



<https://publications.dainst.org>

# iDAI.publications

ELEKTRONISCHE PUBLIKATIONEN DES  
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

Dies ist ein digitaler Sonderdruck des Beitrags / This is a digital offprint of the article

## Christopher P. Jones Galen's Travels

aus / from

### Chiron

Ausgabe / Issue **42 • 2012**

Seite / Page **399–420**

<https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron/461/5069> • urn:nbn:de:0048-chiron-2012-42-p399-420-v5069.3

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor

**Redaktion Chiron | Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Amalienstr. 73 b, 80799 München**

Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see <https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron>

ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-5396**

Verlag / Publisher **Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin**

**©2017 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut**

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

Email: [info@dainst.de](mailto:info@dainst.de) / Web: [dainst.org](http://dainst.org)

**Nutzungsbedingungen:** Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) von iDAI.publications an. Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeberinnen/Herausgeber der entsprechenden Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts ([info@dainst.de](mailto:info@dainst.de)).

**Terms of use:** By downloading you accept the terms of use (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) of iDAI.publications. All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut ([info@dainst.de](mailto:info@dainst.de)).

CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

## Galen's Travels

The publication in 2007 of Galen's «De indolentia» (Περὶ ἀλυπτίας) has drawn renewed attention to his biography and to his importance as an observer of the Roman empire at its height. In particular, his references to the Great Fire of Rome in 192 that destroyed so much of his laboriously collected samples make it timely to reconsider his geographical world – those places that he knew as a resident or as a visitor, the dates and the extent of his travels, and his attitude towards his ancestral city of Pergamon and what he calls «our Asia». Such a survey may help to locate him within his intellectual «world», which is neither Greek nor Roman but one all of his own making; incidentally, it may provide unnoticed information about certain places of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup>

Without the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* such an investigation would hardly be possible, since the index of KARL GOTTLÖB KÜHN, the last editor to attempt a complete edition, is very inadequate. In particular, the TLG permits exploitation of Galen's extensive writings on pharmacology, which provide so much information about his travels. Yet reliance on the TLG brings its own problems, since it mainly reproduces the texts printed by KÜHN; KÜHN for his part did not aim to produce a critical edition, but depended on the seventeenth-century edition of RENÉ CHARTIER.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, since a survey of Galen's geographical references inevitably involves many proper names, which are liable to corruption at the hands of scribes and editors, it may happen that places only seem unidentifiable because the true name is corrupt. Similarly, when KÜHN or other editors print eccentric spellings, such as Ταβία for Stabiae in Campania, it is often impossible to determine whether these go back to the author, or are scribal or editorial errors.<sup>3</sup> There is the further problem that some Greek texts of Galen are not included in the TLG, and several exist only in Arabic.

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, II.3 (Astraia), VI.3 (Allianoi), VI.4 (Lyketa), VI.7 (Sardis). For a recent study of Galen's observations in the region of Pergamon, K. SOMMEREY, *MDAI*(I) 58, 2008, 157–159, 161–164.

<sup>2</sup> K. SCHUBRING, p. xi of the 1965 reprint of KÜHN's *Tomus XX*: «Die Kritik hat Kühn einmütig bestätigt, dass er die erkannte Aufgabe nicht gelöst hat ... [.] und hat seine Ausgabe mit vollem Recht als einen mehr verschlechterten als verbesserten Nachdruck der Edition von Chartier ... charakterisiert.» For KÜHN's use of CHARTIER, J. JOUANNA, *René Chartier, éditeur injustement méconnu*, CRAI 2010, 1156–1159.

<sup>3</sup> Corruption or other error: see below, II.3 (Astraia), XI.3 (Stabiae).

The work of several scholars, most notably VIVIAN NUTTON, has contributed to fix the chronology of the years in which Galen did most of his travel, though the «De indolentia» perhaps allows more precision on certain points.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Pergamon in 129, and remained there continuously up to his twentieth year, when his father died. From about 149 to 157 he was abroad, continuing his medical studies in Smyrna, in Corinth, and for several years in Alexandria, from whence he returned to Pergamon at the age of twenty-eight. There the current High Priest of the imperial cult entrusted him with the care of gladiators in the city's *ludus*, a position that he retained until 161. It may have been in this year or soon after that he undertook «the tour that I made of eastern places» on which he acquired a large supply of a certain herb in Side of Pamphylia; as will appear, almost all his references to collecting plants and minerals concern the eastern empire.<sup>5</sup> He reached Rome in 162 and stayed there until 166, when he made a hasty departure, perhaps because of the onset of the Antonine Plague, and returned to Pergamon. Soon after his return to Rome in 168, Marcus Aurelius, who was preparing to go to the German warfront, summoned him to Aquileia in northern Italy, and tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to join his entourage. Just then Lucius Verus died, and Galen returned to Rome, after which he appears to have stayed in Italy for most of his remaining life, though there is evidence of a last visit to Pergamon, perhaps in the late 180's or early 190's. His death used to be placed in the late 190's on the basis of a notice in the Suda, but is now thought to have occurred later, perhaps in the sole reign of Caracalla (211–217).<sup>6</sup>

Galen sometimes speaks as if he had visited most of the Roman empire: he has seen certain wines «in practically all the regions (ἔθνη)», and has seen the persea-tree only in Alexandria, «and in no other region (ἔθνος) under the Romans». <sup>7</sup> Yet in his extant works he shows personal knowledge of Italy, his native Asia, and otherwise mostly of Rome's eastern provinces: Macedonia, Thrace, Greece, Crete, Bithynia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Cilicia, Syria Palaestina (the renamed Judaea), and Egypt (where he seems familiar mainly with Alexandria). He thus confined his longer travels to the «Hellenic» portion of the empire, with the partial exception of the Dead Sea, which he

---

<sup>4</sup> For what follows especially V. NUTTON, CQ 23, 1973, 158–171; V. BOUDON, in: Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques 3, 2000, 440–451; H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, Die Römische Gesellschaft bei Galen: Biographie und Sozialgeschichte, 2003, ch. 4; R. J. HANKINSON, in: The Cambridge Companion to Galen, 2008, 1–33; JOHNSTON – HORSLEY, *meth. med.* 1.xii–xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Appointment by the High Priest (ἀρχιερεύς): *comp. med. gen.* 13.599 K., cf. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN (n. 4) 107. Tour: *antid.* 14.71. His visit to the mines near Soloi in Cyprus is dated to 161/162 by NUTTON (n. 4) 169–170.

<sup>6</sup> See especially NUTTON, BHM 58, 1984, 320–323, followed among others by BOUDON (n. 4) 450–451.

<sup>7</sup> *Bon. mal. suc.* 6.806 = 424 HELMREICH; *comp. med. loc.* 12.569. I shall use «region» rather than «province» for ἔθνος, to avoid assuming that Galen necessarily refers to Roman provincial divisions; on the persistence of identities below the provincial level in the imperial period, P. LE ROUX, in: A. CABALLOS RUFINO – S. LEFÈVRE (ed.), *Roma generadora de identidades: La experiencia hispana*, 2011, 7–19.

visited for its minerals. In the following I shall review the regions and cities to which he refers with an implication of personal knowledge, and shall do so in roughly clockwise order from Greece to Italy, omitting those such as Gaul, Illyria, and Cyrene which he mentions but does not seem to have visited.

I.1: *Greece*. Galen refers to Greece only rarely, always using the noun Ἑλλάς and never the official Ἀχαΐα, and always referring to the region, not to the cultural world of Hellenism, even though he commonly uses Ἑλληνες in this wider sense. Thus he has never tasted the meat of dogs or foxes «since this food is not customary in Asia or Hellas and not in Italy either, though I hear that even this is eaten in many places».<sup>8</sup> He has an interesting comment on the population of contemporary Greece: Rome and Alexandria with their large populations could support doctors specializing in a single branch of medicine, but «elsewhere, where towns are small, [they] must travel continuously from place to place, so that all Greece, for instance, may provide for them what Rome itself provides for the Italian (specialists)».<sup>9</sup>

I.2: *Corinth*. The young Galen studied with the doctor Numisianus in Corinth,<sup>10</sup> and later passed through it on his way home after his hasty departure from Italy in 166. This journey is the occasion for one of those social cameos that enliven his text. He was traveling with a native of Gortyn in Crete, who had several, perhaps all of his slaves with him (he too may have been fleeing the Plague). The man sent most of them on to Athens by sea from Cenchreae, the eastern port of Corinth, but kept two for the journey overland. When the party approached Eleusis, it emerged that the slaves had made a mistake about the baggage, whereupon the owner beat them nearly to death and then went ahead to Athens «so as not to be present when they died». Galen got them safely to Athens, where the Cretan begged him for a whipping: instead, Galen gave him a lecture on self-control, and when he saw the man one year later he had greatly improved. Galen's interest in self-control is also central to the <De indolentia>.<sup>11</sup>

I.3: *Athens*. Though Galen may have visited Athens more than once, it was perhaps on this same visit of 166 that he encountered Herodes Atticus, as was revealed by a work published only in 1988 in an Arabic translation. «Herodes, the most able orator of our time», gave a speech below his usual standard, and «informed us of the cause», which was that he had been too busy to study. Herodes seems more likely to have criti-

---

<sup>8</sup> Meat of dogs and foxes: victu att. 443 KALBFLEISCH. «Hellas»: cf. (among other passages) praen. Epigen. 14.648 = 118 NUTTON, «whether it was sailing to Dyrrachium or to Hellas» (on his escape in 166); Hipp. fract. 18B.466; ibid. 609, «in Hellas and particularly around Elis». Cf. an athlete contemporary with Galen, who competed «in three ἔθνη, Italy, Hellas, Asia»: L. MORETTI, IGUR 240.17–18.

<sup>9</sup> Part. art. med. 29.17–24 LYONS (translated LYONS, slightly adapted).

<sup>10</sup> Anat. admin. 2.217 = 1, p. 3 GAROFALO; Hipp. nat. hom. 15.136 = 70 MEWALDT.

<sup>11</sup> Anim. aff. dign. 5.18–20 = 1.13–15 MARQUARDT = 13–15 DE BOER.

cized his own performance privately than before his audience, so that Galen may have known him in person, and could easily have met him on his earlier stay in Rome.<sup>12</sup>

II.1: *Macedonia and Thrace*. Galen passed through these contiguous regions at the time of his second journey to Rome in 168 or 169. In one of his vivid passages of autobiography, he describes two visits that he had made to the island of Lemnos in search of the medicinal earth called «Lemnian seal» (Λημνία σφρηγίς, *terra sigillata*).<sup>13</sup> «Resolving to reach Rome by land through Thrace and Macedonia»,<sup>14</sup> he sailed from the busy port of Alexandria Troas to Lemnos, where he found a ship making for Thessalonica. As he ingenuously confesses, he had not known that there was more than one city on Lemnos, and got the captain to let him disembark at Myrina, but found that he needed to go to Hephaestias. Since the captain could not wait for him, Galen must have left by another vessel, crossed to one of the Thracian ports such as Zone, and proceeded from there along the via Egnatia, perhaps embarking for Italy at Dyrachium (Durazzo). Having determined to revisit the island when next going from Italy to Asia, «I crossed from Italy to Macedonia, and travelling on land through practically all of it I reached Philippi, a city bordering on Thrace; going twenty stades (2¼ miles) from there to the sea nearby [the reference is to Neapolis, the port of Philippi] I sailed first nearly two hundred stades (23 miles) to Thasos, from there seven hundred stades (80 miles) to Lemnos, and from there another seven hundred stades to Alexandria Troas.»<sup>15</sup> It was perhaps on the same journey in 168 or 169 that Galen saw the inferior kind of wheat called by the Greeks τίφη (one-grained wheat, *triticum monococcum*) «growing in many fields» in Thrace and Macedonia; when he asked the local name, he learned that it was βρίζα.<sup>16</sup>

II.2: «*Aulôn*». In a discussion of olive-oil, Galen claims: «once when in Macedonia I tasted the (olive-oil) that is produced in the valley of the Strymon (κατὰ τὸν αὐλώνα τὸν περὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι).» Αὐλών as a common noun designates a steep-sided valley that may be broad or narrow, and also occurs as a proper name. Editors print it as a name here, but there is no known place called *Aulôn* on the Strymon, whereas Strabo says of the Thracian Bisaltae «above Amphipolis as far as Heraclea» that «they have a

<sup>12</sup> Opt. med. cogn. 113–115 ISKANDAR; NUTTON, CQ 40, 1990, 250, thinks it more likely that this encounter took place in Rome. Galen's sole mention of Lucian also survives only in Arabic: Hipp. epidem. I–II, 402 PFAFF; G. STROHMEIER, Philologus 120, 1976, 117–122.

<sup>13</sup> Galen: simp. med. temp. 12.171, cf. also antid. 14.7–8. On the geography of Lemnos, C. FREDRICH, RE 12, 2, 1925, 1928–1930; Barr. Atl. 56 A 2.

<sup>14</sup> ΚŪHN's text, καὶ τό γε δεύτερον ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι πεζῇ πορευόμενος διὰ Θράκης τε καὶ Μακεδονίας, cannot stand, and πορευόμενος must have displaced another verb such as βουλευόμενος; for this verb with the infinitive, LSJ<sup>3</sup> βουλεύομαι B 4; comp. med. loc. 13.373, ἀμβλῦναι τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενοι. Translators understand πεζῇ as «on foot», but it must mean «by land» (LSJ<sup>3</sup> s.v. πεζός III 1 b), and Galen cannot conceivably have gone on foot across two provinces, still less «to Rome».

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the reverse route taken by Hadrian in 132 through Abdera, Maronea, and probably Philippi: C. P. JONES, Chiron 41, 2011, 319–321.

<sup>16</sup> Alim. fac. 6.514 = 236 HELMREICH.

fertile valley through which the Strymon flows» (ἀλώνα εὐκαρπον ὄν διαρρεῖ ὁ Στρυμών). This seems likely to have produced the oil that Galen tasted on one of his visits to Macedonia: if he did so during his journey to Rome in 168 or 169, he would have had to leave the via Egnatia at Amphipolis.<sup>17</sup>

II.3: *Astraiia*. Galen twice mentions a superior kind of parsley (πετροσέλινον) from Macedonia which he calls «Astreotic» (Ἀστρεωτικόν), or in another work (which has not been edited since ΚΥΗΝ) «Estreatic» (Ἑστρεατικόν). The first is the right reading, since there is no place-name «Estraiia», whereas Astraiia was an important city in north-western Macedonia. It is not certainly located, but Galen's reference, which has been overlooked, might help.<sup>18</sup> He observes: «Everyone knows and praises Macedonian parsley, which some call «Astreotic», but only a very small amount is grown in that place, which is precipitous (κρημνώδης) and not large, while the Macedonian «Astreotic» that is conveyed to all the provinces actually does not grow much in the land of Macedonia.» He goes on to explain that what is exported as «Macedonian» parsley is mainly grown in Epirus, but shipped from Thessalonica, just as supposedly «Attic» honey is produced in the Cyclades and shipped to Athens, and as the «Falernian» wine which is carried all over the Roman empire is in fact made from other wines, doctored by artful entrepreneurs to resemble true Falernian. Galen could have got this information about «Astreotic» parsley from his suppliers, but his language suggests that he knew the «precipitous» place where it grew from personal experience, perhaps on the same journey as his visit to the valley of the Strymon.

III: *Crete*. Galen often mentions Crete as a source of natural products: but he says little to suggest knowledge of it beyond claiming to have observed wines of a certain type «in Cilicia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Cyprus, and Crete», and describing a type of hunting-boot used both there and in «our Asia».<sup>19</sup>

IV: *Cyprus*. Galen is much more forthcoming about Cyprus. Here he had a «very influential» friend who in turn was a friend of the procurator in charge of mines. He was thus able to visit a mine at Soloi, some thirty stades (3½ miles) from the city, and to collect mineral compounds for medicinal use. Among these he was especially proud of his supply of calamine (καδμεία), some of it given to him by the same procurator, and on returning to Asia and Italy he gave portions of it to his friends. He also collected large amounts of a by-product called διφρυγές (pyrite), which the procura-

<sup>17</sup> San. tu. 6.196 = 87 KOCH. For the meaning of Ἀλών, R. SYME, *Anatolica*, 1995, 340–343; S. HORNBLLOWER, *A Commentary on Thucydides 2*, 1996, 327–328. For a map of the region, N. G. L. HAMMOND, *A History of Macedonia 1*, 1972, 180; F. PAPAIOGLOU, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, 1988, 352. Heraclea (Sintica) is now known to have been near Petrich in Bulgaria, on the middle course of the Strymon: G. MITREV, *ZPE* 145, 2003, 263–272, especially 268–270.

<sup>18</sup> San. tu. 6.282 = 124 KOCH; antid. 14.76–77. For Astraiia (Astraeum), HAMMOND (n. 17) 201–202; PAPAIOGLOU (n. 17) 333–335; Barr. Atl. 49 E 2, 50 B 1.

<sup>19</sup> Wines: Hipp. acut. morb. victu 15.648 = 229 HELMREICH, where Κύπρον is NUTTON's convincing emendation of the transmitted κῦρον and σκίρρον. Boot: Hipp. art. 18A.682.

tor treated as useless ash. He gives a closely observed but curiously objective description of the local mining-methods. A tunnel some two hundred yards (a stade) long sloped down to a pool full of a thick green liquid. The tunnel was tall enough for a man to stand, and wide enough for three, since it allowed the miners, who were chained convicts (πεδῆται), to move in two contrary lines. Along the sides were lamps placed at equal intervals, though the polluted atmosphere often caused them to burn out. The atmosphere of the tunnel reminded Galen of the «preliminary massage-room» (προμαλακτήριον) of a bath-house, evidently a kind of sauna, and in the vicinity of the pool the air was «stifling and unbearable». The green liquid dripped incessantly into the pool, and from there the miners carried it in amphoras to the surface, where after a few days it solidified into copper sulphate (χάλκανθος). The foul air obliged the miners to work unclothed and quickly, and when the product of one tunnel was exhausted they had to dig a new one; the procurator told Galen that one of the tunnels had collapsed not long before and killed all the workers. Galen's description has been confirmed by the investigation of ancient mines near Soloi, in or near which have been found tunnels, slag-heaps, and fragments of amphorae: a nearby monastery has the name Panagia Skouriotissa, «Our Lady of the Slags». While in Cyprus Galen also saw peasants in the countryside eating barley for want of wheat, «though the island produces much wheat».<sup>20</sup>

V: *Bithynia*. In an extended discussion of the inferior wheat called in Greek τίφη, which he had observed also in Thrace and Macedonia, Galen observes that a better kind grows in Bithynia and Asia, and is called ζέωπυρον in «the most wintry parts of Bithynia». The cities of Bithynia that he mentions as producers are Prusa, Nicaea, Creteia, Claudiopolis, and Juliopolis. He seems to know Prusa, since he mentions the hot springs situated ten stades (just over a mile) from the city as an example of «sweet springs», that is, ones not strongly chemical. These are the so-called «Royal Hot Springs» (Θερμὰ Βασιλικὰ) known from many sources and still operative, though modern users are warned of their radioactivity. Creteia, Claudiopolis, and Juliopolis were neighbors, and perhaps constitute the region that Galen describes as «most wintry».<sup>21</sup>

VI.1: *Asia* is a special case, not only because Galen was born in the Roman province of the name, but also because Greeks of the imperial period, like their predecessors, sometimes used «Asia» to mean the sub-continent or a larger area such as the Persian empire.<sup>22</sup> A connected problem is the implied referent of the phrase «among us»

<sup>20</sup> Simp. med. temp. 12.214 (mines at Soloi, καδμεία, διφρυγές), 220 (καδμεία), 239–241 (operation of mine). Wheat: alim. fac. 6.507 = 232 HELMREICH. Mines: J. L. BRUCE et al., *Antiquities in the Mines of Cyprus*, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 3, 1937, 639–671.

<sup>21</sup> Τίφη: alim. fac. 6.515 = 237 HELMREICH. For the locations of these cities, Barr. Atlas 52 F 4 (Nicaea), 52 E 4 (Prusa), 86 C 3 (Crateia), 86 B 3 (Claudiopolis and Juliopolis). On Crateia and its region: D. H. FRENCH, EA 23, 1994, 113–117. Springs of Prusa: san. tu. 6.424 = 186 KOCH; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 2, 1946, 94–102; F. K. DÖRNER, RE 23, 1, 1957, 1082–1083.

<sup>22</sup> S. I. OOST, in: H. J. DELL (ed.), *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*, 1981, 265–282, with earlier bibliography.

(παρ' ἡμῖν), which he sometimes expands to «among us in Asia» or «among us in Pergamon» (παρ' ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν Περγάμῳ): is «among us» to be understood separately from the accompanying phrases, «among us, [more specifically] in Asia/Pergamon», or is it pleonastic, «in our Asia/Pergamon»? As might be expected from an author who wrote so voluminously and over a period of fifty years, he is not consistent, and several shades of meaning can be detected.

When Galen uses the phrase «among us» without qualification, he appears to mean the part of Asia Minor corresponding to the province of Asia. Thus «those among us castrate sows not only in Asia, but also in the regions (ἔθνη) inland as far as Cappadocia.»<sup>23</sup> Even when he is talking about places near Pergamon, «among us» seems always to mean the region, and not his native city. Thus he refers to a certain wine produced «among us in Aegai and Perperene, of which the first is next to Myrina, and the second next to Pergamon», where «among us» clearly denotes more than the region of his own city. Perperene is Pergamon's neighbor to the north-west, and was famous for its vines into modern times, while Aegai is in southern Aeolis and at least two days away under the conditions of ancient travel.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, when speaking of wines produced «in Asia among us» he mentions those from Tib(b)e and Titikaza, of which the first is a village or subordinate city on the territory of Nakrasos, on the border between Mysia and Lydia, while the second is in the Lydian Messogis: the modern name is «Üzümköy», «Grape-village».<sup>25</sup> The region is also clearly meant in his frequent phrase «in our Asia» (ἡ ἡμετέρα Ἀσία), as when he claims to have seen a certain injury in Smyrna «when I was still being taught by the teachers there in our Asia», and similarly in the phrase «our Asians».<sup>26</sup>

VI.2: *Pergamon*. Though Galen was a native of Pergamon, he does not necessarily mean the territory (χώρα) of Pergamon when he speaks of «our country» (ἡ ἡμετέρα

<sup>23</sup> Sem. 4.570 = 122 DE LACY, referring on p. 225 to Galen's description of the operation (excision of the ovaries) in anat. admin. 12, pp. 100–101 SIMON.

<sup>24</sup> «Among us in Aegai»: bon. mal. suc. 6.800 = 420 HELMREICH, cf. Hipp. acut. morb. victu 15.645 = 228 HELMREICH. Aegai: G. HIRSCHFELD, RE 1, 1, 1893, 944–945, Aigai no. 5; on its wine, L. ROBERT, Hellenica 10, 1955, 180 n. 4; Barr. Atl. 56 E 4. Perperene: W. RUGE, RE 19, 1, 1937, 890–892; ROBERT, A travers l'Asie Mineure, 1980, 320 n. 5; F.-M. KAUFMANN – J. STAUBER, EA 23, 1994, 41–57 (site), M.-B. BARTH – J. STAUBER, ibid. 59–82 (coins); on the coins also Roman Provincial Coinage 1.397–398, 2.143, 7.1.142, Suppl. 1, 31. Barr. Atlas 56 D 3. On these and other wines mentioned by Galen, ROBERT, Deux vins de la province d'Asie chez Galien, A travers l'Asie Mineure, 1980, 319–337.

<sup>25</sup> Bon. mal. suc. 6.806 = 420 HELMREICH, cf. Hipp. acut. morb. victu 15.648 = 229 HELMREICH. On the location of Tib(b)e and Titikaza, ROBERT, Deux vins (n. 24), 319–337: on Tib(b)e see further P. HERRMANN, EA 7, 1986, 18–19; Barr. Atl. 56 F 3. On the names, ZGUSTA, Kl. Ortsn. 618, § 1336 (Tibbe), 621, § 1334–2 (Titikaza).

<sup>26</sup> «When I was still ...»: Hipp. fract. 18B.347; cf. san. tu. 6.334, 450 = 144, 197 KOCH; alim. fac. 6.540 = 253 HELMREICH; trem. palp. 7.636; simp. med. temp. 12.312, etc. «Our Asians»: Hipp. epidem. I–II, 17A.24 = 16 WENKEBACH.



χώρα).<sup>27</sup> Thus when he claims that the best-formed bodies, «like the Canon of Polycleitos», have often been observed «in our country, but there is not the remotest chance of seeing such a body among Celts, Scythians, Egyptians or Arabs», he seems to mean a larger area than the territory of Pergamon.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, it is unclear whether he is referring only to the territory of Pergamon when he discusses a certain variety of honey: «In our country between Pergamon and Elaia on the sea there is a hill (λόφος) full of thyme, on which the bees make excellent honey, which is all used up on the spot. For travelers from Pergamon to Elaia this mountain lies on the left-hand side, though not near the road.» Galen uses λόφος for hills such as the seven hills of Rome, for Gauros (Monte Barbaro) on the territory of Puteoli (1,079 feet), for mountains such as Vesuvius (4,198 feet), and for whole ranges or sierras such as the peninsula of Sorrento and the mountains east of the Dead Sea; in the present passage he is presumably referring to a foothill of the barren and inhospitable mountain called *Asporênos* or *Aspordênos*.<sup>29</sup>

When Galen uses the phrase «among us in Pergamon», he probably means «among us Pergamenes», though it is sometimes impossible to exclude the meaning, «among us (Asians), in Pergamon». Thus «there is an abundance of cool fountains and of snow in Rome, as also among us in Pergamon and throughout most of the cities both in Asia and in Greece.» The rising of Arcturus occurs in «the season that in Rome is called September, among us in Pergamon [is called] Hyperberetaeos, and in Athens [is called] the Mysteries». Certain very old books are written «on papyri, on parchments, or on various kinds of lime-tree, as among us in Pergamon».<sup>30</sup>

Within Pergamon Galen's references are entirely confined to his «ancestral» god Asclepios and to the Asclepieion situated southwest of the city. He himself had been a «devotee» (θεραπευτής) of the god since being cured of a life-threatening ulcer; he also comments on patients «among us in Pergamon» who obey the god even when he orders them to go fifteen days without drinking. A passing reference to the consular

---

<sup>27</sup> Alim. fac. 6.650 = 324 HELMREICH. On the χώρα as an integral part of the city, precisely with reference to Pergamon, ROBERT, BCH 108, 1984, 480–481 = Documents d'Asie Mineure, 1987, 468–469; cf. C. SCHULER, Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien, 1998, 195–196 and Index s.v. πόλις καὶ χώρα. For χώρα used more widely, antid. 14.9, οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀντικειμένην χώραν οἰκοῦντες Μαυροῦσιοι.

<sup>28</sup> San. tu. 6.126–7 = 56 KOCH.

<sup>29</sup> Honey: antid. 14.22–23. Hills of Rome: Hipp. nat. hom. 15.137 = 70 MEWALDT. Gauros: antid. 14.16; J. WEISS, Gaurus Mons, RE 7, 1, 1910, 878. Vesuvius: meth. med. 10.364 = JOHNSTON – HORSLEY 2.88. Surrentine Peninsula: ibid. Mountains of Red Sea: simp. med. temp. 12.203. Aspor(d)ênos: Strabo 13.2.6 (C. 619); ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure<sup>2</sup>, 1962, 266; Barr. Atlas 56 E 4. Elaia: F. PIRSON, MDAl(I) 54, 2004, 197–212.

<sup>30</sup> Fountains: comp. med. loc. 12.508. Month-names: san. tu. 6.287 = 127 KOCH; on the month-names at Pergamon, F. DAUBNER, EA 41, 2008, 174–180. Books: Hipp. off. med. 18B.630.

Cuspius Rufinus as the builder of the great temple of Zeus Asclepius is one of his very rare references to a building.<sup>31</sup>

VI.3: *Allianoi*. Galen refers with evident familiarity to places in the neighborhood of Pergamon. With the hot springs of Prusa, only twenty stades from the city, he compares two springs «among us». One, at Allianoi, is over a hundred stades (about 11½ miles) away from Pergamon, while the other, at Lyketa, is in a suburb (προάστειον). Aelius Aristides also mentions the waters of Allianoi, and gives a very similar estimate of the distance, since he claims to have gone there and back on horseback in a single day, covering a distance of 240 stades. This site is destined to disappear into a reservoir, and excavation has produced considerable ancient remains, including a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia.<sup>32</sup>

VI.4: *Lyket(t)a*. Galen's reference to Lyket(t)a solves a topographical problem (KÜHN prints the name with a single tau, and Galen may have used the same spelling). The article in PAULY-WISSOWA refers to it as a «small town (Flecken) in Lydia», citing an inscription of Pergamon. This is one of several lists that register epebes under different rubrics, among them that of the τόποι, which are villages and small communities on the city's territory. Since one epebe is listed as being ἐν Λυκέττων, it follows that Lyket(t)a was not in Lydia; the overlooked reference in Galen shows that it was a suburb of Pergamon containing a thermal source.<sup>33</sup>

VI.5: *Brittos*. In conjunction with the honey produced between Pergamon and Elaia, Galen mentions another kind «in (the part of) Mysia that lies above (ὑπερκειμένη) our country, which they call Brittos». This reference has gone unnoticed, and (to my knowledge) «Brittos» appears in no work of reference. It can only be the part of Mysia called by Strabo and the elder Pliny Ἄβρεττηνή, of which Hadrianeia became

<sup>31</sup> «Our ancestral god»: san. tu. 6.41 = 20 KOCH. Galen as θεραπευτής; libr. propr. 19.18–19 = SM 2. 99 MUELLER = Budé 1.142 BOUDON-MILLOT (with p. 196 n. 8 on Galen's ulcer); on the θεραπευταί of Pergamon, S. NICOSIA, Φιλίας χάριν: Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni 5, 1980, 1623–1633, arguing they are not a «Kultverein» but are «devotees» of the god in general; I have not seen D. BRABANT, in: A. GUTSFELD – D.-A. KOCH (ed.), Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien, 2006, 61–75 (APh 77.13620). Patients obeying the god: Hipp. epidem. VI, 17B.137 = 199 WENKEBACH. Temple of Zeus Asclepius and Rufinus: anat. admin. 2.224–225 = 1, p. 11 GAROFALO; PIR C 1637; C. HABICHT, Pergamon VIII 3: Inschriften des Asklepieions pp. 11–14, 24–25; D. FEISSEL, REByz 57, 1999, 263–269, on a sixth-century seal showing that the temple had become a church of the Theotokos.

<sup>32</sup> Allianoi and Lyket(t)a: san. tu. 6.425 = 186 KOCH. On Allianoi: Aristid. Or. 49.6 (Sacred Tales 3); ZGUSTA, Kl. Ortsn. 61, § 44–4; H. MÜLLER, MDAI(I) 54, 2004, 215–225; B. YILDIRIM – M.-H. GATES, AJA 111, 2007, 325–326; SOMMEREY (n. 1) 155–156. Dedication: AnnEpigr 2008.1342.

<sup>33</sup> Lyket(t)a: H. HEPDING, MDAI(A) 35, 1910, 426 no. 12 II, -οδώρου τῶν ἐν Λυκέττων; L. BÜRCHNER, RE 13, 2, 1927, 2270; ZGUSTA, Kl. Ortsn. 346, § 729–1 («wohl in der Gegend von Pergamon zu suchen»). On the arrangement of these lists, ROBERT, Villes<sup>2</sup> (n. 29), 51–52; SOMMEREY (n. 1) 153–154.

the center after its foundation by Hadrian. In 1987 ELMAR SCHWERTHEIM published an inscription from a site south of Hadrianeia (Dursunbey), which he dated to the first century CE. This mentions a δῆμος and βουλή of the Abrettenoi, and so implies an organized community with the name *Abrettos*. Referring to the same region, Stephanus of Byzantium has a brief entry: Ἀβρεττινὴ χώρα Μυσίας ἀπὸ Βρεττίας νόμφης, ὡς Ἀρριανὸς φησιν, so that Galen seems to know a different name, *Brittos* or perhaps *Brettos*. When he locates it «above» the territory of Pergamon, he presumably means that it is in the mountainous region to the east, not that it is immediately adjacent.<sup>34</sup>

VI.6: *Ergasteria*. At a mining-village called Ergasteria, «Factories», about four hundred stades (45 miles) from Pergamon in the direction of Cyzicos, Galen had seen piles of a substance called μολύβδαινα (possibly lead sulphide or «galena») lying on the road, an observation similar to his remarks about the neglected pile of διφυγές at the mines of Soloi. The actual site was identified by THEODOR WIEGAND some two kilometers north of the modern Balya Maden, the ancient Pericharaxis (the name «Balya» preserves the name of a different site, Palaia, which appears to have absorbed Pericharaxis: *maden* is Turkish for «mine»). Here WIEGAND observed large slag-heaps, ancient mining-tunnels, and «wretched graves of the Greco-Roman era», and inferred from the Pergamene coins he saw in Balya Maden that the main period of exploitation was from 133 BCE to the time of Augustus. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the mines of Balya Maden were a rich source of silver-bearing lead.<sup>35</sup>

VI.7: *Cyzicos*. Galen's observation that Ergasteria lay on the road from Pergamon to Cyzicos agrees with his mention in the same work of a visit to Cyzicos, where he conversed with a local producer of a medical compound made with marjoram (ἀμάρακον).<sup>36</sup>

VI.8: *Tragasai*. Discussing his observation that salt obtained by evaporation from lakes is more like sea-salt than mined-salt, Galen comments on the production of lake-salt at Tragasai near the Smintheion, the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus in the southern Troad.<sup>37</sup> «From the natural hot waters, which are plentiful, there collects

<sup>34</sup> Honey of Brittos: antid. 14.22–23. Abrette: Strabo 12.8.9 (C. 574), 12.8.11 (C. 576); Pliny, NH 5.123; Steph. Byz. p. 22 BILLERBECK (FGrHist 156 F 110); E. SCHWERTHEIM, I.Hadrianoi, IGSK 33, 1987, no. 141: Μηνοφάνης και Δελλία τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα Ἀπφίαν ἀνέθηκαν ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς και τοῦ δήμου Ἀβρεττινῶν.

<sup>35</sup> Simp. med. temp. 12.230 K. TH. WIEGAND, MDAI(A) 29, 1904, 268–272, with sketch-map. T. GJELSVIK, Bulletin of the Mineral and Research Institute of Turkey (M. T. A.) 1958, 19: «The mines of Balya Maden are well known to Turkish geologists as the main producers of silver-bearing lead in Turkey in the period of 1880 to 1935.» The Barrington Atlas (56 F 2) has reversed the positions of Ergasteria and Pericharaxis; I hope to discuss the location of Palaia elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> Antid. 14.53. For Cyzicos, Barr. Atl. 52 B 4.

<sup>37</sup> Smintheion: older bibliography in ROBERT, Études de numismatique grecque, 1951, 39 n. 4; testimonia in M. RICL, I.Alexandria Troas, 1997, 198–200, T 59–64; Barr. Atl. 56 C 2. C. New excavations under the direction of C. O. ÖZGÜNEL began in 1980: ÖZGÜNEL, ST 13, 2003, 261–291.

much lake-water in a smallish space, and in summer this all evaporates from the heat of the sun, and since the place has natural brine, all the remainder becomes salt, which takes its name from the place and the waters. For the natural waters in that place are called <Tragasian>, and have a very desiccating effect, so that the doctors in this place use them for that purpose.» This salt drew the attention of many observers in antiquity, and is still mined in a community named *Tuzla*, «Saltpan». The spring feeding the lake produces such hot water that the traveler Tchihatcheff broke two thermometers in it.<sup>38</sup>

VI.9: *Sardis*. At or near (περί) Hierapolis and Sardis, as also in many other places, Galen observes that the air was corrupted by noxious fumes arising from crevices (βάραθρα). While such a feature is often mentioned at Phrygian Hierapolis (below, VI.10), none such seems to be attested at Sardis. The unnoticed reference in Galen may help to elucidate coins of the city that, in the words of BARCLAY HEAD, show «Demeter standing before an open chasm into the mouth of which she thrusts a long flaming torch»: HEAD comments, «The chasm is without doubt the entrance to the lower regions.» Other types show Pluto carrying off Persephone (Kore), who was a major divinity of Sardis. Galen's reference does not necessarily imply a personal visit to either Sardis or Hierapolis, though that seems likely.<sup>39</sup>

VI.10: *Hierapolis*. The Hierapolis to which Galen refers must be the only city of this name in Asia, the modern Pamukkale at the eastern end of the Maeander valley. This had an oracular temple with a crevice in its foundations, variously called a «Charonion» or «Plutonion», that exhaled fumes fatal to most humans and to animals.<sup>40</sup>

VI.11: *Dorylaion*. Galen calls this city «the last of Asian Phrygia» (ἔσχατη τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας), presumably meaning the last before the frontier with Galatia, and says that it and other cities of the region produce a superior form of the wheat called τρίφη; «the bread made from this grain is as much superior to that made from the βρίζα of Thrace and Macedonia as it is inferior to wheat-bread.»<sup>41</sup>

VI.12: *Smyrna*. Apart from Pergamon, Smyrna is the only major city in Asia of which Galen shows extensive knowledge, though all his references are to his student

<sup>38</sup> Simp. med. temp. 12.372. On Tragasai: Barr. Atl. 56 C 2: ZGUSTA, Kl. Ortsn. 630, § 1359–2; A. BRESSON, in: J. DALAISON (ed.), *Espaces et pouvoirs dans l'Antiquité de l'Anatolie à la Gaule: Hommages à Bernard Rémy*, 2007, 142–144; C. CARUSI, *Il sale nel mondo greco (VI a.C.-III d.C.)*, 2008, 79–81, 231–232.

<sup>39</sup> San. tu. 6.58–59 = 27 KOCH. Demeter before chasm: BMC Lydia 257 no. 138 (Pius); SNG Copenhagen, Lydia 527 (Pius); T. V. BUTTREY et al., *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis*, 1981, 53 no. 294 (Julia Domna). Hades and Persephone: SNG Copenhagen, Lydia 525, cf. SNG von Aulock 3158 (Caracalla); BMC Lydia 249 no. 89 (undated, but between Caracalla and Gordian). For the cult of Demeter and Kore (Persephone) at Sardis, BUTTREY, loc. cit. 7–10; P. HERRMANN, *REA* 100, 1998, 495–508.

<sup>40</sup> San. tu. 6.58–59 = 27 KOCH. On the literary sources for the Plutonion, T. RITTI, *Hierapolis: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche*, 1985, 7–15; on the temple above, YILDIRIM – GATES (n. 32) 330.

<sup>41</sup> Alim. fac. 6.515–516 = 237 HELMREICH. On βρίζα see p. 402.

days. Because Smyrna was so much larger than any city in Hippocrates' time, he was able to observe there a kind of dislocation that his predecessor had not seen.<sup>42</sup>

VII: *Lycia and Pamphylia*. In southern Asia Minor Galen claims to have explored all of Lycia in a small ship, though he has little to say about it. Discussing a stone called «Gagates», a name which some derived from a Lycian river of the same name, he implicitly denies its existence, though he appears to be in error.<sup>43</sup> He visited eastern Pamphylia on his grand tour, when he acquired a large supply of a plant called καρπήσιον (a variety of valerian) at Side.<sup>44</sup> Some forty miles further on he records a striking sight in the region of Coracesion, the great crag that rises abruptly from the sea. Arguing that a person cannot walk unaided if he has lost his toes, he gives two proofs drawn from his own recent experience: the Plague, which attacked the toes, and «the savagery of the pirate at Coracesion of Pamphylia», who cut them off. Otherwise he knows of products of the region, notably the precious στύραξ (here, liquidambar) imported for the use of the emperors.<sup>45</sup>

VIII: *Cilicia and Cappadocia*. Galen specifically mentions Cilicia as a province that he has visited, and he is familiar with its products and dietary customs, but does not mention any of the cities such as Tarsus. He may also have visited Cappadocia, since he knows about the castration of sows there, and also knows the local names for certain plants, though he could have derived this information from others: he certainly names Cappadocia as a region from which friends have given him gifts.<sup>46</sup>

IX: *Phoenicia and Palaestina*. Though Galen speaks of Syrian products such as the pistachios of Beroea and the plums of Damascus,<sup>47</sup> he shows little sign of knowing the Syrian heartland as opposed to its southern extensions, Phoenicia and Palaestina. He omits Syria from three groupings of regions that he had visited on his travels: Cilicia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Cyprus, and Crete; Lemnos, Cyprus and Palestine; and Cyprus, Phoenicia, Lycia and Cilicia; his knowledge that a certain plant, γιγγίδιον (related to the carrot), is commonly grown and eaten in Syria might come from an informant.

<sup>42</sup> Smyrna: anat. admin. 2.217 = 1, p. 3 GAROFALO; usu part. 3.664 = 1.481–482 HELMREICH; Hipp. aph. 18A.29; Hipp. art. 18A.350. Size of Smyrna: Hipp. art. 18A.347.

<sup>43</sup> Simp. med. temp. 12.203; W. RUGE, Gages, RE 7, 1, 1910, 467; S. ŞAHİN – M. ADAK, Stadiasmus Patavensis, 2007, 102 n. 37, 104.

<sup>44</sup> Antid. 14.72.

<sup>45</sup> Usu part. 3.188 = 1.137 HELMREICH. Galen's expression, «the pirate», implies that he was notorious, though perhaps not known by name. On the imposing site of Coracesion, RUGE, RE 11, 2, 1922, 1371; J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie, 1983, 157–161; Barr. Atl. 65 G 4. M. T. MAY, Galen: On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body, 1968, 1.163, translates «a disease of the feet», and inclines to think that this is not the Antonine Plague: but Galen says «the plague, which affected many people's feet». Styrax: e.g. antid. 14.79; S. AMIGUES, Le styrax et ses usages antiques, JS 2007, 261–318, especially 311–312 on Galen, with the corrections of J. NOLLÉ, Gephyra 6, 2009, 16–20.

<sup>46</sup> Names and customs: e.g. alim. fac. 6.520 = 240 HELMREICH; simp. med. temp. 12.85, 99, 128. Castration: above, n. 23. Gifts: e.g. antid. 14.8.

<sup>47</sup> Alim. fac. 6.612 = 300 HELMREICH.

His patron Flavius Boethus was from Ptolemais on the Phoenician coast, but Galen has more to say about Palestine. He admires the dates produced at Jericho; he seems to have observed how fish thrive in the two rivers that feed the Dead Sea, especially the Jordan, but die when thrown into the Sea itself; he describes floating in the Dead Sea in a way that must reflect his own experience; and he collected bitumen and other minerals that were produced «in the mountain-range (λόφος) that embraces the so-called Dead Sea on its eastern side».<sup>48</sup>

X: *Egypt and Alexandria*. Galen claims to have visited «all of Egypt»,<sup>49</sup> and has much to say about the country, though it is not always possible to tell how much is based on his observation of Alexandria, which in the Roman provincial system was only «beside Egypt» (*ad Aegyptum*); he shows no interest in Egypt's natural or man-made wonders, whereas even the frail Aelius Aristides had gone as far as the First Cataract. One vivid reminiscence concerns the Alexandrian countryside: a peasant working on the land received a severe snake-bite, tied his hand tightly about the wrist, ran to his «usual doctor» in the city, and survived by having his entire hand cut off. Egyptian snakes seem to have made a great impression on him: in a work of disputed authenticity, the «De theriaca ad Pisonem», he narrates the death of Cleopatra by the bite of an asp, and compares it with something he has «often watched», the execution by the same method of persons condemned to death in Alexandria.<sup>50</sup>

XI.1: *Italy*. Galen claims to have seen all manner of plants, trees, shrubs, grasses, prickly plants, undershrubs, in many parts of Italy,<sup>51</sup> but apart from Rome and from Campania, where he had a residence, the places he mentions are few. When he left Italy hastily in 166, he went from Campania to Brundisium, before crossing to Dyrrachium and then by water to Cassiope in Corcyra. This or another journey might have acquainted him with the arbutus or strawberry-tree of Calabria, for which he knows the Latin name, *unedo*; in Lucania he knows of a creature «halfway between a bear and a pig», and also of the dormice that they eat there and in other parts of Italy.<sup>52</sup> He traveled from Rome to Aquileia when summoned by Marcus in the autumn of that

<sup>48</sup> Groupings of provinces: Hipp. acut. morb. victu 15.648 = 229 HELMREICH; simp. med. temp. 12.216; victu att. 447 KALBFLEISCH. Γλυγίδιον: alim. fac. 6.640 = 318 HELMREICH. Boethus: anat. admin. 2.215–216 = 1, p. 1 GAROFALO. Dates: alim. fac. 6.607 = 296 HELMREICH. Fish: simp. med. temp. 11.693. Floating in Dead Sea: ibid. 11.690–691. Bitumen: ibid. 12.203; earlier in the same work he calls these mountains *Sodoma*, ibid. 11.694.

<sup>49</sup> «All of Egypt»: Hipp. epidem. VI, 17b.155 = 209 WENKEBACH, cf. Hipp. acut. morb. victu 15.648–49 = 229 HELMREICH, he has seen a certain kind of wine «in every place, and what is more surprising, in Egypt too».

<sup>50</sup> Galen in Egypt: NUTTON, in: J. KOLLESCH – D. NICKEL (ed.), Galen und das hellenistische Erbe, 1993, 11–31, especially 23–26. Peasant: loc. aff. 8.197. Executions: ther. Pis. 14.235–237.

<sup>51</sup> Antid. 14.30. Φρύγανον in the sense of «undershrub» is cited by LSJ<sup>3</sup> only from Theophrastus.

<sup>52</sup> Route in 166: praen. Epigen. 14.648–49 = 118 NUTTON. Calabria: simp. med. temp. 11.876. Lucania: alim. fac. 6.666 = 336 HELMREICH. Lucania was famous for its huge animals, but I do not know which one Galen means here.

year, and after Marcus' departure for Germany he followed Commodus around the imperial residences in Latium and Campania. These journeys may have contributed to a remarkable comparison that he makes between the unfinished state of knowledge after Hippocrates and the unsatisfactory state of Italian roads before Trajan. All the roads of Italy were bad, until «the famous Trajan corrected them, paving the wet and muddy parts with stones, raising them with high embankments, clearing the brambly and rough ones, throwing bridges over the rivers that were difficult to ford; where a road was inconveniently long, he made a short-cut; if it was infested with animals or deserted, he abandoned that one and diverted it onto the highways, and he straightened the rough ones.» Galen may have been thinking above all of Trajan's paving of the via Appia where it crossed the Pomptine Marshes, since this part of the route had been a hotbed of malaria.<sup>53</sup>

XI.2: *Antium*. Unless he always went by water, Galen must have passed through southern Latium many times to Campania. In the course of deploring the damage done to libraries in Rome by the fire of 192, he talks of works that he had copied when he first came to Rome, but that have now perished for another reason: «they gave me no little trouble in copying them, but now they are completely useless and cannot even be unrolled, because damp has caused the pages to stick together, since the place is marshy and extremely low-lying, and stifling in summer.» Twice in this context he uses the phrase ΕΝΑΝΤΙΩ, which has been variously emended, though the passage makes satisfactory sense with the division ἐν Ἀντίῳ, «in Antium». This suits the region of Antium and its marshy nature, on which modern visitors have commented.<sup>54</sup>

XI.3: *Stabiae*. The region of Italy which Galen knows best is Campania, where he had an estate, and he mentions several cities and natural features in detail. He gives a long case-history of a certain young man whom he had treated during the Great Plague. As soon as he was able to move, his patient «put himself into a boat», sailed down the Tiber and after four days reached Stabiae (current editions consistently give Ταβία), and was greatly helped by drinking the local milk, «which is justly praised». This leads Galen on to a discussion of the conditions necessary for producing the best milk. Stabiae, he observes, has the advantage of being situated on a high place near the sea, with a dry atmosphere and good feed for the cattle. He gives a very exact description of the site, at the head of the bay between Naples and Surrentum, though closer to Surrentum, and on a mountain (λόφος) that stands thirty stades or slightly more (3½ miles) by road from the coast. Other authors show that this mountain was appropriately called Mons Lactarius in antiquity (the whole range is now Monti Lattari), and Symmachus attests to the excellence of the local milk: two of his acquaintances

<sup>53</sup> Meth. med. 10.633 = 2.498–500 KINGSTON – HORSLEY. On Trajan's paving of this section of the Via Appia, Cass. Dio 68.15.3<sup>1</sup>; CIL 10.6823–6837.

<sup>54</sup> For this proposal, C. P. JONES, JRA 22, 2009, 390–397; A. STRAMAGLIA, RFIC 139, 2011, 118–147, especially 134–135, for F. GREGOROVIVUS' description of Anzio; C. K. ROTHSCHILD – T. W. THOMPSON, CPh 107, 2012, 131–145.

planned to visit Stabiae *ut reliquias longae aegritudinis armentali lacte depellant*.<sup>55</sup> Describing the Surrentine peninsula, Galen calls it a long, high ridge that juts out west- and slightly south-wards into the Tyrrhenian Sea, and forms a barrier to eastern winds; at the head of the bay it is connected to another mountain (λόφος), of which the correct name is *Vesuvius*, though it is now famous under the name *Vesvios* for its fiery eruptions; this blocks the north winds, and its ash is carried as far as the sea. Galen's description is generally correct, except that Mons Lactarius is not immediately connected to Vesuvius, but is separated from it by the *Pompeia palus*, with its salt flats.

XI.4: *Puteoli*. Galen is familiar with certain products of Puteoli, and could easily have visited it while in Campania: these are «Gaurian» wine produced «on the hill (λόφος) of Puteoli», and also various compounds produced «in what was once called Dicaearchia, now Puteoli», notably white-lead (ψιμύθιον).<sup>56</sup>

XI.5: *Naples*. This, the largest city of Campania, enters into two passages. Galen has no high opinion of the myrrh that is prepared there: it cannot compare to the kind produced in Asia, formerly only in (Phrygian) Laodicea but now in many cities.<sup>57</sup> He also recommends a method of doctoring wine by storing it in jars that are packed around with branches of a certain shrub, στροιβή (thorny burnet), and keeping them in an upper-room situated over a room with a hearth and chimney; he has seen this done in the region of Naples on Clover Hill or Mountain (λόφος Τριφύλλινος), and has heard that it is done elsewhere in Italy. The *Trifolinus ager* is mentioned by several authors of the imperial period for its wine, but appears to be unlocated. Another wine-producing hill or mountain on the same territory is the *Aminaios*, «lying above» (ὑπερκείμενος) the city; this too seems to be unlocated.<sup>58</sup>

XI.6: *Rome*. On the subject of Rome, where he spent most of his later life, Galen has much to say about the moral climate – the prevalence of luxury, rapacity, intrigue in the medical community – but little about the city as a physical space. The «De indolentia» has one of his most detailed accounts, which concerns places destroyed by the fire of 192. These included the Temple of Peace, store-houses on the Sacred Way where he kept his most valuable possessions, and the imperial libraries on the Palatine.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Meth. med. 5.12 = 10.362–367, 2.84–90 JOHNSTON – HORSLEY (translating Ταβίται as «the Tabians»). On Mons Lactarius, H. PHILIPP, RE 12, 1, 1924, 361, citing this passage of Galen and also Symmachus, Ep. 6.17 and Cassiod. variae 11.10.1, p. 340 MOMMSEN (*uulgatum loci beneficium*). Not in Barr. Atlas.

<sup>56</sup> Gaurian wine: antid. 14.16. On the wine of Mt. Gaurus: Pliny, NH 14.64; Juv. 9.57. Compounds: antid. 14.9, 14.16.

<sup>57</sup> Meth. med. 10.791 K. = 3.196 JOHNSTON – HORSLEY.

<sup>58</sup> Λόφος Τριφύλλινος: antid. 14.18–19; cf. Pliny, NH 14.69; Mart. 13.114; Juv. 9.56; Athenaeus 26 E (where Galen is the speaker); not in Barr. Atl. Λόφος Αμίναιος: bon. mal. suc. 6.806 = 424 HELMREICH. Galen elsewhere talks of Αμίναιος οίνος from Sicily and Bithynia, but here it should be a geographical name.

<sup>59</sup> Indol. 1–18. The topographical problems have already provoked a considerable bibliography: see M. NICHOLLS, JRS 101, 2011, 123–142, and above, n. 54.



Despite his apparent indifference to the most obvious features of Rome as a city, the hills, streets, and squares, Galen clearly felt that his residence there helped to reinforce his position as the greatest doctor of the day, enjoying advantages that his predecessors lacked. «Dioscorides and others have correctly described the best remedies to be found in every country (χώρα). But we must prepare them in the way I have said, especially if we live in Rome, to which each year very many products arrive from all the regions (ἔθνη) ... . Some things arrive almost every day in summer time, for instance from Sicily, Greater Libya, and many from Crete, since plant-growers (βοτανικοὶ ἄνδρες), who are maintained there by Caesar not just for him but for all of Rome, send full containers that they call «baskets» (πλεκτά).»<sup>60</sup>

The presence of the emperor gave other opportunities. In the seventh book of his *Anatomical Procedures*, Galen gives a typically self-aggrandizing account of an occasion «when a very large elephant was recently (ἔναγχος) slaughtered in Rome». He and other doctors gathered to observe the dissection of the animal, and the less experienced among them thought that the structure of an elephant's heart must be unique, and they could not find a bone (the so-called *os cordis*). Galen insisted that an elephant's heart must resemble that «of other animals that breathe the air», and was able to feel the bone. He decided not to give a demonstration on the spot, but obtained the bone by sending one of his students to get it from the imperial kitchen, and has kept it ever since. Galen had seen elephants more than once, for the first time perhaps during his student years in Alexandria, but since this book is securely dated to the reign of Commodus, this event must have occurred in his reign. Both Dio and the *Historia Augusta* comment on the fact that Commodus killed elephants in the course of his gladiatorial displays, and since this particular one was treated as imperial property, it is surely one of these unlucky victims. If so, Galen's neutral expression, «when a very large elephant was recently slaughtered», may be read as an attempt to avoid either criticizing or glorifying the emperor's monomania.<sup>61</sup>

With its huge population, Rome allowed Galen to observe injuries that his predecessors had seen rarely if at all. One block (ἄμφοδος), he observes, has more inhabitants than any city known to Hippocrates, and such injuries can be observed even in Ostia; no wonder that the sophist Polemo was praised for calling Rome «an epitome of the world». <sup>62</sup> Similarly, Rome gave Galen access to expertise unobtainable elsewhere. On the question whether thirst-causing snakes (διψάδες) really existed, he cross-questioned the Marsi «who hunt for snakes in Rome». They denied it, though conceding

<sup>60</sup> Antid. 14.9.

<sup>61</sup> Anat. admin. 2.619–620 = 2, pp. 443–445 GAROFALO; on the date of this part of the work, GAROFALO 1, p. ix (after the death of M. Aurelius and before the fire of 192). Cass. Dio 73.10.3, 19.1; HA Commodus 12.12, *ferarum diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut elephantos occideret, multa milia*. On this incident, J. SCARBOROUGH, *Koroth* 8, 11–12, 1985, 123–134, with translation of this passage on p. 129.

<sup>62</sup> Hipp. art. 18A.347. Cf. his comment on the number of specialists in Rome as compared to Greece (above, I.1).

that snakes living near the sea or in salty places had a salty taste, and that there were many such in Africa, but were non-existent in Italy because of its humidity. Galen could agree that the taste of animals was affected by their diet, but was left unsure whether such snakes really existed.<sup>63</sup>

The foods obtainable in Rome, especially those consumed by the wealthy, were first-class. Fresh-made cheese is best: such is the cheese «among us in Pergamon and in the overhanging part of Mysia [where] it is called «sharp-milk» (ὄξυγαλάκτινος) by the locals ... but excellent too is the kind favored by the rich called Βαθυσικός.»<sup>64</sup>

Water was naturally a subject of great interest to Galen, and here too the advantages of Rome were enormous. «In Rome, among the many advantages (πλεονεκτήματα) possessed by the city is the beauty and abundance of the fountains, none of which have water that is ill-smelling, unhealthy, muddy or hard, as is also true in our Pergamon, though in many other cities quite a few of the waters are bad; the water brought by stone aqueducts from the Tiburtine hills has no drawback except that it is rather hard.»<sup>65</sup> Near to Rome he speaks of the curative waters «that they call Albula», that is, *Aquae Albulae* near Tibur, but does not indicate whether he knew them personally.<sup>66</sup>

Galen also can make remarkably modern-sounding observations on water-pollution. The moray-eels and other fish caught in the Tiber are of very bad quality if caught near the Tiber estuary, and hence they are sold very cheap. This is due to the «mingling» (ἐπιμιξία) of the river, as is shown by the fact that fish are better if caught upriver from the city. Even better ones are caught in the Nar (modern Nera), since it runs fast until it enters the Tiber about three hundred and fifty stades (forty miles) above Rome.<sup>67</sup>

It would be an error to infer the range of Galen's interests entirely from his works. He writes as a doctor and a philosopher, and even if in real life he admired natural wonders or antiquities, his works did not give much occasion to discuss them. Nonetheless, it is remarkable how little he has to say about subjects that interest his contemporaries. Dio Chrysostom's two *Melancomas* speeches, and Philostratus' «*Gymnasticus*», are an index of the attraction that athletics could have for educated Greeks of the period. Galen by contrast positively disapproves of certain kinds of athletics as harmful for the body, as emerges from his charming little essay «On Exercise with the small Ball»: while this provides enjoyment for both mind and body, violent sports such as

<sup>63</sup> *Simp. med. temp.* 12.316: on Marsi, H. PHILIPP, *RE* 14, 2, 1930, 1977–1979.

<sup>64</sup> *Alim. fac.* 6.697 = 354 HELMREICH. Βαθυσικός is a brilliant emendation of CHARTIER for the βαθύς or βαθύ of the manuscripts: P. GOESSLER, *Vaticusius*, *RE* 8A, 1955, 522–523.

<sup>65</sup> *Hipp. epidem.* VI, 17B.159 = 211–212 WENKEBACH.

<sup>66</sup> *Meth. med.* 10.536, 538, 550 = 2.354, 256, 276 JOHNSTON – HORSLEY; 11.393; H. DESSAU, *CIL* 14, p. 435. The modern name is *Bagni Álbule* or *Bagni di Tivoli*: *Guida d'Italia*, Lazio, 1981, 494–495.

<sup>67</sup> *Alim. fac.* 6.722–723 = 369 HELMREICH. On the Nar, PHILIPP, *RE* 16, 2, 1935, 1696–1697.

wrestling, running or riding can cause serious injuries.<sup>68</sup> While Aristides would have agreed with him about athletics, neither he nor Pausanias would have shared his indifference to Olympian religion. Very few gods appear in his works apart from Asclepius, who he thinks might have been born a mortal. He credits the power of god-sent dreams, such as those which urged his father to turn him towards the study of medicine, and the curative dreams sent by Asclepius to his suppliants.<sup>69</sup> Since such dreams must usually have been obtained by incubation in the god's temple, they constitute an indirect reference to religion, but Galen scarcely notices the outward manifestations of religion such as temples, sacrifice and processions. He refers to the temple of Zeus Asclepius in Pergamon merely to date a particular event, and to the Smintheion of the southern Troas to locate the salt-mines of Tragasai.

Much the same is true of the questions of Hellenic identity that exercise modern students of the Second Sophistic. Certainly, Galen observes the usual distinction between «Hellenes» and «barbarians». In his work «On the Preservation of Health» he comments with asperity on the Germans' nasty habit of dipping their new-borns in cold-water: «Among the Germans they do not rear their children well: but we are now writing not for Germans or any other savage (ἄγριοι) or barbarian people, any more than for bears, lions, goats, or any other animals, but for Hellenes and those who, though barbarians by birth, emulate the practices of Hellenes.»<sup>70</sup> This distinction puts the Romans outside the Hellenic pale, and Galen does not share the view espoused by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that the Romans were Greek by origin. But equally it brings within the pale of civilization, if not of «Hellenicity», those who admired Greek culture. These would doubtless have included those emperors of whom he approved such as Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus, though perhaps not Commodus. It would also have included a woman such as «my very dear Arria», a keen student of Plato whom Galen helped to cure of a stomach-disorder.<sup>71</sup> Galen quotes with approval a saying attributed to the Scythian Anacharsis when reproached for being a barbarian: «my place of origin (πατρίς) is a reproach to me, but you are to yours.»<sup>72</sup> Though he talks freely of his life in Pergamon and the nearby places and local products, he has little of the local pride so evident in Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom; he observes of one of his early teachers in Pergamon, a Platonist, that «he was dragged by the citizens into political activity, since they thought him the only person who was just and indifferent to money».<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Parv. pil. 5.899–910 = 93–102 MARQUARDT (Galen's authorship has been questioned). Melancomas: Dio Chrys. Or. 28, 29, 2.286–294 VON ARNIM; he is now attested epigraphically, AnnEpigr 2008.363.

<sup>69</sup> His father's dreams: meth. med. 10.609 = 2.464 JOHNSTON – HORSLEY. Dreams sent by Asclepius: simp. med. temp. 12.315; Hipp. epidem. VI, 17B.137 = 199 WENKEBACH.

<sup>70</sup> San. tu. 6.51 = 24 KOCH.

<sup>71</sup> Ther. Pis. 14.217–218; PIR A 1115 and 1116; SEG 51, 1430 (possibly wife of M. Nonius Macrinus, consul suffect 154, PIR N 140).

<sup>72</sup> Exhort. med. 1.13–14 = 1.111 MARQUARDT = 124 BARIGAZZI.

<sup>73</sup> Anim. aff. dign. 5.41 = 1.32 MARQUARDT = 28 DE BOER.

Galen's comparative indifference to questions of Hellenism also emerges from his attitude towards language. So far from aiming at the purism of Lucian or the other «Atticizers» of his time, he condemns the «sophists» who in their quest for purity create a language that never existed. In an extended diatribe, he inveighs against those who are always on the watch for supposed barbarisms. His practice is to speak and write the Greek in which he was brought up, but he does not mind if others «speak barbarously with no loss in clarity of meaning». What he finds objectionable is the practice of those who claim to speak pure Greek but in fact combine their debased Greek with words imported from «Phoenicia, Syria, Egypt, Thrace, or somewhere else», thus producing a kind of linguistic sauce (a modern critic would say «soup»); he may be thinking of sophists such as Philagrus of Cilicia. He wrote a lost work in seven books «Against Critics of Those Who Commit Solecisms», «so small a part of education do I think Atticism to be».<sup>74</sup> He is aware of the «world» of Philostratus' *Second Sophistic*: he cites a bon mot of Polemo, knows of Lucian's practical jokes, has heard Herodes Atticus and seen Aelius Aristides, and his own practice, involving public display, improvisation, self-promotion, has much in common with Philostratus' sophists.<sup>75</sup> But his intellectual world is of his own construction, a compound of medicine and philosophy. Within this world, he could both make use of the opportunities for travel provided by the imperial peace, and spend the latter part of his life in Rome and Italy.<sup>76</sup>

*Department of the Classics,  
Boylston Hall, Harvard University,  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
USA  
cjones@fas.harvard.edu*

---

<sup>74</sup> Diatribe: diff. puls. 8.567ff. Lost work on solecism: ord. libr. propr. 19.61 = 5.3 BOUDON-MILLOT; cf. libr. propr. 19.48, 20.2 BOUDON-MILLOT. Philagrus: C. P. JONES, GRBS 13, 1972, 475–478 (absent from PIR P 348).

<sup>75</sup> Aristides: comm. Plat. Tim. 99 SCHRÖDER; G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 1969, 61–62. Galen and the sophists: H. VON STADEN, in: R. SORABJI, *Aristotle and After*, BICS, Suppl. 68, 1997, 33–54, at the same time emphasising the distance between Galen's displays and those of contemporary sophists.

<sup>76</sup> As always, I am grateful for the comments of G. W. BOWERSOCK, and for the meticulous care of the editors of CHIRON.

*Abbreviations I: General*

Barr. Atl.	The Barrington Atlas
BMC	Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum
Budé	V. BOUDON-MILLOT – J. JOUANNA (ed.), Galien, 2000–
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
K.	C. G. KÜHN (ed.), Klaudiou Galenou Apanta; Claudii Galeni Opera omnia
LSJ <sup>3</sup>	LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, A Greek-English Lexicon, 3 <sup>rd</sup> edition
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition
SM	J. MARQUARDT – I. MUELLER – G. HELMREICH (ed.), Claudii Galeni Per- gameni Scripta Minora
SNG	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum
ZGUSTA, Kl. Ortsn.	L. ZGUSTA, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen

*Abbreviations II: Galen*

alim. fac.	De alimentorum facultatibus 6.453–748 K.; ed. G. HELMREICH, CMG 5.4.2
anat. admin.	De anatomicis administrationibus 2.214–731 K.; I. GAROFALO (ed.), Galenus: Anatomicarum administrationum Libri qui supersunt novem, AION, Quaderni 4.1–2, 1986–2000; Arabic translation of Books 9–15 translated into German by M. SIMON, Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen, 2 vol., 1906, and into English by W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, Galen: On Anatomical Procedures: The Later Books, 1962
anim. aff. dign.	De animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione 5.1–57 K.; MARQUARDT, SM 1.1–44; W. DE BOER, CMG 5.4.1.1, 3–37
antid.	De antidotis 14.1–209 K.
bon. mal. suc.	De bonis malisque alimentorum sucis 6.749–815 K.; ed. G. HELMREICH, CMG 5.4.2
comm. Plat. Tim.	In Platonis Timaeum commentarii fragmenta, ed. H. O. SCHRÖDER, CMG Suppl. 1, 1934 [Arabic]
comp. med. gen.	De compositione medicamentorum per genera, 13.362–1058 K.
comp. med. loc.	De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos, 12.378–1007, 13.1–361 K.
diff. puls.	De differentia pulsuum, 8.493–765 K.
Exhort. med.	Exhortatio in medicinam 1.1–36 K.; I. MUELLER, SM 1.103–129; ed. A. BARIGAZZI, CMG 5.1.1; ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, Budé 2.84–117
Hipp. aph.	In Hippocratis aphorismos 17B.345–887, 18A.1–195 K.
Hipp. art.	In Hippocratis de articulis 18A.346–767 K.
Hipp. acut. morb. victu	In Hippocratis de acutorum morborum victu 15.418–919 K.; ed. G. HELMREICH, CMG 5.9.1
Hipp. epidem. I–II	In Hippocratis epidemiarum libros I–II, 17A.1.5–302; ed. E. WENKEBACH – F. PFAFF, CMG 5.10.1 [part in Arabic]
Hipp. epidem. VI	In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum VI, 17A.793–1009, 17B.1–344; ed. E. WENKEBACH – F. PFAFF, CMG 5.10.2 [part in Arabic]
Hipp. fract.	In Hippocratis de fracturis, 18B.318–628 K.
Hipp. nat. hom.	In Hippocratis de natura hominis 15.1–223 K.; ed. J. MEWALDT, CMG 5.9.1
Hipp. off. med.	In Hippocratis de officina medici 18B.629–925 K.

indol.	De indolentia: ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT – J. JOUANNA, Budé 4.1–26
libr. propr.	De libris propriis 19.8–48 K.; ed. I. MUELLER, SM 2.91–124; ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, Budé 1.129–234
loc. aff.	De locis affectis 8.1–452 K.
meth. med.	De methodo medendi 10.1–1021; ed. I. JOHNSTON – G. H. R. HORSLEY, Galen: Method of Medicine, 3 vol., Loeb Classical Library, 2011
opt. med. cogn.	A. Z. ISKANDAR (ed.), Galen, De optimo medico cognoscendo. On Examinations by which the Best Physicians are Recognized, CMG Suppl. Or. 4 [Arabic]
ord. libr. propr.	De ordine librorum priorum 19.49–61 K.; ed. I. MUELLER, SM 2.80–90; ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, Budé 1.3–127
part. art. med.	Galen On the Parts of Medicine, ed. M. LYONS, CMG Suppl. Or. 2, 1969 [Arabic]
parv. pil.	De parvae pilae exercitio 5.899–910 K.; ed. J. MARQUARDT, SM 1.93–102
praen. Epigen.	De praenotione ad Epigenem 14.599–673 K.; ed. V. NUTTON, CMG 5.8.1
san. tu.	De sanitate tuenda 6.1–542 K.; ed. K. KOCH, CMG 5.4.2
sem.	De semine 4.512–651 K.; ed. P. DE LACY, CMG 5.3.1
simp. med. temp.	De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis 11.379–892, 12.1–377 K.
ther. Pis.	De theriaca ad Pisonem 14.210–310 K.
trem. palp.	De tremore, palpitatione, convulsione et rigore 7.584–642 K.
usu part.	De usu partium 3.1–933, 4.1–366 K.; ed. G. HELMREICH 1907–1909
victu att.	De victu attenuante, ed. K. KALBFLEISCH, CMG 5.4.2

