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POLEMIC WITH THE EMPIRICAL SCHOOL
IN GALEN'S *EXHORTATION TO THE STUDY
OF MEDICINE*

When reading Galen's treatise *Exhortation to the Study of Medicine* (*Protrepticus*), one might expect to find the arguments for studying medicine, encouraging young men to prefer medical τέχνη to all other arts. However, one might be disappointed because only a half of the treatise has been preserved, in which Galen sets out general arguments about the classification of arts, opposes the followers of Hermes and Fortune, and finally criticizes professional athletes. The extant part ends with a statement that medicine is the finest art and Galen intends to prove that later. Yet we may only speculate about the content of his proof. The majority of scholars believe that the second part of the treatise had really existed and was lost after the author's death: in support of that V. Boudon-Millot presents convincing arguments from the later manuscript tradition.¹ Nevertheless, despite several attempts, the reconstruction of the lost part has not yet progressed significantly, so the researchers have focused on the preserved text, especially since there are a number of difficulties in it.

Questions Posed by the Title

One of the difficulties is connected with the title of the treatise. We have several sources for the title, such as the Syriac and the Arabic tradition, the Aldine edition (the earliest evidence of the text due to the loss of the Greek manuscript), the autobibliographic treatise "On my own books" (*De libr. propr.*) and some others. They all provide contradictory data, since according to them the work might have gone under the title

¹ Boudon 2000, 66–71. On the contrary, L. Perilli is not sure whether the "second part" actually existed (Perilli 2004, 83 n. 4). At the same time attempts have been made to find the missing part among the famous works of Galen (for example, *That the Capacities of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*, *Thrasybulus*, or *On whether Hygiene Belongs to Medicine or Gymnastics*), but none of the versions has yet been confirmed (Xenophontos 2018, 82 n. 6).

Exhortation to the study of medicine, or *Exhortation to the study of arts*, or *On the [treatise] by Menodotus to Severus Exhortation to the study of medicine / arts*, or *Galen's Paraphrase of Menodotus' Exhortation to the study of medicine / arts*. Such ambiguity leads to two lines of research: firstly, to discussion on whether Galen intended to encourage young men to study arts in general or only medicine; secondly, whether the treatise had anything to do with Menodotus, a physician who belonged to the Empirical school.²

Below I place a table with the main sources for the titles.

Protrepticus:

St Jerome (IV)	<i>Exhortatio medicinae</i> (was mentioned in <i>Adv. Iovin.</i> 2. 11)
Hunain ibn Ishaq, Hubaish ibn al-Hasan (IX)	<i>Exhortation to the study of medicine</i> (the translations are lost; the title was mentioned in Hunain's letter <i>Risala</i>)
Arabic manuscript (XII)	<i>Summary of Galen's Treatise on Exhortation to the Study of the Arts and Sciences</i>
Poliziano (1491)	<i>Ex fragmento</i> τοῦ Γαληνοῦ τοῦ ἱατροῦ παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνοδότου προτρεπτικῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας (P. wrote down the excerpts from the Greek manuscript now lost)
Aldine (1525)	Γαλήνου παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνοδότου προτρεπτικὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας

De libris propriis:

Hunain ibn Ishaq (IX)	<i>Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine</i>
Manuscripts: Ambrosianus (XIV), Vlatadon (XV)	[εἰς τὸ Μηνοδότου Σεβήρω] προτρεπτικὸς ἐπ' ἱατρικὴν

The former difficulty concerning the “medicine / arts issue” can be explained by the dual theme of the *Exhortation*: first, Galen told the reader about the advantages of the study of arts and then presumably presented the proof of the superiority of medicine over all arts (as promised in the first part). At some point the treatise was divided and the second part

² Barigazzi 1991, 70–73; Boudon 2000, 35–38.

got lost, then the title was evidently rethought and renamed to match the content of the extant part.³ This version is supported by several sources: firstly, the *Exhortation* was mentioned by St Jerome (IV century) in his writings as “*Exhortatio medicinae*” (*Adv. Iovin.* 2. 11). Secondly, in the autobiographical treatise “On my own books” the *Exhortation* was entitled as [εἰς τὸ Μηνოდότου Σεβήρῳ] προτρεπτικὸς ἐπ’ ἰατρικὴν. Thirdly, in now lost Syrian and Arabic translations made by Hunain ibn Ishaq and his nephew Hubaish ibn al-Hasan (IX century) the treatise was entitled *Exhortation to the study of medicine*;⁴ and in the translation of the treatise “On my own books”, which Hunain translated into Syrian and Arabic, the *Exhortation* was indicated as *Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine*.⁵ Only in the 12th century Arabic manuscript⁶ the title *Summary of Galen’s Treatise on Exhortation to the Study of the Arts and Sciences* appears; the anonymous author summarizes only the first part of the treatise. Hence it follows that by this time the second part had already been lost and the title was changed. In the Aldine edition (1525) the second part is also absent and the title says: Γαλήνου παραφράστου τοῦ Μηνოდότου προτρεπτικὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας. Earlier in 1491, Angelo Poliziano wrote down a similar title for the excerpts from the *Exhortation* (presumably he was in possession of the same manuscript that would be used by the publishers of the Aldine). Thereby, due to the presence of only half of the text, the following editions up to the 20th century continued to use a reference to the study of arts in the title of the *Exhortation*, while the latest editions have made adjustments and brought back the original title.⁷

The latter difficulty is more complex. There has been a long discussion on whether the title of the *Exhortation* originally included the reference to Menodotus and his writings to Severus or if it was a later interpolation.⁸ Unfortunately, the content of the surviving part does not shed light on this issue. We shall take another look at the titles listed before. St Jerome does not mention Menodotus. In the Syrian-Arabic tradition we see that Hunain ibn Ishaq (followed by his nephew) omits the name of Menodotus

³ There is no evidence that the *Exhortation* was divided into two works during Galen’s time. According to S. Xenophontos, the existence of two alternative titles shows that the text began to be perceived in later periods of its existence as two separate treatises intended for different audiences (Xenophontos 2018, 67).

⁴ Boudon 2000, 37.

⁵ Boudon 2000, 36.

⁶ Boudon 2000, 37–38.

⁷ Barigazzi 1991; Boudon 2000.

⁸ On this see Boudon 2000, 38–42; Perilli 2004, 81–89.

in the title,⁹ while in Hunain's translation of the treatise *On my own books* the *Exhortation* is listed as *Treatise from the book of Menodotus on Exhortation to the study of medicine*. There is no reference to Menodotus in the Arabic summary of the 12th century. The Greek manuscripts of the treatise *On my own books* (Ambrosianus, Vlatadon) have the reference to Menodotus. In the Aldine we see the title that suggests that the *Exhortation* was actually Galen's paraphrase of the work written by Menodotus. The publisher, apparently, was guided by the title indicated in the Greek manuscript and there was already a "paraphrase" in it.

All in all, firstly, the Syrian-Arabic tradition knew the name of Menodotus, secondly, his name was mentioned in the title in the Greek manuscript used by Poliziano and the publishers of Aldin. Therefore, either the name of Menodotus is a very early interpolation (a Byzantine scribal error?), or he was actually mentioned in the title and with a high probability in the lost part of the treatise. The latter option seems very tempting, since in this case we understand the reason why Galen placed the *Exhortation* in the list of writings against the empiricist physicians (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 19). The scholars admit that Menodotus was a well-known empiricist physician whom Galen mentioned many times in his writings.¹⁰ It is likely that in the *Exhortation* Galen referred to some of Menodotus's statements and challenged them. A. Barigazzi suggests that Menodotus of Nicomedia could have written a treatise that exhorted young men to practise medicine and Galen therefore developed the topic partly concurring, partly disagreeing with his predecessor.¹¹ V. Boudon-Millot admits that the *Exhortation* became the result of the polemics with the Empirical school (probably, over the issues of studying anatomy and physiology, since empiricists failed to recognise the importance of these disciplines for physicians); Galen could have planned his protreptic as a response to the writings of Menodotus¹² or as a response to a certain protreptic of

⁹ However, Hunain ibn Ishaq wrote in his letters *Risala* that he had found three treatises about empiricists: *On Medical Experience* (*De exper. med.*), *Exhortation* (*Protr.*), *An Outline of Empiricism* (*Subfig. emp.*). He described the *Exhortation* in this way: the book consists of one part; Galen rewrote the book of Menodotus; this is a wonderful, useful, brilliant book (Bergsträßer 1925, 37 n. 110).

¹⁰ Galen mentioned Menodotus in a number of texts: *De exper. med.*, *De fac. nat.*, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, *De meth. med.*, *De cur. rat. per venae sect.*, *De comp. med. sec. loc.*, *De diaeta in morbis acutis sec. Hipp.*, *In Hipp. de artic. comm.* Galen also wrote eleven works with comments on the writings by Menodotus (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 14), but these texts have not survived.

¹¹ Barigazzi 1991, 72.

¹² Boudon-Millot 2007, 217–218.

Menodotus.¹³ This version is opposed by L. Perilli: he insists that on the basis of only circumstantial data and half of the text, one cannot draw an unambiguous conclusion about the connection between Galen, Menodotus and the content of the *Exhortation*. In order to explain the reference in the treatise *On my own books* Perilli cautiously supposes that Galen could have taken part in a debate on the relationship between art and medicine, and by writing *Exhortation* he criticised the arguments of the empiricists; however, Perilli admits that it is only one of many possible options.¹⁴

Therefore, any connection between Galen's *Exhortation* and his anti-empirical polemics remains doubtful. As we have seen, the only clue – the alleged name of Menodotus in the title of the treatise – does not confirm that this empiricist physician was even mentioned in the *Exhortation*. But perhaps there is another way to explain the connection between the *Exhortation* and the empiricists.

Athletic Trainers

In the second half of the preserved text (chapters 9–14) Galen exploits the conventional subject of the protreptic genre: an opposition of intellectual arts and activities that require physical labor; the latter is represented by the activities of athletes. Although the author often used invectives against athletes,¹⁵ the *Exhortation* became the quintessence of criticism of athletic activities.¹⁶ The use of the negative image of an athlete allowed the author not only to enrich the literary component of the treatise, but also to address the current socio-cultural phenomenon.¹⁷ Scolding professional athletes, Galen also criticizes those who train these athletes – trainers. As J. König has convincingly demonstrated, the lines of activity of a trainer and a doctor were connected institutionally and conceptually; it is not surprising that at some point they began to compete.¹⁸

By the Hellenistic period, two directions had already been developed: medicine and gymnastic dietetics.¹⁹ It is generally believed that

¹³ Boudon-Millot 2000, 41–42.

¹⁴ Perilli 2004, 81–89.

¹⁵ Galen also exploited the subject in *Thras.*, *De parv. pil.*, *Quod opt. med.*

¹⁶ Müller 1995, 307.

¹⁷ König 2005, 274; Xenophontos 2018, 77.

¹⁸ König 2005, 291.

¹⁹ There were two areas involved in maintaining health: medicine, which focused on treating disease, and the second area, which focused on disease prevention. For a long time there was no specific term for the second area; at various times it has been called γυμναστική, δίατα, διατητική, υγιεινά (Jüthner 1909, 48–50).

Erasistratus (active in the first half of the third century BC) was the first to name his treatise on dietetics “Hygiene” (Υγιεινά) and introduced a new term “hygienist” (ὕγιενός) to distinguish two areas of expertise unambiguously. While patients were treated by a doctor, a hygiene practitioner (i.e. hygienist) was involved in the prevention of the disease. The area of hygienist's expertise included knowledge (*Gal. Thras.* 5. 881–885): (1) what foods and drinks are useful for health; (2) what substrates are excreted from the body (sweat, urine, excrement, etc.); (3) what has an external effect on the body (place, air, etc.); (4) the impact of physical exercises and daily activities (wakefulness, sleep, water procedures, etc.).

Another interesting fact is that it is not until the Hellenistic period that the treatises on chronic diseases can be found.²⁰ Caelius Aurelianus in his treatise (*Tard. pass.* praef. 3 = fr. 50. 3 Tecusan) mentions Themison (active in the first century BC), the founder of Methodism, who was the first doctor to make a systematic review of the forms of treatment of chronic diseases; before him, doctors either mentioned individual diseases, or completely ignored them, or left them in the care of masseurs²¹ (*alii aliptarum officio transmittendas crediderunt*). Apparently, Themison was one of the first to try to incorporate chronic diseases into medical discourse, since they were generally neglected or left in the “wrong” hands.

Thus, doctors recognized gymnastic dietetics as an important preventive tool and introduced it into professional discourse, due to the attempt to distinguish the spheres of activity between themselves and representatives of the opposite direction.²² It can be seen that the sphere of hygiene included the study of physical exercise and its effect on the body. On the other hand, the evidence by Caelius Aurelianus shows that trainers might have been involved in treating chronic disease. It turns out that in the view of doctors, trainers were engaged in maintaining health, and not just physical training, thus taking over the duties of hygienists.

The interest of the Romans in the II–III centuries AD to physical well-being determined the content of the near-scientific disputes that were conducted by representatives of medical schools and sports complexes. Since there was no systemic organization of health care, representatives of different areas and schools fought over the opportunity to provide their service concerning τὸ ὑγιεινόν. Both physicians and employees of gymnasia and palaestrae tended to win over new students, so they used

²⁰ Nutton 2005, 35.

²¹ ἀλείπτης is one of the variants of the name of a trainer along with γυμναστής and παιδοτρίβης (Jüthner 1928, 18).

²² Jüthner 1909, 48–49.

various methods to popularize their work and to discredit their opponents. V. Boudon-Millot draws attention to a series of treatises written by Galen concerning education issues, in which he denounces charlatans and non-professionals who undertake to teach inexperienced young men contemptible professions (*Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus, Ars Medica, De optimo docendi genere, Exhortatio ad medicinam*).²³ J. König also highlights the idea of the *Exhortation* being “a contribution to a coherent project, a sustained battle against all that is worst in human medicine”.²⁴

In the *Exhortation* Galen states the following: firstly, that a young man should not despise the practice of art relying on family, wealth and beauty (*Protr.* 1–8). Secondly, he indicates the main criterion by which one should distinguish art from non-art, namely, usefulness for life (*Protr.* 9. 4):

...ὅποσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος βιωφελές, ταῦτ' οὐκ εἰσὶ τέχναι.

...any practice whose end is not beneficial to life is not an art.²⁵

Then, he warns to beware of frauds who might popularize their occupation as an art, but teach false art²⁶ as a result (*Protr.* 9. 1–3):

μή τις ὑμᾶς ἀπατεῶν καὶ γόης ἀνὴρ παρακρουσάμενός ποτε ματαιοτεχνίαν ἢ κακοτεχνίαν ἐκδιδάξῃται...

And you must guard against those charlatans and mountebanks who would deceive you by teaching “arts” which are useless or wicked.

From the following passage we realise that, for Galen, the main charlatans and multipliers of wicked art are athletic trainers (*Protr.* 9. 9–13):

τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐπιτήδευμα μόνον ὑποπτεύω, μή ποτ' ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ ῥώμην σώματος ἐπαγγελλόμενον καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαν ἐπαγόμενον, <καὶ μάλιστα> δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς πατράσι τετιμημένον ἡμερησίαις ἀργυρίου δόσεσι καὶ ὅλως ἴσα τοῖς ἀριστεῦσι τετι[μη]μένον, ἐξαπατήσῃ τινὰ τῶν νέων ὡς προκριθῆναι τινος τέχνης.

²³ Boudon-Millot 2007, 250–251.

²⁴ König 2005, 295; 300.

²⁵ The translations in this article are my own, unless stated otherwise.

²⁶ In Galen's works the term is applied either to the occupations of those who provide cosmetic services, i.e. create unnatural beauty (e.g., *Thras.* 5. 821, *De comp. med. sec. loc.* 12. 445), or in relation to the services of trainers of professional athletes (e.g., *Thras.* 5. 874; 879; 886; 893; 898).

The only one that worries me is athletics. Athletics holds out the promise of strength, brings with it popular fame, and is rewarded by our elders with financial payments – as if the athletes were some kind of public heroes. There is a danger that it may deceive some young men into supposing it an art.²⁷

Galen has concerns about trainers, because when they try to attract students, they misrepresent the profession of an athlete, promising strength, money and fame and keeping silent about the effects of training on the body, the potential for failure and the long-term consequences. His focus on this topic can be attributed to the popularity of athletics. The second century and the first half of the third century AD was the period of the great spread of Greek athletics among both spectators and participants: it is attested by a large number of inscriptions and agonistic motives on coins, in visual arts and literature.²⁸ Moreover, guilds for professional athletes were gradually formed: as a result of the sport democratization, the increase in the number of games, the development of training methods, many people were able to make a sports career.²⁹ Apparently, during Galen's time, trainers became so popular and influential in the service market that Galen had to engage in open disputes with them. The main complaints of the doctor to the trainers are formulated in the *Exhortation* and in the treatise *Thrasybulus, or On whether hygiene belongs to medicine or gymnastics*.

It should be noted that Galen uses two terms denoting a sports trainer: a paidotribe (παιδοτρίβης) and a gymnastic trainer (γυμναστής). The former was engaged in physical training of young men, directly working on a palaestra; the latter was also engaged in training, but also claimed knowledge of the theoretical basis (e.g. diet, regime) and wrote his manuals.³⁰

In the following examples Galen criticizes gymnastic trainers for misapplying the theoretical framework and causing harm to the health of his students. Firstly, he points out that trainers built a sports regime that had nothing to do with disease prevention and maintaining health. Their every action is contrary to the requirements of health (*Protr.* 11. 17):

οἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας διαπονοῦσι τροφάς τε προσφέρονται σὺν ἀνάγκῃ, πολλάκις ἄχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐκτείνοντες τὴν ἐδωδὴν.

²⁷ Transl. Singer 1997, 43–44.

²⁸ See Newby 2005.

²⁹ Pleket 1973, 198.

³⁰ Jüthner 1909, 6.

These people (athletes) daily exceed the proper measure in exertions, and force themselves to eat; and they frequently carry on eating into the middle of the night.³¹

Making a pun (*Protr.* 11. 59: ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο γένος ἀθλιώτερόν ἐστι τῶν ἀθλητῶν), Galen states that there is no more pitiful kind of people regarding bodily health than athletes. He also gives emphasis to the fact that trainers make athletes' bodies shapeless and abnormal (*Protr.* 12. 5):

ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πάνυ συμμέτρως ἔχοντας τῶν μελῶν οἱ γυμνασταὶ παραλαμβάνοντες, ὑπερπιάναντες δὲ καὶ διασάξαντες αἷματί τε καὶ σαρκὶν εἰς τοῦναντίον ἤγαγον. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα παντάπασιν ἄμορφα καὶ δυσειδῆ κατέστησαν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν παγκράτιον ἢ πυγμῆν ἀσκησάντων.

Indeed, men have frequently started off with very well proportioned bodies, been taken by athletic trainers, fattened excessively and filled with blood and flesh, and ended up in quite the opposite state. Some have also had their faces quite distorted and disfigured, particularly the practitioners of all-in wrestling or of boxing.³²

Secondly, Galen speaks pejoratively about the treatises distributed by gymnastic trainers, which he calls τὰ θαυμαστὰ συγγράμματα (*Thras.* 5. 877. 11). In addition, he lists the themes that were developed in the works of trainers. It can be seen that they tried to work in the field of hygiene (*Thras.* 5. 894. 18 – 895. 3):

τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἢ περὶ τρίψεως ἢ εὐεξίας ἢ ὑγείας ἢ γυμνασίων, εἴτα προσάπτεσθαι τολμῶσι καὶ ἀντιλέγειν οἷς οὐδ' ὅλως ἔμαθον.

Some of them even attempt to write, on massage, good condition, health, or exercise, and even to take part in arguments in which they attack people of whose works they have no knowledge.

And finally, Galen constantly emphasizes the fact that trainers did not receive special education. Galen reports that former athletes became mentors overnight, moreover, he claims that the most unsuccessful of the athletes became trainers (*Thras.* 5. 894. 14):

³¹ Transl. Singer 1997, 47.

³² Transl. Singer 1997, 49.

ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ τούτων ἀτυχέστατοι καὶ μηδεπώποτε νικήσαντες ἐξαίφνης
ἐαυτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι γυμναστάς.

Nevertheless, the most wretched and unsuccessful among them have no
hesitation in giving themselves the name of gymnastic trainers.

In one snippet Galen ridicules the self-taught gymnastic trainer who
called on the doctor to publicly show how to do a massage “according
to Hippocrates” and thus demonstrated his own ignorance (*Thras.* 5. 895.
4–11):

ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους ἤξιώσαν τινες τῶν παρόντων ἰατρῶν τε καὶ
φιλοσόφων ἅπαντα διελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον, εἴτ' ἐφαίνετο ἀπάντων
πρῶτος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἱπποκράτης ἀποφηνάμενος ἀριστα, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ
μέσον ἐξαίφνης ὁ αὐτοδίδακτος ἐκεῖνος γυμναστής ἐκδύσας παιδάριον
ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς τρίβειν τε τοῦτο καὶ γυμνάζειν ἢ σιωπᾶν περὶ τρίψεως
καὶ γυμνασίων, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς ἐβόα· ποῦ γὰρ Ἱπποκράτης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς
σκάμμα; ποῦ δ' εἰς παλαιστραν; ἴσως οὐδ' ἀναχέσθαι καλῶς ἠπίστατο.

As I arrived on the scene, some of the doctors and philosophers present
asked me to give a full exposition of this subject, in the course of which
it became clear that Hippocrates was the first to treat of these matters in
an accurate (in fact, in an outstanding) manner. At this point our self-
taught gymnastic trainer stepped forward, stripped a boy, and demanded
that we demonstrate our practice of massage and training on this boy, or
else keep silent on those subjects. And he was shouting: “Where did
Hippocrates go to jump, then? Where was his wrestling school? He prob-
ably never even knew how to rub oil on himself”.³³

According to Galen, gymnastic trainers taught gymnastics in name
only (hence the name γυμναστής), while Galen insists that they taught
the art of wrestling (καταβλητική) at best (*Thras.* 5. 893. 2). In fact,
trainers relied primarily on their own experience. For Galen surely it
was unacceptable. He considered real experts only those who had deeply
studied all the art concerning the body, including deep knowledge of
anatomy (*Thras.* 5. 879. 7):

Τούτους οὖν ἀποπέμψαντες – οὐ γὰρ κακοτεχνίας ἀλλὰ τέχνας ἤκομεν
ἐπισκεψόμενοι – τοὺς τῆς ὄντως γυμναστικῆς ἐπιστήμονας ἦδη καλῶ-
μεν, Ἱπποκράτην τε καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Πραξαγόραν καὶ Φιλότιμον
Ἐρασίστρατον τε καὶ Ἡρόφιλον ὅσοι τ' ἄλλοι τὴν ὅλην περὶ τὸ σῶμα
τέχνην ἐξέμαθον.

³³ Transl. Singer 1997, 97.

Such people³⁴ may be dismissed. Our purpose from the outset was the investigation of arts, not of perverted arts. We should summon instead those who are proficient in true gymnastics – Hippocrates, Diocles, Praxagoras, Philotimos, Erasistratus, Herophilus, and all those who gained an understanding of the overall art concerning the body.³⁵

Summing up the discussion about the role of gymnastics, Galen formulated the following theses (*Thras.* 5. 886. 6): the art of health includes both therapy and hygiene; a part of hygiene is gymnastics; only a small part of gymnastics is associated with training in gymnasium. Thus, while gymnastics is an important part of maintaining health, it becomes a perverted art if not guided properly.

All in all, being engaged in the physical preparation of athletes, trainers did not make the health of the wards their priority. Gymnastic trainers did not acquire full training regarding the human body, various ailments and conditions and the reasons for their occurrence. In their work, they relied on their own experience, as well as the experience of their predecessors. But, apparently, trainers were not the only representatives of the healthcare community who adhered to such an approach.

The Empiricists

Reliance on experience, refusal of excessive theorization – these principles make one immediately think about the representatives of the Empirical school. The division into schools occurred approximately in the middle of the third century BC, when two main opposing parties had been formed: the empirical and the rational (or dogmatic) schools. According to Galen (*De sect. ad eos qui introd.* 4. 7), followers of these schools agreed on how to treat illnesses, but argued about how to find the right treatment: to use theoretical reasoning or to rely on experience.³⁶

The expertise of empiricists was achieved in the following ways: (1) a thorough study of the experience of the predecessors – what methods of treatment and what medications helped or did not help in certain cases (the presentation of such experience was given in “the inquiry”). (2) If the case was not described, then the doctor had to resort to the method “transition to the similar”. The ability to critically approach “the history”

³⁴ Trainers who teach the perverted arts.

³⁵ Transl. Singer 1997, 89.

³⁶ Walzer–Frede 1985, ix–x.

and make the right transition according to the principles of similarity distinguished a professional empiricist from a layman.³⁷

Listing the areas of medicine that the empirical school deals with, Galen indicated three main directions (he attributed this classification to the empirical doctor Theodus): semiotic (diagnosis, prognosis); therapeutic (surgery, dietetics, pharmacology); hygienic (Galen noted that some empiricists did not divide it; others included here the maintenance of a good body condition, prevention, recovery, gerontological part).³⁸

Consequently, the empiricist physicians were involved in discourse connected with health preservation, diet and exercise. But their “empirical” views on the problem could have drawn criticism from Galen.

The Empiricist Trainers

Empiricists were usually criticized by rationalists for observing and describing facts, but not explaining them. At the same time, ignorance of the reasons did not prevent empiricists from carrying out their activities. Galen for his part does not condemn the reliance on experience, but the reluctance of empiricists to integrate logical (theoretical) justifications in their practice (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5):

διὰ τί μέντοι τὸ ἔλαιον ἴαμα κόπων ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἔτι οὔτε γυμναστῆς οὔτε παιδοτρίβης οὔτ' ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικὸς ἐπίσταται. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅτι μὴ γινώσκουσιν ἀφίστανται τῶν ἐναργῶς φαινομένων. οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ τί λευκὸς μὲν ἐλλέβορος ἄνω καθαίρει, μέλας δὲ κάτω γινώσκοντες, οὐδὲ διὰ τί κνίκος μὲν φλέγματος ἀγωγὸν ἐστὶν, ἐπίθυμον δὲ μελάνων οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅμως χρῶνται τοῖς φαρμάκοις εἰς ἅπερ ἐδίδαξεν ἡ πεῖρα καὶ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ πιστεύουσι τοῖς ἐναργῶς φαινομένοις καὶ καταγελῶσι τῶν τῷ λόγῳ τὰναντία κατασκευαζόντων.

Why oil is a cure for fatigue, neither a gymnast, nor a paidotribe, nor an empirical doctor understands at all. However, due to the fact that they do not know, they do not even think to abandon the obvious phenomena. After all, not understanding why white hellebore cleanses from above, and black from below; and not knowing why safflower causes inflammation, midwife dark discharge, nevertheless, they use medicines in <those diseases>, about which experience has taught, and treat those in need and trust visual manifestations and ridicule those who prove logically what is opposite to their experience.

³⁷ Walzer–Frede 1985, xxvi–xxvii.

³⁸ Walzer–Frede 1985, 28.

In this fragment Galen puts athletic trainers (a paidotribe and a gymnast) and an empirical doctor in one row. It seems that in Galen's view both a trainer and an empirical doctor practiced the same method of examination – empirical. Apparently, like empiricist doctors, trainers established cause-and-effect relationships by observing and assimilating data obtained experimentally, but did not pay attention to the logical justifications of the reasons.³⁹

According to Galen, anyone who possessed only an empirical approach without relying on theory had no right to give general hygiene recommendations and work in this direction outside of the palaestra. The trainer could make a mistake in choosing a treatment or diet, or a regime if he took on more functions than the area of his expertise allowed. Only well-trained doctors had sufficient scientific knowledge about the human body, so they could judge certain physical exercises and their health-improving effect, and only they had the right to give prescriptions concerning the health of the body.⁴⁰

Summarizing, it can be noted that Galen in a number of texts criticizes gymnastic trainers who “intrude” into the professional sphere of doctors. In doing so, he gives an analysis of their method. Apparently, Galen considers trainers to be adherents of the empirical direction, since both trainers and empiricists used the same attitudes in practice (orientation towards experience, rejection of theorization or deep study of anatomy and physiology). We believe that this is the trace of Galen's antiempirical polemics in the *Exhortation*. He chooses gymnastic trainers as illustrations to show readers how the empirical method can be misused in professional practice and what it leads to. Demonstrating the shortcomings of the empirical method, Galen implicitly condemns people who adhere only to this method and do not expand its capabilities through a logical approach.

Thus, there are reasons to believe that this polemical side sheds light on the title of the treatise *Exhortation* and its attribution to the group of works “On disagreements with empiricist physicians”.

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³⁹ Galen points out that athletes resort to means proven by experience (*De meth. med.* 10. 407; 490).

⁴⁰ Jüthner 1909, 49–50.

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Galen classifies his treatise "Exhortation" as a work against the empirical school (*De libr. propr.* 19. 38. 19). The extant part of the treatise, at first glance, does not contain a criticism of the empiricists. The mss of the list of Galen's works yield the view that the title of the treatise was actually "On the treatise by Menodotus to Severus Exhortation to the study of medicine", and some scholars believe that the second (now lost) part of the treatise could have contained a criticism of the teachings of the empiricist physician Menodotus and that this is the only way to explain the belonging of the treatise to the number of works against the empiricists. The other scholars doubt that polemics with Menodotus played any role in the treatise, and reject the alternative title. The character of Galen's polemics against the empiricists thus remains obscure. A closer look at the content of the surviving part allows us to detect Galen's argumentation against the empiricists at least partially. Almost half of the text is devoted to critical discourse on the harmful

effects of professional athletics and the work of trainers. In one of his works (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5) Galen literally puts sports trainers and an empiricist physician on a par. In his view, both the trainer and the empiricist physician practiced the same method of examination. Therefore, there is reason to believe that Galen could have chosen trainers to illustrate how the empirical method can be misused in professional practice.

Гален классифицирует свой трактат “Протрептик” как сочинение против эмпирической школы (*De libr. propr.* 19, 38, 19). Дошедшая часть трактата, на первый взгляд, не содержит критики эмпириков. Рукопись *De libr. propr.* позволяет думать, что в названии трактата значилось “На сочинение Менодота Северу Побуждение к изучению медицины”, и некоторые ученые считают, что вторая (нынче утраченная) часть трактата могла содержать критику учения врача-эмпирика Менодота и что только так можно объяснить принадлежность трактата к числу сочинений против эмпириков. Другие ученые сомневаются, что полемика с Менодотом играла какую-либо роль в трактате, и отвергают альтернативное название. Таким образом, характер полемики Галена с эмпириками остается неясным. Более пристальный взгляд на содержание сохранившейся части позволит хотя бы частично обнаружить аргументацию Галена, направленную против эмпириков. Почти половина текста посвящена критическому рассуждению о вреде профессионального спорта и работы тренеров. В одной из своих работ (*De simpl. med. temp.* 11. 476. 14 – 477. 5) Гален буквально ставит в один ряд спортивных тренеров и врача-эмпирика. По его мнению, и тренер, и врач-эмпирик практиковали один и тот же метод исследования. Следовательно, есть основания полагать, что Гален мог выбрать тренеров, чтобы проиллюстрировать, как эмпирический метод может быть неправильно использован в профессиональной практике.