

Galen in early modern English medicine: case-studies in history, pharmacology and surgery 1618-1794

Submitted by Lisa Charlotte Jarman, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medical History, September 2013.

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(Signature)

Abstract

This thesis examines the influence of Galen (b. 129 AD) on medicine in England between 1618 and 1794, approaching the study of his authority and the use of his work through three case-studies: histories of medicine, pharmacology, and surgery. The histories of medicine illustrate the variety of ways in which Galen is referred to, both as a historical figure, and as an ongoing contemporary influence. His importance in terms of accessing the knowledge of the ancients, and as a fixed point in time around which to discuss the history of medicine, and to situate other practitioners over a broad time period, underlines the significance of his role within medicine. Similarly, the pharmacological texts examined provide a more tangible sense of the influence of Galen, and their varied, but formulaic structures enable specific remedies to be traced over time and their corresponding associations and details compared between different editions. Identifying the role of Galen within surgical treatises also allows for a more theoretical aspect of surgery to be explored, providing a different perspective on an area more frequently portrayed as a manual art. The use of Galenic texts within each case-study, in particular the histories of medicine, demonstrates a significant and nuanced engagement with the content of his works, reiterating the importance of his contribution, and showing the value ascribed to the simplicity offered by past approaches. It is evident that a shift had occurred from the acceptance of ancient authority based on convention, to evaluating the simplicity and utility of information on an individual basis. The value ascribed to utility in the assessment of medical knowledge is evident throughout these texts, which also demonstrate the importance of the experience and observations of the practitioner in facilitating the ongoing and significant use of the influence of Galen.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
ILLUSTRATIONS	5
APPENDICES	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
NOTES ON TRANSLATION	7
	8
Historiography	9
Sources	21
Chapter outline	23
CHAPTER 1: GALEN AND HISTORIES OF MEDICINE	-
Galen as preserving older knowledge	47
Galen as marker of time	50
Galen as source: Galenic texts, citations and references	59
References to specific Galenic texts General references to Galen as source, or to Galenic works	
Information about Galen	
Biography	
Character	
Relationship to Hippocrates Medical system and approach	
Assessments and achievements	
Negative perceptions and comments	
Galen's knowledge and perspective	121
Perceptions of the effect of Galen over time	
Ancient medicine after Galen	
Arabic medicine and the effect of Galen	
Medieval medicine and the effect of Galen	
Renaissance and early modern medicine: the effect of Galen	
Present use of Galen	164
	104

CHAPTER 2: GALEN AND PHARMACOLOGY	178
Galen and the 'official' Pharmacopoeia	
General references to Galen in translations of the Pharmacopoeia	
Galen and popular translations of the Pharmacopoeia	
General references to Galen in popular translations of the Pharmacopoeia	
Galenic substances: 1618 and beyond	212
'Vina Medicata' (Medicated wines)	
'Syrupi' (Syrups)	
'Species sive Pulveres' (Species or Powders)	
Électuaria' (Electuaries) and 'Pilulæ' (Pills)	
'Trochisci' (Troches, or pastilles)	
'Unguenta' (Ointments) and 'Emplastra et Cerata' (Plasters and Wax plasters)	
Galenic texts: citations and references	245
De Antidotis, On Antidotes	
De Compositione Medicamentorum per Genera and De Compositione Medicamento	
secundum Locos	
De Sanitate Tuenda, De Simplicium Medicamentorum [Temperamentis Ac] Facultati	ibus, and
De Methodo Medendi	

CHAPTER 3: GALEN, THE ANCIENTS AND EARLY MODERN SURGERY

Galen and early modern surgery	297
Galen and the early modern medical framework	304
The role of ancient knowledge in early modern surgical theory	314
The continuing relevance of ancient knowledge in early modern surgery	319
Approaches to the reconciliation of ancient and modern knowledge	327
Understanding changes to surgical theory and 'errors' in past practice	338
The role of modern advances in surgery	354

CONCLUSION	
APPENDICES	
Appendix A	
Appendix B	
Appendix C	
Appendix D	
Appendix E	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Primary sources	451
Secondary sources	462

Illustrations

Figure 1
Detail of contents page from Francis Clifton
Figure 2101
Section of footnote from Francis Clifton, showing use of Greek and allusion to Hippocrates
Figure 3148
Detail from William Black's 'Chronological chart' showing 900-1000 AD
Figure 4
Section of footnote from Henry Pemberton, showing use of Greek and Galenic text
Figure 5
Section of footnote from Henry Pemberton, showing use of Greek and Galenic text
Figure 6
Section from William Salmon, showing part of the pharmacological entry for 'Ceratum Galeni, Galen's Cerecloth.'
Figure 7261 Section from William Salmon, showing the pharmacological entry for 'Philonium Tarsense Galeni'
Figure 8
Section from Thomas Gale, showing the title page of Book 5
Figure 9
Two sections from Percivall Pott, showing the various instruments mentioned with regard to the treatment of fractures of the cranium
Figure 10
Section of footnote from John Barker, showing use of Greek and Galenic text
Figure 11420
Section of footnote from John Barker, showing use of Greek and Galenic text
Figure 12
Section of footnote from John Barker, showing use of Greek and Galenic text
Figure 13423
Section of footnote from John Barker, showing use of Greek and Hippocratic Aphorism
Figure 14433
Section of footnote from Clifton Wintringham, showing use of Greek and Galenic text

Appendices

Appendix A Galen as source – summary of Galenic works referenced

This table shows the titles (in Latin and English) of all the different Galenic works that are mentioned within the early modern texts studied, and also shows in which of the other Appendix documents they are discussed.

Appendix BGalen as source – table of references and citationsGalenic texts with English translation

These tables of citations and references show where Galen is utilised as a source, and link each individual reference to the specific Galenic text. They are arranged in order of the number of times each text is mentioned in the early modern works, and then by the order in which they appear in Kühn.

Appendix CGalen as source – table of references and citationsGalenic texts without English translation

These tables of citations and references show where Galen is utilised as a source, relating to texts not currently available in English, which limits the possibility of verifying the reference. They are arranged in order of the number of times each text is mentioned in the early modern works, and then by the order in which they appear in Kühn.

Appendix D Galen as source – summary table of references and citations shown in Appendices B and C

These tables summarise the content of Appendices B and C, showing the Galenic texts referenced, alongside the authors mentioning them and brief additional information, including the specific books and chapters where this is provided.

Appendix E The table entitled 'A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF MEDICAL AND SURGICAL AUTHORS' within William Black's An historical sketch of medicine and surgery (1782).

This provides a great deal of information regarding the broad narrative of the history of medicine, and shows the relative dates of activity and general area of medicine of notable practitioners from 400 BC to 1800 AD.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those that have helped in many varying ways throughout the time I have spent working towards my PhD. In particular, the advice, suggestions and support from Jonathan Barry and John Wilkins have been invaluable - a supervisory team whose combined experience and breadth of knowledge were a fantastic resource, and a constantly enthusiastic influence on my work. In addition, I would like to thank Sarah Toulalan for stepping into a supervisory role for a short time, providing useful insights into my work alongside the support and encouragement already welcomed throughout my undergraduate degree, Masters and PhD. I am also grateful for the support provided by the Centre for Medical History, the Department of History, and my friends and colleagues within the University of Exeter, particularly those working in parallel on a variety of PhD topics, all of which have influenced and enriched my own. I am similarly appreciative of the funding provided by the Wellcome Trust, via the Centre for Medical History, which has made it possible to focus my attention on my thesis. The feedback and comments provided by my examiners Catherine Rider and Margaret Pelling has been particularly useful, and I would like to thank them for their contribution. Finally, I would also like to thank James for putting up with me, reading numerous drafts, and knowing when I need a cup of tea!

Notes on translation

All Greek translations within the text were kindly provided by John Wilkins unless otherwise attributed, who also assisted my translations from Latin to English, checking and suggesting improvements.