

# NEWLY DISCOVERED WITNESSES ASSERTING GALEN'S AFFILIATION TO THE *GENS CLAUDIA*\*

ȘTEFAN ALEXANDRU

The *nomen gentile* Claudius found in older editions as well as in scholarly publications on Galen is, according to an almost general consensus of opinion<sup>1</sup>, spurious. Before casting some light upon hitherto neglected early printed books and presenting to the reader newly investigated Greek manuscript evidence, it is worth briefly calling to mind the way in which this agreement in opinion was reached.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the ancient historian Ernst Elimar Klebs (1852–1918) claimed that the gentile name Claudius had been erroneously attributed to the famous Pergamene physician. After having consulted the classicist and editor of Galen Iwan von Müller (1830–1917), who declared that he had never found this name in titles or subscriptions of manuscripts transmitting works of the author concerned<sup>2</sup>, Klebs suggested that it originated in the Renaissance from the

---

\* For certain helpful suggestions I should like to thank the distinguished men of learning Dieter Harlfinger, Rudolf Kassel, Vivian Nutton, Emilian Popescu, Michael Reeve and Erich Trapp. Moreover, I am greatly indebted to the Professors Gerrit Kloss (Classics Department of the *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*), Fritz Graf (Department of Greek and Latin, Ohio State University) and Predrag Matejic (Hilandar Research Centre, Ohio State University) for having fostered the investigation of this understudied topic. Furthermore, I am much obliged to audiences at Columbus, Cologne and Hamburg, where I lectured on 6 November, 19 Nov. and 14 December 2009 respectively. The research for this article, carried out with the backing of numerous libraries (cf. the acknowledgements in the appendix), could not have been undertaken without the generous support of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, which is hereby most thankfully acknowledged. For very costly photographic equipment that in a sense also helped opening doors, facilitating the inspection of the hitherto inaccessible manuscript *Vlatadon* 14, I should like to express my wholehearted gratitude to the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation. Further funding came indirectly from other institutions, mainly the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, to which I am deeply appreciative.

<sup>1</sup> Scholars who, for some reason or other, form an exception to the apparent unanimity are e.g. Iosepha Magnaldi (ed.), *Clavdii Galeni Pergameni Περὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων*, Rome 1999, K. Gaiser, 'Theophrast in Assos: Zur Entwicklung der Naturwissenschaft zwischen Akademie und Peripatos', *Abh. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, Philos.-histor. Kl. 3, 1985, Heidelberg 1985, 98, John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: A Study of Platonism 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*, London 1977, 339 and J. H. Kent, *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. 8, III, Princeton 1966, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar statement of the Classicist Hermann Schöne (1870–1941) published in 1891: "Sed nec Galeni nomen gentilicium ullo adhuc, quantum quidem scio, aut libri aut lapidis certo testimonio

misunderstanding of an abbreviation or from some other error. It goes without saying that when making this claim Klebs was not referring to the revival of classical scholarship and the arts on Byzantine territory under the dynasty of Palaeologus (1261–1453), which is often designated as ‘Palaeologan Renaissance’<sup>3</sup>, but to the Renaissance in Italy and its influence in other parts of Western Europe<sup>4</sup>. Many Greek Galen manuscripts were indeed copied by the last generations of Byzantine scribes and scholars<sup>5</sup>, but Klebs did not examine systematically the sources of the direct tradition<sup>6</sup>.

At least from the perspective of today his reasoning seems highly questionable. For on the one hand many codices attested in the humanistic age have since disappeared<sup>7</sup>. The lot of certain books once belonging to the Medicean collection is, for instance, unknown. As E. B. Fryde points out “...because the manuscripts commissioned by Lorenzo or Piero were invariably beautifully decorated, they were apt to be plundered in the chaos after the downfall of the Medici regime [...] Hence a number of them went astray and there is no mention of them in Vigili’s inventory, though several are today at Paris...”<sup>8</sup>. On the other, the direct textual tradition of Galen was little studied before the publication of Hermann Diels’ survey of manuscripts transmitting works of the ancient physicians<sup>9</sup>.

---

probatum est” (H. Schöne, *Schedae philologiae Hermanno Usenero a sodalibus Seminarii Regii Bonnensis oblatae*, Bonn 1891, 93).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. Bayet, *L’art byzantin*, <sup>2</sup>Paris [1883], 234, Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d’art byzantin*, Paris 1910, 694–702, A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. II, Madison and Milwaukee 1964, 687–713, Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970, 49–84, D. J. Geanakopoulou, ‘Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine Scholar of the Palaeologan “Renaissance” in the Italian Renaissance’, *Medievalia et Humanistica* n. s. 12, 1984, 61–81, E. Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, Leiden 2000, 1–13 and I. P. Medwedew, *Byzantine Humanism: XIV<sup>th</sup>–XV<sup>th</sup> centuries* [in Russian], Saint Petersburg 1997, e.g. 155, 198–99. On the copying of texts from old manuscripts that were brought to light during the Palaeologan Renaissance cf. e.g. Tiziano Dorandi, *Laertiana: Capitoli sulla tradizione manoscritta e sulla storia del testo delle Vite dei filosofi di Diogene Laerzio*, Berlin – New York 2009, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Klebs mentioned in support of his views Latin books printed in the sixteenth century but no Greek MSS written in Byzantium; cf. E. Klebs, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani: Saec. I. II. III*, pars I, Berolini 1897, 379–80.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Landfester (ed.), *Geschichte der antiken Texte: Autoren- und Werklexikon*, Stuttgart 2007, 254: “Die handschriftliche Überlieferung ist jung, viele Manuskripte stammen erst aus dem 15. Jh.” Cf. J. Jouanna, ‘Le traité hippocratique du *Régime dans les maladies aiguës*: Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite et sur le texte’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 6, 1976, 5: “Les écrits de Galien, en général, nous sont connus par des manuscrits grecs relativement récents. C’est en particulier le cas pour le commentaire de Galien au *R. M. A.* Des onze manuscrits grecs utilisés par Helmreich pour son édition, les plus anciens ne sont pas antérieurs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ...”.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Klebs, *op. cit.*, 375: “...ne libris quidem manu scriptis Galeni, quamquam parum certi adhuc de iis novimus, gentilium eius servatum esse crediderim...”.

<sup>7</sup> See M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 64: “Numerous manuscripts have been lost since the Renaissance: how many of those that seem safe in libraries today will still be there when another five hundred years have passed?”

<sup>8</sup> See E. B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici II*, Aberystwyth 1996, 667. Cf. idem, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, London 1983, 208–209.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. A. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, Berlin 1905–1907, repr. Leipzig – Amsterdam 1970.

Klebs did not find the hereditary name Claudius attributed to Galen before 1518. In that year a Latin translation of Περὶ αἰρέσεων τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις (*De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur*) made by the Italian Humanist Giorgio Valla (1444–1500)<sup>10</sup> was issued in Paris by the printing-office of Henri I Estienne (ca. 1460–1520)<sup>11</sup>.

Suspecting that the gentile name Claudius might also appear on the title pages of older editions, Klebs recommended that Renaissance scholars should examine the topic further. As far as I am aware, this task has not yet been undertaken<sup>12</sup>; since more than a century has meanwhile elapsed, it is high time for classical scholars to stand in the breach.

In 1902 Wilhelm Crönert (1874–1942) shared Klebs' opinion that the name Claudius lacked manuscript support. He pointed out that the *nomen gentilicium* does not occur in the Aldine edition of 1525<sup>13</sup>, without noting that it is found in an Aldine book of 1498 and without engaging in any sort of discussion regarding the quality and reliability of the first comprehensive edition of the Greek text, which Erasmus had already subjected to thorough criticism<sup>14</sup>.

Mentioning the inscriptions Nos. 333 A, 339 and 587 from Pergamum<sup>15</sup>, Crönert claimed that they were referring to one and the same individual, viz. to Galen's

<sup>10</sup> On this humanist cf. e.g. E. Bonora, *Dizionario della letteratura italiana*, vol. II, Milan 1977, s.v. 'Valla (Giorgio)'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. B. Moreau (ed.), *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. II, Paris 1977, 477.

<sup>12</sup> While preparing his first larger publication, a survey of Galenic writings printed in the Age of Humanism, Richard Jasper Durling (1932–1999) pursued other goals; cf. R. J. Durling, 'A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, 1961, 230. From his description of the 1516 translation of Galen's *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii III*, viz. "*In Hipp. Prognosticum III Comm. III*. [Tr. L. L.] *De differentiis febrium*. [Tr. L. L. and N. L.] In Hippocrates, *Praedictiones sive prognostica*. [Tr. G.C.] fol. Paris: H. Stephanus. BM; PAR. (second work wanting in both copies)", *ibid.*, 252, one cannot infer that the gentile name Claudius occurs on the title page of this Renaissance book (... *Claudii Galeni commentarii in easdem*...). On Durling's comprehensive catalogue of Galenic books and manuscripts that remained unfinished, cf. Philip M. Teigen's brief announcement (*Journal of the History of Medicine* 55, 2000, 181) as well as S. Fortuna, A. Raia, 'Corrigenda and Addenda to Diels' Galenica by Richard J. Durling: III. Manuscripts and Editions', *Traditio* 61, 2006, 1–30.

<sup>13</sup> Presumably by a misprint in Crönert's article one reads 1535; cf. e.g. P. Rosa, 'Note sulle edizioni a stampa del *De motu musculorum* di Galeno', in A. Garzya, J. Jouanna (eds.), *I testi medici greci: Tradizione e ecdotica*. Atti del III convegno internazionale, Napoli 15–18 ottobre 1997, Naples 1999, 482. On the publication date of the fifth volume of the Aldine edition cf. P. Potter, 'The *editiones principes* of Galen and Hippocrates and their Relationship', in K.-D. Fischer et al. (eds.), *Text and Tradition: Studies in Ancient Medicine and Its Transmission Presented to Jutta Kollesch*, Leiden 1998, 247–48.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. VI, Oxford 1926, 336. For a recent assessment of the weaknesses of that Aldine edition cf. the section of P. Potter's article referred to in the preceding footnote. On merits and shortcomings of that important publication see V. Nutton, *John Caius and the Manuscripts of Galen* (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. vol. 13), Cambridge 1987, 40–42.

<sup>15</sup> See M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon II* (Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 2), Berlin 1895, 244–47, 250–51 and 370. Already in 1891 Hermann Schöne had referred to the inscriptions IvP II 333A, 333 B and 587, expressing the surmise that Νεϊκόδημος ὁ καὶ Νεῖκων was Galen's father.

father, who according to the *Suda* was named Nikon<sup>16</sup>. As far as this statement is concerned, it should be noted that the classicist Hugo Hepding (1878–1959) convincingly argued in 1907, with the aid of a further inscription discovered at Pergamum in 1904<sup>17</sup>, that those pieces of epigraphic evidence do not refer to the same person but to Αἰλ(ιος) Νείκων on the one hand and to Ιούλιος Νεικόδημος ὁ καὶ Νείκων on the other. Some scholars have meanwhile opted for one or the other of these two men, as though all the apposite inhabitants of Pergamum were necessarily attested by epigraphic sources (preserved even to the present day)<sup>18</sup> or as if the name Nikon were extremely rare. Others have suspended judgement, as Heinrich Schlang-Schöningen points out in his survey of that lengthy discussion published in 2003<sup>19</sup>. Some priorly disseminated views have been reasserted since, though without cogent arguments, let alone new evidence; on the other hand, certain authors have left the Pergamene inscriptions and even the related issue of Galen's citizenship entirely aside.<sup>20</sup> In her biographical study brought out in 2007,

---

Cf. H. Schöne, *Schedae philologiae Hermanno Usenero a sodalibus Seminarii Regii Bonnensis oblatae*, Bonnae 1891, 91.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Suidae lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, vol. I, Leipzig 1928, 506, s.v. Γαληνός: υἱὸς Νίκωνος γεωμήτρου καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονος. In the writings available to us Galen never mentions his father's name.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. H. Hepding, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904–1905: II. Die Inschriften', *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Athenische Abteilung, 32, 1907, 357 and 358: 'Eine neue Inschrift aus dem Kreise des I. Nikodemos Nikon ... Die Zahl 1726 ergibt sich sowohl, wenn man die Zahlenwerte der Buchstaben von Αἰλίου Νείκωνος, wie wenn man die von ἀρχιτέκτονος addiert. Dieselbe Zahl kommt auch in den ersten vier στίχοι ἰσόψηφοι der grossen Inschrift CIG. 3546, neu ediert von Fränkel I.v.P. II S. 246, vor. Es ist daher wohl anzunehmen, dass auch sie von dem Architekten Aelius Nikon, den wir ja schon aus I.v.P. 339 kennen, nicht von Iulius Nikodemus ὁ καὶ Νείκων, dem sie Fränkel zuschreibt, herrühre'.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. E. Groag, A. Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani: Saec. I. II. III*, pars I, Berolini et Lipsiae <sup>2</sup>1933, 38. As far as the survival of marble inscriptions is concerned, one should not lose sight of the fact that they were prone to being ignited together with other calcareous materials in limekilns, cf. e.g. O. Ziegenaus, *Das Asklepieion*. 3. Teil: Die Kultbauten aus römischer Zeit an der Ostseite des heiligen Bezirks (Altertümer von Pergamon XI.3), Berlin 1981, 29 and K. Sittl, *Archäologie der Kunst*, Munich 1895, 21: "Sicherlich sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten schöne Bauteile und unersetzliche Bildhauerwerke von Rom, Ostia, Olympia und Pergamon in Kalköfen, die man der Bequemlichkeit halber mitten in die Ruinen angelegt hatte, gewandert...". The stubbornness of local lime-burners active in nineteenth-century Bergama clearly emerges from C. Humann's impressive report 'Die Ausgrabungen von Pergamon und ihre Ergebnisse: Vorläufiger Bericht', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1, 1880, 131–133.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H. Schlang-Schöningen, *Die römische Gesellschaft bei Galen: Biographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Berlin – New York 2003, 54: "... Jutta Kollesch hat im Anschluß an Diller bemerkt, daß 'hinsichtlich der Identifizierung von Galens Vater mit einem der beiden inschriftlich bezeugten Pergamenischen Architekten Aelius Nikon und Iulius Nikodemus [...] eine eindeutige Entscheidung nicht möglich' ist. Schließlich zeigt der 1979 erschienene Kommentar zu *de praecognitione*, daß auch Nutton seine Entscheidung für Aelius Nikon revidiert hat: Galens Vater, so schreibt Nutton hier, 'has generally been identified with the architect Aelius Nikon [...] but it is equally possible that he is Aelius Nikon's colleague, Iulius Nicodemus ὁ καὶ Νείκων'...".

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. R. J. Hankinson, 'The Man and His Work', in idem (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge 2008, 1–33. For a discussion of the inscriptions see e.g. V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*,



V. Boudon-Millot has cast serious doubts upon the identification of Galen's father with any of the two epigraphically attested, previously named inhabitants of Pergamum.<sup>21</sup>

Towards the end of his short article Crönert enunciated the bare speculation that the name Claudius might have been attributed in the mediaeval period to the famous physician because his celebrity was comparable to that of Claudius Ptolemaeus<sup>22</sup>. This ingenious suggestion led the classicist and historian of medicine Karl Kalbfleisch (1868–1946) to express a different supposition, viz. that within the Latin textual transmission the palaeographical abbreviation of *clarissimus* to *Cl.* had been mistaken for the customary ancient shortened form of Claudius<sup>23</sup>.

Neither Crönert nor Kalbfleisch challenged Klebs' conviction that the gentile name Claudius finds no support in Galen's direct manuscript tradition. Unsurprisingly, in 1910 J. Mewaldt firmly stated in the *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* that the *nomen gentile* Claudius was not attested by literary or manuscript sources<sup>24</sup>.

Later the celebrated historian of medicine Karl Sudhoff (1853–1938) asserted that the provenance of 'Claudius' from 'Cl(arissimus)' had been proved by Klebs, Crönert and Kalbfleisch<sup>25</sup>. On these grounds he reportedly pleaded at any and every opportunity against viewing Galen as legally belonging to the *gens Claudia*<sup>26</sup>.

London 2004, 216–17; cf. further idem, *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* [Gale-Macmillan Reference Encyclopedia of Philosophy], 2nd ed., ed. D. M. Borchert (Detroit 2006), s.v. 'Galen'.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. V. Boudon-Millot (ed.), *Galien*. Tome I: Introduction générale. *Sur l'ordre de ses propres livres. Sur ses propres livres. Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe*, Paris 2007, XX–XXI: "Certains érudits ont cherché à identifier le Nicon père de Galien, soit avec un Aelius Nicon, architecte, soit avec son collègue Iulius Nicodemus (Nicon), tous deux mentionnés dans différentes inscriptions retrouvées sur le site de Pergame. Aucun élément cependant ne permet de trancher entre ces deux candidats à la paternité de Galien et il n'est même pas certain que le Nicon, père de Galien, doive être identifié avec l'un d'eux."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. W. Crönert, 'Klaudios Galenos', *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 1, 1902, 4: "... Die berühmtesten Griechen aus der Kaiserzeit waren im Mittelalter Galenos und Ptolemaios, jener das Haupt der medizinischen Wissenschaft, dieser der erste in der Erd- und Himmelskunde. Ptolemaios war nun ein Claudier. Ist es da nicht denkbar, daß sich aus dieser Nachbarschaft dem Γαληνός ein Κλαύδιος beigesellte? Mag aber diese Erklärung zutreffen oder nicht, der erste Zweck dieser wenigen Zeilen war, die eigentümliche Frage denjenigen, welche in der Überlieferung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zu Hause sind, vorzulegen. Man möge aber fortan aufhören, den Galenos einen Claudier zu nennen."

<sup>23</sup> For details see K. Kalbfleisch, "'Claudius' Galenus", *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 22, 1902, 413 and A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, Milan, 1929, repr. 1999, 53. As far as the usual ancient abridgement of the name Claudius is concerned, cf. e.g. E. Groag, 'Claudius, römischer Familienname', *RE* III, 2 (1899), 2667, 3–6. Kalbfleisch's brief note is sometimes misinterpreted as stating that Galen actually bore the title *clarissimus* rather than having it conferred by a hypothetical mediaeval copyist. (Cf. e.g. H. Schlange-Schöningen, *Die römische Gesellschaft bei Galen: Biographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Berlin 2003, 5–6, n. 9). Its writer hardly suspected that the very widespread ancient abbreviation of Claudius might have been used *antiquo more* in the Renaissance too; on such an instance cf. e.g. H. Tüchle, 'Ein weiterer Zeuge des Konzilstagebuches von Joh. B. Fickler', *Annuario historiae conciliorum: Internationale Zeitschrift für Konziliengeschichtsforschung* 1, 1969, 202 and Josef Steinruck (ed.), *Johann Baptist Fickler: Ein Laie im Dienste der Gegenreformation*, Münster 1965, 194–95.

<sup>24</sup> See J. Mewaldt, 'Galenos 2', *RE* VII.1 (1910), 578; cf. A. Stein, 'Claudius 161', *RE* III.2 (1899), 2723.

<sup>25</sup> See K. Sudhoff, *Kurzes Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, Berlin 1922, 108. Cf. B. G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, KS 1954, [15], n. 20: "The gentile name Claudius often

There is no point in minutely describing here the way in which this opinion, which rests to a large extent upon Klebs' inference *e silentio* about Greek manuscripts of Galen<sup>27</sup> and upon his avowedly scanty knowledge regarding the early printed books of this author, found its current international acceptance<sup>28</sup>. An amusing statement from a review in which Ernst Elimar Klebs is re-christened Edwin and reported to have proved together with his followers that "the older printed texts" misled scholars "in the first instance"<sup>29</sup> is nevertheless worth mention. Besides, one may recall Konrad Schubring's authoritative remarks expressed in the epilogue to the twentieth century reprint of Kühn's edition, according to whom it had been established as a fact that the *nomen* Claudius represents a late and unfounded addition to the *cognomen* Galenus. Moreover, Schubring suspected that Galen belonged to the *gens Aelia*<sup>30</sup>.

It is indeed worth looking at Renaissance books relating to Galen's *nomen gentile*. Before focussing upon editions that pre-date the year 1518, it should be pointed out that in Klebs' listing of relevant Latin translations of Galen published in the third decade of the sixteenth century *inter alia* two publications prefaced by the British humanist Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), a famous pupil of Politian<sup>31</sup>,

---

attached to his is apocryphal, a Renaissance addition due to some misunderstanding ..." and idem, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. I, Baltimore 1927, repr. 1975, 302.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W. von Brunn, 'Darf man Galenos «Claudius» nennen?', *Ciba Zeitschrift* 40, 1937, 1357 and 1505: "... Karl Kalbfleisch [...] hält es für wahrscheinlich, daß das «Cl.» [...] als «Clarissimus» zu deuten ist: Dieser Ansicht schließt sich auch der Altmeister Karl Sudhoff [...] an und ist bei jeder Gelegenheit dafür eingetreten, dem Galenos jenen ihm nicht zukommenden Beinamen nicht mehr beizulegen".

<sup>27</sup> Klebs attempted to corroborate his opinion about the mostly uninvestigated Galen manuscripts *inter alia* by linking it to the general assertion that later Greek authors used to omit Roman family names, unless they were drawing upon older sources; cf. E. Klebs, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani: Saec. I. II. III*, pars I, Berolini 1897, 375.

<sup>28</sup> On its resolute reassertion in the last decades cf. e.g. R. J. Hankinson, *New Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. N. Koertge (Detroit 2008), s.v. 'Galen (Galēnos)', S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250*, Oxford 1996, 357, n. 2, H. Schlange-Schöningen, *Die römische Gesellschaft bei Galen: Biographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Berlin – New York 2003, 5 and G. Keil, 'Ipokras: Personalautoritative Legitimation in der mittelalterlichen Medizin', in P. Wunderli (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung: Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation*, Sigmaringen 1994, 159–60.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. F. H. Garrison, 'Essential Facts of Medical History', review of *The Growth of Medicine from the Earliest Times to about 1800*, by Albert H. Buck (Yale – London – Oxford 1917), *The Yale Review* 7, 1918, 207: "'Claudius Galen' has been shown by Edwin [sic] Klebs and others to be an error established, in the first instance, through regarding 'Cl[arissimus] Galen', in the older printed texts, as an abbreviation for 'Claudius'". By the way, Klebs did not commit himself to the view that the alleged error emerged from printed materials, and Crönert definitely suspected that it first occurred in mediaeval codices.

<sup>30</sup> See *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn, XX, Leipzig 1833, repr. Hildesheim 1965, XII: "Galen hatte als römischer Bürger die üblichen drei Namensteile, überliefert ist uns aber nur sein Cognomen Galen (der Gentilname Claudius ist als späte und unberechtigte Zufügung erwiesen worden). Vermutlich gehörte er zur Familie der Aelii ...". Cf. E. Groag, A. Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani: Saec. I. II. III*, pars IV, fasc. 1, Berolini<sup>2</sup> 1952, 4.

<sup>31</sup> See William Latimer's letter dispatched to Erasmus of Rotterdam on 30 January <1517> from Oxford in P. S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. II, 1910, repr. 1992,

have been left entirely out of account. In one of them, viz. Linacre's translation of Galen's Περί οὐσίας τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων (*De naturalibus facultatibus*) issued in 1523 by the King's Printer Richard Pynson in London, the abbreviation CLAV. of Claudius, which is already found on ancient coins and in inscriptions<sup>32</sup>, often occurs, though absent from the title page. On the other hand, in the 1522 London edition of the physiological treatise Περί μῶν κινήσεως βιβλία β' (*De motu musculorum libri duo*) rendered into Latin by the Italian humanist Nicolaus Leonicensus (Niccolò Leoniceno, 1428 – 1524)<sup>33</sup> the unabbreviated *nomen* also appears on the title sheet<sup>34</sup>.

It is similarly found on the title page of the Basel edition of Galen printed in March 1529 by Andreas Cratander, which comprises *inter alia* the writings *Ad bonas artes exhortatio*, *De optimo docendi genere* and *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus* rendered into Latin by Erasmus of Rotterdam (†1539).

Unnoticed by Klebs and his followers remained further the fact that the publisher of the 1518 edition mentioned earlier, Henricus Stephanus I, issued also in 1516 a book exhibiting the gentile name Claudius on its title sheet. It contains *inter alia* two translations of the Hippocratic *Prognosticon*, one by Guilielmus Copus Basileiensis (Wilhelm Kopp), sometime physician to the German nation at the University of Paris and later court physician<sup>35</sup>, and the other by Laurentius

---

441–42: "... Nam et Grocinum memini, virum (vt scis) multifaria doctrina, magno quoque et exercitato ingenio, his ipsis literis duos continuos annos, etiam post prima illa rudimenta, solidam operam dedisse; idque sub summis doctoribus, Demetrio Chalcondilo et Angelo Politiano. Linacrum item, acri ingenio virum, totidem aut etiam plureis annos sub iisdem praeceptoribus impendisse." Cf. F. O. Mencken, *Historia vitae et in literas meritorum Angeli Politiani, ortu Ambrogini...*, Lipsiae 1736, 81–82.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. A. Banti, L. Simonetti, *Corpus nummorum Romanorum*, vol. XVIII, Florence 1979, p. 128, No. 765 "NERO CLAV CAESAR AVG" and M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Textband, Halle 1926, 204. Cf. CIL VI 2241: "L · IVLIVS · L · F · CLAV | POLLITIANVS ..." and VIII 21272: "MATVT · CLAV | IASONIS · FILIA ..."

<sup>33</sup> With regard to Leonicensus' translations printed outside Italy one should nevertheless bear in mind the words of this Italian humanist written in the preface of the Venice edition issued on January 18th, 1524 by Bernardinus Vitalis (*Galenī in Aphorismos Hippocratis ab ipso Nicolao Leoniceno Vincentino interprete diligentius emendati, et recogniti, simulatque caeteri sequentes. Ars parva. Therapeutica ad Glauconem. De potentiis naturalibus. Quaestio de virtute formativa. De crisibus. De inaequali intemperatura*, Venetiis 1524, held e.g. by the Bodleian Library, Shelfmark Antiq. e. I. 2): <libri> "omnes a me recogniti atque emendati in praesenti opere recenter impresso continentur. quare, si qui sunt qui Galeni doctrinam ex nostris fidelioribus translationibus assequi cupiunt, ex istis eam perquirant: non ex aliis, quae vel parisiis, vel aliis locis interprete inscio, multis mendis scaturientes formulis mandatae fuerunt ab opificibus".

<sup>34</sup> In 1522 appeared also the first edition of the currently lost lecture on Galen's *Ars medica* of the Neapolitan professor Tommaso Dionisio Polio (according to certain sources Pollio) entitled *Praelectio in Claudii Galeni Micratechne habita in Neapolitana Diui Thomae Aquinatis Academia decima*. VI. Id. Decembris M.D.XXI. Cf. e.g. Pietro Manzi, *Annali di Giovanni Sultzbach* (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 58), Florence 1970, 104.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator philologorum*, Leipzig 1871, 99 s.v. 'Cop (Copus), Wilhelm', further E. Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics*, Toronto 1985, 109 and R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance*, Cambridge 1954, repr. New York 1964, 438.

Laurentianus.<sup>36</sup> The Hippocratic text is elucidated by Galen's commentary, which has been rendered into Latin by Laurentianus and is printed in the margins.

Laurentius Larentianus (Laurentius de Lorenzis, Lorenzo Lorenzi, ca. 1460–1502), described as a man of excellent erudition in Pierio Valeriano's dialogue *De litteratorum infelicitate*<sup>37</sup>, was an Italian medical humanist and university professor born in Florence<sup>38</sup>. He taught at the University of Pisa and at the *Studio Fiorentino*<sup>39</sup>. As a connoisseur of manuscripts Laurentius Laurentianus was appointed in 1495 by the republican Florentine government (*Signoria*) together with Marsilio Ficino, Girolamo Savonarola, Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, Giovanni Vittorio Soderini, Ioannes Lascaris and others to select the valuable codices from amongst those that were kept at the time in the Convent of St. Mark<sup>40</sup>.

The poet and humanist Petrus Crinitus (Pietro Del Riccio Baldi surnamed Crinito, 1474–1507) was one of Politian's most favoured and trusted pupils<sup>41</sup>. He had also attended some of Laurentianus' university lectures<sup>42</sup>. In his major work, *De honesta disciplina*, first published in Florence by Philippus de Giunta in 1504 and repeatedly reprinted in Paris<sup>43</sup>, he records that Laurentius Laurentianus conversed with Girolamo Savonarola, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Crinito himself<sup>44</sup> in scholarly gatherings of the *Academia Marciana*<sup>45</sup>. Laurentianus' portrait was painted by Sandro Botticelli towards the end of the fifteenth century<sup>46</sup>, and Pico demonstrably owned one of his works<sup>47</sup>. This medical humanist was amongst the first to conceive

<sup>36</sup> This book is held e.g. by the British Library, shelf mark 539. h. 5. (1.); see *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, vol. 148, 421 (cf. vol. 118, 453).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World*, Ann Arbor 1999, repr. 2002, 254, 144–45 and 303–304.

<sup>38</sup> For some useful background information cf. Katharine Park's monograph *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, Princeton, NJ 1985, esp. 198–209 and 220–36.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. e.g. A. F. Verde, *Lo Studio Fiorentino 1473–1503: Ricerche e documenti*, vol. II, Florence 1973, 428–39 and F. Piován, 'Un umanista trascurato: Ricerche su Lorenzo Lorenzi e sulla sua Biblioteca,' *Atti dell' Ist. Veneto di Sc., Lett. ed Arti*, Cl. di Sc. Mor., Lett. ed Arti, CXLII (1983–84), 193–94.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. E. Piccolomini, 'Delle condizioni e delle vicende della libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508', *Archivio storico italiano* 19, 1874, 110, 257–58.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. R. Ricciardi, 'Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro' in M. Pavan, F. Bartocchini et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 38, Rome 1990, 265.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. C. Angeleri (ed.), *P. Crinito: De honesta disciplina*, Rome 1955, 113: "... mox Laurentiano florentino contigit, cuius ego academiam aliquando accessi eiusque disciplinae auditor interfui, cum Aristotelis opera atque Hippocratis commentarios magna eruditione exponeret."

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 53. Earlier than all the reprints of *De honesta disciplina* mentioned by Carlo Angeleri is the one by Jodocus (Josse) Badius Ascensius and Joannes Parvus (Jean Petit), Paris 1508; cf. B. Moreau (ed.), *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. I, Paris 1972, 272.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. C. Angeleri (ed.), *P. Crinito: De honesta disciplina*, Rome 1955, 104, 141.

<sup>45</sup> On the *Academia Marciana* cf. e.g. W. Frobenius, 'Einleitung: Zur Begriffsgeschichte von Akademie', in W. Frobenius, N. Schwindt-Gross, Th. Sick (eds.), *Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungen und Wirkungen des Akademiegedankens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte* [Festschrift for Werner Braun], Saarbrücken 1993, 15.

<sup>46</sup> The original is preserved by the Philadelphia Museum of Art; cf. B. Deimling, *Sandro Botticelli 1444/45–1510*, Cologne 1994, 75, 95.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. E. Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Vita e dottrina*, Florence 1937, 112.

the plan of translating all the surviving writings of Galen into Latin<sup>48</sup>. Laurentianus' library has unfortunately been dispersed<sup>49</sup>. His regrettable decision to commit suicide<sup>50</sup> in the midst of major pecuniary difficulties not many years after the expulsion of the Medici family and Savonarola's execution<sup>51</sup> was very detrimental to scholarship. However, its effects were somewhat mitigated by the fact that several translations of Galen which he had penned appeared posthumously.

The text of Laurentianus' Latin version of the *Prognosticon* referred to earlier had already been published, viz. in Florence, interlaced with Galen's commentary, in 1508. This edition, which is of major interest to us in the present context inasmuch as the family name Claudius appears on the title page, was published thanks to the support of Laurentianus' son Romulus, i.e. the theologian Lorenzo Romolo Lorenzi (1488–1544)<sup>52</sup>. On the title sheet one reads: "Proditiones [sic] sive pronostica Hypocratis cum commentariis Claudii Galeni interprete Laurentio Laurentiano viro clarissimo"<sup>53</sup>. The *nomen* Claudius is equally mentioned by the editor of this book, Augustinus Florentinus, in the preface.

Moreover, the *gentilicium* also occurs repeatedly in the first edition of Petrus Crinitus' *De honesta disciplina*, published in Florence in 1504<sup>54</sup>. In this work Crinitus does not provide any explanation for the name Claudius, regarding its inclusion as a matter of course<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> See A. Campana, 'Manente Leontini Fiorentino, medico e traduttore di medici greci', *La Rinascente* 4, 1941, 511. Cf. Hippocrates. *Aphorismi*. Florence, A. Miscomini, 16. X. 1494, 2° (GW 12477, HC 8672, IGI 4781; GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, HC = *Hain-Copinger*, i. e. L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum*, W.A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, IGI = *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*), f. b4<sup>r</sup> and a2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> On the disputed issue of its holdings cf. e.g. F. Piovan, 'Un umanista trascurato. Ricerche su Lorenzo Lorenzi e sulla sua Biblioteca,' *Atti dell' Ist. Veneto di Sc., Lett. ed Arti*, Cl. di Sc. Mor., Lett. ed Arti, CXLII (1983–84), 202–11.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. C. Angeleri (ed.), *P. Crinito: De honesta disciplina*, Rome 1955, 113 "... in puteum se in Florentino suburbano immersit."

<sup>51</sup> By the way, during the attack of April 8th, 1498 on the convent San Marco, when its prior Girolamo Savonarola was arrested, one book of the Medicean collection went lost; cf. E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, London 1983, 209.

<sup>52</sup> It has been argued that the documentary evidence relating to Laurentius Laurentianus does not mention his paternity of Romulus; cf. e.g. M. Palumbo, 'Lorenzi, Lorenzo' in M. Caravale, G. Pignatelli et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 66, Rome 2006, 22 and M. P. Paoli, 'Lorenzi (Lorenzani), Lorenzo Romolo', *ibid.*, 23. However, this seems rather misleading in the light of the following passage, not discussed by M. Palumbo and M. P. Paoli, written by the editor Augustinus Florentinus in the introduction to the 1508 edition of the Hippocratic *Prognosticon* and published in Florence only six years after Laurentianus' demise: "... at pientissimus filius Romulus patriae, parenti, amicis gloriam, pietatem, beneficia exibiturus [sic] ...".

<sup>53</sup> This edition is held e.g. by the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland (call number WZ 240 H 667pL 1508), the *Biblioteca Statale di Lucca* (class number O.I.K.12/2) and the *Biblioteca Antica "V. Pinali"* in Padua (pressmark STM.DUCC.III.E.41 a). Apparently the *Hauptbibliothek* Erlangen has a mutilated exemplar (class no. H61/4 TREW.X 1075, the colophon is missing). The copy of the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (shelfmark an: 2" Vq 9440) was destroyed in World War II.

<sup>54</sup> The exemplar owned by the *Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, call no. Incun. 2° 12238 HB, has been inspected *in situ*.

<sup>55</sup> Obviously the name Claudius was not regarded as being of primary importance for the identification of the ancient author concerned and therefore it is not always mentioned; cf. e.g. C. Angeleri (ed.), *P. Crinito: De honesta disciplina*, Rome 1955, 112, 401, 412.

There is, however, an enlightening epistle addressed to Giovanni Francesco II Pico della Mirandola (also known as Gianfrancesco or Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, Ioannes Franciscus Picus Mirandula, 1469–1533), not listed in Carlo Angeleri's survey on Crinito's correspondence and equally missing from the complete works of its addressee reprinted in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>56</sup>. In that letter Petrus Crinitus mentions *inter alia* shortcomings of Politian's unfinished Latin translation of Pseudo-Alexander's *ιατρικὰ ἀπορήματα καὶ φυσικὰ προβλήματα* (nowadays often referred to as *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis quae feruntur problematorum liber iii et iiii*), which had remained unpublished and appeared posthumously. The reader of Crinito's letter also learns in this context about another uncompleted translation by the famous Italian humanist and poet:

“Iam nec illud humanissime Princeps omiserim. quod oracula quoq(ue) ex Hippocrate: cum Claudii Galeni commentariis (ita enim τοὺς ἀφορίσμους [*sic*] appellabat) latini homines legerent. Nam & pars adhuc aliqua extat: ac plurimum in ea re laboris: & uigiliarum. quod is olim mihi referebat: exhaustit. Sed hu(n)c laborem quidam e charis supplerunt”<sup>57</sup>.

Since the letter is included in the Aldine of Politian's collected works (Venice 1498), edited by Petrus Crinitus and Alessandro Sarti<sup>58</sup>, one cannot plausibly assume that it is spurious. Hence there is no reason to doubt that the late Politian worked intensely on a translation of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* in conjunction with a commentary that he believed to have been written by “Claudius Galenus”, as one of his most devoted pupils bears witness.

Crinito's notice quoted above is corroborated by documents issuing from Politian himself. In a passage of his letter addressed to Lorenzo the Magnificent on June 5th, 1490 the famous humanist reminded this illustrious patron of arts and letters that he was working on a translation of texts belonging to the Hippocratic and Galenic corpus and that it was almost completed. He added that both Hermolaus Barbarus and the count, i.e. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, had a good opinion of it. However, Politian invited Lorenzo the Magnificent to ask his personal physician,

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Gian Francesco Pico, *Opera omnia*, Basel 1557, repr. Hildesheim 1969, vol. II, 1265–1378, esp. 1304–1305.

<sup>57</sup> See *Opera Angeli Politiani & alia quaedam lectu digna: quorum nomina insequenti indice uidere licet*, impressum Florentiae & accuratissime castigatum op(er)a & impensa Leonardi de Arigis de Gesoriaco [Brescia, Bernardino de Misintis] ... die decimo Augusti MID, f. x2', 19–23 (*GW* M34724, *HC* 13219, *IGI* 7953, cf. R. C. Christie, 'An Incunabulum of Brescia Hitherto Ascribed to Florence', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 4, 1898, 233–37). See also *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani, et alia quaedam lectu digna*, Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Romani mense Iulio MIID, f. X7', 13 (*GW* M34727, *HC* 13218, *IGI* 7952). Obviously the form *charis* is a variation of *caris*; cf. *Thll* III 502, 41. The syncopated perfect *supplerunt* is clearly legible in both editions.

<sup>58</sup> See Alessandro Perosa, *Studi di filologia umanistica*, I: *Angelo Poliziano*, Rome 2000, 10: “Artefici della bella e ricca edizione furono Pier Crinito e Alessandro Sarti. Il Crinito fornì al Sarti il materiale manoscritto ch'egli aveva potuto raccogliere a Firenze; il Sarti, da parte sua e per esplicita testimonianza del Crinito stesso e di Aldo, si assunse la cura del testo, così come aveva fatto per la precedente edizione delle opere volgari di Poliziano, uscita a Bologna nel 1494.” Cf. C. Fantazzi (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano: Silvae*, Cambridge, MA – London 2004, 163.

the friend of Marsilio Ficino and professor of medicine Piero Leoni (Lioni), also known as Pierleone da Spoleto (ca. 1445–1492), author of a commentary on Galen since lost, to make an effort and look it through<sup>59</sup>.

For a variety of reasons<sup>60</sup> it is worth dwelling briefly upon the life and work of this medical scholar, whom Marsilio Ficino called *conphilosophus*<sup>61</sup> as well as *Complatonicus suus*<sup>62</sup> and who had tried to persuade Ficino to translate many books of Hippocrates into Latin<sup>63</sup>.

When Politian dispatched his letter from Florence, Leoni was with the Medicean ruler at Bagno a Morbo, a thermal bath situated in the northern Apennines near the Tuscan locality of Larderello (possibly located on the site of the ancient *Aquae Volaterranae* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>64</sup>). However, this professor was no longer ordinarily resident in Tuscany. He had quitted his chair of medicine at Pisa University already in 1487 and in 1489 he had been at Rome. There he also returned after the sojourn at Bagno a Morbo, in July 1490. Politian's request, that "maestro Pier Lione", as he calls him in the letter quoted earlier, should revise his translation of the medical text, has certainly not been fulfilled. Back in the Eternal City Leoni received a particularly attractive offer to read practical medicine at the University of Padua and accepted it, so that he settled in Northern Italy that very same autumn<sup>65</sup>. In June 1491 Politian and Pico visited him on the occasion of their scholarly trip to the Veneto. Leoni showed them his books, amongst which they saw a Greek manuscript of Galen's *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*<sup>66</sup>. They also

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Isidoro del Lungo, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche*, Florence 1867, 77: "Vorrei che V. M. intendessi, se maestro Pier Lione volessi durar fatica in riveder quella mia traduzione di Ippocrate e Galieno, che è quasi al fine, e così el commento che fo sopra, dove dichiaro tutti e termini medicinali che vengono dal greco, e truovo come si possono chiamare latine. Se la Sua Eccellenza volessi durar fatica, poi al tempo la manderei fuori più arditamente; che stimo sarà bella cosa et utile, se l'amor non me ne inganna. Messer Ennolao [i.e. Ermolao Barbaro] e 'l Conte [i.e. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola] mostrono pur d'aveme buona opinione".

<sup>60</sup> One of the questions arising is why a translation which was almost ready in 1490 and at that point mainly needed to be checked through was still unfinished in 1494.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia: Con una lettera introduttiva di Paul Oskar Kristeller*, vol. I, Torino 1962 (orig. publ. Basel 1576), 801.

<sup>62</sup> See *ibid.* 860. Cf. Members of the Language Department of the London School of Economic Science, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. 6, London 1999, 136, 87.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Marsilio Ficino, *Opera omnia*, vol. I, Torino 1962 (orig. publ. Basel 1576), 874: "Tu quidem optabas his tanquam peractis multos Hippocratis libros me latinos efficere ..." The letter dates from January 17th, 1485.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Giovanni Uggeri, *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. 'Aquae I: A. Volaterranae (A. Volaterrae)': "Thermal springs in Etruria near Volaterrae. Unidentified; perhaps Larderello." Cf. E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat*, Graz 1976, III 2 m (Montecerboli, there mentioned, is located at ca. 1,5 km North of Larderello) and K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Stuttgart 1916, 294.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. F. Bacchelli, 'Leoni (Lioni), Piero ...', in M. Caravale, G. Pignatelli et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 64, Rome 2005, 607.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Isidoro del Lungo, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche*, Florence 1867, 79: "... ha certi quintemi di Galieno de dogmate Aristotelis et Hippocratis in greco, del qual ci darà la copia a Padova, che si è fatto pur frutto".

learnt that he was dissatisfied with the working conditions at Padua University. Thus Politian wrote to Lorenzo the Magnificent on June 20th, 1491 from Venice that he had asked Pico to entice Piero Leoni to return to Florence, but that the latter had refused<sup>67</sup>. Presumably after some negotiations Leoni was nevertheless back in Florence in February 1492 as personal physician of the severely ill Lorenzo de Medici. Unfortunately, this distinguished doctor did not outlive his illustrious patient for more than a day. For the very next morning after Lorenzo's decease, viz. on the 9th of April 1492, Piero Leoni da Spoleto was found drowned in a well, and the case has never been cleared up<sup>68</sup>. The knowledgeable medical scholar, with whose help Politian wished to revise his translation of the complex medical text, thus suddenly disappeared together with the patron to whom the publication of the Latin version had been promised. Marsilio Ficino was deeply distressed by their loss, as he complained in a letter addressed to Pico on April 28th, 1492.

Nevertheless there is evidence that Politian did not give up his work on medical authors. For in his lecture on Aristotle's *Analytica priora*, entitled *Lamia* and held in the academic year 1492–93, he writes:

“Commentarios tamen iamdiu, quod sine arrogantia dictum videri velim, simul in ius ipsum civile, simul in medicinae auctores parturio et quidem multis vigiliis, nec aliud inde mihi nomen postulo quam grammatici”<sup>69</sup>.

Unfortunately less than two and a half years after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent and of Piero Leoni, aged only forty, Politian too suddenly passed away<sup>70</sup>. His Latin translation of Galen's commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, which, according to Petrus Crinitus, was completed after his death by certain of his dear friends, presumably some of his pupils, never appeared in print. Even worse, the whole manuscript disappeared in the general dispersion of Politian's library, which Crinitus was unable to prevent<sup>71</sup>.

We should further bear in mind that all the evidence hitherto mentioned regarding the *nomen gentilicium* Claudius which relates to Laurentius Laurentianus is posthumous. One could argue – as Klebs did with regard to the translations of

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 80: “Maestro Piero Lioni è stato in Padova molto perseguitato, e non è chiamato nè quivi nè in Vinegia a cura nessuna: pure ha buona scuola, et ha la sua parte favorevole. Hollo fatto tentare dal Conte del ridursi in Toscana: credo sarà in ogni modo difficil cosa. In Padova sta mal volontieri, e la conversazione non li può più dispiacere, *ut ipse ait; negat tamen se velle in Thusciam agere*”.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. V. Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*, Torino 1983, 139–40 and F. Bacchelli, ‘Leoni (Lioni), Piero ...’ in M. Caravale, G. Pignatelli et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 64, Rome 2005, 607–608.

<sup>69</sup> See A. Wesseling (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano, Lamia: Praelectio in Priora Aristotelis Analytica*, Leiden 1986, 17, 105. On the date of this lecture cf. Ida Maïer, *Ange Politien: La formation d'un poète humaniste*, Geneva 1966, 434. See also Isidoro del Lungo (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano: Le Selve e La Strega*, Florence 1925, 222.

<sup>70</sup> On September 28/29th, 1494 in Florence.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. R. Ricciardi, ‘Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro’ in M. Pavan, F. Bartoccini et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 38, Rome 1990, 265–66: “Il D[el Riccio Baldi] non poté [...] salvare la biblioteca del Poliziano, che andò dispersa per mille rivoli ...”.



Giorgio Valla<sup>72</sup> – that it does not prove anything as far as this medical humanist is concerned, given that all the relevant sections could be, at least in theory, later additions. However, if one inspects Laurentianus' translation of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, which is accompanied by Galen's commentary and was printed in Florence, according to the colophon, on the 16th of October 1494, i. e. eight years before its author's passing, one finds the family name Claudius occurring in the preface to the hermeneutical part:

"Peruidebam sententias uetustissimi medici totiusque parentis medicinae Hippocratis in eiusdem aut etiam maioris obscuritatis uitio futuras: nisi quapiam luce commentationum clarescerent. Quam inquam superfundere nouam aggredior uersis in Latinum sermonem Claudii Galeni commentationibus ..." <sup>73</sup>.

That introduction is addressed to the Florentine ruler Petrus Medices (Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, 1472–1503), who had benefitted from a classical education as pupil of Politian<sup>74</sup>, translated Plutarchan material on matrimonial love into Latin<sup>75</sup>, was held in esteem by Marsilio Ficino<sup>76</sup> and continued to patronize the arts and

<sup>72</sup> Cf. E. Klebs, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani: Saec. I. II. III*, pars I, Berolini 1897, 379.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Hippocrates. *Aphorismi*. Florence, A. Miscomini, 16. X. 1494, 2° (GW 12477, HC 8672, IGI 4781), f. b4<sup>r</sup> (Lavrentii Lavrentiani Florentini in Galeni Commentationes praefatio ad Petrum Medicem virum clarissimum). As can also be seen elsewhere, *vir clarissimus* or simply *clarissimus* was frequently applied in the Renaissance to contemporaries as a complimentary title. So for instance Erasmus dispatched on August 24th, 1517 a letter addressed in the following way: "Clarissimo medico d. Heinricho Stromerio Aurbachio, patrono et amico meo incomparabili". See P. S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. III, Oxford 1913, 48, 54. Cf. the letter addressed to Lorenzo the Magnificent by Benedetto Colucci da Pistoia on October 24th, 1478: "... ut gratias egerim Herculi Hestensi [...] clarissimo Imperatori [...] Vale ut patria valeat." See also A. Frugoni (ed.), *Scritti inediti di Benedetto Colucci da Pistoia*, Florence 1939, 78. Cf. further S. Ciampi (ed.), *Memorie di Scipione Carteromacho: Raccolte ed illustrate*, Pisa 1811, 89: "Ad Cl. V. Angelum Politianum".

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. J. T. Paoletti and G. M. Radke, *Art, Power, and Patronage in Renaissance Italy*, Upper Saddle River, NJ 2005, 276, C. Fantazzi (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano: Silvae*, Cambridge, MA – London 2004, 203 and further A. Frugoni (ed.), *Scritti inediti di Benedetto Colucci da Pistoia*, Florence 1939, 62: "... sic tibi ex coelo datus est Angelus, qui te Latinis et Graecis litteris erudiat ...". Cf. Isidoro del Lungo, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche*, Florence 1867, XVIII–XIX, 57. One has of course to bear in mind that on certain matters of education Politian disagreed with Piero's mother, Clarice Orsini, and subsequently had to leave Lorenzo's household, where he was replaced by Bernardo Michelozzi; cf. e.g. V. Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*, Torino 1983, 40–41 and Ch. Fantazzi (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano: Silvae*, Cambridge, MA – London 2004, viii. On some teaching of Piero by Politian after 1479 cf. Ida Maïer, *Angelo Politien: La formation d'un poète humaniste*, Geneva 1966, 424.

<sup>75</sup> The humanist Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558) states: "Fuit autem is Petrus Medices Laurentii filius, vir et Graecis et Latinis litteris, optime, quod omnes fateamini, peritus. Nam hoc et scripta eius indicant, et quaedam ex Plutarcho, *De amore coniugali*, quae vidimus, traducta ab eo, locupletissime testantur". Cf. J. H. Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World*, Ann Arbor 1999, repr. 2002, 188.

<sup>76</sup> See *Marsilii Ficini Florentini, insignis Philosophi Platonici, Medici, atque Theologi clarissimi, opera... omnia*, vol. I, Basileae 1576, repr. Ivry sur Seine [2000], 949–50. Cf. *Marsilii Ficini Florentini, insignis Philosophi Platonici, Medici, atque Theologi clarissimi, opera ... omnia*, vol. I, Basileae 1561, 936: "... magnus Laurentius & inclytus Iulianus, tres Laurentii liberi, magnanimus Petrus ...". Cf. also *ibid.*, 937: "... aducti sunt e Graecia mox ad magnanimum Petrum Medicem, libri multi ...".

sciences<sup>77</sup>. It appeared in print while Piero was still in power, around one month before the Medici suddenly had to flee Florence<sup>78</sup>. The typographer Antonio Miscomini states in the colophon that he has done the typesetting carefully on the basis of Laurentianus' autograph. When the book was issued, its author was hoping to obtain Piero's support to translate from the Greek and publish numerous other ancient medical treatises<sup>79</sup>. Thus it cannot be assumed that the Florentine professor wrote the dedicatory preface thoughtlessly or that the *nomen gentile* Claudius, which occurs in it, is a mere typographical error. Since Laurentianus does not explain why Galen is being called Claudius, it seems very plausible that Politian's former pupil, who was the formal addressee of the preface, as well as a part of the reading public, did not need any elucidation. Thus the printed evidence shows that in the last decade of the fifteenth century at least a part of the cultural elite in Florence was accustomed to the view that Galen had been *de iure* a member of the *gens Claudia*.

One should not lose sight of the fact that in this period Greek manuscripts were being purchased on behalf of the ruling Florentine family<sup>80</sup>. The generous

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the letter addressed to Piero de' Medici that is included in the edition of the *Anthologia Graeca Planudea* (GW 2048, HC 1145, IGI 599) published by Janus Lascaris on August 11th, 1494. This dedicatory epistle is missing e.g. from the exemplar of the *Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, classification number Incun 8° 1145, which is mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. It is more easily accessible in M. Mattaire, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD*, Hagae Comitum 1719 (repr. as vol. I of idem, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MDCLXIV*, Graz 1965), 272: "... tibi Petre Medices dedicare constitui. Non solum quod mea tibi omnia debeo. Verum etiam quoniam quicquid ad antiquitatem quovis modo aut ad rem litterariam pertinet tibi praeter caeteros deberi existimo. Tu enim es Medicum familiae columnen. Quae ad antiquitatem reparandam tantam curam suscepit. Tantumque ante alios studium adhibuerit [...] Nec vero ea nunc tuorum facta mihi commemoranda sunt [...] Quae bibliothecae publicae attestantur tuorum extractae sumptibus. Et librorum varietate multiplici refertae. Laurentii certe parentis tui praestantissimi viri inceptum ad magnam antiquitatis partem reparandam tu facilius perfectum reddes. Quam ego pro meritis laudare queam". Cf. also the last quotation in the preceding note. See further A. Lenzuni (ed.), *All' ombra del lauro: Documenti librari della cultura in età laurenziana*, Florence 1992, 15.

<sup>78</sup> As is well known, this event, which occurred on the 9th of November 1494, was connected with the French invasion of Italy under Charles VIII, to whom Piero de' Medici handed over a number of fortresses including Pisa, Livorno (Leghorn), Pietrasanta and Sarzana. Cf. e.g. Christopher Hibbert, *The House of Medici: Its Rise and Fall*, New York 1980, 186–187, esp. 187: "At nightfall Piero, with his wife, their two children and his cousin Giulio fled the city by the Porta San Gallo and made for Venice by way of Bologna, taking with them as many of the most valuable small items from the family collections as they could carry. Giovanni disguised himself as a Dominican monk in order to convey some of the treasures of the Medici library from the palace to San Marco ..." See also J. Cleugh, *Die Medici: Macht und Glanz einer europäischen Familie*, Munich 1997, repr. 2005, 252–53, G. A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, Berkeley 1983, 267, G. R. Potter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. I, Cambridge 1967, 343, 352 and G. F. Young, *The Medici*, vol. I, London 1913, 318–19.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Hippocrates. *Aphorismi*. Florence, A. Miscomini, 16. X. 1494, 2° (GW 12477, HC 8672, IGI 4781), f. a2<sup>r</sup> (*Lavrentii Lavrentiani Florentini in Sententias Hippocratis praefatio ad Petrum Medicum virum clarissimum*): "Non solum volumina omnia a Graecis diligenter collecta, magno sumptu et largis emptionibus parta curas, sed et ea ipsa in Latinum sermonem conuertenda percenses atque pecuniam distribuis bonis et litteratis. Et liberalitate singulari famam tibi comparas immortalem".

<sup>80</sup> Cf. A. Lenzuni (ed.), *All' ombra del lauro: Documenti librari della cultura in età laurenziana*, Florence 1992, 15 and E. Piccolomini, 'Delle condizioni e delle vicende della libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508', *Archivio storico italiano* 19, 1874, 110, 257–58.

acquisition of codices in Lorenzo de' Medici's time is suggestively depicted by the medical humanist and translator of Galen Nicolaus Leonicensus (Niccolò Leonicensi, 1428–1524) in a letter addressed to Politian<sup>81</sup>. For instance, the exiled Byzantine man of learning Janus Lascaris (Ἰωάννης Λάσκαρις ὁ Πυθαγκηνός, 1445–1534) traveled within Italy and to the occupied city of Constantinople to acquire valuable Greek codices on Lorenzo's behalf<sup>82</sup>. Marsilio Ficino wrote in this respect to his friend Martino Uranio, i.e. the German humanist Martin Prenninger<sup>83</sup>, in August 1492:

“Post discessum ex Italia tuum aduecti sunt e Graecia mox ad magnanimum Petrum Medicem, libri multi ex quam plurimis electi, nuper electore Lascari Graeco admodum elegante, pro regia illa bibliotheca iampridem a magno Laurentio feliciter instituta. Ego autem inter multa, (ut soleo) semper in primis legi Platonica ...”<sup>84</sup>.

As emerges from the letter dispatched by Politian on June 20th, 1491 to Lorenzo, the former went together with Pico to the Veneto to inspect and buy manuscripts<sup>85</sup>. Politian's merits as a forerunner of modern editorial technique and as a classical scholar of memorable critical acumen are nowadays widely recognized<sup>86</sup>. His contribution to the development of the present-day method of manuscript recension shows that he scrutinized, described and used his sources very thoughtfully.

In the light of the new incunabular and post-incunabular evidence Karl Kalbfleisch's presumption that the nomen gentilicium Claudius originated from a misread abbreviation of “clarissimus” seems very implausible. Three Humanists

<sup>81</sup> Cf. S. Butler (ed.), *Angelo Poliziano: Letters*, vol. I, Cambridge, MA – London 2006, 100: “... gratia Laurentii Medicis, maximi hac tempestate studiorum patroni, qui missis per universum terrarum nuntiis in omni disciplinarum genere libros summa ope conquirat, nulli sumptui parcat quo tibi ac reliquis praeclaris ingenii bonarum artium studia aemulantibus instrumenta abundantissima pareat”.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. e.g. E. Piccolomini, ‘Due documenti relativi ad acquisti di codici greci, fatti da Giovanni Lascaris per conto di Lorenzo de' Medici’, *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica* 2, 1874, 401–16, cf. further A. Pontani, ‘Per la biografia, le lettere, i codici, le versioni di Giano Lascaris’, in M. Cortesi, E. V. Maltese (eds.), *Doti bizantini e libri greci nell' Italia del secolo XV: Atti del Convegno internazionale Trento 22–23 ottobre 1990*, Naples 1992, 363–433 and V. Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*, Torino 1983, 201.

<sup>83</sup> On this friend of Marsilio Ficino cf. e.g. W. Zeller's monograph *Der Jurist und Humanist Martin Prenninger gen. Uranius* (1450–1501), Tübingen 1973.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Marsilii Ficini Florentini, insignis Philosophi Platonici, Medici, atque Theologi clarissimi, opera ... omnia*, vol. I, Basileae 1561, 937.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Isidoro del Lungo, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano*, Florence 1867, 78–82 and P. Viti (ed.), *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 4 novembre – 31 dicembre 1994* [exhibition catalogue], (Centro internazionale di cultura “Giovanni Pico della Mirandola”. Studi Pichiani 2), Florence 1994, 88. It is still unclear what manuscripts they managed to procure for the Medicean collection, cf. E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, London 1983, 183.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo di Lachmann*, Padua 1981, corr. repr. 1985, 4–7. See further A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*, Cambridge, MA 1991, 47–75 and idem, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. I, Oxford 1983, 28–29. Cf. also A. Garzya, *Percorsi e tramiti di cultura: Saggi sulla civiltà letteraria tardoantica e bizantina con una giunta sulla tradizione degli studi classici*, Naples 1997, 255–56.

belonging to the Florentine sodality of scholars known as the *Academia Marciana*<sup>87</sup> – amongst them the renowned Politian – attest for Galen the family name Claudius. All three of them had knowledge of Greek and investigated manuscripts transmitting works of Greek authors in their original language. I take it that such a consensus<sup>88</sup> was hardly reached without some written testimony that would have appeared trustworthy to them, i.e. it without some Greek manuscript witness.

Unfortunately the French invasion under Charles VIII and its aftermath, which had disastrous consequences, also wiped out a good deal of the evidence that would particularly interest us. Petrus Crinitus has given us a vivid picture of the events:

“Nescio quo fato superiore anno evenerit, quo Francorum rex Carolus Italiam cum infesto exercitu et instructis copiis invasit, ut principes viri in litteris, atque in summis disciplinis clarissimi perierint, hoc est Hermolaus Barbarus, Ioannes Picus Mirandula et Angelus Politianus, qui omnes in ipso Francorum adventu et conatibus, immaturo obitu ad superos concesserunt. Sed enim litterae ipsae ac studia bonarum artium simul cum Italiae libertate coeperunt paulatim extingui, barbaris ingruentibus [...] Quae res monere interdum me solet, quam brevi tempore fortunae ratio commutetur, quamque inique nunc agatur cum bonis studiis; siquidem pro melioribus disciplinis vitia, pro humanitate et officiis bella et caedes succreverunt...”

*De honesta disciplina* XV.9<sup>89</sup>

Charles VIII was cherishing hopes to liberate Constantinople and Jerusalem, but especially after the battle of Fornovo in July 1495 such designs had to be considered utopian<sup>90</sup>.

In Italian libraries no Greek Galen manuscript transmitting the *nomen gentile* Claudius is currently known, but the catalogue entitled *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae publicae & privatae. Quibus diversi Scriptores hactenus ignoti recensentur*, published in Udine in 1650 by Jacopo Filippo Tomasini (1597–1654), contains a noteworthy piece of evidence. Recording the codices of the *corpus Galenicum* owned by the famous physician and nowadays internationally recognised embryologist Giuseppe degli Aromatarii (1587–1660)<sup>91</sup>, Tomasini puts down in writing the name of their author as ‘Galenus’, though with one exception. For in one instance ‘Claudius Galenus’

<sup>87</sup> On this learned society and its members cf. e.g. Arnaldo della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Florence 1902, 765–66 and Caterina Re, *Girolamo Benivieni Fiorentino: Cenni sulla vita e sulle opere*, Città di Castello 1906, 91–96.

<sup>88</sup> Apart from these three humanists also the addressees mentioned earlier, Petrus Medices and Ioannes Franciscus Picus Mirandulus, along with the editors Augustinus Florentinus and Alessandro Sarti deserve to be named in this context.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. e.g. C. Angeleri (ed.), *P. Crinito: De honesta disciplina*, Rome 1955, 316–17.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. e.g. P. Contamine (ed.), *Histoire militaire de la France*, Paris 1992, 234; T. Schieder (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, vol. III, Stuttgart 1971, 741–42. See further M. Reinhard (ed.), *Histoire de France*, vol. I, Paris 1954, 332: “Le roi de France prêche obédience au pape, qui lui fit miroiter l’investiture de Naples et de Jérusalem (18 janvier 1495); il lui livra le prince Djem, le reconnaissant chef d’une croisade dont il publia, sans conviction, la bulle, le mois suivant.” Cf. also J. Cleugh, *Die Medici: Macht und Glanz einer europäischen Familie*, Munich 1997, repr. 2005, 249.

<sup>91</sup> On this scientist see *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. I, New York 1970, 293–94 s.v. ‘Aromatari, Giuseppe degli’. Cf. P. A. Pelletier (ed.), *Prominent Scientists: An Index to Collective Biographies*, New York 1994, 11, 324.

is mentioned, the *gentilicium* occurring in connection with a manuscript reported to transmit the treatise *De moribus*<sup>92</sup>. This work of Galen has never been printed<sup>93</sup> and it seems rather unlikely that the gentile name crept into the manuscript from some Renaissance edition. In any case the lost codex did not transmit a commentary of Galen on some Hippocratic writing and thus the *nomen* is attested by a witness belonging to a different branch of the tradition.

Regrettably, we are not in a position to verify this statement, given that Giuseppe degli Aromatarii's whole manuscript collection was missing already in the days of Hermann Diels<sup>94</sup>. At least some of his medical manuscripts were still preserved in the eighteenth century<sup>95</sup>. It should be noted, though, that the Italian codex 2253 in the collection of the British Library gathered by Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), which offers valuable insights into the medical practice of Giuseppe degli Aromatarii<sup>96</sup>, did not initially belong to his library but to one of his patients<sup>97</sup>. Thus it has been transmitted independently and does not teach us anything about the fate of the Galenic manuscripts once owned by this Italian scholar.

It is worth focusing now upon one of the unduly neglected Greek manuscripts of Galen preserved in South-Eastern Europe. In this case, as we shall see, it is a welcome fact that not all manuscripts have been taken to Western Europe or to other parts of the world, often without bearing a trustworthy indication of their provenance and an unambiguous record regarding their date of acquisition.

In the Greek metropolis of Thessalonica<sup>98</sup> there is an Orthodox Monastery originally dedicated to Christ the Almighty (Παντοκράτωρ), which was founded

<sup>92</sup> Cf. I. P. Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae publicae & privatae*, Utini 1550, 94.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Véronique Boudon, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, Paris 2000, s.v. 'Galien de Pergame', 459. More than once Galen attests a treatise bearing this name, cf. *De libr. propr.* 12, *Scripta min.* II p.121, 10 = XIX 45, 12 K and *De an. aff. dign. et cur.* 6, CMG V 4 I, 1, p.19, 8 de Boer = V 27, 7 K.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. H. A. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, Berlin 1905–1907, repr. Leipzig – Amsterdam 1970, 125: "Venedig: Bibl. Josephi de Aromatariis (de hominis structura. *Verbleib unbekannt*)." On the testamentary provisions of Giuseppe degli Aromatarii see G. Catanzaro, O. Ciacci, F. Santucci, 'Giuseppe degli Aromatarii nel IV centenario della nascita (1587–1987)', *Atti Accad. Proserpina del Subasio* VI 15, 1987, Assisi 1987, 160–74.

<sup>95</sup> In that century medical manuscripts from Giuseppe degli Aromatarii's library were with the physician and philosopher Jacopo Bracchi or Brachi († 1737). Cf. L. Leonelli, *Memorie di Giuseppe Aromatari: Letterato, medico, naturalista*, Assisi 1887, 14: "L'Aromatari lasciò oltre al libro stampato intorno alla *Morsicatura de'* cani rabbiosi, molti scritti di medicina dopo di se, che ora sono presso il Dottor Jacopo Bracchi ...". On Jacopo Bracchi see e.g. Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche e critiche intorno alle vite e agli scritti dei letterati italiani*, vol. II. 4, Brescia 1763, 1967–68.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1904, 22: "Aromatarii (Giuseppe degli). *Consilium medicum*, 17<sup>th</sup> cent. *Ital.* 2253, f. 223".

<sup>97</sup> Since it has been complained that very little from Giuseppe degli Aromatarii's scientific work survives, it is rather astonishing that this source has not yet been even edited. It provides first-hand information about treatment he conducted as well as about therapeutic methods used by some of his contemporaries. For some reason it escaped the notice of his biographers, cf. e.g. A. Asor-Rosa, 'Aromatarii, Giuseppe degli' in A. M. Ghisalberti et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 4, Rome 1962, 292–94.

<sup>98</sup> On this metropolis cf. e.g. *Anth. Gr.* IX 428 (Antipater of Thessalonica) Θεσσαλονίκη μίττηρ ἡ πάσης ... Μακεδονίης. See also Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. R. Baladié, Paris 2003, VII, fr. 21: εἴτα

according to Raymond Janin around 1360 by the brothers Δωρόθεος and Μάρκος Βλατῆ. They were disciples of Saint Gregory Palamas and as such involved in the famous Hesychast Controversy. Dorotheos became Metropolitan of Thessalonica in 1371 and held office until 1379<sup>99</sup>. During the Ottoman period this monastic establishment continued to function and used to be called by the Turks *Çanuş manastır* (Τσαούς-Μοναστήρι). On the site fragments of ancient Greek inscriptions have been discovered<sup>100</sup>.

An examination of the understudied codex *Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 14, which can be more rigorously described as the MS Thessaloniki, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων 14, yields in this connection surprising results.

This manuscript, which transmits amongst other texts as *codex unicus* Galen's philosophical treatise Περί ἀλυπίας [*On Freedom from Distress*]<sup>101</sup>, was inaccessible for many decades<sup>102</sup>. Since in recent times it could not be found at the location indicated by Véronique Boudon-Millot<sup>103</sup>, certain scholars deemed it lost. The unrest that started in Greece on December 6th, 2008 menaced also a number of

---

Θεσσαλονίκηα Κασάνδρου κτίσμα [...] καὶ ἡ Ἐγνατία ὁδός. Ἐπωνόμασε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγατρὸς, καθελὼν τὰ ἐν τῇ Κρουσιδί πολιόμενα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ περὶ ἑξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ συνοικίας εἰς ἕν· ἡ δὲ μητρόπολις τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας ἐστὶ. Thessalonica is being designated as μητρόπολις also in several inscriptions, cf. IG X, 2 1.167, 1.178, 1.179 and 1.180. As is widely known (but these days nevertheless often forgotten), Strabo makes the point that Macedonia belongs to Greece, cf. e.g. Str. VII, fr. 9: Ἔστι μὲν οὖν Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία. See also Str. VIII, 1 ... τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολὺ μέρος, τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Cf. Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970, 20.

<sup>99</sup> See R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris 1975, 356–57; cf. Γ. Α. Στοιγύλου, *Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ Πατριαρχικὴ Μονὴ τῶν Βλατάδων*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, 57.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. I.G. X, 2 1 961–962.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. V. Boudon-Millot, 'Un traité perdu de Galien miraculeusement retrouvé, le *Sur l'inutilité de se chagriner*: texte grec et traduction française', in V. Boudon-Millot, A. Guardasole, C. Magdelaine (eds.), *La science médicale antique: Nouveaux regards* [Festschrift for Jacques Jouanna], Paris 2007, 72–123. On the inhomogeneity of the manuscript cf. A. Pirotte's provisional conclusions (*Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d'Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, CXL – CXLVI).

<sup>102</sup> See M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1958, 206–207: "Pendant la guerre 1939–1945 les mss de ce monastère ont été mis en sûreté au monastère d'Iviron au Mont-Athos. Ils y étaient encore en 1957, en caisses inaccessibles aux chercheurs." Cf. V. Boudon-Millot, A. Pirotte, 'De l'arabe au grec: Un nouveau témoin du texte de Galien (le manuscrit Vlatadon 14)', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2005, fasc. II (avril-juin), 501: "Actuellement, il est possible de consulter les microfilms de ces manuscrits, mais on ne peut malheureusement pas feuilleter les manuscrits eux-mêmes".

<sup>103</sup> Cf. V. Boudon-Millot (ed.), *Galien*. Tome I: Introduction générale. *Sur l'ordre de ses propres livres. Sur ses propres livres. Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe*, Paris 2007, 42, n. 77: "Il ne nous a malheureusement pas été possible, malgré un séjour à Thessalonique, de voir ce manuscrit actuellement conservé dans le bureau personnel de l'Higoumène. Nous avons dû nous contenter de la lecture du microfilm ..." and eadem, 'Un traité perdu de Galien miraculeusement retrouvé, le *Sur l'inutilité de se chagriner*: texte grec et traduction française', in V. Boudon-Millot, A. Guardasole, C. Magdelaine (eds.), *La science médicale antique: Nouveaux regards*. Études réunies en l'honneur de J. Jouanna, Paris 2007, 74–75: "Rappelons cependant que, malgré un voyage à Thessalonique, il n'a pas été possible de voir directement le manuscrit aujourd'hui conservé dans le bureau de l'higoumène."

important libraries<sup>104</sup>. It thus seemed advisable to ascertain the whereabouts of the valuable manuscript, so as to make sure that it was out of danger.

The first searches that I undertook during a visit confirmed that it was no longer at the H. M. Vlatadon: One of the Librarians of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies (founded in 1965 on the premises of that monastic establishment and functioning there since 1968), Miss Ioanna Zaïri, reported, after having thoroughly checked all the manuscripts of the Institute, that a large number of codices which continue to be in possession of the ascetic community had been dispatched for purposes of restoration to the Thessalonican Museum of Byzantine Culture (situated on the *Leophoros Stratou*, near the shore of the Mediterranean). The Revd. Dr. Gabriel Mándrilă, Secretary of His Eminence Metropolitan Professor Panteleimon Rhodopoulos, obligingly sought for the manuscript in book storage areas of the cloister that are inaccessible to visitors. Thanks to the kind permission of the manuscript owners represented by His Eminence the Metropolitan Panteleimon of Tyrolōē and Serention<sup>105</sup> the investigation and photography of the codex was authorized by the Director of the Byzantine Museum, Dr. Anastasia Tourta, on December 16th, 2008<sup>106</sup>.

It is a paper codex, currently assigned to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which measures ca. 300 × 220 mm. On f. 149<sup>r</sup> according to the old and 160<sup>r</sup> according to the new numbering begins the first book of the treatise commonly known as Γαληνοῦ εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων Ἱπποκράτους ὑπομνήματα δ' (*Galenī in Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor*). In this manuscript the author of the commentary on the Hippocratic text is, very surprisingly, called Claudius Galen the Pergamene. The whole title runs as follows: Εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέ(ων) Ἱπποκράτ(ους) οἱ δὲ περὶ πτισάνης-οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κνιδί(ας) γνώμας-ἐξήγησις γαληνοῦ κλαυδίου τοῦ περγαμηνοῦ: –

On f. 160<sup>r</sup> more than one copyist was at work. The same division of labour between main copyist, rubricator and scribe adding the title occurs also on f. 112<sup>r</sup> according to the new numbering<sup>107</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. e.g. 'Όλγα Σέλλα, 'Ζημιές στη Βιβλιοθήκη Δικαίου', *Καθημερινή* (Athens), 10 December 2008, p. 17: "Στην Ακαδημία Αθηνών προσπάθησαν να μπουν αλλά εμποδίστηκαν από τους φύλακες [...] καταστροφή της Βιβλιοθήκης Ευρωπαϊκού Δικαίου της Νομικής Σχολής ...".

<sup>105</sup> Τυρολόη is nowadays better known as Çorlu (European Turkey); Σερέντιον (Binkiliç) is located northeastward of Τυρολόη. At this point I should like to express my warmest gratitude towards the manuscript owners as well as to His Eminence Dr. Dr. h. c. Kallistos Ware, Metropolitan of Diokleia and Oxford, Fellow of Pembroke College, Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Studies and formerly Chairman of the Oxford University Theology Faculty Board, for a very helpful letter of introduction dispatched to Thessalonica.

<sup>106</sup> The personnel of the museum were very benevolent and co-operative; apart from the Director I should like to thank the archaeologist Mrs Georgia Papazotou, the Chairman of the Conservation Workshop for Paper and Parchment, Dr. Georgios Boudalis, and the manuscript restorer Miss Anneta Tsouka. The members of staff and the manuscript owners have accepted my proposal to give priority to the restoration of cod. *Vlatadon* 14, in which I had detected the growth of fungus on ff. 141–42 according to the old folio numbers (ff. 152–53 by the new count).

<sup>107</sup> The old folio number is 104<sup>r</sup>. The rubricator may have been the very same person as the scribe who added the title, viz. Constantine Lascaris (cf. *infra* on Professor Dieter Harlfinger's

The hand which wrote the title on f. 160<sup>r</sup> has been identified by the President of the International Committee of Greek Palaeography, Professor Dieter Harlfinger, as being that of the Byzantine man of letters Constantine Lascaris (ca. 1434–1501), who was a student of John Argyropoulos at Constantinople in the years immediately preceding the Turkish conquest<sup>108</sup>. Apart from having written many of its folios, Constantine Lascaris is believed to have directed and controlled the copying of cod. Vlatadon 14<sup>109</sup>.

Since the heading that contains the *nomen gentile* Claudius has been penned by this renowned scholarly copyist, who transcribed *inter alia* the last extant chapters of *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor* into this codex<sup>110</sup>, the present testimony cannot be discarded as insignificant. Moreover, it occurs at the beginning of a section that transmits an expository treatise of Galen on a Hippocratic text, as in the humanistic evidence discussed earlier.

According to the most recent scholarly literature this title is not found elsewhere in the entire manuscript transmission of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic writing Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων νοσημάτων<sup>111</sup>.

Let us reflect upon the way it is constructed, looking out for some linguistic parallels. The sequence οἱ δὲ without preceding μὲν, ἔνιοι etc. can repeatedly be

identification of the hand). For on f. 169<sup>v</sup> according to the old, i.e. f. 180<sup>v</sup> according to the new numbering, both the rubricated initials and the rest of the title line are written in the same red ink.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Teresa Martínez Manzano, *Constantino Lascaris: Semblanza de un humanista bizantino*, Madrid 1998, 4: "Constantino Láscaris nació en Constantinopla, como se deduce de su sobrenombre 'el Bizantino' (ὁ Βυζάντιος) ... Entre 1444 y 1453 asistió allí a las clases de Juan Argirópulo, al que se refiere en varias ocasiones como «mi maestro» y por el que parece haber sentido gran respeto y admiración". Already on 5 July 2007 Professor D. Harlfinger had recognised the hand of Constantine Lascaris in cod. Vlatadon 14 on the basis of some rather blurred reproductions of f. 62<sup>v</sup> and 147<sup>v</sup>. For he pointed out to Professor V. Boudon-Millot (quotation from the forwarded message): "inzwischen habe ich Ihren und Herrn Pietrobellis höchst interessanten Beitrag zum Vlatadon-Codex in den Comptes rendus der Académie [*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2005, fasc. II] gelesen [...] ich schreibe heute deshalb, weil selbst die ein wenig unscharfen Tafeln Ihres Beitrags mich meinen lassen, daß es sich bei dem Kopisten möglicherweise um keinen anderen als den jungen Konstantin Laskaris (noch in Konstantinopel) handeln könnte; zu ihm habe ich mich geäußert in D.H., Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance, I: Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1974, S. 23–24 mit Tafeln 36 und 37."

<sup>109</sup> Cf. A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d'Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, 144: "Il semble que la copie du manuscrit ait été entreprise par lui-même et pour lui-même, sans doute au départ comme un manuel de médecine galénique ... De fait, Lascaris revoit le texte des autres copistes en quelques endroits."

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, CXLIII.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 2, 1. Pietrobelli does not mention the fact that in the closest relative of cod. Vlatadon 14, cod. *Athous Ivriou* 184 (4304 Lambros), there is on f. 130<sup>r</sup> a rubricated one-line heading of Galen's treatise *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor*, which is undecipherable on the photographic reproductions that are currently available (produced on the basis of the microfilm αρθμὸς ἀρχείου 346 from the collection of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessalonica). One can see that there is an ornament at the top of the page and that the letters of the title were accommodated below. This heading will be discussed *infra*. For a comprehensive view of the titles found in the manuscripts both Helmreich's edition and Pietrobelli's thesis should be consulted, since the latter omits the heading written in the Moscow manuscript 465, which has been reported by Helmreich.



found in cases where the authorship of a text is uncertain. For instance, in the Hippocratic manuscript *Parisinus Graecus* 2255 on f. 393<sup>r</sup> a part of the treatise *De aere, aquis, locis* begins under the heading Ἱπποκράτους περὶ προγνώσεως ἐτῶν:~. This title is supplemented with the words Οἱ δέ, τινὸς ἄλλου παλαιοῦ:~. A similar usage of οἱ δέ is illustrated by the *Anthologia Graeca*, where one can read captions like Ἀσκληπιάδου, οἱ δέ Ποσειδίππου (XVI 68), Ποσειδίππου, οἱ δέ Πλάτωνος τοῦ κωμικοῦ (IX 359), Ἀρχίου, οἱ δέ Παρμενίωνος (IX 27), Ἀσκληπιάδου, οἱ δέ Ἀρχίου (IX 64) etc.<sup>112</sup>

This construction is also used by scholiasts when discussing passages where manuscripts are at variance. The *Scholia vetera* on the *Iliad* explain the vocative Πελασγικέ at the beginning of Achilles' prayer to Zeus, where the competing readings Πελαργικέ and Πελαστικέ are attested (*Il.* 16.233), as follows: Πελασγικέ: ὅτι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἴδρυται τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην τέμενος·οἱ δέ „Πελαργικέ“·ἐν γὰρ τῷ τεμένει λόφον εἶναι λευκόν, ὃν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ. οἱ δέ „Πελαστικέ“, οὗ πέλας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ<sup>113</sup>. Lexicographers use it when diversity of opinion is being reported<sup>114</sup>. Pedanius Dioscorides employs it when mentioning a variety of names that designate one and the same plant<sup>115</sup>.

However, the usage we are concerned with strictly speaking, viz. repeated οἱ δέ introducing title variants of literary works, seems to be rare, especially since the passage found in Diogenes Laertius II, 122 no longer offers a parallel, if one takes as a basis the text established by recent editors<sup>116</sup>.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that a very similar title is found in one of the most important manuscripts of the *corpus Hippocraticum*<sup>117</sup>, which has been

<sup>112</sup> Cf. further e.g. Λουκιλλίου, οἱ δέ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ (V 68), τοῦ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δέ Παλλαδᾶ Ἀλεξανδρέως (V 71). All the references are to H. Beckby's second edition, Munich [1965–67].

<sup>113</sup> See *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (*Scholia vetera*), ed. H. Erbse, vol. IV, Berolini 1975, 220. Cf. *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. A. B. Drachmann, vol. I, Lipsiae 1903 (ed. stereotypa Amsterdam 1969), 204 Ἀφροδίτας: Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ἡρόδωρος γενεαλογεῖ παρ' Ἡροφίλου, οἱ δέ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης. οἱ δέ ὅτι εὐπρεπὴς ἡ Ῥόδος διὰ τὸ κάλλος.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. *Suda*, Ἰῶτα 80: Ἴβυκος, Φυτίου, οἱ δέ Πολυζήλου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ἱστοριογράφου, οἱ δέ Κέρδατος·γένει Ῥηγίνος. See further Y 294: Ὑπερίδης, υἱὸς Γλαυκίππου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οἱ δέ Πυθοκλέους, Ἀθηναῖος ... Cf. also Ἀλφα 1916 s.v. Ἀνακρέων.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. e.g. Dsc. 4. 73: στρύχνον μανικόν, ὃ ἐνιοι πέρσειον, οἱ δέ περισσόν, οἱ δέ ἄνυδρον, οἱ δέ πεντόδρουον, οἱ δέ ἔνορον, οἱ δέ θρύον, οἱ δέ ὀρθόγυιον ἐκάλεσαν ...

<sup>116</sup> H. G. Huebner (Lipsiae 1828) together with C. G. Cobet (Parisiis 1862) read ... περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ·οἱ δέ, περὶ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι and translated "... de honesto: alii volunt, de consulendo ...". In more recent times H. S. Long (Oxonii 1964) punctuated ... Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. οἱ δέ, Περὶ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, whereas M. Marcovich (Stuttgartiae et Lipsiae 1999) retained ... [Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ]. οἱ δέ· Περὶ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι ...

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Jean Irigoin, 'L'Hippocrate du Cardinal Bessarion: *Marcianus graecus* 269 [533]', in *Miscellanea Marciana di studi bessaroni: A coronamento del V Centenario della donazione nicena* (Medioevo e Umanesimo 24, a cura di R. Avesani, G. Billanovich, G. Pozzi), Padua 1976, 161.

copied according to Jean Irigoin around the middle of the tenth century<sup>118</sup> and which transmits *inter alia* the treatise *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, i.e. precisely the work matching Galen's commentary we are concerned with. On f. 237<sup>r</sup> of the manuscript Venice, *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, *Graecus* 269 (coll. 533), one finds the following heading: Ἱπποκράτους περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων, οἱ δὲ περὶ πτισάνης οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κνιδίας γνώμας<sup>119</sup>.

It is acknowledged that this witness to the Hippocratic text has been influenced by the manuscript tradition of Galen's commentaries<sup>120</sup> and that, conversely, the branch to which it belongs has affected the lemmata of Galen's work *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor*<sup>121</sup>. Nevertheless, no tripartite title was known to exist in the mediaeval transmission of Galen's commentary prior to the investigation of cod. *Vlatadon* 14<sup>122</sup>.

Regarding the information content of this heading the following should be mentioned: Galen himself points out that the Hippocratic treatise Περί διαίτης ὀξέων (*De diaeta in morbis acutis*) is mistakenly titled by some people Περί πτισάνης, being wrongly referred to as Πρὸς τὰς Κνιδίας γνώμας by others<sup>123</sup>.

This confirms that the general purport of the threefold heading, viz. of the words περὶ διαίτης [...] οἱ δὲ [...] οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κνιδίας γνώμας, is veridical.

<sup>118</sup> See idem, *La tradition des textes grecs: Pour une critique historique*, Paris 2003, 255: "La date de la copie du *Marcianus*, pour qui fait confiance aux critères paléographiques, se situe vers le milieu du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et non, comme on l'affirme généralement, au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle". Cf. J. Jouanna, 'Le traité hippocratique du *Régime dans les maladies aiguës*: Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite et sur le texte', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6, 1976, 1 and Hippocrates, *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, *De alimento*, *De humidorum usu*, ed. R. Joly, Paris 1972, 25: "Souvent daté du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il semble bien être de la seconde moitié du X<sup>e</sup>".

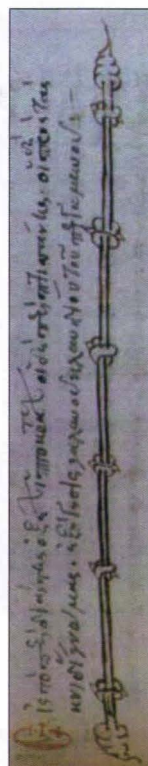
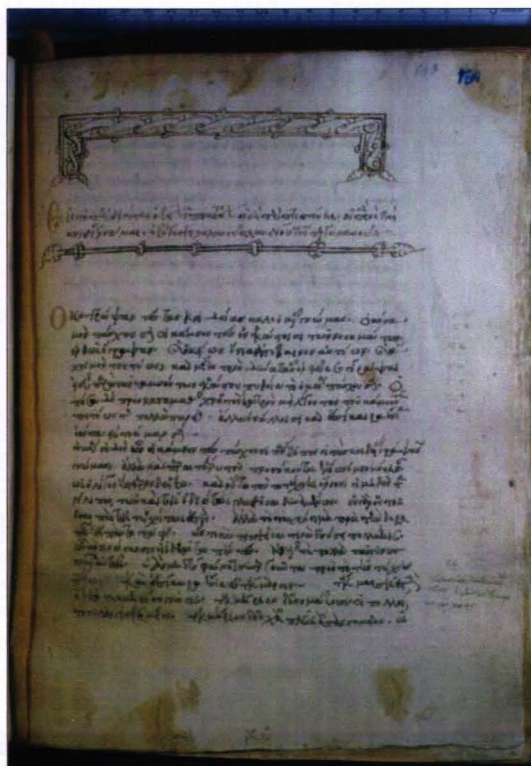
<sup>119</sup> See Jean Irigoin, 'L'Hippocrate du Cardinal Bessarion: *Marcianus graecus* 269 [533]', in *Miscellanea Marciana di studi bessariani: A coronamento del V Centenario della donazione nicena*, (Medioevo e Umanesimo 24, a cura di R. Avesani, G. Billanovich, G. Pozzi), Padua 1976, 166. Cf. Hippocrates, *Opera quae feruntur omnia*, ed. H. Kuehlewien, vol. I, Lipsiae 1894, 109.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. J. Jouanna, 'Le traité hippocratique du *Régime dans les maladies aiguës*: Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite et sur le texte', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6, 1976, 22 and Hippocrates, *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, *De alimento*, *De humidorum usu*, ed. R. Joly, Paris 1972, 26: "Les lemmes de Galien ne sont pas d'un aussi grand secours qu'on le souhaiterait, car ils sont fort proches de la branche MV, en vertu d'une double normalisation: les lemmes influencent cette branche de la tradition hippocratique et inversement la tradition hippocratique influence les manuscrits de Galien".

<sup>121</sup> Cf. J. Jouanna, 'Le traité hippocratique du *Régime dans les maladies aiguës*: Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite et sur le texte', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6, 1976, 16.

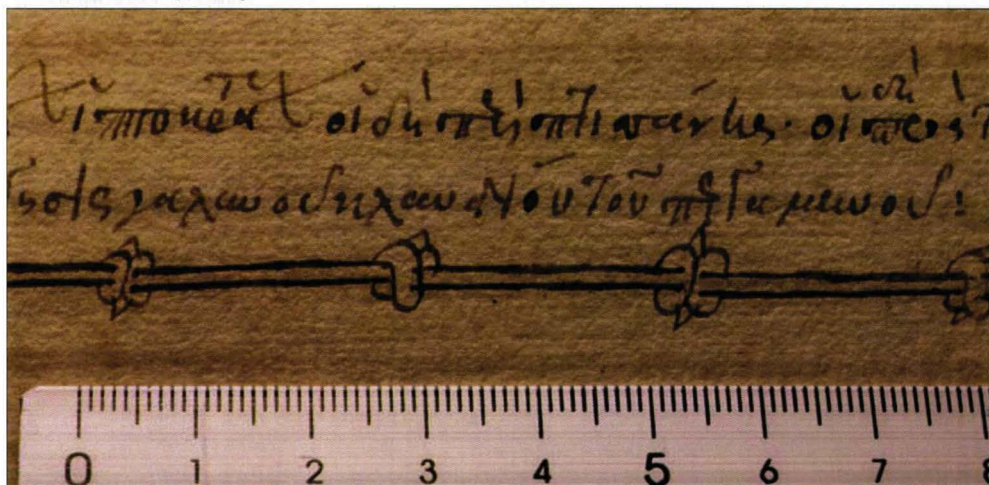
<sup>122</sup> Cf. Hippocrates, *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, *De alimento*, *De humidorum usu*, ed. R. Joly, Paris 1972, 14.

<sup>123</sup> See Gal. *De alim. facult.* 3.39 CMG V 4, 2 p. 381, 19–20 Helmreich = VI 742.1–2 K, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 9.6.5 CMG V 4, 1, 2 p. 572, 34–574, 1 De Lacy = V 762.4–7 K, *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 1.17 CMG V 9, 1 p. 133, 23–25 Helmreich = XV 452.13–14 K, *De meth. med.* 8.2, X 544. 4–5 K, *De difficult. respir.* 3.1, VII 891.6–7 K, 3.6, VII 913. 8 K. Cf. further *De vict. Hipp. in morb. acut.* 6.12–14 CMG Suppl. Or. II p. 99, 19–101, 1 Lyons and *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 1.15–1.16 CMG V 9, 1 p. 130, 21–131, 4 Helmreich = XV 445.15 – 446.13 K. One of the relevant passages, viz. *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 1.17, can be read on f. 167<sup>r</sup> (old folio number 156<sup>r</sup>), line 7 of cod. *Vlatadon* 14.



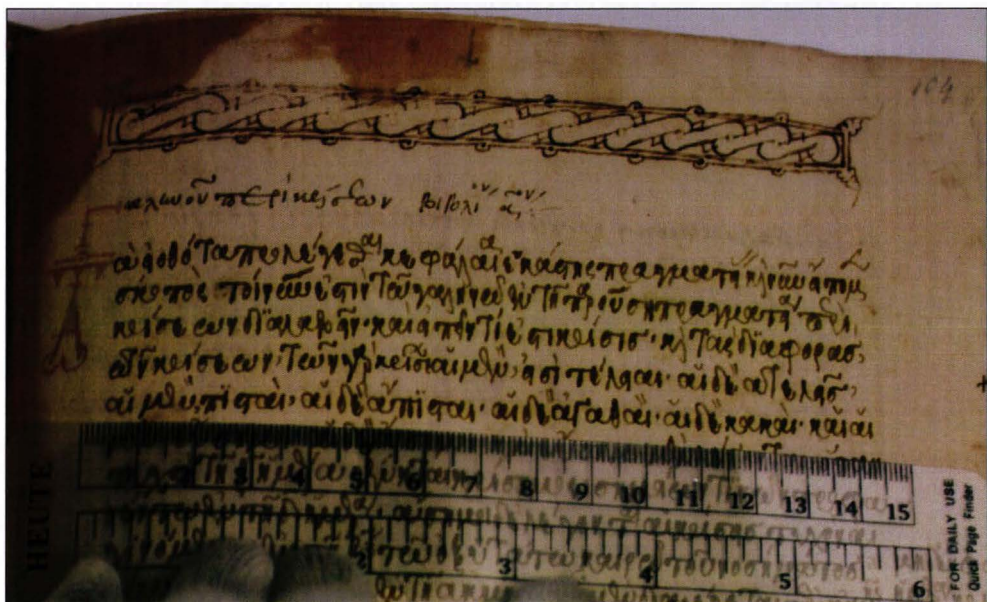
© Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης  
Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 149<sup>old</sup> / 160<sup>new</sup> folio numbering

Further view of detail

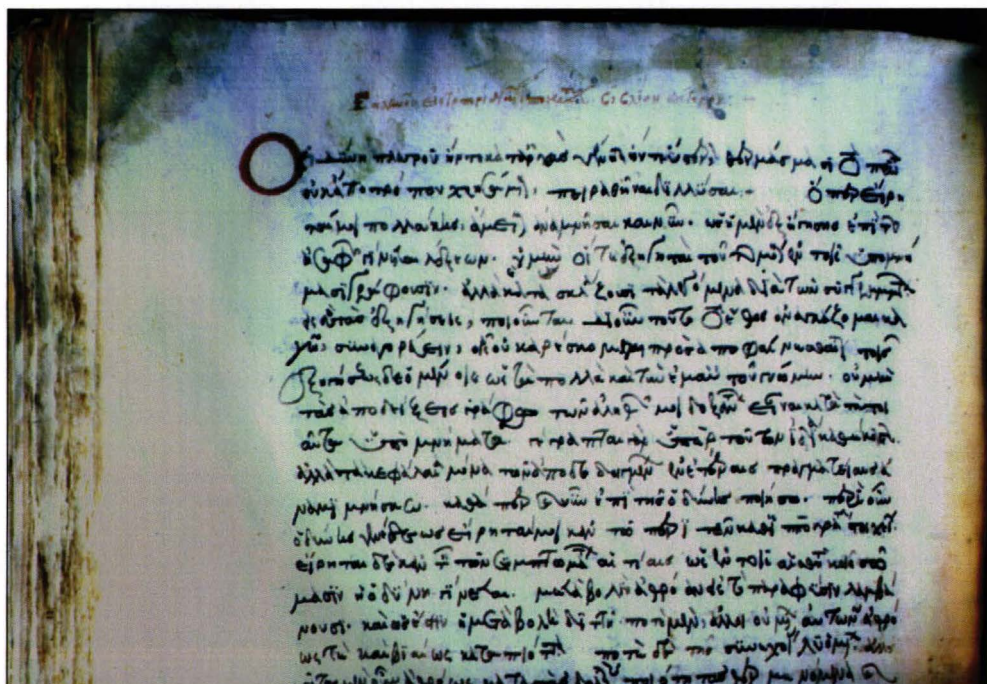


© Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης  
(Upon the rulers centimeters and millimeters are marked)

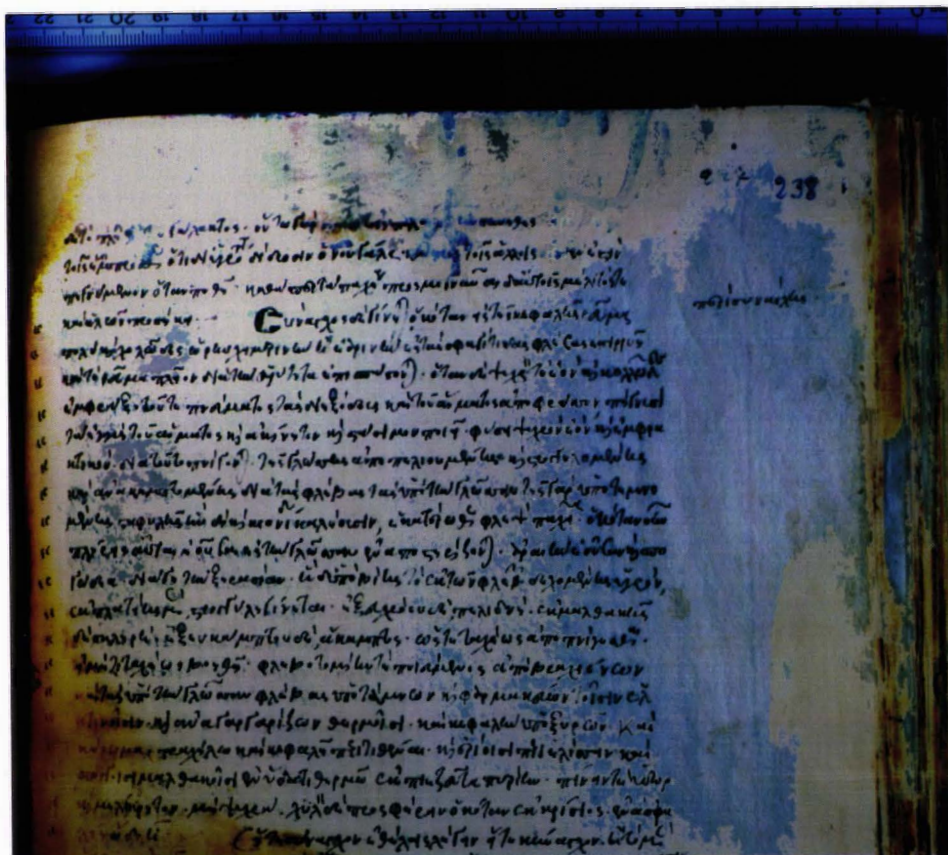




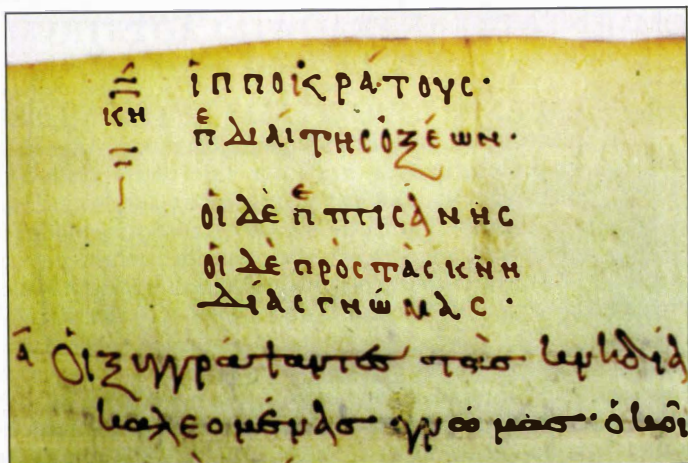
© Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης  
Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 104<sup>old</sup> / 112<sup>new</sup> folio numbering  
(measured in centimeters and inches)



© Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης  
Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 169<sup>old</sup> / 180<sup>new</sup> folio numbering.

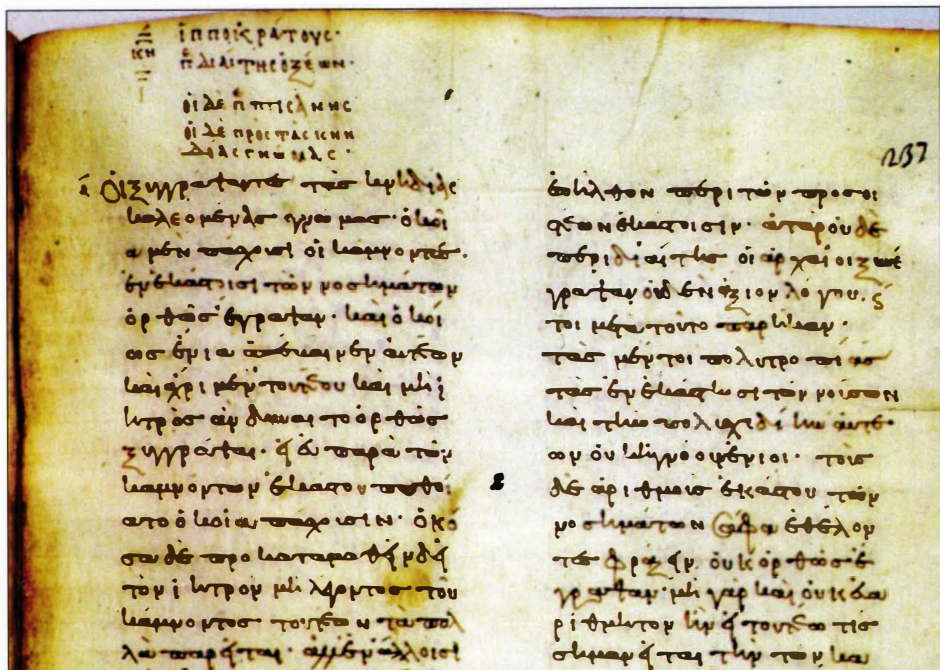


© Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή Μονή Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης  
Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 227' old / 238' new folio numbering (partial view; centimeters)



Cod. Marcianus Graecus 269 (coll. 533), f. 237', view of detail (top of the left column)  
© Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana



Cod. Marcianus Graecus 269 (coll. 533), f. 237<sup>r</sup>, further view of detail

© Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

LAVRENTII, LAVRENTIANI FLORENTINI IN GALENI  
COMMENTATIONES PRAEFATIO AD PETRVM  
MEDICEM VIRVM CLARISSIMVM.

c VM ANIMADVERTISSEM PETRE MEDICES  
plures de medicina uolumina cōmentanorum deprauata uul  
go per inscitiam atq; icuriam emisisse: dignā panter & utilissi  
mam rem putavi: si q̄tum i me est Romanis hominibus opē  
aliquā afferens instructiorem deliberatioremq; & adminicula  
torem medicinæ artē efficere. Peruidebam sentētias uetustis  
simi medici totiusq; parentis medicinæ Hippocratis in eiusdē  
aut etiam maioris obscuritatis uisio futuras: nisi quapiā luce cōmentationū cla  
rescerent. Quam inq; superfūdere nouam aggredior uersis in laonū sermonem  
Claudii Galeni cōmentationibus. Et. n. q̄ nostræ ætatis aut et paulo antiquiores  
trāsferre ali d in latinā linguā ex græcis litteris aggressi sūt: anteq̄ ois ingenux  
eruditionis uices peragrauerint partim ob infantia: partim ignoratone medici  
nalis artis: ita fœdas/ incōptas/ interpellatas reliquerūt cōmentationes: ut orau

Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*. Firenze, A. Miscomini, 16. X. 1494,  
Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, shelf mark Inc.fol.8672, f. b4

Ita posthac id ipsum liberum uolumus opinaturis. Cæterum quod ad Politiani pertinet interpretatiōem, tantū pro tempore illud admonuerim, Politianum ipsum, si paulo plus in humanis egisset, multa fuisse, uel his aditurum, uel inducturum. omnino pleniora essent hæc omnia, decoctioraq; iam nec illud humanissime Princeps omiserim, quod oracula quoq; ex Hippocrate, cum Claudii Galeni commentariis (ita enim τοῦ ἀποδείκνυσις appellabat) latini homines legerent. Nam & pars adhuc aliqua extat, ac plurimū ī ea relaboris, & uigiliæ. quod is olim mihi referebat, exhausti. Sed hūc laborem quidam ē charis supplerunt. parum moror, si & illud in calce Plutarchi cheronensis amatorias adiecimus narrationes ad Pandulfum collenucium, qui adeo Politianum suspexit, adeo eruditionem eius obseruauit, ut nostrū quoque studium (quid hoc enim negem?) propemodum, ut alumnū se agnoscere profiteatur. Vale. Kalendis Aprilis. M.cccclxxxvii. Florentiæ.

Angelus Politianus, *Omnia opera ... et alia quaedam lectu digna*, Venice 1498, f. XT  
 Courtesy of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, call number 879.8 qP769Xs

Ita posthac id ipsum liberum uolumus opinaturis. Cæterum quod ad Politiani pertinet interpretationem: tantum pro tempore illud admonuerim. Politianum ipsum: si paulo plus in humanis egisset: multa fuisse: uel his aditurum: uel inducturum. omnino pleniora essent hæc omnia: decoctioraq; iam nec illud humanissime Princeps omiserim. quod oracula quoq; ex Hippocrate: cum Claudii Galeni commentariis (ita enim τοῦ ἀποδείκνυσις appellabat) latini homines legerent. Nam & pars adhuc aliqua extat: ac plurimum in ea re laboris: & uigiliarum. quod is olim mihi referebat: exhausti. Sed hūc laborem quidam ē charis suppleunt. parum moror. si & illud in calce. Plutarchi cheronensis amatorias adiecimus narrationes ad Pandulfum collenucium: qui adeo Politianū suspexit: adeo eruditionem eius obseruauit: ut nostrum quoque studium (quid hoc enim negem?): propemodum: ut alumnū se agnoscere profiteatur. Vale. Kalendis Aprilis. M.cccclxxxvii. Florentiæ.

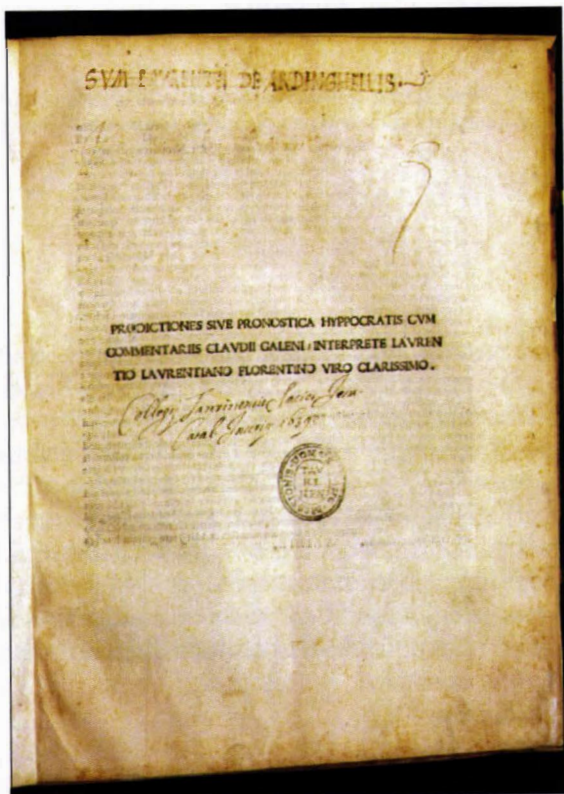
Angelus Politianus, *Omnia opera ... et alia quaedam lectu digna*, Florence [recte Brescia] 1499, f. x2<sup>r</sup>;  
 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, shelf mark Inc. fol. 13219



VIGESIMVS QVARTVS

guescere: animalia (ut inquit Plinius) placidissima: mures uero auiditate maxima salem lambunt: eoq; (ut creditum est) redduntur pręgnantes: quod ex Aristotele Plinius (ut alia multa) refert. Scorpiones terram fere exedentes uiuunt: ascalabotes autę seu stelliones: & aranei minimo suctu: hæc enim animantia (ut adnotatum a nobis est) uitreis iclusa poculis: nullo quidem cibo supra semestre spatium uitę protrahunt: etsi eoq; oculi extumescunt. sed & lupi cum maiori fame uexantur: terram etiã depascuntur. Serpentes uero (si cubi adest facultas) cupiditate summa uinum appetunt. itaq; minime mirandum est: si uiperas a Claudio Galeno scribitur repertas quãdoq; in amphoris uinariis: quin & pleraq; animantia: quę gręci amphibia uocant: nõ min⁹ uenenis: q̃aliis cibis uiuunt: ea. M. Cicero uitę ācipitis latina uoce appellat.

Petrus Crinitus, *De honesta disciplina* XXIV.5, Florence 1504, f. o'  
 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, shelf mark Incun. 2° 12238



Hippocrates, *Prodictiones sive pronostica* ..., Florence 1508, title page  
 Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland  
 Call number WZ 240 H 667pL 1508



Augustinus florentinus ultimum cutox / studijs & ualere & benefacere.

Consistat animo natiuitatem nostro / lista senectus. Ne utiq; cum hominem libere ingenio  
et generoso pectore iudicandus: qui possit / humane lodetari aliquid fragile & praesi-  
dii non ferat: eidemq; aliquo pacto / ex sua opera non consular. Nam si contra / duo esse  
cler / et posteritati cum fame / cum laudi / quod est non contemnendum / prospiciet. Signa-  
dem iunior / lytus tam bene / q; dixit uere. Et quatinus negatum est nobis idem uolere / re-  
linquamus aliquid / quo post mortem ualuisse testemur. Deinde quod a Platone praedare di-  
cum / et a Tullio eleganter repetitum est / praestabile. Non enim nobis solum nati sumus  
sed ortus nostri / partim patria / partim parentes / partim sibi uendicant amici. Sed quoniam  
patria conlunctor / et quoniam res p. praestator / q; Palladis palestra litteraria / quoniam  
maior utilitas / q; sapientiam excolere / eam admirari / illi uota facere / illi aras appone-  
re / ea ea quicquid est boui / ea infestis contra quodcumq; malum prouenire necesse est / Proin-  
de huiusmodi tanquam kretus defesso Athlanti lubiisse munus / ac: celum substituisse uiden-  
tur: qui & se pariter / et uirtutis sacrum suis litteraturae monumentis exornant. Argy-  
ropilus Byzantius / Theodorus Caca / Hermolaus Barbarus / Martilius Ficinus / Picius Mi-  
randula / comeluresq; alii / quorum opera / philosophia / omnesq; artes bonae squalidae ob-  
ductae: yfritu & barbarie ad lucem et eternitatis a contemptu a dhonorem reuixerunt. Quos in-  
ter non ultimus / ita mihi proprii sine cellas ) Laurentius Laurentianus partes refert.  
Is enim abhinc annos quindecim / in Pisano studiorum gymnasio / philosophiam & me-  
dicinam proficundo / officus Hippocratis Chol Aphorismorum translatione barbarica ope-  
repretum esse. Diuini & diuini uiri opusculum sua opera ex graeco fonte conlari & in-  
cudi malefactorum ( ut ait Horatius ) reformandum reddi / arbitratus est. Cumq; bonis  
auius eam prouinciam fuisset auspicius alacri animo / ad Aristotelis Pericleniam  
quae tantumdem sordium patiebatur / studium intendit: cui ad filium & dignitatem reuo-  
care commentationem apposuit. Vtrumq; opus per chalcographos excusum edidit. Rursus  
( quod bona facit arbor ) ad Hippocratem suu regressus / eiusdem pronostica cum com-  
mentariis identidem Claudii Galeni / summa Interpretis fide / non indocto sermone / qui  
solet esse physici rarus / in latine linguam & eleganter & pure conuertit / in lucem pau-  
lo post daturus in communem studiosorum utilitatem: quae ( quoniam necesse est eueniat quod  
euenire necesse est ) morte immatura praeventus / praestare non quirit. At pietissimus fi-  
lius Romulus patriae / parenti / amicis / gloriam / pietatem / beneficia exhibiturus & ipse  
uirtutis alumnus / nobis de homine aliquatenus promerentibus / et iusta praescripte-  
tibus / ut iam prodiret / librum non est ueritus demergere. Daturus etiam per q; libentis ani-  
mo quae a patre in libros de Animalibus / item de anima scripta sunt / modo i le ultimam  
manum suis his studiis imponere posuisset. Sed quoniam scripsit ad Architam Platonem: Nul-  
lum quippe opus satis unquam emendari potest / in ausum merito ille relinquet. Nos uero  
satis ambo uis fuisse ut debemus: si ( ne tanti uirtutis memoria excidat ) rem gratam & uobis  
& Palladii fuisset olemus. VALETE.

Hippocrates, *Prodictiones sive pronostica* ..., Florence 1508, verso of the title page.

Preface of the editor Augustinus Florentinus.

Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland;

Call number WZ 240 H 667pL 1508



## PRAEDITIONUM LIBER PRIMVS.

CLAVDI GALENI IN PRAEDITIONES HYPOCRATIS LIBER PRIMVS / INTERPRETE LAVRENTIO LAVRENTIANO FLORENTINO.

Quam sint necessarii Medicorum praedictiones Caput Primum.

EDICVM VTI PROVIDENTIA (Vt mihi uidet) optimum est.

Pro praesensione diuinae providentiae periculum est. Igitur inferta praesentens, n. & praedicens coram agro. Ceteri praesentunt open praesentatione utpote necessariam: quam non admodum utat praesentationibus ob quosdam medicos q. illius secundo extiterunt item nunc sunt sese nominantes methodicos / medicorum officii haberi dicentes / aut praesentent cōseruare sanitatē in bene ualentibus / aut reuocare corrupta in aegrotantibus. Vtinationis uero scirese praesentire futura: itaq. docet Hippocrates ex praesentatione q. usus medicorum praesentia habent / oratione intra capita distracta: aegri enim parente propensius: ac medicus praesentendo futura de longinquo obuiam itet demum crimine uacat intermissionis. Porro uoluit ut nihilominus salutis causa cessant. Sed iam aditidamus dictionibus ea: ex quibus singula capita adstruat.

Praesentens, n. & praedicens coram agro quocunq. infirmi omittunt / enarrans creditur agnoscere aegri conditionem.

Primum caput hae adstruit oratione: audere dicens hoies magis se confidere manibus medicorum quorū praedictiones haud quāq. interdiciant: ita enī effici ut aeger facile extimet medicū agnoscere conditionē aegri. I. quae nam sit natura morbitarū: adhuc modum sequela textū demonstrationis. Ex praedictione existimat eger medicū agnoscere naturam aegrotationis. Porro existimatis medicū agnoscere naturā aegrotationis / se exhibet obsequentiore: ac demū se exhibens obsequendore / morbo facilius iudicatur.

Quocunq. infirmi omittunt.

Infirmi omittunt nō quē nullo periculo agnoscunt / quemadmodū nōnulli interpretes insecte prodiderunt sedes in profundo corporis perpeas / aut causas: et item affectiōes earū: sed ex causis procatarteticas nōle. I. progressas: ex accidentibus autē ea quae eundem circa corpus sunt / ac sensibus usurpant: uerbi grā: in pulmona maxilla rubicunda: nā quae diu horū infirmi dicere refugit. Ergo quē unq. tanta penetratiōe infirmi nequāq. dixerunt: simul atq. audierunt a medicis relata: eos optima ratione demitran. Ceterum quonā modo id fieri conueniat / procedete sermone docebo.

Ita curationē optime molieris praenolendo futuras affectiōes: fieri enī nō potest / ut oēs i sanitatē aegri perducant: id enī melius foret q. praesentire futura.

Secundā praedictionis utilitatē hoc loco persequit. Et n. ubi medicus agnoscit exquilita ratione affectiōis utilitatē: quidam prohibebit affectus / q. per eam insensitate assolent: quorundā prohibebit magnitudinē: omnibus uero i cōmune recte prospiciet: et praecauet quemadmodū bonus gubernator per futuram tempestatem.

Cū hoies intereant: alii priusq. adhibeat medicū ex ut morbi: nōnulli adhibēt medicū statim moriunt: quidā diem uiuētēs unū / aut paulopius tēporis anq. medicus arte tēpnet: Oportet igit agnoscere talium naturā affectiōis quāru supra uires corporis sita: p. riter & liquid i morbis diuini habet: illius quoque ediscere prouidētiam. Ita enī merito cōmendabit / et fidus medicus erit.

Hoc sermone duo de praedictis capita i praedictōe utilitatis: praeterea adstruēs adiecte tertiū: insonē abolitiōis crimine fore medicū dicēs: quorū cōualituros / aut morituros aegros pronuntiet. Igit adolecētē medicus quidā nuper incipientē sudare rōne accidētis demisit i balneū: tum a sit sudoris copia effluentē medicus gausus: etiāq. seruatus cēt ex quilibet tēpus. Paulopost itermortuus aegri magna necessariorū indignatiōe est. Hactenus

Historia.



## TABVLA

De angina  
De gurgulione  
Signa & accidentia affecto loco nequaquam desinito  
De moratione quae accidit per aetatem  
De uomitione spontanea  
De conuulsione  
De signis & indiciis quo nam modo differat inter les  
et inermaliqua de temperie regionum  
Quo pacto praedictiones medicorum in motu sunt  
Caput. viii.  
Caput. viii.  
Caput. x.  
Caput. xi.  
Caput. xii.  
Caput. xiii.  
Caput. xiiii.  
Caput. xv.  
Caput. xvi.  
Caput. xvii.  
Caput. xviii.  
Caput. xix.  
Caput. xx.  
Caput. xxi.  
Caput. xxii.  
Caput. xxiii.  
Caput. xxiiii.  
Caput. xxv.  
Caput. xxvi.  
Caput. xxvii.  
Caput. xxviii.  
Caput. xxix.  
Caput. xxx.  
Caput. xxxi.  
Caput. xxxii.  
Caput. xxxiii.  
Caput. xxxiiii.  
Caput. xxxv.  
Caput. xxxvi.  
Caput. xxxvii.  
Caput. xxxviii.  
Caput. xxxix.  
Caput. xl.

Florentiae ex archetypo impressum per Ser. Antonium de  
Tubals & And. de Ghytlandis de pistorio Anno salutis  
M.D.VIII. Septimo Idus Maii.



BIBLIOTHECÆ  
VENETÆ

MANUSCRIPTÆ

PUBLICÆ

&

PRIVATÆ

Quibus diuersi Scriptores hactenus incogniti recensentur.

OPERA

IACOBI PHILIPPI TOMASINI

Episcopi Aemoniensis.

*Ad Illustrissimos Literarum Patronos*

PETRV M ET IACOBVM

Puteanos Fratres.



VTINI, Typis Nicolai Schiratti. M D C L.

SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

Iacobus Philippus Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae...*,  
Udine 1650, title page  
*Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn*, shelf mark Ab 1075



Manuscripta Græca & Latina, quæ extant in Bibliotheca Viri celeberrimi D. JOSEPHI de AROMATARIIS apud VENETOS primi nominis Medici.

**D**ictionum Atticarum collectio Moschopuli.

Aristoteles de Anima.

Expositio in Aristot. de Anima,

*Invenio* in Metaphysica Aristotelis.

Alexus Cappadox de Causis & Signis Acutarum Affectionum.

Idem de Causis & Signis Diuturnarum Affectionum.

Idem de Acutarum affectionum curatione.

Idem de Diuturnarum affectionum curatione.

Galenus de conformatione fetus.

De Hominis structura.

De Musculorum refectione, tyronibus.

De Nervorum refectione.

De Venarum refectione.

De Pulsibus ad Antonium

Philosophum, & Philosophum.

De Quinque sensibus.

De Respiratione causis.

De Respiratione difficili.

Claudius Galenus de Moribus.

Galenus de medicamentis purgantibus, quæcunque bilem ducunt rubram.

Herophili definitiones Pulsuum.

*Fragmentum.*

Anonymus de Pulsibus.

Theophilus de Pulsibus.

Liber, cum Deo Sancto, Artis Medicæ.

De Urina Abirzianus.

De Antidotis.

Scholia, cum Deo, in Prognosticum Hippocratis, ex auditione (siue ore) Stephani Atheniensis.

Expositio Nicephori Blemide in Psalmos.

S. Patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani interpretatio Psalmorum.

Expositio S. Patris nostri Anastasij in introductionem creationis Sex dierum.

Sapientis Cæsarij, Sancti Gratii Gregorij Episcopi Nazianzeni Interpretationes & Responsa.

Ioannis Presbyteri Damasceni quædam.

Liber Incensij de precatione; postremum inscribitur, de Patientia & martyrij desiderio. *musculus initio.*

Opusculum Anastasij Monachi montis Sinai.

Alterum Anastasij Archiepiscopi Alexandrini.

*Libri Latini, & Græci.*

**L**iber, in quo Quinti Curtij Epistolæ.

Uras & Bessum Kanarum Homerij Carolo Aretino interprete.

Eiusdem Caroli ad Nicolai Pont. V. carmina.

Eiusdem laudes Leonardi Aretini.

Leonardi Aretini traditio Actus primi primæ Comædiæ Aristophanis.

Liber, in quo Francisci Petrarchæ Psalmi, & Liber de Bona Fortuna, trans.



## ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ

ΙΕΡΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ  
ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΗΓΙΑΚΗ ΜΟΝΗ ΒΛΑΤΑΔΩΝ  
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

Αριθ. Πρωτ. 107

Εν Θεσσαλονίκη, τῇ 3<sup>ῃ</sup> Αὐγούστου 2009

Διά τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτρέπομεν εἰς τόν διδάκτορα κ. Στέφανον  
Αλεξάνδρου νά δημοσιεύσῃ φωτογραφίας τινάς (οὐχί περισσοτέρας  
τῶν δέκα) τοῦ κώδικος Βλατάδων 14, τῆς ὁποίας οὗτος ἔλαβεν ἀπό  
τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου 2008 μέχρι σήμερον, χρησιμοποιήσας τόν  
ἐξοπλισμόν τόν ὅποιον εἶχε χορηγήσει εἰς αὐτόν τό Κοινωφελές  
Ίδρυμα Ἀλέξανδρος Σ. Γνάσης.

Εἰς τήν πλευράν ἐκάστης φωτογραφίας δέον νά γραφῇ:

© Ἱερά Μονή Βλατάδων, Θεσσαλονίκη.

Ὁ ἡγούμενος,

*Παντελεήμων Σ. Ροδόπουλος*

Ὁ Μητροπολίτης Τυρολόης καί Σερεντίου

Παντελεήμων Ροδόπουλος

Ὁμ. Καθηγητής, τέως Πρύτανης τοῦ Α.Π.Θ..

Parenthetically it is worth noting that broadly similar pieces of evidence are found also elsewhere in Greek literature. In the second book of Athenaeus' *Learned Banquet* an unidentified character<sup>124</sup>, possibly the symposiast Galen, who had been introduced in Book I to present, as a connoisseur, Italian wines<sup>125</sup>, draws upon the Hippocratic treatise *De diaeta in morbis acutis* to make a point about the pleasantness of sweet wine, mentioning four titles of this writing<sup>126</sup>. In the pseudo-Galenic treatises *Περὶ τῆς Ἱπποκράτους διαίτης ἐπὶ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων* (*De diaeta Hippocratis in morbis acutis*)<sup>127</sup> and *Περὶ αἰτίας παθῶν* (*De causa affectionum*)<sup>128</sup> the titles *Πρὸς τὰς Κνιδίας γνώμας* and *Περὶ πτισάνης* are also made mention of. In two of these cases<sup>129</sup> the references regard the appendix of *Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων*<sup>130</sup>, whose authenticity has been called into question in antiquity, as we learn from Galen<sup>131</sup>. To this appendix relate also the two references to a writing entitled *Περὶ πτισάνης* which are found in the forged letter of Hippocrates addressed to Democritus<sup>132</sup>.

Both parts of the title written on f. 160<sup>r</sup> of cod. *Matadon* 14 are linked inasmuch as the words *ἐξήγησις γαληνοῦ κλαυδίου τοῦ περγαμηνοῦ* pick up the terms *εἰς τὸ* from its beginning. Similarly, in the headings *Γαληνοῦ εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων λόγος τρίτος* and *Γαληνοῦ εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων βιβλίον τρίτον* found in the manuscripts *Athous Lavra* Ω 70 (1880)<sup>133</sup> and *Monacensis Graecus* 469 respectively,<sup>134</sup> the words *λόγος* and *βιβλίον* refer back to the titles precedingly

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Ath. *Deipn.* I–II, ed. A. M. Desrousseaux – C. Astruc, Paris 1956, p. 112, n. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Gal. *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 3.8 CMG V 9, 1 p. 229, 18–19 Helmreich (XV 648, 11–12 K): *γεννῶνται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος οἶνοι τοιοῦτοι, κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ ἄτονος Σαβίνος ...*

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Ath. *Deipn.* II, 45 e–f: *... ὁ γλυκάζων δ' οἶνος οὐ βαρύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὡς Ἱπποκράτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ διαίτης φησίν, ὃ τινες μὲν ἐπιγράφουσι Περὶ ὀξέων νόσων, οἱ δὲ Περὶ πτισάνης, ἄλλοι δὲ Πρὸς τὰς Κνιδίας γνώμας.*

<sup>127</sup> Cf. [Gal.] *De vict. Hipp. in morb. acut.* 4, CMG V 9, 1, p. 377, 5 Westenerberger = XIX 195, 11 K, further *ibid.* 8, CMG V 9, 1, p. 386, 15–16 Westenerberger = XIX 212, 6 K and *ibid.* 8, CMG V 9, 1, p. 389, 20 Westenerberger = XIX 217, 4–5 K.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. G. Helmreich, 'Handschriftliche Studien zu Galen' II, *Programm des Königl. Humanistischen Gymnasiums in Ansbach für das Schuljahr 1910/11*, 13, 11.

<sup>129</sup> The passage mentioned in the preceding footnote is referring to *Acut. (spur.)* I (Litré II, 394, 1), whereas *De vict. Hipp. in morb. acut.* 8, CMG V 9, 1, p. 389, 20 Westenerberger = XIX 217, 4–5 K relates to *Acut. (spur.)* 22 (Litré II, 502, 7).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. E. Littré (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate: Traduction nouvelle avec le texte grec en regard*, vol. II, Paris 1840, repr. Amsterdam 1961, 394–529.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 4.1, CMG V 9, 1 p. 271, 3–272, 3 Helmreich = XV 732.2–734.4 K.

<sup>132</sup> See Littré IX, 388, 23 and 390, 17. For ways in which the Hippocratic writing *De victu acutorum* (Litré II, 224–376) and related texts are referred to cf. further A. Anastassiou, D. Irmer, *Testimonien zum Corpus Hippocraticum*, Teil I: *Nachleben der hippokratischen Schriften bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. unter Einschluß des Caelius Aurelianus sowie der Kompilatoren Oreibasios, Aëtios aus Amida, Alexandros aus Tralleis und Paulos aus Aigina*, Göttingen 2006, 3–4.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Spyridon Lavriotes, Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Harvard Theological Studies XII), Cambridge, MA 1925, repr. New York 1969, 342.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Gal. *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* III.1, CMG V 9, 1 p. 218 Helmreich.

enunciated, which are both introduced by the preposition εἰς. These two codices, which were copied according to G. Helmreich in the fourteenth century, are currently regarded as contaminated from a common ancestor of the witnesses *Vlatadon* 14 and *Athous Iviron* 184 (4304 Lambros)<sup>135</sup>.

Already in Galen's works the noun ἐξήγησις is repeatedly construed with the preposition εἰς<sup>136</sup>. Thus the grammatical structure of the heading containing the *gentilicium* Claudius does not betray a late date of composition.

The manuscripts *Vlatadon* 14 and *Athous Iviron* 184 are deemed to represent the only surviving direct descendants of a hyparchetype mirroring antique tradition<sup>137</sup>. On f. 195<sup>v</sup> of cod. *Iviron* 184 one finds below a minor decorative strip the following heading<sup>138</sup>: τέλ(ος) τοῦ β̄ βιβλίου ⋮ Γαληνοῦ εἰς τὸ πε(ρὶ) διαίτ(ης) ὀξέων νοσημάτων: – The rubric located at the top of f. 130<sup>r</sup>, i.e. at the beginning of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic writing *De victu acutorum*, is unfortunately illegible on the currently available reproductions, but it clearly contains also letters apart from ornaments. The words that would interest us, found below a horizontal foliated bar in whose middle a decorative floral element juts out, have not been transcribed in the critical apparatuses of G. Helmreich and A. Pietrobelli. Yet, they are reproduced in the second volume of Lambros' catalogue as Γαληνοῦ Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων Ἱπποκράτους<sup>139</sup>. In this respect it should be noted on the one hand that this heading has not been written by the main scribe of the Galenic treatise *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor*. More importantly, the folios 130 and 266 clearly are later additions, which serve to make up a mutilation<sup>140</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d' Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 2, 2008, CCCXXII. As shown in that stemma, Pietrobelli assumes that some of the surviving manuscripts belonging to different lines of tradition are subjected to contamination, viz. that characteristic readings of the hyparchetype α' also survive outside the codices *Vlatadon* 14 and *Iviron* 184.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. ἐξήγησιν εἰς αὐτήν Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI comment.* 3.5 (XVII b 15.7–8 K) and τῶν γεγεννημένων ἡμῖν ἐξηγήσεων εἰς αὐτά *De vict. Hipp. in morb. acut.* 1.30 (XV 485.10 K). See also *In Hipp. Artic. Comment.* 4.26 (XVIII a 705.7 K).

<sup>137</sup> Cf. the hyparchetype designated as α' in A. Pietrobelli's stemma referred to slightly earlier. The disarranged folia of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 that relate to Books II–IV of *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria quattuor* have never yet been utilised by editors and cannot be minutely discussed here.

<sup>138</sup> Between the words βιβλίου and Γαληνοῦ seven dots have been penned to mark a failure of continuity.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II, Cambridge 1900, 50. However, since this scholarly work has been produced rather expeditiously in the nineteenth century, it is not always trustworthy.

<sup>140</sup> This can be easily noticed if one has a look at the microfilm of cod. *Iviron* 184 (4305 Lambros) owned by the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessalonica. Cf. *ibid.*, 50: 'Ο κῶδιξ ἀπαρτίζεται ἐκ δύο μερῶν ... See further A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d' Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, CXXV. It deserves nonetheless to be reported that for some reason the text found on f. 130 (*recto* and *verso*) of cod. *Iviron* 184 shows certain strong affinities with cod. *Vlatadon* 14. For instance both manuscripts read πάντες and οἱ πολλοί instead



Repeatedly the *Vlatadon* codex exhibits good readings in agreement with the manuscript *Iviron* 184 against all the other sources of the direct tradition; the latter codex is represented by the siglum B. Occasionally *Athous Laurae* Ω 70, *Marcianus* 281 and *Monacensis Graecus* 469 will be referred to, which are designated as A, V and M respectively. In the ensuing surveys the readings of these three witnesses are quoted from G. Helmreich's critical apparatus (CMG V 9, 1), unless the folio and line numbers are listed. For the sake of brevity in the following only the old folio numbers of cod. *Vlatadon* 14, which can be seen on the reproductions that are currently available, will be mentioned.

p. 167, 2 Helmreich πίοι B Vlat f. 171<sup>r</sup>, 18: πή vulg.|| p. 186, 1 ἀνάριστος A B M Vlat f. 218<sup>r</sup>, 20: ἀναρίστιτος vulg.|| p. 280, 15 κατὰ B Vlat f. 179<sup>r</sup>, 1: μετὰ vulg.|| p. 286, 4 μηδὲ B M Vlat f. 222<sup>r</sup>, 5 (μη δέ): μὲν γὰρ οὐ vulg.|| p. 294, 9 μόνα B Vlat f. 225<sup>v</sup>, 7: μόνου vulg.|| p. 300, 26 θάτερον B M Vlat f. 228<sup>r</sup>, 9: καθ' ἕτερον vulg.|| p. 301, 3 ὁρώμενα B M Vlat f. 228<sup>r</sup>, 16: θεωρούμενα vulg.|| p. 329, 15–16 σπηριχθέντων B Vlat f. 244<sup>v</sup>, 18: σπηριχθῆ vulg.|| p. 329, 15–16 πλεῖστα B Vlat f. 236<sup>r</sup>, 16: πλεῖστον vulg.|| p. 355, 14 καταλέσας B Vlat f. 236<sup>v</sup>, 18: καταλεπίσας sive καταλεπτίσας vulg.|| p. 363, 12 ἔδωκεν B Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 22: δέδωκεν vulg.||

In Book IV 72 the correct form μεσηγὺ survives in the *Vlatadon* codex, in the manuscript *Athous Iviron* 189 (4309 Lambros) and, contrary to G. Helmreich's report<sup>141</sup>, in cod. *Iviron* 184, on folio 254<sup>v</sup>, 24. Subsequently the manuscripts *Vlatadon* 14 and *Iviron* 184 do not repeat in a redundant way the imperative δίδου, as does cod. *Iviron* 189 in line 11 on f. 163<sup>r</sup> <sup>142</sup>.

Being an independent manuscript, cod. *Vlatadon* 14 does not share all the distinctive readings of cod. *Iviron* 184, thus also avoiding an appreciable number of pitfalls:

p. 166, 23 Helmreich τῆς ῥήσεως Vlat f. 171<sup>r</sup>, 9: τῶν ῥήσεων B|| p. 174, 9 ἀναμνησκομένους] ἀναμνησκομένους Vlat f. 214<sup>v</sup>, 5: ἀναμνησκόμενον

---

of πάντως and οἱ παλαιοὶ in CMG V 9, 1 p. 117, 17 and 21 Helmreich (= XV 419.11, 15 K). On f. 130<sup>r</sup>, 4 cod. *Iviron* 184 exhibits καὶ μὴ (CMG V 9, 1 p. 117, 6 Helmreich; XV 418.4 K), which is also found on f. 149<sup>r</sup>, 4 of cod. *Vlatadon* 14.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 332, 26 Helmreich, XV 854.2 K. That the information provided is inaccurate can be seen e.g. on the microfilm ἀριθμὸς ἀρχείου 346 held by the Film Archive of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessalonica. By the way, cod. *Iviron* 184 reads διατριβῇ on f. 235<sup>v</sup>, 18 in CMG V 9, 1 p. 297, 6 (XV 784.2–3 K), not the mistaken form τριβῇ, as one could infer from Helmreich's apparatus. On f. 226<sup>v</sup>, 14 cod. *Vlatadon* 14 preserves διατριβῇ. Furthermore, on f. 181<sup>r</sup>, 21 the manuscript *Iviron* 184 retains αὐτέτῃσι (CMG V 9, 1 p. 200, 8; XV 591.9 K).

<sup>142</sup> CMG V 9, 1 p. 332, 28 Helmreich, XV 854.3 K. This section can be read on f. 246<sup>r</sup>, 6 of cod. *Vlatadon* 14.

Bll p. 195, 26 ἀνομοιότροποι Vlat f. 182<sup>r</sup>, 22: ὁμοιότροποι B (f. 178<sup>v</sup>, 5)|| p. 200, 28 ἐπὶ Vlat f. 184<sup>v</sup>, 3: om. B (f. 181<sup>v</sup>, 12)|| p. 202, 10 αὐτοῖς Vlat f. 185<sup>r</sup>, 5: om. B (f. 182<sup>v</sup>, 2)|| p. 203, 26 εἴ γε Vlat f. 185<sup>v</sup>, 18: ἡ γε B (f. 183<sup>v</sup>, 4)|| p. 207, 27 τὰ τοιαῦτα Vlat f. 187<sup>v</sup>, 7: om. Bll p. 218, 5 σημαίνονμενον] σημαίνόμενα Vlat f. 191<sup>v</sup>, 20: σημαίνόμενά τε καὶ ὀριζόμενα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σημείων τινῶν διδασκόμενα Bll p. 229, 8 σώματα Vlat f. 196<sup>r</sup>, 22: om. Bll p. 257, 1 πυρῶν Vlat f. 208<sup>r</sup>, 15: πυρετῶν Bll p. 257, 6 οὐ Vlat f. 208<sup>r</sup>, 20: om. B et al.|| p. 263, 21 παρηγορικόν Vlat f. 211<sup>r</sup>, 12: παρηγορητικόν B vulg.|| p. 264, 3 παρηγορικόν Vlat f. 211<sup>r</sup>, 18: παρηγορητικόν B vulg.|| p. 282, 16–17 παρηγορουμένην Vlat f. 180<sup>r</sup>, 7: om. Bll p. 284, 12 ὀλέθριον Vlat f. 221<sup>r</sup>, 7: ὀλέθρια B Mll p. 285, 22 ἡ] ἡ Vlat f. 221<sup>v</sup>, 23: om. Bll p. 295, 20 τε Vlat f. 226<sup>r</sup>, 8: om. Bll p. 297, 9 χρόνῳ] χρόνῳ Vlat f. 226<sup>v</sup>, 16: χρῆ Bll p. 297, 20 πλεῖον Vlat f. 226<sup>v</sup>, 24: πλείων B: καὶ πλεῖον Mll p. 298, 9 ἀποφράσσον Vlat f. 227<sup>r</sup>, 7: ἀποφράσσοντα B Mll p. 298, 14 ἦν δὴ Vlat f. 227<sup>r</sup>, 11: ὁ Bll p. 300, 28 νοήσεις Vlat f. 227<sup>r</sup>, 7: νοήσαις Bll p. 301, 29 εἰς Vlat f. 228<sup>v</sup>, 2: om. Bll p. 316, 1 τῶν Vlat f. 265<sup>v</sup>, 9: om. Bll p. 327, 6 καὶ Vlat f. 243<sup>v</sup>, 16: om. B (f. 250<sup>r</sup>, 15)|| p. 329, 14 οὐρῶν Vlat f. 244<sup>v</sup>, 16: om. Bll p. 331, 16 γὰρ Vlat f. 245<sup>v</sup>, 5: δὲ Bll p. 331, 29 αὐτῶ] αὐτῷ Vlat f. 245<sup>v</sup>, 14: αὐτὸ Bll p. 332, 12 ὡς Vlat f. 245<sup>v</sup>, 23: om. B Vll p. 333, 14 τὴν V Vlat 14 f. 246<sup>r</sup>, 14: om. B (f. 255<sup>r</sup>, 6) vulg.|| p. 358, 25 εἰσιν] εἰσὶν Vlat f. 237<sup>v</sup>, 26: εἰς ut vid. B (f. 264<sup>r</sup>, 12)|| p. 360, 24 ἐντεῦθεν Vlat f. 238<sup>v</sup>, 10: om. Bll p. 360, 26–27 ἐπέρχεσθαι Vlat f. 238<sup>v</sup>, 12: post φροντίδα 29 transp. Bll p. 363, 1 θερμῶ] Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 14: θερῶ B (f. 266<sup>r</sup>, 1)<sup>143</sup>|| p. 363, 2 ἐσθιέτω δὲ Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 15: καὶ ἐσθιέτω καὶ Bll p. 363, 2 ἀλείφατος Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 15: ἀλεισφάτου B (f. 266<sup>r</sup>, 2)|| p. 363, 4 μόρια Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 16: μόνον Bll p. 363, 5 σχῶν Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 17: ἔσχεν Bll p. 363, 6 πλείστου Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 18: καὶ πλείστου B (f. 266<sup>r</sup>, 6)|| p. 363, 9 φάσκων Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 20: φάσκειν Bll p. 363, 15 φαρμάκῳ Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 24: φάρμακον B (f. 266<sup>r</sup>, 15)<sup>144</sup>||

Not all the lacunae of cod. *Iviron* 184 occur also in cod. *Vlatadon* 14, and vice versa. Thus it does not omit, like cod. *Iviron* 184, the diverting comment καταγελαστοτέρη δὲ πολλῶ αὕτη μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαρτὰς τῆς ἐτέρης<sup>145</sup>, which introduces a point about a patient who is apparently raised from the dead through

<sup>143</sup> The reader is reminded that in cod. *Iviron* 184 a change of hands occurs at the transition from folio 265<sup>v</sup> to 266<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> Not reported in Helmreich's apparatus.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 210, 4–5 Helmreich (XV 610.14 K). On f. 188<sup>v</sup>, 13–14 cod. *Vlatadon* 14 reads κατὰ γελαστοτέρη δὲ αὕτη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαρτὰς τῆς ἐτέρης [sic].

the discontinuance of an inadvisable diet. Equally, the *Vlatadon* codex does not leave out the passages *καὶ τινες ἔλμινθες ἐκ τῶν ἐντέρων ἀναβᾶσαι πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα*<sup>146</sup>, *οὐκ ἐνδεία τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολλύμενον τὸ ζῶον ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει τῆς ἀναπνοῆς*<sup>147</sup>, *τὸ μὲν τι κοινὸν ἔχουσιν πάντων ὑδέρων, ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγραψε*<sup>148</sup>, *ἐπικρῶται τὸ στόμα, διψῶδεις εἰσίν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ φυσῶδεις πρῶτον μὲν οἵτινες*<sup>149</sup> and *ἐν τῇ κάτω κοιλίῃ ὑπὸ φρένας ἴσχη τὰ ἀλγήματα, ἀνακεῖσθαι συμφέρεῖ*<sup>150</sup>. Likewise, it does not share the large lacuna of this witness, which stretches from *πλησμονῶδες*, *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 3.22 CMG V 9, 1 p. 242, 4 Helmreich to *δὲ μάλιστα* 3.42, CMG V 9, 1 p. 256, 8 (XV 674.6–703.8 K)<sup>151</sup>, and it does not abruptly end with the words *πινόντων αὐτό* (4.117, p. 363.16 Helmreich, XV 913.17–18 K)<sup>152</sup>.

Noteworthy, in a section where all the other manuscripts (with the exception of cod. *Monacensis* 469, which according to A. Pietrobelli is contaminated<sup>153</sup>) transmit the inferior reading *τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς πυρετοὺς συμπίπτειν* the *Vlatadon* witness omits *in fenestra* the relevant portion of text<sup>154</sup>.

Often enough cod. *Vlatadon* 14 agrees in deficient readings with cod. *Ivion* 184:

p. 204, 31 Helmreich μὲν] om. B Vlat f. 186<sup>f</sup>, 22ll p. 280, 4–5 καὶ δὴ] καὶ δὴ καὶ B (225<sup>v</sup>, 8) Vlat f. 178<sup>v</sup>, 20ll p. 292, 27 *περιαχθείη]* *προαχθείη* B (f. 233<sup>f</sup>, 10) Vlat f. 225<sup>f</sup>, 7 Mll p. 317, 21 *λέξιμ]* *ρήσιμ* B Vlat f. 266<sup>v</sup>, 5ll p. 334, 5–6 *ἀποθέσθαι ταῦτα]* *ὑπερθέσθαι τοῦτο* B Vlat f. 246<sup>f</sup>, 29ll p. 343, 16 *ἄπεπτα δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον]*

<sup>146</sup> See CMG V 9, 1 p. 215, 25 Helmreich (XV 622.6–7 K); cod. *Vlatadon* 14, f. 191<sup>f</sup>, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 302, 27–28 Helmreich (XV 795. 4–5 K), relating to cod. *Vlatadon* 14, f. 228<sup>v</sup>, 23–24.

<sup>148</sup> Cod. *Vlatadon* 14, f. 235<sup>v</sup> 23. The *saut du même au même* found in cod. *Ivion* 184, f. 262<sup>f</sup>, 16 is reported in CMG V 9, 1 p. 352, 26–7 Helmreich (XV 892. 6–7 K).

<sup>149</sup> See CMG V 9, 1 p. 360, 1–2 Helmreich = XV 906. 1–3 K. The relevant passage appears in cod. *Vlatadon* 14 on f. 238<sup>f</sup>, 22–23: *ἐὰν δὲ ἐκπικρούται τὸ στόμα διψῶδεις εἰσίν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ φυσῶδεις πρῶτον μὲν οἵτινες ... [sic].* On f. 264<sup>v</sup>, 20 of cod. *Ivion* 184 the main scribe has written *ἐὰν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος.*

<sup>150</sup> See CMG V 9, 1 p. 362, 5–6 Helmreich = XV 911. 2–4 K, relating to f. 265<sup>v</sup>, 14 of cod. *Ivion* 184. The omission does not occur *in fenestra*.

<sup>151</sup> The lacuna in cod. *Ivion* 184 is not due to the loss of leaves. It abruptly begins at the end of f. 18 on f. 212<sup>v</sup> and is signalled by a blank line; it does not coincide with a change of copyist.

<sup>152</sup> In cod. *Ivion* 184 the text of *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* breaks off on f. 266<sup>f</sup>, 16. Slightly earlier, i.e. at the very end of f. 265<sup>v</sup>, a change of scribe occurs.

<sup>153</sup> A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d' Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, CCXI.

<sup>154</sup> CMG V 9, 1 p. 267, 15–16 Helmreich *τοῦ πύου οἱ πόνοι [...]* *πολλάκις* (XV 726.8–9 K); cod. *Vlatadon* 14, f. 212<sup>v</sup>, 20–21.

om. B Vlat f. 248<sup>v</sup>, 31<sup>155</sup>|| p. 355, 7–8 περι ... οὔ] om. B Vlat f. 236<sup>v</sup>, 14|| p. 358, 15 πυρετός] om. B Vlat f. 237<sup>v</sup>, 18|| p. 358, 21 ὑποκειμένης] ὑποκειμένης ἐν τῷ σώματι B Vlat f. 237<sup>v</sup>, 23|| p. 358, 23 αὐτῷ] om. B Vlat f. 237<sup>v</sup>, 24|| p. 359, 28 κὰν γὰρ ἐνός] ἵνα γὰρ κὰν ἐξ ἐνός B Vlat f. 238<sup>r</sup>, 19|| p. 361, 10 ἐνίκμοις πυρίαις] τὸ πυρίαις αἰνίγμοις B Vlat f. 238<sup>v</sup>, 20|| p. 362, 4 πολὺν] μὴ πολὺν B Vlat f. 239<sup>r</sup>, 1: μὴν πολὺν A M|| p. 363, 16 κεχρημένους τινὰς] om. B Vlat f. 237<sup>v</sup>, 24||

Its own orthographical mistakes are according to A. Pietrobelli very numerous, especially the itacistic misspellings<sup>156</sup>. Phonetic errors occur e.g. on f. 179<sup>r</sup>, 16–17 and 180<sup>v</sup>, 16 (ἀληθέβοντα instead of ἀληθεύοντα<sup>157</sup> and εὐδόμην instead of ἐβδόμην<sup>158</sup>). However irritating for classicists who did not have the opportunity to learn modern Greek, such slips of the pen are only of minor interest and not worth dwelling upon.

A hitherto unknown reading that deserves to be examined closely by future editors occurs in cod. *Vlatadon* 14 on f. 227<sup>r</sup> 17–18. The heretofore neglected witness exhibits φαρμακεύων τοῖσιν ἐλκτικοῖσιν instead of φ. τ. ἐκλεικτοῖσι<sup>159</sup> in a Hippocratic lemma regarding angina. In favour of this reading one could cite the section φάρμακα δύναμιν ἐλκτικὴν ἔχοντα from Galen's comments on the respective lemma<sup>160</sup>. In the Arabo-Latin version the Hippocratic words have been rendered *pharmaciiis attractivis*<sup>161</sup>, whereas Galen's exegetical remark is translated as *pharmaca virtutem habentia attractivam*<sup>162</sup>. In the thematically related Hippocratic lines found in *De morbis* III the advice is not to administer some medicine that effortlessly dissolves in the mouth, but rather to rub the tongue and throat with remedies that remove phlegm<sup>163</sup>. In connection with medicines that evacuate undesirable fluids, e.g. extract humours, the verbs ἄγειν and ἔλκειν repeatedly occur in Hippocratic texts<sup>164</sup>. Besides, the adjective ἐλκτικός is not absent from the *corpus Hippocraticum*<sup>165</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> This omission is obviously due to a *saut du même au même*, the same applying also to the next one.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 1, CXLVII.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 281, 1 Helmreich, XV 751.15 K.

<sup>158</sup> CMG V 9, 1 p. 283, 19 Helmreich, XV 757.4 K.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 298, 22 Helmreich, XV 787.5–6 K. As the reader may have noticed, the upper part of f. 227<sup>r</sup> (f. 238<sup>r</sup> according to the new numbering) of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 has been reproduced in the present article.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 300, 3–4 Helmreich, XV 789.12–13 K.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. *Articella*, Venice, 29 March 1483, f. 111<sup>r</sup> (right column), 40–41 (*GW* 2679, *HC* 1869, *IGI* 908). The copy of the Racliffe Science library, shelfmark RR.x.192 [RSL] has been inspected *in situ*. On this and cognate editions cf. J. Arrizabalaga, *The Articella in the Early Press: c. 1476–1534*, Cambridge 1998, 14–15.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111<sup>v</sup> (left column), 31–32.

<sup>163</sup> See Hp. *Morb.* III, 10. VII 130,11–13Li: καὶ τὴν φάρυγγα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀνατρίβειν τοῖσι τὸ φλέγμα ἄγουσι, καὶ τὰς φλέβας τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ γλῶσση τάμνειν ...

<sup>164</sup> See e.g. *Nat. Hom.* 6. VI 44,18–21Li and *Mul. II.* VIII 258, 13–14Li. Cf. further *Loc. Hom.* 32. VI 324,12–13Li, *Morb. IV.* VII 606 15–18Li and *Mul. I.* VIII 74,2Li, *Morb. II.* VII 28,8–9Li.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Hp. *Cord.* 8. IX 86,3 Li. and *Cord.* 9. IX 86,9 Li.

According to A. Pietrobelli in Book I the *Vlatadon* codex preserves a genuine reading that is not met with elsewhere<sup>166</sup>. It should equally be mentioned that cod. *Vlatadon* 14 confirms on f. 247<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>167</sup> the reading βραχίονας ἕως δακτύλων κατελίσσειν, which has been adopted by G. Helmreich on the basis of the Aldine edition<sup>168</sup>. As can be inferred from Hugo Kuehlewein's apparatus, the *vetustissimus* of the Hippocratic treatise *De victu acutorum*, cod. *Marcianus* 269 (coll. 533), also exhibits this reading, along with cod. *Vaticanus* Gr. 276.

In line 29 of f. 237<sup>r</sup> cod. *Vlatadon* 14 transmits the correct reading ἐπικρατέωσι<sup>169</sup>, which is also preserved in the Aldine<sup>170</sup>, but which was hitherto believed to lack manuscript support. In that section cod. *Iviron* 184 erroneously reads ἐπικραταίωσι<sup>171</sup>, whilst all the other witnesses exhibit according to G. Helmreich the faulty ἐπικρατέουσι.

Consequently the partial manuscript collation that has been undertaken clearly shows *inter alia* that cod. *Vlatadon* 14 is indispensable for any serious attempt to reconstruct hypothetically the common ancestor of the witnesses *Iviron* 184 and *Vlatadon* 14.

It is worth remembering in this context that Constantine Lascaris had access to an otherwise unknown fountainhead, as can be seen from certain parts of the treatise *De propriis placitis* (representing Galen's philosophical testament) which he penned and which survive exclusively in cod. *Vlatadon* 14<sup>172</sup>. This is not at all surprising if one bears in mind that the hospital commonly designated as Xenon of the Kral (ξενὼν τοῦ κράλη), i.e. 'Hospital of the King'<sup>173</sup>, had been founded by

<sup>166</sup> See A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d'Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, CXLVIII.

<sup>167</sup> According to the new numbering of the folios 260<sup>r</sup>, 14.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 336, 24 Helmreich, XV 862.4–5 K.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. CMG V 9, 1 p. 357, 14 Helmreich, XV 901.5 K.

<sup>170</sup> See *Galenī librorum pars tertia*, Venetiis 1525, f. 56<sup>v</sup>, 49. The Aldine edition was not based on one Greek manuscript. Cf. V. Nutton, *John Caius and the Manuscripts of Galen*, Cambridge 1987 (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. vol. 13), 41 and 47: "At least five of Bessarion's codices, Marc. gr. 279, 281, 282, 283 and 285, have so far been identified among the sources for the Aldine, and one, Marc. gr. 283, still bears signs of its use as the actual printer's copy for Galen's commentary on *Epidemics* VI [...] At several points the Aldine editors used one of the existing Latin *Opera omnia* editions ...".

<sup>171</sup> Folio 263<sup>r</sup>, 27.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. A. Pietrobelli, *Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction annotée du livre I du commentaire de Galien au Régime des maladies aiguës d'Hippocrate*, PhD diss., University of Paris IV – Sorbonne, vol. 1, 2008, CXLII–CXLIII and V. Boudon-Millot, A. Pietrobelli, 'Galien ressuscité: Édition princeps du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*', *Revue des études grecques* 118, 2005, 168–213.

<sup>173</sup> See *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität* s.v. ξενώνας, ὁ and κράλης, ὁ. Cf. *Suda*, Ξεῖ 52, s.v. ξενώνας: δόμου τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τοὺς ξένους καὶ ἀρρωστοῦντας. With regard to the memorable place of learning named after the Serbian king and its history in the period immediately preceding the conquest of Constantinople cf. B. Mondrain, 'Jean Argyropoulos professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d' Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos', in C. Scholz, G. Makris (eds.), *Πολύλευρος νοῦς: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Munich

the Serbian king Saint Stefan Uroš II Milutin, who reigned between 1282 and 1321,<sup>174</sup> on the premises of a much older monastic establishment<sup>175</sup> which demonstrably had a highly valuable library. According to a legend recorded in the eleventh century the cloister in question, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was established in the Constantinopolitan district of Petra in the fifth or sixth century A.D.<sup>176</sup> In any case, it owned according to O. Mazal<sup>177</sup> *inter alia* the famous manuscript nowadays commonly known as the Vienna Dioscurides, copied in Herbert Hunger's view before 512 A.D.<sup>178</sup> As Steven Runciman indicates, the

---

2000, 223–49, esp. 230–40. See further M. Cacouros, M.-H. Congourdeau, *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453: Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission*. Actes de la table ronde organisée au XX Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Paris 2001 (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 146), Leuven 2006, 40–51. On the etymology of the South Slavic *kral*, East Slavic *korol* (Russian *король*), Professor Dr. Dr. h. c. Predrag Matejic brings to my notice that it originated in the proper name *Carolus*, viz. Charlemagne.

<sup>174</sup> For a fresco portrait of this king, represented together with his wife Simonis (Σιμωνίς), daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologus, see Pavle [Patriarch of Serbia], Ž. Stojković et al. (eds.), *Zadužbine Kosova: Spomenici i znamenja srpskog naroda*, Prizren – Belgrade 1987, 104–105.

<sup>175</sup> See e.g. L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe: Le kralj Milutin*, Thessalonica 1978, 62, n. 176 and idem, 'La Serbie de Milutin entre Byzance et l'Occident', *Byzantion* 43, 1973, 131, 3. Cf. M. Živojinović, 'Bolnica Kralja Milutina u Carigradu', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 16, 1975, 105–117 (French resumé from p. 116: "Danilo, pour sa part, fait état des lits pour les malades, des médecins et d'autre personnel que Milutin avait engagés pour prendre soin des malades"). On various interrelationships between monastic life and health care in the early ecclesiastical history cf. e.g. Andrew Todd Crislip's monograph *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor 2005. See also L. Iorio, 'Monastic Medicine from the Classic Era to the Renaissance: Development of Nephrology', *Journal of Nephrology* 19, 2006, 9–13. For the general background cf. V. Boudon-Millot (ed.), *Les Pères de l'Église face à la science médicale de leur temps*, Paris 2005.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη: Ἀνέκδοτα ἑλληνικά*, Constantinople 1884, 36–45 and *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III, 1991, 1643, s.v. 'Petra Monastery'. On seals of this monastic establishment dating from the XI<sup>th</sup>–XII<sup>th</sup> centuries cf. E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. V, Washington D.C. 2005, 103–104.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. O. Mazal (ed.), *Der Wiener Dioscurides: Codex medicus Graecus I der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. I, Graz 1998, 10: "Ein Mönch Neophytos des Johannesklosters von Alt-Petra hat um 1350 den Codex abgeschrieben und kopieren lassen; diese Abschrift ist als Ms.gr. 2286 in der Bibliothèque nationale zu Paris erhalten, eine farbige Kopie davon im Codex graecus 194 der Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Seminars zu Padua. Eintragungen eines Mönches Sisinius und eines anderen Mönches des 14. Jahrhunderts lassen auf einen Umfang von noch 500 Seiten des im Johanneskloster verwahrten kostbaren Buches schließen ...".

<sup>178</sup> Cf. H. Hunger, O. Kresten, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 2, Vienna 1969, 37, 39–40. See also H. Gerstinger, *Dioscurides: Codex Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Kommentarband zu der Faksimilieausgabe, Graz 1970, 3 and O. Mazal, *Pflanzen, Wurzeln, Säfte, Samen: Antike Heilkunst in Miniaturen des Wiener Dioscurides*, Graz 1981, 41–42. Noteworthy one reads on f. 1<sup>r</sup>, l. 5 the words ... ἐν τῷ ξενῶνι τοῦ κράλη, written by John Chortasmenos in 1406. The fact that John Argyropoulos taught medicine ἐν τῷ ξενῶνι τοῦ κράλη is attested by cod. *Marcianus Graecus* V, 9; cf. B. Mondrain, 'Jean Argyropoulos professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d' Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos', in C. Scholz, G. Makris (eds.), *Πολύπλευρος νοῦς: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Munich 2000, 227 n. 16 and 229. Constantine Lascaris

Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, who ruled from 1391 to 1425, moved the University, at that point designated as *Katholikon Mouseion*<sup>179</sup> to this monastic complex “where there was a good library which students could use”<sup>180</sup>. Unfortunately only around thirty codices are known to have survived the sack of the janizaries (Turk. *yeniçeri*, γενίτζαροι) in 1453<sup>181</sup>, which is vividly described in Doukas' *History*<sup>182</sup>.

Very important remains the fact that the *nomen gentilicium* has been recorded in cod. *Vlatadon* 14 (which is untrivially unique also from other points of view) in the Byzantine capital before its conquest<sup>183</sup> and that a similar formula is attested already in the tenth century<sup>184</sup>.

It needs to be pointed out that the ascription found on f. 149<sup>r</sup> (old numbering) of codex *Vlatadon* 14 has been transcribed and published (though without any attempt to date or even identify the hand) already in 1918 by the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Leontopolis Sophronios Eustratiades in a theological periodical and in a manuscript catalogue that remained unscrutinized outside Greece for almost a century<sup>185</sup>. Since this witness was not known in Western Europe and lay for decades untouched by scholars, the issue has not received due attention.

One should not lose sight of the fact that numerous Greeks from the eastern provinces bore the family name Claudius in the second century A.D.<sup>186</sup> The

remembers his teaching with gratitude, cf. Teresa Martínez Manzano, *Constantino Lascaris: Semblanza de un humanista bizantino*, Madrid 1998, 4, n. 7: “τὸν σοφὸν ἔμον καθηγητὴν Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀγυροπούλου, en la carta a Juan Pardo (*Matr.* 4620) y en el proemio a la Gramática (*Matr.* 4689)”.

<sup>179</sup> See L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, vol. III, Paris 1950, repr. 1970, 405. On the *Mouseion* which functioned under the Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282–1328) and whose name reminds one even more clearly of the Alexandrian institution cf. *ibid.*, 403.

<sup>180</sup> See Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970, 55.

<sup>181</sup> See E. Δ. Κακουλίδη, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου Πέτρως στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, *Ελληνικά* 21, 1968, 7–15. By the way, reportedly at the conquest of the Byzantine capital more than 120,000 codices have been destroyed. Cf. H. Hody, *De Graecis illustribus linguae Graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratori-bus...*, Londini 1742, 192: “Laurus Quirinus, Venetus, in epistola ad Nicolaum V. papam, de expugnatione Constantinopolis, data Candidae [an Candiae?] idibus Julii [eodem anno]... ait se a cardinale Rutheno accepisse, ultra centum viginti millia librorum volumina fuisse devastata.”

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Ducas, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucurestii 1958, 363, 1–3: Οἱ δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ τυράννου ἀζάπηδες, οἱ καὶ γενίτζαροι κέκληνται, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ κατέδραμον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Μεγάλου Προδρόμου μονὴν τὴν ἐπικεκλημένην Πέτραν καὶ ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Χώρας ...

<sup>183</sup> Professor Erich Trapp from the Austrian Academy of Sciences points out to me that those scholars who would still want to prove that the *nomen* Claudius is certainly spurious will have to demonstrate that cod. *Vlatadon* 14 has been copied in Western Europe after 1453 rather than in the city of Constantinople before the Ottoman occupation.

<sup>184</sup> As previously mentioned, on f. 237<sup>r</sup> of cod. *Marcianus* Gr. 269 (coll. 533), which is reproduced alongside other relevant documents in the present article.

<sup>185</sup> See S. Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαούς-Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Thessalonica 1918, 37: “... φ. 149α εἰς τὸ περὶ διαίτης ὁξέων Ἱπποκράτους, οἱ δὲ περὶ πτισάνης, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κνιδεῖας γνώμας ἐξήγησις Γαληνοῦ Κλαυδίου Περγαμηνοῦ. (γραφὴ ἄλλης χειρός)”. Cf. *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 2, 1918, 278.

<sup>186</sup> With regard to the bestowal of Roman citizenship in the Eastern provinces M. H. Crawford briskly remarks: “In the East, from Pompey on, citizenship was conferred on individuals, typically

Emperors Claudius and Nero (the latter, as is known, also a member of the *gens Claudia*) had granted the Roman citizenship to many Hellenes<sup>187</sup>. In such cases the new citizen received both the *praenomen* and the family name of the ruler<sup>188</sup>. Even in inscriptions, however, we do not always find the first name recorded<sup>189</sup>.

If, on the other hand, a foreigner obtained Roman citizenship thanks to the support of a Roman official, he was named after his benefactor. A prominent example of this kind of naturalization from Pergamum is that of the peripatetic philosopher Kratippos, who, thanks to the support of Cicero, obtained Roman citizenship from Caesar and was thereafter called Marcus Tullius Cratippus<sup>190</sup>. There were of course also other ways of becoming a Roman citizen, e.g. through release from slavery (*manumissio*), the freedman adopting the gentile name of his former owner, discharge from the Roman army<sup>191</sup> etc.

The number of those who became naturalized with the *nomen* Claudius was very large. This also becomes evident from the fact that the abbreviation *Cl.* appeared during the Principate<sup>192</sup>. As is well known, the Emperor Claudius was ridiculed by

members of the provincial city-élites." Cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, <sup>3</sup>1996, 334–335, s.v. 'citizenship, Roman'.

<sup>187</sup> As to Claudius' granting of Roman citizenship, cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford <sup>2</sup>1973, repr. 2001, 237–50, D. Fasolini, *Aggiornamento bibliografico ed epigrafico ragionato sull' imperatore Claudio*, Milan 2006, 45–51, S. Demougín, 'Claude et la société de son temps', in V. M. Strocka (ed.), *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41–54 n. Chr.). Umbruch oder Episode?*, Internationales interdisziplinäres Symposium aus Anlaß des hundertjährigen Jubiläums des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg i. Br., 16.–18. Februar 1991, Mainz 1994, 12–13 and Werner Eck, *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. 'Claudius III 1'. Relating to naturalizations backed by Nero see A. N. Sherwin-White, *op. cit.*, 242, 246 and 252.

<sup>188</sup> See H. Rix, 'Römische Personennamen', in E. Eichler, G. Hilty et al., *Namenforschung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik I*, Berlin 1995, 726: "Die aristokratischen Familien der Kaiserzeit und besonders der Kaiser selbst bedienten sich zur Führung ihrer Geschäfte in großem Umfang ihrer Freigelassenen, die alle jeweils Pränomen und Gentile ihres Patrons trugen. So erhielten Tausende von Neurömern die Gentilnamen *Iulius, Claudius, Flavius, Ulpus, Aelius, Aurelius*. Gleiche onomastische Wirkung hatten die Bürgerrechtsverleihungen an Provinziale ..." Cf. nonetheless H. Box, 'Roman Citizenship in Laconia', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 21, 1931, 209 and A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford <sup>2</sup>1973, 246, n. 3.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. e.g. H. Box, *op. cit.*, 202: "Many of the instances in which the *nomen* Julius occurs at Sparta are without *praenomen* ...".

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Plutarchus, *Vitae Parallelae*, ed. Cl. Lindskog – K. Ziegler, I 2, tertium rec. K. Ziegler, corr. et addendis auxit H. Gärtner, Stuttgart 1994, 338 (*Cic.* 24): Κρατίππῳ δὲ τῷ περιπατητικῷ διεπράξατο μὲν Ῥωμαίῳ γενέσθαι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄρχοντος ἤδη ...

<sup>191</sup> On Claudius' naturalization of soldiers see the military diplomas published in CIL XVI 1–3. With regard to names borne by auxiliary warriors in the initial stages of imperial rule cf. D. B. Saddington, 'The Sorts of Names Used by Auxiliaries in the Early Principate', in G. Alföldy, B. Dobson, W. Eck (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Stuttgart 2000, 163–78.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. E. Groag, 'Claudius', *RE* III.2 (1899), 2667: "In der Kaiserzeit wurde der Name infolge der zahlreichen Bürgerrechtsverleihungen der Kaiser Claudius und Nero so häufig, dass er gewöhnlich abgekürzt *Cl.* geschrieben wurde. Namentlich ist auffällig und vielleicht auf Neros Vorliebe für das hellenische Element zurückzuführen die grosse Zahl der Claudii im griechischen Osten des Reiches, von welchen im 2. Jhd. n. Chr. viele in den Senat gelangten". See also H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I, London 1923, repr. 1972, 146 and Pl. IX, No. 141.



Seneca in the Menippean satire *Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii* because of the countless naturalizations that he endorsed<sup>193</sup>.

At Pergamum according to archaeological evidence virtually every well-to-do family had been granted Roman citizenship by the time of Hadrian; persons of Greek descent who belonged to the upper classes bore comparatively frequently the *nomen gentilicium* Claudius<sup>194</sup>.

A prominent Pergamene from the second century A.D. with the name of Claudius was the historian Aulus Claudius Charax, whose Roman *praenomen* has been discovered in an inscription on the pedestal of a lost statue only in 1957<sup>195</sup> and whose *gentilicium* is omitted not merely in the *Suda*, where even the full name of Publius Aelius Aristides is wanting<sup>196</sup>, but also in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*<sup>197</sup>. This should suffice to show that from a historical point of view in respect of Galen the gentilic name Claudius is not at all implausible.

It is of course not the case that the *nomina gentilicia* of ancient authors are always attested by a multitude of witnesses. It repeatedly occurs that they are known only from a negligible minority of written sources, sometimes not even belonging to the direct manuscript tradition. We know for instance that the author of the treatise on architecture and engineering entitled *De architectura* bore the *gentilicium* Vitruvius not from the work itself as handed down to us (where one can find misspellings, e.g. *Victruvius* or even *Victimi*), but from an epitome, written by M. Cetius Faventinus<sup>198</sup>, as well as from testimonia found in authors such as Pliny the Elder, Frontinus, Servius and the Bishop Sidonius Apollinaris. Nevertheless, both a ninth century *deperditus* and its lost exemplar seem to have preserved the correctly spelled *nomen*. For the Monk Reginbert of Reichenau († 846) attests that under the Abbott Ruadhelm (838–842) amongst other books also "... liber Vitruvii magistri de architectura comprehensa X libris" had been copied<sup>199</sup>. This seems to

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Sen., *Apoc.* 3. 3 (ed. R. Roncali, Leipzig 1990) "constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre".

<sup>194</sup> Cf. e.g. C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3), Berlin 1969, 163–64: "Man kann daher feststellen, daß sich zwischen Augustus und Hadrian die vollständige Romanisierung der pergamenischen Oberschicht in dem Sinne vollzogen hat, daß alle, die ihr angehörten, das römische Bürgerrecht erwarben. Die Gentilnamen der Kaiser herrschen unter den pergamenischen cives natürlich vor ... Von 67 Iulium zähle ich 20 C. Iulii und 12 Frauen, von 69 Claudiem 19 Ti. Claudii und 13 Frauen, von 35 Flaviem 14 T. Flavii und 5 Frauen und von 25 Aeliem 10 P. Aelii und 3 Frauen ...".

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Chr. Habicht, 'Zwei neue Inschriften aus Pergamon', *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 9–10, 1959–60, 109–25 and *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* 18, 184–85, No. 557.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. *Suda*, Άλφα 3902, s.v. Άριστειδης, and Χεϊ 95, s.v. Χάραξ.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. M. Ant. VIII 25, 2 and Osvalda Andrei, *A. Claudius Charax di Pergamo: Interessi antiquari e antichità cittadine nell' età degli Antonini*, Bologna 1984, 13–14: "Più verisimile è quindi dare a φιλόσοφος il significato generico di 'uomo di cultura' (Cfr. Hesych., s.v. φιλόσοφος ὁ πάντων πειραθεῖς, φιλομαθής), secondo un' accezione del termine non ignota né alla *Suda* né alla prosopografia contemporanea a Carace ...".

<sup>198</sup> See L. D. Reynolds et al. (eds.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford 1983, 444–45 and Vitruvius, *De architectura*, ed. Ph. Fleury, Paris 1990, X: "Dans les manuscrits, le gentile est souvent altéré, mais aucune variante n'est fondamentale". Cf. ed. F. Granger, London – Cambridge, MA 1955, xviii–xx.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. P. Lehmann (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. I, Munich 1918, 255.

show that in those days the gentile name of this author was still handed down by narrow channels of the direct manuscript tradition.

It should equally be pointed out that the *nomina gentilicia* of Plutarch<sup>200</sup> and Alexander of Aphrodisias<sup>201</sup> have been transmitted solely by inscriptions, being nowhere mentioned in their surviving works.

Having seen evidence to the contrary during our research campaign in December 2008, we have regarded it as an urgent duty to call into question the internationally dominant view according to which the *nomen* Claudius is not found in any Greek codex transmitting works of the famous Pergamene physician. The investigation of numerous incunabula and post-incunabula on two continents did not lead to the location of some obscure printing-office in which the confusion between abbreviated forms of Claudius and *clarissimus* could easily and almost imperceptibly have occurred, but to fifteenth-century Medicean Florence.

We have shown that no valid proof for the spuriousness of the *gentilicium* Claudius in regard to Galen has ever been produced, the argument which resorts to a misread abbreviation of *clarissimus* being itself, in all probability, spurious<sup>202</sup>. We have unquestionably demonstrated that in connection with the influential doctor the family name Claudius occurs in printed books decades before the year 1518, being apprehensible in the refined circle of the late Politian. We have also indicated that it was reportedly written in a subsequently lost manuscript representing a line of transmission different from that of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*. By pointing out that it has been copied into cod. *Vlatadon* 14 in an academic Constantinopolitan environment by Constantine Lascaris before the fall of the Byzantine capital, we have *inter alia* refuted the almost generally accepted supposition according to which the *nomen* Claudius is not documented in any of the Greek manuscripts and first appears, as an addition, in printed materials of the Renaissance<sup>203</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> See K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia*, Stuttgart <sup>2</sup>1964, 14 (cf. *RE* XXI.1, 1951, 650): "Nur aus der delphischen Inschrift CIG 1713 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 842 wissen wir, daß P. den römischen Gentilnamen Mestrius geführt und also das römische Bürgerrecht besessen hat, aus IG VII 3423 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 843, daß er diesen Namen auf seine Nachkommen vererbt hat. Er selbst hat in seinen Schriften den römischen Namen und sein römisches Bürgerrecht niemals erwähnt; dazu fühlte er sich zu sehr als Hellene. Klar ist, daß er den Namen von seinem vertrauten Freunde Mestrius Florus [...] angenommen hat, aber wann das geschehen ist, ob erst bei dem Aufenthalt in Rom und auf Grund des Ruhmes, den er schon in der philosophisch interessierten Welt genoß, oder schon vorher, oder ob gar Name und Bürgerrecht schon von dem Vater P.s erworben worden ist, wie v. Willamowitz Reden u. Votr. II<sup>4</sup> 251 meint, darüber wissen wir nichts." Cf. C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford 1971, 22.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. A. Chaniotis, 'Epigraphic Evidence for the Philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 47, 2004, 79–81 and R. W. Sharples, 'Implications of the New Alexander of Aphrodisias Inscription', *BICS* 48, 2005, 47–56.

<sup>202</sup> The reader should be reminded that in more than a century the demand for documentary evidence expressed in the passage "... sollte der Claudius nicht aus einem mißverstandenen CL(arissimus) hervorgegangen sein? Vielleicht kann jemand, dem mehr lateinische Handschriften und Drucke des Galen zu Gebote stehen als mir, zur Beantwortung dieser Frage beitragen. Rostock. Karl Kalbfleisch" has not been fulfilled. Cf. K. Kalbfleisch, "'Claudius' Galenus", *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 22, 1902, 413.

<sup>203</sup> The oldest printed pages of Galen will certainly not pre-date the year 1453, since "the earliest dated documents printed from movable type, in the shape of two editions of an Indulgence granted by Pope Nicolas V in aid of Cyprus in its struggle against the Turks" were issued in the year 1454. See Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing*, London 1976, 15. Cf. E. L. Nemirovskij,

Thus it clearly is older and not, as has been widely assumed for more than a century, destitute of any support.

Obviously, these days *codices recentiores* are no longer *a priori* discarded according to Cobet's old slogan *comburendi, non conferendi*<sup>204</sup>. Major humanists seem to have had their reasons for naming the illustrious physician "Claudius Galenus". In view of the manuscript and incunabular evidence presented in this article the claim must be advanced here that the name Claudius may well be Galen's genuine *gentilicium*.

This piece of writing does not attempt to resolve all the puzzles relating to the presence of the *nomen* Claudius in the complex manuscript tradition of the *corpus Galenicum*, since *inter alia* there are further understudied Greek witnesses that need to be properly evaluated. It will hopefully encourage the scientific investigation in an area in which the uncritical repetition of some tentative and rather simplistic explanatory statements has dominated the scene since the beginning of the twentieth century.

## APPENDIX

Especially in connection with the investigation of Renaissance editions and rare books I should like to express my gratitude towards the following libraries (in the alphabetical order of their locations):

Library of the British School at Athens

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Universitätsbibliothek of the Freie Universität Berlin

National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland

Bibliothekssystem der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Cincinnati, Ohio

Hilandar Research Library and Thompson Library, Columbus, Ohio

---

*Gutenberg und der älteste Buchdruck in Selbstzeugnissen*, Baden-Baden 2003, 15. For an early incunabulum relating to the Galenic corpus, issued in 1475 [HR 7237, IGI 4992, GW M10645], cf. e.g. Sir William Osler, *Incunabula Medica: A Study of the Earliest Printed Medical Books 1467–1480*, Oxford 1923, repr. Mansfield, CT [ca. 1993], 78.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence <sup>2</sup>1962, 41–108 and M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 50: "Recentiores, non deteriores: that is the famous heading of a chapter in which Pasquali protested against the tendency to equate the two terms, and showed that true readings are sometimes preserved only among the latest manuscripts". On the momentousness of certain poorly attested readings cf. e.g. N. G. Wilson, 'Variant Readings with Poor Support in the Manuscript Tradition', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17, 1987, 1–13.

*Hauptbibliothek Erlangen*

*Bibliothekssystem der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*

*Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*

*Library of the Institut für Geschichte, Ethik und Philosophie der Medizin*

Hannover

*Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*

*Deutsche Zentralbibliothek für Medizin, Köln*

*British Library*

*Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, London*

*Library of the Institut für Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin, Mainz*

*Universitätsbibliothek Mannheim*

*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*

*Universitätsbibliothek München*

*Bodleian Library*

*Balliol College Library, Oxford*

*Linacre College Library, Oxford*

*Radcliffe Science Library, Oxford*

*Bibliothèque byzantine of the Collège de France, Paris*

*Bibliothèque nationale de France*

*Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris*

*Bibliothèque Serpente, Université de Paris – Sorbonne*

*Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine et d'Odontologie, Paris*

*Library of the Académie Nationale de Médecine, Paris*

*Sistema bibliotecario dell' Università degli Studi di Pavia*

*Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*

*Σύστημα Βιβλιοθηκών Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*

*Βιβλιοθήκη και Αρχείο Μικροταινιών του Πατριαρχικού Ιδρύματος*

*Πατερικών Μελετών, Ιερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική και Σταυροπηγιακή*

*Μονή Βλατάδων*

*Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*

*Bibliothek des Ostkirchlichen Instituts der Bayerisch-Deutschen Augustinerprovinz*

*an der Universität Würzburg*