

De Propriis Placitis

Sigla

Codices manuscripti

A = Ambrosianus gr. 659, s. XIV/XV

L = Laurentianus gr. 74.5, s. XII

P = Parisinus gr. 2332, s. XV

Q = Parisinus suppl. gr. 634, s. XII

V = Vlatadon 14, s. XV

Lat. = versio Latina a Nu edita

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

Editores

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ni = D. Nickel apud Nutton

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

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

Ro = A. Roselli apud Ga¹

Ta = V. Talarico apud La¹

Abbreviationes

a. corr. = ante correctionem
add. = addidit, addiderunt
cf. = confer
codd. = codices
coni. = coniecit, coniecerunt
corr. = correxerunt, correxerunt
e corr. = e correctione
edd. = editores
lac. = lacuna
leg. = legit, legerunt
om. = omisit, omiserunt
p. corr. = post correctionem
prop. = proposuit, proposuerunt
secl. = secluserunt, seclusit
suppl. = supplevit, suppleverunt
s.l. = supra lineam
transp. = transposuit, transposuerunt

Γαληνοῦ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτῷ δοκούντων

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

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

Galen's *On My Own Opinions*

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

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

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

2. Ἔστι δὲ τοιαῦτα (περὶ πρώτων γὰρ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν ἔγνωκα), πότερον ἀγέννητός ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος ἢ γεννητός εἴτε τι μετ' αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν εἴτε μηδέν. Ὅτι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν φημι, δηλονότι καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ὁποῖός τις ἐστιν, εἴτ' ἀσώματος εἴτε καὶ σωματοειδῆς, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τίνι τόπῳ διατρίβων, ἄρ' οὖν καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἀπορεῖν φημι καθάπερ ὁ Πρωταγό- 5 ρας ἔλεγεν, ἢ καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁποῖοι μὲν εἰσι τὴν οὐσίαν ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι δ' εἰσὶν, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων γινώσκειν; Ἐκείνων γὰρ εἶναι τὴν τε τῶν ζώων κατασκευὴν ἔργον ὅσα τε διὰ κληδόνων ἢ συμβόλων ἢ ὀνειράτων προσσημαίνουσιν. Ὁ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ τιμώμενος ἐν Περγᾶμιν θεὸς ἐπ' ἄλλων τε πολλῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐνεδείξατο ἐμέ τε θεραπεύσας ποτέ, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ Διοσκοούρων 10 ἔχω πείραν οὐ μόνον τῆς προνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βλάπτεισθαί τι νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν θεῶν, τιμᾶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔγνωκα, νόμῳ παλαιῷ ἐπόμενος Σωκράτους, πείθεσθαι συμβουλευόντος τοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου προστάγμασιν.

3. Οὕτω μὲν ἔχω περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅπως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦδη σοι δίδειμι. Ψυχὴν μὲν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς πέπεισμαι καθάπερ ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι (τὸ γὰρ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι κατὰ προαίρεσιν αἰσθάνεσθαι τε διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων αἴτιον ἅπαντας ὁρῶ ψυχὴν ὀνομάζοντας), ἥτις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγνοεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον εἰ ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἢ θνητή. Περὶ γοῦν τῶν 5 Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ὑπομνήματα ποιησάμενος, ἑμαυτῷ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὸ λήθης γῆρας ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, εἴτα καὶ φίλοις δεηθεῖσι κοινω- νῆσαι αὐτῶν, οὐδαμῶθεν περὶ τοῦ θνητῆν ἢ ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεφηνά- μην, ὥσπερ γε (καὶ) περὶ τοῦ πότερον ἀσώματος ἐστὶν ἢ σῶμα. Περὶ μέντοι τῆς 10 κινήσεως, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐτέραν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἐτέραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν, ἄλλην δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἥπαρ, ἔγραψα τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐξ ὧν ἑμαυτὸν ἔπεισα διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμά- των ὁ λόγος ἐστί. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον αἶ τε μνῆμαι καὶ αἰ

22 γε V Bou-Pi γε (καὶ) corr. Ga-La: καὶ correximus | βεβαίως V e corr.: secl. La¹ Ga-La 2,1 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δὴ leg. Ga-La | περὶ πρώτ' γὰρ αὐτῶν V περὶ (ῶν) πρώτων {γὰρ αὐτῶν} leg. et corr. Bou-Pi: περὶ πρώτων γὰρ αὐτῶν corr. La¹ Ga-La 2 ἀγέννητός V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | γεννητός V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | εἴτε τι V Bou-Pi Ga-La; an εἴτ' ἔ(στι) τι scribendum? | ἀγνοεῖν φημι post μηδέν add. Bou-Pi | Ὅτι V Bou-Pi: ἔτι corr. La¹ Ga-La 4 τι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 5 ἐν τίνι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | ὁ om. Bou-Pi 7 γινώσκειν V Bou-Pi: γινώσκειν Ga-La 8 ἐμοί V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 9 τε² om. Bou-Pi 12 δὲ V: δ' tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 13 παλαιῷ V La¹ Ga-La: πάλοι leg. Bou-Pi 3,1 οὕτως V Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 4 δέ V: δ' corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 7–8 κοινωνήσας V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 8 οὐδαμῶθεν V Bou-Pi: οὐδαμῶθι corr. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La 9 καὶ add. Ga-La | τοῦ post μέντοι add. La¹ Ga-La 10 ἐτέραν¹] ἔτεραν Bou-Pi | ἐτέραν²] ἔτεραν Bou-Pi 11 κατὰ τὸ V La¹ Ga-La: καθ' leg. Bou-Pi

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

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

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

² I.e. Asclepius.

³ Plato, *Phaedrus* 276d3.

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

14 γινώσκεται post τε add. Ga-La | ἀκόλουθόν τε καὶ μαχόμενον] ἀκολουθίαν τε καὶ μαχ(ὴν)
 γιγνώσκ(ο)μεν Ga¹ 15 πολλὰ V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 16 τούτων V Bou-Pi: corr. Ro Ga-La
 17 ἐθέλει V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 19 καὶ post εἶναι add. Bou-Pi 20 [ἐνεργεί]ας suppl. La¹ Ga-La
 [κινήσεως] suppl. Bou-Pi 21 ἀρτηρίας leg. Bou-Pi | [οἶον] ζέον suppl. La¹ Ga-La [τὸ ἐν]ζέον
 suppl. Bou-Pi | [θερμασίας] suppl. Bou-Pi La¹ Ga-La 21–22 ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας [ὠρμή]θη.
 [μετ]εῖναι suppl. Ga-La ὥσπερ ἀφροστ[.....μετε...] Bou-Pi 22 μὲν V s.l. | θερμασίαν V Bou-
 Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 22–23 [ω...καὶ] τοῖς φυτοῖς ἅ]πασιν suppl. Bou-Pi ὥ[σπερ] καὶ τοῖς φυ[τοῖς]
 ἅ]πασιν suppl. Ga-La 23 τε ταύτης [ἐπικουρίας] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [.....ἐπικουρίας] suppl.
 Bou-Pi | παρὰ post ἐνίοτε add. Ga-La 24 [καρδίᾳ τῆς] suppl. Bou-Pi [αἷματι τῆς] suppl. La¹ Ga-
 La | αὐτοῦ V La¹ Ga-La: αὐτῆς corr. Pi 25 καὶ V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | φ[ημι καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi
 Ga-La 27 τε τῷ[ν οἰκείων] suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν τῶν [οἰκείων ἐ] suppl. Bou-Pi 28 [τρο]φῆς [τε
 καὶ] τοῦ πνεύματος suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La; τε καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος delevimus cum Ga-La 29 ὁμοιοί
 V ὁμοιοί corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | τούτοις V Bou-Pi: ταύταις corr. Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi:
 δ' tacite corr. Ga-La 29–30 ἀλλοιωτικ[ῆς] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 30 [καὶ τὸ τρέφειν] suppl. Bou-
 Pi [καὶ τὸ τρέφειν Ga-La | καὶ τὸ² om. Bou-Pi 31 κυου[μέ]νων suppl. Bou-Pi κυουμ[ένων]
 δυν[ά]μεως suppl. Ga-La | [οὐκ ἀ]πεφηνάμην Bou-Pi | πρότορον V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La
 32 τέσσαρας V Bou-Pi: τέτταρας corr. Ga-La | δυν[ά]μεις suppl. Bou-Pi δυνά[μεις] suppl. Ga-La
 33 ἐλκτικ[ὴν], ἀλλοιωτικὴν suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | τε om. Bou-Pi 34 Εἴρ[η]ται suppl. Bou-Pi
 (tacite) Ga-La 35 γε μὴν V La¹ Ga-La: μὴν γε leg. Bou-Pi

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

⁴ I.e. nourishment.

⁵ I.e. waste.

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

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

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

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

4. As for the fact, moreover, that all the bodies in this world – for I affirm that nothing is certain about the bodies in the sky – are created from a mixture of fire, earth, water and air, I showed in the first place that it was Hippocrates who declared this, and second that he was correct to do so, and in addition that he himself refuted the opinions of those who maintain that in terms of their quality the elements of the bodies are not subject to affections or changes. I have demonstrated this not only in *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, but also through my explication of the work *On the Nature of Man* and the three other commentaries [on the subject]. I showed that Hippocrates holds the same opinion in other writings [of his], but I also showed with regard to the term ‘the hot’ that it indicates, on the one hand, a single, perfectly hot body – uncontaminated by any opposing quality – which we affirm is one of the four elements; but on the other hand, that it is something other than what is called ‘hot’ due to the predominance of this quality. Finally, [I showed] that there is another meaning, different from these two, which Hippocrates was accustomed to refer to as ‘innate heat’, having a particular balance in each species of living beings; τιν which (ἐν ᾧ)⁶ I have offered a demonstration through both other writings and the treatise *Against Lycus* concerning the reproaches the latter addressed against Hippocrates, who says in the *Aphorisms* that ‘Growing beings have the most innate heat’⁷, since Lycus thought that Hippocrates had used the expression ‘the most’ in the sense ‘the strongest’ and not in the sense ‘increasing according to its

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ Unintelligible letters in the codex.

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

¹¹ Hippocratic *Epidemics* 3.2, 79.14 Jouanna.

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

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

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

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

μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν, φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας κινδύνους ταῖς
 φλεγμοναῖς τῶν νεύρων, ὅλον ἐνίστε διακόψαντες τὸ νενυγμένον νεῦρον καὶ
 φλεγμαῖνον, ἔλαθον τὸν κάμνοντα, μὴ δυνάμενοι λαθεῖν, ἐὰν σαρκῶδες τι μόριον 30
 διακόψωσιν. Οὕτω δὲ κὰν ταῖς φλεβοτομίαις ἄκοντες ἐνίστε διακόψαντες νεῦρόν
 τι τριχοειδὲς ἐπιτεταμένον τῇ τεμνομένῃ φλεβί, κατὰ μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν τομὴν
 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀδύνῃν εἰργάσαντο τῶν μὴ τεμνομένων, ὕστερον δὲ ναρκώδους
 αἰσθήσεως ἐπιγενομένης, λογίζονται διηρηκέναι νεῦρον. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ
 ναρκώδες, ὅπερ ἔπεται ταῖς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμοναῖς, ὀδύνης ἐστὶν ἀμυδρᾶς 35
 γνῶρισμα, πρόδηλον πάντῃ, γνῶριμον δ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ἅπασιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς τῇ τῶν
 νεύρων φλεγμονῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἀλγήματος ἔπεται, καὶ πολλοὶ μηδεμιᾶς
 ὀδύνης ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τὰς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονὰς αἰσθανόμενοι, μικρὸν
 ὕστερον ἐσπάσθησαν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ σπασθῆναι δηλώσαντες οὐ μικρὰν εἶναι τὴν
 φλεγμονήν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετρίως ἔμπροσθεν ὠδυνῆσθαι δηλοῦντες οὐκ εἶναι 40
 σφοδρὰν ὀδύνῃν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νεύρων φλεγμονῇ, διότι μὴδ' ἰσχυρὰν αἰσθῆσιν.
 Ὡς περ οὖν ἔνιοι διὰ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας κινδύνους ταῖς τῶν νεύρων φλεγμο-
 ναῖς ὡήθησαν αἰσθητικώτερα τῶν σαρκωδῶν μορίων ὑπάρχειν αὐτά, πλέον ἢ
 κατ' ἀλήθειαν νείμαντες αἰσθήσεως αὐτοῖς, οὕτως Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ
 χρῆν προήλθεν εἰς τοῦναντίον δόγμα, μηδεμίαν αἰσθῆσιν αὐτοῖς ἡγούμενος 45
 ὑπάρχειν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐναργῶς φαινομένοις διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐθέλοι τις προσέ-
 χειν, αἰσθάνεται μὲν, οὐ μὴν ὥσπερ τὰ σαρκώδη μόρια. Λέγομεν δ' ἐνίστε τὰ
 νεῦρα τῶν ἄλλων μορίων ὑπάρχειν αἰσθητικώτερα διὰ τὰς ἐπομένας βλάβας.

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

28 καὶ om. V 29 τὸ νενυγμένον V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸν ἐνιγμένον P 30 δυνάμενοι V He Nu
 Bou-Pi Ga-La: δυνάμενος P 31 κὰν V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 32 τι V s.l.: om. P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-
 La 34–37 Ὅτι δὲ—ἔπεται V Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ δὲ ναρκώδες ὀδύνης ἀμυδρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νεύρων
 φλεγμονῇ γνῶρισμα P Nu 36 γνῶ[ρι]σμα suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La | πάντῃ V Bou-Pi: παντὶ corr. Ga¹
 La¹ Ga-La 37 τὸ om. Bou-Pi | ἀλγῆματι V: corr. Pi Ga-La | [ἔ]πεται suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La
 39 σπασθῆναι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 40 ὠδυνῆσθαι P p. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ὀδυνᾶσθαι P a.
 corr. ὠδυνεῖσθαι V 42 ὥσπερ οὖν ἔνιοι δι[ὰ] τοὺς suppl. La¹ Ga-La: ὥσπερ οὖν [.....] Bou-Pi
 43 [αὐ]τὰ suppl. Ga-La [τὰ νεῦρα] suppl. Bou-Pi 44 κατ' ἀλήθειαν V La¹ Ga-La: κατ' ἀληθείας
 leg. Bou-Pi κατὰ ἀλήθειαν corr. Ga¹ | (ὁ) Ἀσκληπιάδης conl. La¹ | ἢ V La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La: εἰ leg. Bou-
 Pi 45 χρῆ V Bou-Pi La¹ Ga-La ἐχρῆν corr. Lu: correximus | τοῦ[ναντίον] suppl. Bou-Pi
 τοῦ[να]ντίον suppl. Ga-La 46 αἰσθήσεων suppl. Bou-Pi αἰσθή[σε]ων suppl. Ga-La | ἐθέλει V
 Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 47 αἰσθάνεται μὲν V Bou-Pi: αἰσθαν(όμενα) μὲν (εὐρήσει τὰ νεῦρα) corr.
 La¹ Ga-La | an τὰ νεῦρα post μὲν addendum? 48 [ὑπάρχειν] suppl. Bou-Pi [ὑπ]άρχειν suppl.
 Ga-La 6.1 Ἐπειδὴ V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus | an μὲν post ἀγνοεῖν addendum? | μὴ
 γινώσκειν V μοι γινώσκειν Bou-Pi (καὶ) μὴ γινώσκειν corr. La¹: corr. Ga-La | [μ]ὴδ' suppl. La¹ Ga-
 La [τε οὐ]δ' suppl. Bou-Pi | ἢ V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 2 ὁρῶμέν τι V Bou-Pi: corr. Ro La¹ Ga-La
 2–3 ὁμολογούμενον οὐ V ὁμολογούμενον ὡς Pi ὁμολογουμένως La¹ Ga-La: correximus

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

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

μενον {οὐ} δυναμένην εἰς πᾶν σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνοικίζεσθαι, κἂν ἀθάνατος ᾦ, κἂν ἀσώματος, εὐλογον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ δεχόμενον αὐτὴν σῶμα καὶ κατέχον, 5 ἄχρι περ ἂν ᾗ τοιοῦτον οἶον εἶναι προσήκει, καλεῖν αἰσθητικόν, ὡς ὀπτικόν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἀκουστικόν δ[ε] τὸ οὖς, διαλεκτικὴν δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν, εἶναι τε τούτων γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς ποιᾶς κράσεως τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, καὶ εἴπερ ἡ ψυχὴ σὺν τῷ διαπλαττομένῳ σώματι τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει, κατ[ὰ] ψυχ[ὴν] τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρᾶσιν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἄλλης μὲν οὐσης τῇ ψυχῇ γενέσεως, ἄλλης δὲ τῷ αἰσθητικῷ σώματι· μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι που ψυχῆς οὐσίαν καθ' ἑαυτήν, ἀλλ' οἶον εἶδος 10 τι τοῦ σώματος ὑπάρχειν αὐτήν, ἄκουε δέ μου λέγοντος εἶδος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὕλης ἀντίθεσιν, ἣν ἄποι[ο]ν εἶναι νοοῦμεν ὅσον τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ. Δέδεικται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τοῦτο γινώσκειν ἱατρῷ χρήσιμον, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦμεν τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀθάνατός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος, ἀλλὰ μέχρι γε τοσούτου φαίνεται παραμένουσα τῷ σώματι, μέχρι περ ἂν οἶα τε δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς κατὰ 15 φύσιν ἐνεργείας ἐνεργεῖν, ὥστε, ἕως ἂν φυλάττωμεν τὸ σῶμα τὴν αἰσθητικὴν κρᾶσιν ἔχον, οὐ τεθνηξόμεθα. Δέδεικται δέ μοι καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Ὑγιεινῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος αἰετὰ μεταβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸ ψυχρότερόν τε καὶ ξηρότερον, ὥστ' ἀποξηραίνεσθαι τελεί[ως] καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι κατὰ τὸ γῆρας, κάπειδαν ἐπὶ πολὺ προέλθῃ ξηρότητός τε καὶ ψυχρότητος, οὐκέτι δυναμένην 20

3 π[ᾶν] τὸ σῶ[μα] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga¹ πᾶ[ν] σῶ[μα] Ga-La πᾶν [σῶ]μα La¹ | ἀθάνατος ᾗ V Ga-La: ᾗ ἀθάνατος Bou-Pi 4 κἂν V Bou-Pi: καὶ corr. La¹ Ga-La | εὐλογον V La¹ Ga-La: εὐλογον [γὰρ] leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | εἶναι om. Bou-Pi | [καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi [καὶ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La 5 τοι[οῦ]τον suppl. Bou-Pi τοιο[ῦ]τον suppl. La¹ Ga-La | καλ[εῖν] αἰσθητικόν suppl. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La καλ[ὼς] αἰσθητικόν suppl. Bou-Pi 6 [δὲ] τὸ suppl. Bou-Pi δ[ὲ] τὸ suppl. Ga-La | διαλεκτικὴν δὲ τῇ[ν] γλῶ[τταν] leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La [λεκ]τικὸν δὲ τὴν [γλῶ]τταν leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | τούτων V La¹ Ga-La: τούτου con. Bou 7 γένε[σιν] ἐκ suppl. La¹ Ga-La Bou-Pi | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La 7–8 εἴπερ [ἡ] ψυχ[ὴ] ἅμα τῷ διαπλαττ[ομένῳ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La εἴπερ [...ἡ] ψυχ[ὴ] διαπ[λάτ]τεται σὺν τῷ suppl. Bou-Pi 8 τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει [διὰ δὴ τῇ]ν τῶν suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν γένεσιν [...τὴν] τῶν suppl. Bou-Pi: τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει κατ[ὰ] ψυχ[ὴν] τῶν legimus et dubitanter supplevimus | τεσσάρων V Bou-Pi: τεττάρων corr. Ga-La 9 ἄλλης [μὲν] οὐσης τῇ [ψυχῇ] suppl. La¹ ἄλλ[ης] μὲν οὐσης τῇ [ψυχῇ] suppl. Ga-La ἄλλ[ης] ἐχ[ού]σης τῆς [ψυχῆς] suppl. Bou-Pi | τῆς ψυχῆς V Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La 10 μ[ὴ] γὰρ εἶναι suppl. La¹ Ga-La σῶματι μ[ὴ]...οὐκ εἶναι leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi | [καθ'] ἑαυτήν, [ἀλλ'] οἶον εἶδος suppl. La¹ καθ' ἑαυτήν, [ἀλλ'] οἶον εἶδος suppl. Ga-La καθ' ἑαυτήν...ον εἶδος suppl. Bou-Pi 12 ἣν ἄ[ποιο]ν εἶναι suppl. La¹ Ga-La [...ναί] suppl. Bou-Pi | νομίζομεν μιοῦμεν post εἶναι primum scripsit, deinde cancellavit V 13 [παν]τάπασιν suppl. Ga-La [παντὰ]πασιν suppl. Bou-Pi 14 ἐστιν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximus 14–15 τοσούτου V Ga¹ Lu Ga-La: τοσούτον Bou-Pi; an τούτου scribendum? 15 [παρ]αμένουσα suppl. La¹ Ga-La [δια]μένουσα suppl. Bou-Pi | οἶα τε V Bou-Pi οἶα τ' ᾗ leg. Ga-La: correximus 17 οὐ τεθνηξόμεθα V Ga¹ Ga-La: οὐ γε θνηξόμεθα con. Jou apud Bou-Pi 19 τελεί[ως] suppl. Bou-Pi τελεί[ως] suppl. Ga-La | ἀποψύ[χεσθαι] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 δυναμένην V: δύνασθαι corr. Bou Ga-La

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

τὴν ψυχ[ὴν] ἐνεργεῖν τὰς [ο]ικείας[ς ἐνεργείας], ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώντων ἡμῶν συναπομαραινόμενας αὐτὰς ἔπεσθαι τῷ σώματι.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 Plato, *Republic* 436a–442b.

16 Plato, *Timaeus* 69d–70e.

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

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

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

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

32 τί addidimus Ga-La freti (vide infra) | τῆς V: τ[ί τῆς] leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὸν [περὶ] leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 33 φύσιν V Bou-Pi: γνῶσιν corr. Ga¹ Ga-La 9,1 [ὑπάρ]χον suppl. La¹ Ga¹ Ga-La ὑπάρχον(τα) leg. et corr. Bou-Pi 3 [κατὰ]¹ suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὸ leg. Bou-Pi | ἢ δύο post δραστικῶν add. Bou 4 ὑγρό[τητα] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 5 δ²² om. P Nu 6 τῆς add. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 7 τὸ V La¹ Ga-La Nu: κατὰ τὸ P He Bou-Pi 8 εἶναι V P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐστὶ Q 9 ὄντα secl. Nu Bou-Pi 10 ἀπλῶν P a. corr. 11 ἐν post ὀνομαζομένων add. Q 12 βραχεῖαν V P Q Bou-Pi: βραχεῖα corr. La¹ Ga-La | καὶ post λαμβανόμενα add. Ga-La 13 τῷ V Q He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: νῶ P | τῆς V Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τοῦ P Q | ὁπῶ πολλάκις χρώμεθα V Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πολλάκις [ὁπῶ] χρώμεθα Q ὁπῶ παρ[.]χρώμεθα P 14 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 15 ὅλη τῇ V P Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῇ ὅλης corr. Nu | ιδιότητι V P a. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ποσότητι P p. corr. 19 διοικεῖ V P: corr. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 ἑαυτὸ P a. corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἑαυτῷ V P p. corr. | εἴ γε V Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἴη P εἰ He Nu 21 μεταβάλλοι V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 22 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 23 μὲν ἐπιτέμποντος τε V Bou-Pi Nu He: ἐπιτέμποντος μὲν corr. La¹ Ga-La 24 δὲ V P La¹ Ga-La: τε corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi | κάμνειν V a. corr.

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

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

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

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

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

25 ἐκεῖνο om. P Nu 26 ἂν V P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἰς leg. Bou-Pi 29 τῷ V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ
P 30 ἐπεὶ γε V P: ἐπὶ τε corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La; an ἐπὶ γε scribendum? | ἀνθρωπίνων
primum iteravit, deinde cancellavit V 31 τοῖσδαν P V τῶν ἀνθρώπων corr. Ka Nu Bou-Pi: τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου corr. La¹ Ga-La | οὕτω P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὕτως V 33 δυνάμεις om. He Bou-Pi
34 σμικρὰν V He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: σμικρὰ ex μικρὰ P 10,4 δὲ ὡς V Bou-Pi δ' ὡς corr. Ga-La:
(οὐχ οὕτ)ως correximus; δὲ ἄλλως etiam possis 5 λεχθέντα V Bou-Pi: τεχθέντα corr. Ga¹ Ga-La |
πέπεισθε V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 6 ἡ addidimus | οἶον τε V: οἶονται
corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 7 τε secl. Ga-La; an post γεννώσῃ transponendum? | μὴ secl. Bou-Pi 8 τῇ
τε secl. La¹ Ga-La | τῇ² secl. Bou 9 [οὐ] suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 12 ἀληθῇ P Nu: ἀληθές γε V Bou-
Pi Ga-La 13 ἐστι om. V | παραγίνεται V Ka Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γίνεται P | δὲ V P Nu Bou-Pi: δ'
corr. Ga-La 16 ἔσται V ἔσται, [εἴ τε] Bou-Pi: εἴτε corr. Ga-La

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

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

φερόμενον ἐκ τῆς κυούσης ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, εἴτε σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, μακροτέ-
 ραν ἴσχειν τὴν ὁδοιορίαν τῆς διὰ τῶν φλεβῶν. Αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μήτρας ἐπὶ τὴν
 καρδίαν ἀρτηρίαί φερόμεναι, διελθοῦσαι τὸ χόριον, εἴτα περιλαβοῦσαι τὴν
 κύστιν, ἐπιβαίνουνσι μὲν πρῶτον ὅστῳ τινι κατὰ τὸ κάτω πέρας ὅλης τῆς ράχεως
 20 τεταγμένῳ, τὸν τευθεν δὲ κατὰ τε τῶν τῆς ὁσφύος σπονδύλων καὶ τοῦ
 θώρακος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιτεταμένης τούτοις ἀρτηρίας ἀναφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀριστερὰν κοιλίαν τῆς καρδίας (τὸ) τῆς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιτεμπομένης οὐσίας,
 εἴτε πνεῦμα μόνον ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφην, εἴτε σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Οὐκ οὖν εὐλογον
 οὐδὲ πιθανὸν ἔτι φαίνεται τὸ τὴν καρδίαν προτέραν γεννᾶσθαι χορίου τε καὶ τῶν
 25 ἐπ' αὐτῇ κομιζόντων ἀγγείων αἷμα καὶ πνεῦμα, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἥπατος εἰκὸς
 αὐτὴν διαπλάττεσθαι προτέραν, φαινομένης γε σαφῶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸ
 χόριον ἀπασῶν φλεβῶν γενομένης φλεβὸς εἰς τὸ ἥπαρ ἀφικνουμένης πρότερον
 ἢ περ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. Ἔτι δὲ ἀτοπώτερος ὁ λόγος εἶναι μοι φαίνεται τῶν
 οἰομένων ὑπὸ τῆς καρδίας διαπλάττεσθαι τὰ κυούμενα μόρια. Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὴν τε
 30 τὴν καρδίαν διαπλάσαν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸ αὐτῆς τὰς τ' ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰς φλέβας εὐλογόν
 ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ταυτά τε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἥπαρ, οὕτω καὶ τᾶλλα διαπλάττειν,
 ὅπερ ἔνιοι μὲν ἡγοῦνται τὸ καταβαλλόμενον εἰς τὰς μήτρας εἶναι σπέρμα, τινὲς
 δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὄργανον, ἕτερον δὲ τι θειότερον ὑπάρχειν τὸ διαπλάττον τὰ
 35 κυούμενα νομίζουσιν, οὐδεμίαν ἀκριβῆ γνώσιν ἔχειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι.

11. Καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων χυμῶν αἱματός τε καὶ φλέγματος καὶ χολῆς
 μελαίνης καὶ ξανθῆς ἣν ἔχω γνώμην ἐδήλωσα διὰ τε τῶν εἰς τὸ Περὶ φύσεως
 ἀνθρώπου Ἱπποκράτους ὑπομνημάτων καὶ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων,
 Ἱπποκράτους μὲν εἰπόντος ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς σώμασιν, κἂν ὑγιαίνωσι, γεννᾶσθαι
 5 τοὺς τέσσαρας χυμούς, ἄλλων δὲ τινῶν τὸ μὲν αἷμα μόνον εἶναι τῆς φύσεως
 ἡμῶν οἰκεῖον χυμόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρὰ φύσιν. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡδε ἡ δόξα
 πιθανή, πολὺ δ' αὐτῆς ἀληθεστέρα ἡ Ἱπποκράτους. Ἡ δ' ἀποδείξεις αὐτῆς ἐξ

17 τι καὶ V καὶ τι Bou-Pi: καὶ τὸ corr. Ga-La (vide supra 24: εἴτε σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αἷμα) | αἷμα V
 Bou-Pi: αἵματος corr. La¹ Ga-La 17–18 ἂν post μακροτέραν add. La¹ Ga-La 19 χωρίον V: tacite
 corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 22 ἢ V ἢ Bou-Pi: καὶ corr. Ga-La 23 τὸ addidimus | τῆς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας
 ἐπιτεμπομένης οὐσίας V Bou-Pi: τὴν παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιτεμπομένην οὐσίαν corr. Ga¹ La¹ Ga-La
 qui etiam τὰς παρὰ τῆς μήτρας ἐπιτεμπομένας οὐσίας coniecerunt 24 καὶ τὸ V Ga-La: καὶ τι
 Bou-Pi 25 ἔτι φαίνεται V La¹ Ga-La: ἐπιφαίνεται leg. Bou-Pi | προτέραν V La¹ Ga-La: πρότερον
 leg. Bou-Pi | χωρίον V: corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 26 ἐπ' αὐτῇ V Bou-Pi: [ἀ]π' αὐτοῦ corr. Ga¹ Ga-La
 28 χωρίον V χορίον corr. Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La 29 εἴπερ V P: corr. He Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | Ἔτι P Nu
 Bou-Pi Ga-La: Ἔστι V | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 31 δὲ V P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τε corr. Ko-Ni | τ'
 V Ga-La: τε P Nu Bou-Pi 32 τε om. P Nu 33 ἅπερ V P Bou-Pi: corr. He Nu Ga-La | τινὲς V Ka Nu
 Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸν ἐς P 35 νομίζουσιν P Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: νομίζουσι V 11,3 [καὶ] suppl. Ga-La
 [καὶ] suppl. Bou-Pi | διὰ τῶν post καὶ V Bou-Pi διὰ (τοῦ Περὶ) corr. Ga-La: correximus 4 an κἂν
 ὑγιαίνωσι κἂν τε μὴ ὑγιαίνωσι scribendum? (cf. Lat. 94, 22: *sanis vel non sanis*) 5 τέσσαρας V
 Bou-Pi: τέτταρας corr. Ga-La | χυμούς suppl. Bou-Pi [χ]υμούς suppl. Ga-La 6 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ'
 corr. Ga-La | [Ἔ]στι suppl. La¹ Ga-La [Κ]αὶ suppl. Bou-Pi

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

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

²⁰ The outermost membrane around the embryo.

²¹ Or: 'mount'.

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

8 προαποδειχθέντος suppl. Bou-Pi [π]ροαποδειχθέντος suppl. Ga-La 9 τινὰ V La¹ Ga-La: om. Bou-Pi 11 [δ]υσοῖν suppl. et corr. La¹ Ga-La: om. Bou-Pi δύο V | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 12 οὐ τὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι περιεχόμενον V Bou-Pi Ga-La: οὐ(χ ἕνα) τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι περιεχομένων (μόνον) conl. La¹ | ἔλκειν suppl. Bou-Pi [ἔλ]κειν suppl. Ga-La 14 ιδέαν V Ga-La: ἰδίαν leg. Bou | ἑαυτῇ V Bou-Pi: ἑαυτῆς corr. La¹ Ga-La | [Λέ]λεκται suppl. Bou-Pi Ga-La 15 Περί suppl. Bou-Pi [Π]ερὶ suppl. Ga-La 17 [Εἰ] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [῾Οσοις] suppl. Bou-Pi 18 τῆς V La¹ Ga-La: τε leg. Bou-Pi | εὐδελον suppl. Bou-Pi [εὐ]δελον suppl. Ga-La | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 19 ὁ χρόνος post καὶ¹ scripsit, deinde cancellavit V | οἰκεῖ[ό]τατον V Ga-La οἰκειώτατον Bou-Pi 20 δὲ¹ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 20–21 ὀλίγη δὲ ἢ χρεια legimus et supplevimus: ὀλίγη δ' ἀ[ρβε]ία leg. et suppl. La¹ Ga-La ὀλίγη δὲ [...] ἐδείχθη δ]ὲ ὁμοίως leg. et suppl. Bou-Pi 21 ἐκάστῳ V Bou-Pi: ἐκάστου leg. La¹ Ga-La 22 ἡμῶν V Bou-Pi Ga-La: correximur | οὖν om. Bou-Pi | [ἔλκεσθαι] suppl. La¹ Ga-La [...] Bou-Pi | περιεχόμενον suppl. Bou-Pi περιεχόμεν[ον] suppl. Ga-La 23 [ἐστίν ἐκ] suppl. Ga-La [ἐνεκα τοῦ] suppl. La¹ [...] Bou-Pi 24 πλεϊστόν V La¹ Ga-La: πλεϊστά leg. Bou-Pi 25 [τῇ] τούτου leg. et suppl. Ga-La: τε τῇ τούτου corr. Bou quae τῇ τε τούτου leg. | προσστέλλεσθαι V: tacite corr. Bou-Pi Ga-La 26 ἱκτερι[ώδη] χροιάν suppl. La¹ Ga-La τὴν ἱκτερίαν ἀχροίαν leg. Bou-Pi qui τὴν ἱκτερίαν ὠχρίαν coniecerunt | τῇ V La¹ Ga-La: τε leg. Bou-Pi 27 τῶν χολαγωγῶν φαρμάκων V Bou-Pi: corr. Ta La¹ Ga-La 28 ὑδραγωγὸν suppl. Bou-Pi ὑδρα[γω]γὸν suppl. Ga-La 29 φαρμάκῳ suppl. Bou-Pi φαρ[μάκῳ] suppl. Ga-La | ὠφέλειαν Bou-Pi

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

²² I.e. yellow.

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Alternative translation: ‘premises’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 Eij] an ῥ scribendum? 16 μὴ om. V | διατεινόμενος V A Bou-Pi Nu: corr. La¹ Ga-La 17 ἀλλὰ
 χρή V A: ἀλλ' ἄχρι Ald Ku corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 18 αὐτὴν V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: αὐτῆς corr. Lu
 La¹ 19 αὐτοῖς A Ald: αυτοῖς V αὐτοῖς corr. Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La 20 δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La
 21 τε V Bou-Pi: τ' corr. Ga-La 22 τε V A Ald Ku secl. Nu: γε corr. Jou apud Bou-Pi Ga-La
 22–23 τὴν τε ἐλκτικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀποκριτικὴν V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: τὴν ἐλκτικὴν τε καὶ τὴν
 ἀποκριτικὴν Ga-La 24 ὀνομάζων V A Bou-Pi Ald Ku: corr. Nu Ga-La 27 περὶ τινων V A Ald Ku
 Ga-La: περὶ τινῶν Nu Bou-Pi | δὲ V Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 28 ἀπορῶν V A Bou-Pi: ἀπορῶ Ald Ku
 corr. Nu Ga-La | ἔχων A p. corr. Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἔχον V A a. corr. 29 ἂν post ὡς add.
 La¹ Ga-La | {Γαληνοῦ} ante Περὶ add. codd., quod secl. edd. 29–30 Περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν
 φυσικῶν (sic V) δυνάμεων secl. Bou-Pi om. Ald Ku secl. et post πιθανώτερον lacunam indicavit
 Nu 29 δὲ add. La¹ Ga-La 30 φυσικῶν V L A: ψυχικῶν corr. Ga-La | ὥσπερ¹ secl. Ga-La |
 ἐπίστανται V L A Nu Bou-Pi: corr. La¹ Ga-La | ὥσπερ² add. La¹ Ga-La | οἱ post πάντες add. L Nu
 Bou-Pi 31 καὶ post ἐναργῶς add. L Ald Ku 32 ἔσθ' ὅτε secl. Nu Bou-Pi om. L Ald Ku | καί² om.
 A ante ἔσθ' transp. La¹ Ga-La 33 καὶ post δὲ add. A Nu Ald Ku 33–34 φυσικοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
 πιστοῦ τε (πιστοῦται V πιστοῦ La¹ Ga-La) V A: πιστοῦ φύσει πᾶσιν ἡμῖν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi
 34 καὶ post ἀλλὰ add. L Nu

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

²⁴ Or: 'proposition'.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁵ Namely ‘a purgative power’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 στοιχείων om. V A | γινόμεναι V A Ga-La: γιγνόμεναι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 12 τινα om. Ald Ku | διὰ om. L 13 τε καὶ μετεμψυχώσεως om. V A | γὰρ om. A | χρὴ τὸ σῶμα V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ σῶμα χρὴ L Ald Ku 14 τε V L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: τ' corr. Ga-La 15 μέντοι V L A Nu Bou-Pi δὲ corr. La¹ Ga-La: μὲν correximus | τοῦ αἵματος post σφοδρῶς transp. V A | ἐν² om. V L 16 τε V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γε L 17 ἀμέτρως δὲ V A La¹ Ga-La: ἀμέτρως τε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 18 πόσεις L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πόσις V A | δὲ V L A Nu Bou-Pi: δ' corr. Ga-La 19 ὀρώμεν om. A 20 τῆς om. V A | στερηθῇ V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: στερηθείη L Ald Ku | τινὸς κάνταῦθα V La¹ Ga-La: κάνταῦθά τινος L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 21 ἐν om. V A | τῷ σώματι V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τοῦ σώματος A 22 γινώσκειν V A Ald Ku Ga-La: γιγνώσκειν L Nu Bou-Pi 23 ἀναγκαῖον L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀναγκαῖα V A | οὔτ'¹ V A Ga-La: οὔτε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | οὔτ'² V A Ga-La: οὔτε L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | τὴν om. L Ald Ku 24 οὐδὲ L Nu Ald Ku Bou-Pi: οὐδ' V A Ga-La 24–25 εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν V A La¹ Ga-La: εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, πρακτικὴν τε καὶ πολιτικὴν L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 25 ἂν ἐθέλῃ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: βούλεται V A 27 ὅποσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅποια V A Nu Bou-Pi: ὅποσαι τε καὶ ὅποια εἰσι Ald Ku L ὅποσαι τ' εἰσι καὶ ὅποια corr. Ga-La 28 κατὰ V A L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi: corr. Ga-La | μὲν om. L 29 δὲ V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τε ex τὸ L | γὰρ εἶναι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἶναι γὰρ V A | πρὶν γνωρίσαι V A Goulston (ex Nu) Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: προγνωρίσαι L Ald Ku 30 μέντοι L Ald μὲν V A: μὲν τι τὸ corr. Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | τι¹ om. V A | τι² om. V A 32 τις om. A (spatio relicto)

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

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

33 ἐστι L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐστὶν V ἔσται A | τοῦ om. V A | εἶναι V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἐστὶ L Ald Ku 33–34 τὸ τοῖς φυτοῖς V ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς A L Ald Ku Nu: τὸ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς corr. La¹ Ga-La 35 οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀλλοτρίων τε καὶ οἰκείων A | τε post τούτων add. V A s.l. | μόνων V A: μόνων L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 35–36 εἴτε...εἴτε... εἴτε A La¹ Ga-La ἢ τε...ἢ τε...ἢ τε V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi 36 καὶ om. L A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | παραπλησίαν L V A Ald Ku: corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La qui etiam παραπλησία (ἐν) conī 36–37 ἀνάλογον ὄντα V A ἀνάλογα τὰ παθήματα L Ald Ku ἀνάλογα παθήματα Nu Bou-Pi: ἀνάλογα ὄντα παθήματα corr. La¹ Ga-La; an ἀνάλογ' ἄττα παθήματα scribendum? 37 γιγνομένη V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: γιγνομένων L 38 φυτικῆς L Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: φυσιτικῆς V A Ald | ἀκουστῶν V A Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀκουστικῶν Ald Ku 38–39 τῶν ὁρατῶν...τῶν ἀκουστῶν...τῶν ὁσφραντῶν V A Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῆς ὁρατῆς...τῆς ἀκουστῆς...τῆς ὁσφραντῆς L τῆς ὁρατῶν...τῆς ἀκουστικῶν...τῆς ὁσφραντῶν Ald 39 οὔτε τῶν γευστῶν om. V A | ἔχει om. V A 40 μόνων L V A: corr. Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La | αὐτὴν om. L La¹ Ald Ku Ga-La | ἢ V L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἰ A 41 πέπτουσα V A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: πέπτουσα Ku 42 τὰς οἰκείας L Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὸ οἰκεῖον V A Ald Ku | τοῖς τρεφομένοις V A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τῆς τρεφομένης Caius (ex Nu) Goulston (ex Nu) Ku | οὐσίας om. V A | προσίσταται add. Ga-La 43 ἔχειν e σχεῖν A 44 τοῦτο L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: τὰ V A 45 μηδὲ¹ V A Nu Ku Bou-Pi Ga-La: μήτε L Ald | ἑαυτῶν V A Nu Bou-Pi: αὐτῶν Ku Ga-La αὐτῶν L Ald 46 τε καὶ ἠθικὴν add. La¹ Ga-La 47 μόνην V L A Ald Ku: μόνον corr. Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 48 μόνης om. V A 49 ἥτις L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: εἴ τις V A | σκοπῆς L Nu Bou-Pi: τε σκοπῇ V A τις σκοπῇ corr. Ga-La ἂν ἀκριβῆς σκοπὸς Ald Ku 50 οὐκ V: οὐχ A L Ald Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La 51 ἑαυτοῖς V A Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἑαυτῆς L 52 ἐν om. A L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi | ἀρκεῖ L Ald Ku Nu Bou-Pi Ga-La: ἀρκεῖν V A

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

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

55

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

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

General Index

- Abydokoman* 33, 67
abyrtakēn 33, 67
 adults 105
 Aëtius 24 n.33
Affections and Errors of the Soul (Galen) 3 n.3, 6
Against Epicurus (Galen) 85
Against Lycus (Galen) 103
 Agnosticism 14, 25
agreement (Galen) 5 n.14
 air 15, 42, 103, 139
 al-Rāzī 13
 al-Sijistānī 13
 Alexander of Aphrodisias 13
 Alexandria 2, 30
 alterative (capacity) 15, 101
Ambrosianus gr. 659 39, 94
 anatomy/anatomical 1, 2, 15, 16, 18, 42
 Andreiomenos 27, 27 n.40
 anecdote(s) 7, 8, 9, 14
 anger 101
 anonymous (addressee/friend/recipient of Galen's *On Avoiding Distress*) 3, 5–6, 9
 Antium 31, 63, 65
apatheia (freedom from affection) 8
Aphorisms (Hippocratic) 103, 103 n.7
 Arabic 1, 3, 3 n.3, 3 n.5, 13, 38, 38 n.53, 57 n.5
 Aristarchus 30, 61, 61 n.7
 Aristippus 7, 8, 9, 73
 Ariston 67
 Aristotle/Aristotelian 1, 11, 17, 21, 23, 30, 31, 61, 63, 63 n.8, 129, 131
 artery, arteries 101, 121, 123
 Asclepiades 15, 20, 111
 Asclepius 14, 99 n.2
 Asia 67, 71
 Asia Minor 2, 11
 atheism 14
 Athenaeus 1
 atoms 24, 135
 Attic 7, 65, 67
 Atticus 29, 61
 attractive (capacity) 15, 17, 101, 133
 autobibliography/autobibliographical 3, 11, 13, 19
 Bessarion 39
 Bion of Borysthenes 4
 black bile 16, 123, 127, 129
 bladder 123
 brain 14, 15, 42, 99, 101, 115, 117, 121
 Caesar 57
 Calabria 39
 Callinus 61, 61 n.6
 Campania 11, 59, 65, 67, 69
 capacity, -ies 15, 16, 18, 43, 101, 109, 121, 129, 131, 135, 139, 141
 Cassius Dio 5
 Catalogues (see also *Pinakes*) 7, 11, 30, 31, 63, 63 n.8, 63 n.9
Character traits (Galen) 3 n.3
 children 105
 chorion 123
 Chrysippus 16, 19, 20, 61, 115, 117
 Cicero 30
 cinnamon 57
 Clytus 11, 61
 Codex Adelphi 39
 cold 89, 105, 107, 109, 113, 119, 129, 131, 139
 Commodus 2, 3, 6, 9, 13, 35, 36, 79
Confessions (St Augustine) 21 n.27
 Constantinople 27
 constitution(s) 23, 107, 121
 Corinth 2
 corporeal/incorporeal 22, 23, 24 n.33, 99, 113, 115, 135
 Crates 7, 75, 75 n.25
 creator 14, 22, 23, 99
 Cyprus 2
 Demeter 69
 Demetrios Angelos 27, 27 n.41
 demonstration(s) 1, 2, 4, 103, 117, 127, 131
 determinism 17
diairesis (juxtaposition) 22, 23
diaphōnia (opposition) 22
 diatribe (see also *diatribai*) 4, 36
 didactic/didacticism 7, 8, 9, 18, 75 n.25
 Didymus 33, 67, 69
 digestion 119