

καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐταῖς λόγων ἐπράχθη μοι τοὺς φθονεροὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ
8 φιλοσόφους ἐλέγχοντι. προπηλακίζομενος γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτ'
ἦλθον Ὀμήρου με παιδεύσαντος

«ἄνδρ' ἐπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις προτέρως χαλεπήνῃ».

627 9 τοιαύτην οὖν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνουσία. Φλάβιος Βοηθὸς 5
ὑπατικός ἀνὴρ ὅπως μὲν ἦν φιλόκαλός τε καὶ φιλομαθὴς οἶσθα καὶ σύ, δι-
δασκάλῳ δ' ἐχρήτο τῶν Περιπατητικῶν δογματῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
τῷ Δαμασκηνῷ γινώσκοντι μὲν καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἀριστο-
10 τέλους προσκειμένῳ μᾶλλον. ὁπότε οὖν παρεκάλεσέ με διδάξαι διὰ
τῶν ἀνατομῶν ὅπως ἀναπνοή τε καὶ φωνή γίνεται παρεσκεύασεν ἐρί- 10
φους τε καὶ χοίρους πλείονας· πιθήκων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔφην δεῖσθαι τὴν
ἀνατομήν, ὁμοίαν γε τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔχόντων οὐ μόνον τούτων τῶν
ζώων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· ὅσα φωνὴν ἔχει μεγάλην
ἐπιτηδειότερα τῶν μικροφώνων εἶναι παρασχεῖν ἀποδεικτικά λήμματα
11 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου πίστιν. παρήσαν δ' ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ γενήσεσθαι 15
δείξει καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν τινες ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ, οὕτω
σοφιστεύων ἀλλ' ἔτι συνὼν τῷ Βοηθῷ, καὶ Δημήτριος Ἀλεξαν-
δρεὺς, ἐταῖρος Φαβωρίνου δημοσίᾳ λέγων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας εἰς τὰ
12 προβαλλόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς Φαβωρίνου λέξεως. ἐμοῦ δὲ πρὶν
628 ἀνατέμνειν εἰπόντος ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δείξαιμι τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀνατομῆς φαινόμενα, 20
συλλογίσασθαι δὲ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περαινόμενα οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν ἀπάντων μᾶλλον ἐλπίζοιμι δύνασθαι τὸν διδάσκαλον Ἀλέξαν-
δρον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς ἐπιεικῇ τὸν λόγον ἀπεδέξαντο, τιμὴν εἰς
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντες καὶ ἅμα προτροπὴν εἰς τὸ τὴν ὅλην (συν)-
13 ουσίαν ἀνευ φιλονεικίας γενέσθαι. γινώσκεις γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πάθει 25
πρὸς ἀπάντων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγινώσκετο, καθάπερ καὶ τότε σαφῶς ἐδή-
14 λωσεν. δείξιν γὰρ ὑποσχομένου μου νευρίων λεπτοτάτων ὡς εἶναι τρι-

3sq. Ὀμήρου—χαλεπήνῃ] II. Ω 369 Od. π 72; φ 133 6 διδασκάλῳ—9] cf.
Gal. Anat. admin. I 1: II p. 218,6–8 K. 25–98,4] cf. Gal. Anat. admin. VIII
7: II p. 689,8–17 K.; XI 4: p. 81,31–87,31 Duckworth; XI 11: p. 104,27–107,
23 Duckworth; XIV 6–8: p. 203,7–208,18 Duckworth De usu part. XVI 4: II
p. 386,10–389,5 Helmr. = IV p. 278,3–282,1 K. De loc. aff. I 6: VIII p. 49,16–
55,14 K.; IV 9: VIII p. 266,12–272,14 K.

1sq. τε καὶ φιλοσόφους om. Nic. 2 ἐλέγχονται L: ἐλέγονται ἢ A: ἐλέγοντα
M: corr. Ald. 4 ἀνδρ' ἂν δ' γ πρότερος Hom. cod. A, fort. recte: prius Nic.
5 συνουσία] iniquitas Nic. 7 περιπατητικῶν L 8 ante Πλάτωνος add. τοῦ M
9 με] μοι A 11 πλείονας A πιθήκους γA: corr. Bas. 12 ὁμοίως M γε] τε
γA: corr. Schöne 13 σχεδὸν ἀπάντων] multis Nic. ὅσα—14 εἶναι om. Nic.
post ὅσα add. δὲ Bas. ἔχουσι A 14 λήμματα L 15 γενήσεσθαι iter. M 16
ante Ἀδριανὸς add. ὁ L, del. L² 18sq. δημοσίᾳ—λέξεως om. Nic. 19 ἐμοῦ—22
Ἀλέξανδρον] dicente me quoniam per ea que (quo Nic.^a) ex anathomia (ano- Nic.^c)
omnia que sillogistice (sil- Nic.^c) concluduntur non a me solum sed (etiam add.
Nic.^c) aliis omnibus spero posse doctori Alexandro Nic. 21 συλλογίσασθαι L
αὐτοῦ γ: sec. Nic. (ea que) corr. Bas. 24 καὶ—25 γενέσθαι] totam disceptationem
attribuerunt (atrib- Nic.^b) Nic. τὸ deletum in L: om. M: restit. Corn. Schöne
συνουσίαν suppl. Corn. Schöne 27 δείξιν γP: ostendere Nic.: corr. Schöne ὡς
secl. Baumgarten, Galen, Über die Stimme (Göttingen 1962), p. 102

these jealous doctors and philosophers. For I did this only when they 8
really slung mud at me; for I follow the precept of Homer that
→ **Start** *“a man should defend himself when someone else
becomes angry first”*.

My meeting with them began like this. You well remember the 9
great interest in art and learning of Flavius Boethus, the ex-consul:
he also had as his tutor in Peripatetic doctrine Alexander of
Damascus, an expert also in the teachings of Plato but who inclined
more to those of Aristotle. When he invited me to show him by dis- 10
sections how breath and speech are produced, he got several kids and
pigs ready. I had said that there was no need to dissect apes since not
only these but almost all other land animals are similar in structure:
those with loud voices are much better at providing a convincing
demonstration to prove the point at issue than those with soft. The 11
prospect of the demonstration attracted some others, including
especially Adrian the orator—he was not yet a sophist but still
attached to Boethus—and Demetrius of Alexandria, a follower
of Favorinus, who used to lecture daily on suggested themes in the
style of Favorinus' discourse. Before dissecting, I said that I would 12
demonstrate what was revealed by dissection and that I rather hoped
that Alexander could be my guide, indeed the guide of all of us, in
drawing the logical conclusions from what was thereby achieved.
Everybody else accepted this suggestion as reasonable, for they
respected Alexander and were eager that the whole meeting should
pass off without acrimonious disputation. As you recall, Alexander 13
was renowned among all for this failing, as he then revealed clearly.
I promised a demonstration of the minutest nerves, and to show how 14

χοειδῇ συζυγίαν τινὰ τοῖς τοῦ φάρυγγος μυσὶν ἐμφυομένην, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ
 τῶν ἀριστερῶν μερῶν τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν, ἐφ' οἷς βρόχῳ διαληφθεῖσιν
 ἢ τμηθεῖσιν ἄφωνον γίνεσθαι τὸ ζῶον οὐτ' εἰς τὴν ζώην τι βλαπτόμενον
 οὐτ' εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ὃ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑποτυχὼν πρὶν δειχθῆναι,
 «τοῦτο πρῶτον», ἔφησεν, «ἂν σοι συγχωρηθεῖ τοῖς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
 15 φαινομένοις πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν;» ἀκούσας δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα, καταλιπὼν αὐ-
 τοὺς ἔχωρισθην ἐν μόνον φθεγγάμενος, ὡς ἐσφάλην οἰόμενος οὐκ εἰς τοὺς
 ἀγροικοπυ(ρ)ρων(ε)ίους ἦκειν ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἀφικνεῖσθαι. |
 629 16 Ἐμοῦ δὲ χωρισθέντος οἱ τ' ἄλλοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατέγνωσαν
 ὃ τ' Ἀδριανὸς καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, ἐχθρῶς αἰεὶ διακείμενοι πρὸς τὴν 10
 17 φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῦ, πιθανὴν ἀφορμὴν εἶχον ἐπιτιμῆσαι σφοδρῶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καὶ τοῖς φιλολόγοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἦσαν
 ἐγνώσθη τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Σεβήρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρβάρῳ,
 πάντες οὖν σφοδρῶς ἐπετίμησαν αὐτῷ καὶ παρόντων ἑαυτῶν ἠξίωσαν
 γενέσθαι τὰς ἀνατομὰς, ἀθροίσαντες εἰς (τ)αὐτὸ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας 15
 18 ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἦσαν ἐνδοξοί. γινομένης δὲ
 πλείοσιν ἡμέραις τῆς συνουσίας καὶ δείξαντος ἐμοῦ τὴν μὲν εἰσπνοὴν
 γίνεσθαι διαστελλομένου τοῦ θώρακος τὴν δ' ἐκπνοὴν συστελλομένου,
 δείξαντος δὲ καὶ τοὺς μῦς ὑφ' ὧν τε δια(στέλλεται καὶ συ)στέλλεται καὶ
 πρὸς τοῦτω γε τὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς κατεσχισμένα νεῦρα τὴν ἐκφυσιν ἐκ τοῦ 20
 νωτιαίου μυελοῦ ποιοῦμενα καὶ ὡς ἡ μὲν ἀβίαστος ἔξω φορὰ τοῦ πνεύ-
 ματος ἐκπνοὴν ἀποφον ἐργάζοιτο, βιάσαν δ' εἶναι τὴν ἐτέραν αὐτῆς γι-
 19 νομένην μετὰ ψόφου, ἣν ἐκφύσησιν ὀνομάζομεν· ἐπιδείξαντος δὲ καὶ ὡς
 630 ἡ | τοιαύτη μόνη κατὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ φάρυγγος ἔξοδον ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
 χόνδρων πληττομένη τὴν φωνὴν ἐργάζοιτο καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ μυῶν οὗτοι κινοῖντο 25
 καὶ ὡς τὰ νεῦρα τὰ τούτους κινουῖντα κακωθέντα τὴν ἀφωνίαν ἐργάζοιτο
 καὶ τῶν παραφθεγγαμένων ὁπότε' ἐδείκνυνον ταῦτα πάντων ἐλεγχθέντων ὃ
 20 Βοηθὸς ἐδείξθη μου σχεῖν αὐτῶν ὑπομνήματα. καὶ πέμψαντός γ' αὐτοῦ
 τοὺς διὰ σημείων ἡσκημένους ἐν τάχει γράφειν ὑπηγόρευσα πάντα τὰ τε

17 δείξαντος — 21 ποιοῦμενα] cf. Gal. Anat. admin. VIII 2: II p. 657,3—660,19 K.; VIII 6: II p. 683,15—684,12 K. 28 Βοηθός — ὑπομνήματα] cf. Gal. Anat. admin. I 1: II p. 215,5—216,7 K. De libr. propr. I: Scr. min. II p. 94,18—21 Müller=XIX p. 13,3—6 K.

1 ἐμφυομένην P: ἐκφυομένην y: coniugationem ... implantatam Nic.: ἐμφυομένων Baumgarten τοῖς^{II}] τοῦ yP: corr. Ald. 2 τοῖς] τοῦ P 3 τμηθεῖσιν L: τμηθῆσιν P γίνεσθαι MP, fort. recte τὴν ζώην] alios actus Nic. βλαπτόμενον P: βλαπτομένου y 4 ὑπόλαβων Bas., inepte 5 ἔφη edd. συγχωρηθῆ y: corr. Schöne 6 δ' om. L 7 ἔχωρισθην L οὐκ] ὡς y: corr. Bas. 8 ἀγροικοπυρωνίους y: corr. Chart. ἢ — ἀφικνεῖσθαι om. Nic. ἀφικόμην maluerim 11 αὐτῷ y, qui et punctum post φιλονεικίαν colloc.: corr. Corn. 12 φιλολόγοις] amatoribus bonorum Nic. 13 Σεβήρῳ M 14 ἑαυτῶν scripsi: αὐτῶν y 15 αὐτὸ y: sec. Nic. (idem) correari 18 ante γίνεσθαι add. οὐ y: non hab. P 19 διαστελλονται y: διαστελλοιτο P: a quibus constringitur Nic.: corr. et suppl. Baumgarten 20 τοῦτω P: τοῦτο y κατεσχισμένα P Corn.: κατεχημένα M: κατισχημένα L: ἐσχημένα Schöne 21 ὡς om. M 24 κατ' αὐτὸν P: κατὰ τὸν y: κατὰ τοῦτον coni. Baumgarten 26 τούτους P: τούτοις y 28 ἐδείξθη L 29 ἡσχημένους L: ἐσχημένους M: qui exercitati erant Nic.: corr. Ald.

there is a hairlike pair implanted in the muscles of the larynx, on both left and right, which if ligated or cut render the animal speechless without damaging either its life or its functional activity. Alexander intervened before I could show this and said, "Should we agree with you on this primary point, that we should all believe in the evidence of the senses?" When I heard this, I left them and went off, saying only 15 that I was mistaken in thinking that I was not coming to meet boorish sceptics; otherwise I should not have come.

On my departure, the others condemned Alexander; and 16 Adrian and Demetrius, who were always ill-disposed to his contentiousness, had a plausible occasion to censure him severely. When 17 this was made known to all the intellectuals living in Rome and to Severus, Paulus and Barbarus, they all roundly reproached him and demanded that the dissections be performed in their presence when they had assembled together all others distinguished in medicine and philosophy. The meeting lasted several days, in which I showed 18 that an intake of breath is produced by the dilation of the thorax, an exhalation by its contraction, and displayed the muscles by which it is dilated and contracted, and also the nerves branching to them which have their origin in the spinal cord. I also demonstrated how an unforced release of breath produces a soundless exhalation and the alternative, forced release is accompanied by sound and we call it efflatus. I also revealed how this efflatus by itself, when, in its passage 19 along the larynx, it strikes against the cartilages there, produces voice: these cartilages are activated by muscles and damage to the nerves that activate the latter results in loss of voice. My detractors were all put to confusion when I showed this, and Boethus begged me to give him my lecture notes on it. He even sent trained shorthand writers to 20

δειχθέντα καὶ λεχθέντα μὴ προορώμενος εἰ μέλλοι δώσειν αὐτὰ πολλοῖς.

21 καὶ μέχρι γε νῦν, ὧς Ἐπίγενης, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐτῶν
ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ γεγονότων πεντεκαίδεκα καίτοι γε διαβουλευομένων [γε]
πολλῶν ἀντειπεῖν ὅπως ἀκουσθῶσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥς ἀντειρήκασιν,
οὐ μὴν τολμώντων γ' εἰς κρίσιν ἐπὶ φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαγεῖν τὰ 5
γραφέντα.

6. Λοιπὸν οὖν ὅπερ ὑπεσχόμην ἐφεξῆς σοι διηγήσομαι, ἣν λέξιν
καὶ προσθῆναι δεῖ τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ, μάλιστα' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν
ἱατρῶν ἔνιοι, ἀγνοοῦμενοι τίνι λόγῳ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς παλλακῆς τοῦ πα-
631 τρὸς Ἑρα[σίστρατος ἐγνώρισεν, ἔγραψαν τὰς ἀρτηρίας [τοὺς σφυγ- 10
μοὺς] τοῦ νεανίσκου σφυζούσας ἐρωτικῶς ἐξευρεῖν αὐτόν, οὐκέθ' ὑπομεί-
ναντες εἶπεν ἐκ τῶν σφυγμῶν εὑρεθῆναι [καὶ ὅτι τῆς πατρὸς παλλακῆς].
ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως μὲν Ἑρασίστρατος ἔγνω τοῦτο λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω· ὅπως
δ' αὐτὸς ἔγνω ἤδη σοι φράσω.

2 Παρεκλήθην μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς ἀγρυπνουσῆς ἐν ταῖς 15
νυξὶ καὶ μεταβαλλούσης ἑαυτὴν ἄλλοτ' εἰς ἄλλο σχῆμα κατακλίσεως, εὐρῶν
δ' ἀπύρετον ἐπυθόμην ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῇ γεγονότων
3 ἐξ ὧν ἴσμεν ἀγρυπνίας συμβαινούσας. ἡ δὲ μόγις ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως ἀπεκρίνετο,
ὥς μάτην ἐρωτωμένην ἐνδεικνυμένην[ν], καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀποστραφεῖσα
τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβεβλημένοις ἱματίοις ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι σκεπάσασα πᾶσαν 20
ἑαυτὴν ἄλλῳ δὲ τινι μικρῷ ταραντινιδίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔκειτο καθάπερ
4 οἱ χρήζοντες ὕπνου. χωρισθεὶς οὖν ἐγὼ δυοῖν θάτερον αὐτὴν ἐνόησα

7 ὑπεσχόμην] v. *supra* p. 94,24 ἦν-104,23] *eandem curam brevius narrat Gale-
nus*: In Hipp. Progn. comm. I 8: CMG V 9,2 p. 218,14-219,5 In Hipp. Epid. II
comm. II: CMG V 10,1 p. 208,17-29 cf. Gal. In Hipp. Epid. VI comm. VIII:
CMG V 10,2,2 p. 494,10-21; 494,42-495,2 10 Ἑρασίστρατος] cf. Gal. In Hipp.
Progn. comm. I 4: CMG V 9,2 p. 206,16-207,2 *Haec fabula saepissime narratur
a scriptoribus antiquis*: Valer. Max. V 7 ext. 1 K. Plut. Demetr. 38 Appian. Syr.
59sq. Lucian. De dea Syr. 17,18: III p. 347,28-349,8 Jacobitz Icarom. 15: II p.
410,30sq. Jacobitz Iulian. Misopogon: II p. 446-448 Wright Stephan.: I p. 74,20-
76,26 Dietz Suda s. v. Ἑρασίστρατος cf. ar-Ruhāwī *Adab at-ṭabīb* fol. 82a: p. 72^a,45-
72^b,28 Levey Ibn abi Usaibi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā': II p. 128,15 Müller *Haec versio
Galenī cum fabula de Hippocrate facta* (Sor. Vita Hipp. 5: CMG IV p. 176,4-11
Marcellin. De pulsib. 29-32 Schöne) *contaminata esse videtur* 10sq. ἔγραψαν-αὐτόν]
cf. Gal. In Hipp. Progn. comm. I 8: CMG V 9,2 p. 218,19 15 Παρεκλήθην-104,23]
cf. ar-Ruhāwī *Adab at-ṭabīb* fol. 79b: p. 71^a,50-55 Levey Ibn abi Usaibi'a, 'Uyūn
al-anbā': II p. 128,15-22 Müller

1 προορώμενα γ: *sec. Nic.* (prouidens) *corr. Bas.* 2 ὧς Ἐπίγενης *om. Nic.*
οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησέ τις M 3 ἰε' γ: *numerus plenius scripsi* γε *seclusi* 6 γρα-
φέντα] *que dixerunt Nic.* 7 λέξει γ: *enarrare Nic.: corr. Bas.* 8 προσθῆναι
M 9 διηγούμενοι γ: *sec. Nic.* (ignorantes) *corr. Bas.* 10 γράψαι γ: *querunt
Nic.: corr. Bas.* 10sq. τῶν ἀρτηριῶν τοὺς σφυγμοὺς... σφυζουσῶν γ: *arteria-
rum pulsu (pulsibus Nic.) pulsantibus hiis (om. Nic.) amatiue inuenit Nic.: hunc
locum difficillimum uerbis Galeni in Commentario I In Hippocratis Prognosticum
(CMG V 9,2, p. 218,19) collatis correxi* 12 καὶ -παλλακῆς *om. Nic., sec. quem
secl. Guinther, Bas.* παλακῆς L 15 Παρεκλήθην μὲν] *παρεκλήθημεν γ: sec. Nic.
(uocatus fui) corr. Schöne* ἐπίσχεσιν γ: *sec. Nic. (ut uisitarem) corr. Bas.* 16
κατακλίσεως γ: *sec. Nic. (accubitus) corr. Ald.* εὔρον γ: *corr. Corn.* 17 αὐτὴν
L 18 συμβαινούσης M 19 ἐνδεικνυμένην γ: *se ostendens Nic.: corr. Chart.*
20 σκεπάσασαν L

whom I dictated all my demonstration and argument without troubl-
ing to see whether they were going to be widely distributed. To this 21
very day, Epigenes, no one has dared to contradict them, although
fifteen years have elapsed: many have schemed to contradict them
simply for the fame of contradicting them, although they have not
dared to defend their writings in a trial before intellectuals.

6. My next story fulfils the promise I made earlier and also fits
my present argument, especially since some of the sophistic doctors,
not knowing on what grounds Erasistratus discovered the young
man's love for his father's concubine, have suggested that he found
the arteries pulsating madly with love, although they cannot yet bear
to say that this was discovered through his pulse beats. Just how
Erasistratus found this out I cannot say: but I shall tell you how
I did so.

I was called in to see a woman who was said to lie awake at night, 2
constantly tossing from one position to another. When I found that
she was not suffering from fever, I asked about each of the details that
had happened to her from which we know the presence of insomnia.
She replied hesitantly or not at all, as if to show the folly of such 3
questions, and finally turned over, buried herself completely deep in
the blankets, covered her head with a small wrap and lay there as if
wanting to sleep. On my departure I decided she was suffering from 4