety of fields are addressing the range of feelings implied by concepts of emotion in and throughout history. *De indolentia* contributes generously to this discussion in so far as it exemplifies an array of emotions grouped under the single expression, *λυπή*.

Early Christian Literature

On account, perhaps, of the facts that he flourished at the end of the second century and issued polemical statements against Christians, Galen's writings are often neglected in comparative studies of Early Christian literature, even though the two corpora treat many of the same topics. The following three comparative points offer a sample of questions for further research.

- Second-century use of parchment codices to preserve valuable texts (*Ind.* 34) may be comparable to early Christian preference for the codex.
- Like *Ind.*, more than one early Christian text preserves elements of an ancient epistle in the absence of standard epistolary elements (e.g., Hebrews, Epistle of Barnabas, 1 John). Since Galen has both private and public distribution in mind for his writings, these Christian texts might have similar publication aims.
- The 'hermeneutics of self-interpretation' is an important new trajectory in investigations of early Christian literature. Like Paul in 1 Corinthians (5:9–13), Galen recommends that his reader consult prior works on related topics to fully comprehend and/or correctly interpret his meaning in the present letter-treatise (*Ind.* 84). Galen's recourse to this hermeneutical strategy is, thus, another similarity he shares with early Christian literature (*Ind.* 67).

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²⁵ William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001) and William V. Harris, ed., *Mental Disorders in the Classical World* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 38; Leiden; Brill, 2013); Robert A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome* (Classical Culture and Society; Oxford University Press, 2005); David Konstan, *Pity Transformed* (London: Duckworth, 2001) and David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (Robson Classical Lectures; University of Toronto, 2006). Cf. Philippus R. Bosman, *Mania: Madness in the Greco-Roman World* (Pretoria: Classical Association of South Africa, 2009).

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