

SOME TEXTUAL DIFFICULTIES OF GALEN'S TREATISE
DE PRAECOGNITIONE IN THE NEW LIGHT OF CODEX
*THESSALONICENSIS VLATADON 14**

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The article mainly discusses hitherto perennially difficult passages from the later part of Galen's treatise *De praecognitione ad Epigenem*. This ancient medical writing on prognosis deserves particular attention because it casts some light, *inter alia*, upon the Roman intellectual and political élite in the second century A.D. The author draws upon codex Thessalonicensis Vlatadon 14, which represents one of the internationally recognized cultural treasures of South-Eastern Europe, showing how it helps to restore the text in a significant number of areas. Interestingly, certain readings were previously known from writings of Renaissance scholars such as Janus Cornarius, Ioannes Caius Britannus, Ioannes Guinterius Andernacus and Josephus Justus Scaligerus, as well as from the deficiently investigated mediaeval Latin translation.

Keywords: Galen, Ancient Medicine, Ancient Philosophy, Roman Empire, Textual Criticism.

The text of Galen's medical treatise Περ τοῦ προγινώσκειν addressed to Epigenes, which also offers a wealth of biographical information regarding its author and vivid insights into the society surrounding him, is marred by numerous corruptions. The reader interested in this ancient iatric writing, which additionally represents a valuable document for the history of philosophy in Rome in the second century A.D.¹ inasmuch as it sheds light, *inter alia*, on the philosophical culture of

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several higher magistrates², often faces atheteses, conjectures, signa desperationis and lacunae.

At 96.15 in the edition of V. Nutton (XIV 627.13 K) the codex Ambrosianus gr. 659 (Q 3 sup.), represented by the siglum A, breaks off after several omissions due to mechanical damage, so that the manuscript basis upon which the critical text of an extensive part of the treatise rests becomes even more scanty. One should not lose sight of the fact that cod. Vaticanus gr. 1845, dated by P. Canart to the twelfth century, transmits only the opening up to 68.19 Nutton (XIV 600.14 K) in a very deteriorated state³; that cod. Parisinus gr. 2332 offers only a series of excerpts⁴; and that cod. Parisinus Suppl. gr. 35 is viewed as an apograph⁵. For the section we will be primarily focusing upon, the text is therefore essentially based on merely two independent manuscripts⁶, viz. codd. Laurentianus gr. 74.5 (dated to the 12th–13th cent.) and Marcianus gr. 281 (dated to the 15th cent.), which are closely related to each other.

Since the final ten chapters of *De praecognitione* abound in textual problems, some of these will be addressed in the present article, where we shall also make use of certain hitherto unexplored parts of codex *Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 14, more precisely referred to as Thessalonica, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων 14⁷. To avoid

images here included, in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Passages quoted from manuscript and early printed evidence are not always furnished with the accents and breathings that occur in the originals. On some of the issues addressed in the acknowledgements cf. *infra*, n. 7.

¹ Cf. H. B. Gottschalk, 'Aristotelian Philosophy in the Roman World from the Time of Cicero to the End of the Second Century AD', in ANRW II 36.2, ed. by W. Haase, Berlin – New York 1987, 1152 and E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, III.1, Leipzig⁵ 1923, repr. Hildesheim 1963, 806–7, 855.

² Cf. Gal., *De praecognitione*, ed. V. Nutton, Berlin 1979 (Corpus medicorum Graecorum V 8, 1), 80–82; XIV, 612–13 K.

³ Cf. P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962*, Tomus I: Codicum enarrationes, Vatican City 1970, 314–15: "... (f. 197^v) <de praecognitione ad Epigenem> (Kühn, XIV, p. 599 sqq.). Primae lineae valde mutilae. Des. mut. οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν. ἐλαχίστω (p. 600, lin. 14)."

⁴ Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1888, 242.

⁵ Cf. Gal., *De praecogn.*, ed. V. Nutton, Berlin 1979 (CMG V 8,1), 22–23.

⁶ In addition codex Parisinus gr. 2332 transmits as excerpts the passages 96, 27–98, 4 and 98, 17–22 Nutton; cf. *ibid.*, 15.

⁷ For a detailed description of the rediscovery of the genuine document once catalogued by Metropolitan Sophronios Eustratiades of Leontopolis (1872–1947) and microfilmed under the guidance of Professor Panagiotis K. Christou, first Director of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (1966–89), cf. Stefan Alexandru, 'Newly Discovered Witnesses Asserting Galen's Affiliation to the gens Claudia', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. 5, 3/2, 2011, 409–410 and *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 6, 2011, 204–5 with Plate XII (misleading claims regarding the location of the manuscript are mentioned in footnote 103). For further background cf. e.g. the pioneering publication of V. Boudon-Millot and A. Pietrobelli, '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), 497–534. On the true location of the aforementioned codex from July 23rd, 2003 to the present day, cf. the statement of the manuscript owners reproduced in the photographs found at the end of this article.

misunderstandings, both its old and new folio numbers will be mentioned, with the higher number representing the more recent count⁸. Around the middle of the fifteenth century (in any case preceding the conquest of Constantinople), the entire treatise, extending from f. 92^v / 100^v, 4 to f. 99^r / 107^r, 2, was penned by the Byzantine man of letters Constantine Lascaris (ca. 1434–1501), at that time a student of John Argyropoulos in the capital; his handwriting is recognizable chiefly from its rather distinctive ductus⁹. Further specimens of writing stemming from the young Constantine Lascaris have already appeared in print¹⁰.

⁸ The hieromonk Ματθαῖος Βατοπαιδινός (1922–82) at some stage after 1968 renewed the binding, on which occasion he introduced additional, blank leaves. One of his further concerns obviously was to deal with the insect damage; holes can still be seen if one places the folios in question under a strong cold light. No report regarding the repair work he carried out is available; for this reason it is not so easy to tell to what extent he also took measures to prevent the spread of fungus. Almost nothing is currently known about him, but his imprint can still be seen on many of the inserted leaves. The few biographical data mentioned above derive from the following heretofore unpublished statement: “Ματθαῖος ὁ Βατοπαιδινός ὁ συντηρήσας τὸ τῆς Μονῆς Βλατάδων χειρόγραφον 14 τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶ ἔτει ,αϞβ’ ἐγεννήθη ἐν Προμυρίῳ Βόλου· Σταμούλης Κοντούλης τῶ βαπτίσματι ὀνομασθεὶς τῇ δὲ Ἱερᾷ Μονῇ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος ,αϞβ’ προσήλθε· καρεὶς μοναχὸς τῶ ,αϞγ’ πρεσβύτερός τε ἐν τοῖς ,αϞγ’ χειροτονηθεὶς· προϊστάμενος δὲ ἀνεδείχθη τῶ ,αϞδ’ καὶ ἀπεβίωσε τῇ κς’ Αὐγούστου τοῦ ἔτους ,αϞεβ’· βιβλιοδεσάειν τοῖς ,αϞξη’ ἔμαθεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ δὴ ἐν τῶ Laboratorio di restauro di immagini e libri τῆς Città del Vaticano· καθάπερ ἡμῖν δείκνυσι τὸ αὐτῶ δοθὲν πτυχίον συντηρήσεως εἰκόνων καὶ βιβλίων σὺν ἀριθμῶ H.175.S.328.L· φέρον τε χρονολογίαν τῆς κς’ μαρτίου τοῦ ἔτους ,αϞξη’ καὶ τοῦ τέως διευθυντοῦ Monsignore P. Marini τὴν ὑπογραφήν· τὴν τέχνην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Αθωνιάδι σχολῇ ἐδίδαξεν· ὡς πρωτοεπιστάτης ἐχρημάτιζε τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἐπιστασίας κατὰ τὰ ἔτη ,αϞπα’ καὶ ,αϞεβ’· οὗτος ἔντυπα οὐκ ὀλίγα ἔδρασε ὧν τὰ πλεῖστα νεότυπα καὶ τινα μουσικὰ παλαιότυπα· ἐνθάδε μὲν χειρόγραφον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συντετηρημένον οὐκ εἶδον ἕως τοῦδε· ἀκήκοα δὲ αὐτῶ τὰ σταυρονικητιανὰ χειρόγραφα ὑπ’ ἀριθμὸν 50 καὶ 65 συντετηρηθῆσαι ἐπιμελῶς ...” (Excerpted from the letters issued by the Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου, Ἅγιον Ὅρος, and dispatched to Harvard University on April 30th / May 13th and May 14th / May 27th, 2013 on behalf of the Very Revd. Abbott Ephraem by the παραβιβλιοφύλαξ Φίλιππος μοναχός). For very good reasons the manuscript is currently being restored again (cf. Stefan Alexandru, *op. cit.*, (ASNP) 410, n. 106); Dr. Georgios Boudalis, who is fulfilling this exceedingly important task, notified me on June 6th, 2013 that “A full description of the condition of the codex and its conservation problems will be published as soon as its conservation will be completed.”

⁹ Regarding Professor Dieter Harlfinger's identification of the hand and of the surroundings in which the text has been copied cf. the statement published online by the Teuchos Centre for Manuscript and Text Research of Hamburg University: “Im Juni 2007 konnte ich in Berlin während einer internationalen Fachtagung ... dank eines mir von Mme Boudon-Millot überreichten Sonderdrucks zum ersten Mal von diesem aufsehenerregenden Fund erfahren. Die zwei der Publikation beigegebenen Schrifttafeln erweckten bei mir den Eindruck, „daß es sich bei dem Kopisten möglicherweise um keinen anderen als den jungen Konstantin Laskaris (noch in Konstantinopel) handeln könnte”, was ich per E-Mail im Juli 2007 Frau Kollegin Boudon-Millot und später einigen anderen medizinhistorisch interessierten Kollegen mitteilte”. Cf. 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, CXLIII.

¹⁰ Cf. D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance I: Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1974, 23–24 with pl. 36, lines 2–21, and pl. 37 (cod. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillippicus Graecus 1507 = Meermannianus 192, ff. 268^r and 212^r). According to D. Harlfinger, cod. Laurentianus gr. 69.15 has been copied by the young Constantine Lascaris as well. Cf. P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger et al., *Aristoteles Graecus: Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, vol. I, Berlin – New York 1976, 41: “im Berol(inensis) begegnet als W(asser)z(eichen)

NEW READINGS

At 104.14 Nutton¹¹ (XIV 634.16–17 K) Galen discusses cardiovascular effects of psychic conditions, specifically the way in which the pulse rate is affected by strong emotions. Instead of τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς φόβους, cod. *Vlatadon* 14 transmits τὰς ἀγωνίας καὶ τοὺς φόβους in line 33 on f. 96^v / 104^v (Fig. 1). This lection is reflected by the Latin version attributed to Niccolò da Reggio¹², which reads *agonie et timores repente animam exagitantes pulsus vertunt*. Moreover, it is supported by the related passage found in *De pulsuum differentiis* IV, 3 (VIII 723.8–9 K): κατὰ γε τοὺς φόβους καὶ τὰς ἀγωνίας ἐναργῶς ἡ καρδία φαίνεται παλλομένη.

The heretofore available codices mistakenly transmit τὰ συνηθῶς προσενηνεγμένην at 102.7 Nutton (XIV 632.6–7 K). The emendation τῶν συνηθῶν προσενηνεγμένην has been printed in the critical edition. In line nine on f. 96^v / 104^v of cod. *Vlatadon* 14, however, we find the reading τὰ συνήθη προσενηνεγμένην (Fig. 1). One should not lose sight of the fact that the verb προσφέρειν in the middle voice is transitive when it means to partake of food or drink. In the light of parallel passages¹³, the lection τὰ συνήθη therefore makes very good sense and should be adopted.

After the infinitive ὁρᾶσθαι (104.17 Nutton, XIV 635.3 K) the previously collated manuscripts transmit the words τὸν νεανίσκον, which do not fit the context, given that the youth must perceive the object of his desire. Cod. *Vlatadon* 14 accurately endorses the reading τῷ νεανίσκῳ (*videri a iuvene* in the mediaeval

derselbe Dreieck wie im Laur. 69, 15, der 1455 ebenfalls von <Konstantinos Laskaris> geschrieben worden ist.” See further e.g. H. Hunger (ed.), *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, 1. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens, C. Tafeln, Vienna 1981, Plate 223 and E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, P. Eleuteri (eds.), *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, 3. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan, Vienna 1997, 138.

¹¹ Assessing the merits of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 would obviously have been much more difficult without having V. Nutton’s critical edition at hand. On an important methodological issue in this connection cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 64. See further M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1958, 206, nos. 751–752 and S. Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων (Τσαοῦς-Μοναστήρι) ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Thessalonica 1918, 37. Unless folio and line numbers are indicated, the reported manuscript readings and the lections of renaissance editions derive from volume V 8, 1 of the *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* series.

¹² In the 1490 Venice edition Diomedes Bonardus ascribes the Latin translation to Niccolò da Reggio. The words “translatu a Nicolao de regio de calabria” are written at the beginning of the treatise, cf. *Galenus Pergamensis medicorum omnium principis opera foeliciter inchoant...*, Venetiis per Philippum Pintium de Caneto impressa, 1490, vol. I, leaf mm 2^v, top of right colum (Copy used: Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University, Call number f Ballard 332). On this incunabulum, cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 10481, Hain *7427 and *IGI* 4129; see further M. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. III, Paris 1909, 474–75, no. 4975 and A. C. Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica*, Bruges 1938 (repr. from *Osiris* 4, 1938), 147, no. 432.1. As is well known, V. Nutton has expressed doubts about Niccolò da Reggio’s authorship of this Latin version and has encouraged further research on the issue (cf. Gal., *De praecognitione*, ed. V. Nutton, Berlin 1979, 23–25).

¹³ Cf., for example, προσφέροίτο τὰ συνήθη *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 2.53 CMG V 9, 1 p. 215, 1 Helmreich = XV 620.10–11 K and προσενηνέχθαι τε τὰ συνήθη στίχια *De meth. med.* 9.4, X 610.9 K.

Latin version) and thereby restores the grammatical structure through the *dativus auctoris*. V. Nutton's conjecture ὑπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου is no longer necessary.

Within the passage describing the ailment of the slave who had committed a large financial fraud and the successful therapeutic measures devised by Galen, the manuscripts are at variance. Clearly, what made the slave sleepless and caused him suffering was the fear that the embezzlement would soon be discovered, i.e. that a large sum would be found missing. The previously investigated manuscripts read οὐκ ὀλίγον ... εὐρήσεσθαι λείπον (104.1 Nutton, XIV 634 1–2 K), whereas cod. *Vlatadon* 14 transmits in line 25 on f. 96^v /104^v οὐκ ὀλίγον ... εὐρεθήσεσθαι λείπον (Fig. 1).

According to E. A. Sophocles' dictionary, the verb εὐρίσκω in the middle voice means 'to be found to be' or simply 'to be'; a series of passages, some of which date back to the second century AD, are listed in support of this statement. One could thus be tempted to regard as entirely appropriate V. Nutton's rendering of the vulgate reading: "a considerable sum of money would be found to be wanting". If this translation is accurate, there is no reason to be dissatisfied with the lection εὐρήσεσθαι. Several other Greek dictionaries do not support such an understanding of this section, however¹⁴, and, at a closer look, one sees that the evidence adduced by the major nineteenth-century lexicographer does not prove that the middle form of εὐρίσκω had a passive meaning at the time of Galen or even earlier. In some of his examples the form of the verb is ambivalent (medio-passive)¹⁵, whilst in others the endings are clearly passive¹⁶. It is, of course, beyond question that the future middle of εὐρίσκω is used in a passive sense in later Greek¹⁷.

¹⁴ Apart from *LSJ*, see, e.g., the dictionaries of Franz Passow, Friedrich Preisigke, Gerhard Kittel, Anatole Bailly, Charles Alexandre and Franco Montanari s.v. εὐρίσκω. Passow aptly describes the construction here used: "Häufiger im Pass(iv) mit dopp(eltem) Nom(inativ), erfunden oder befunden werden, εὐρέθη δικαίως ὄν, Soph., ἀδικούσα, Eur. und ähnl(ich) oft bei Tragikern und anderen, gew(öhnlich) mit dem Part(izip) ..."

¹⁵ It is not uninteresting to inspect the critical editions that were available to E. A. Sophocles. Cf. C. C. Th. Schmidt (ed.), *Κλεομήδους κυκλικῆς θεωρίας μετεώρων βιβλία δύο*, Lipsiae 1832, p. 65, 7–8 εὐρισκόμενος and C. Sprengel (ed.), *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque* (Medicorum Graecorum opera quae exstant, vol. XXV), Lipsiae 1829, p. 104, 1 (Dsc. I. 103) εὐρίσκεται. See further I. Bekker (ed.), *Sextus Empiricus*, Berolini 1842, p. 99, l. 6 and p. 127, l. 13 (S.E. P. II. 183 and III. 35) εὐρίσκεται, as well as I. Schweighaeuser (ed.), *Athenaei Naucratis Deipnosopistarum libri quindecim*, vol. I, Argentorati 1801, p. 107, l. 3 (Ath. Epit. I. 28) εὐρίσκεσθαι.

¹⁶ See C. von Tischendorf (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, vol. I, Lipsiae 1868, p. 578, l. 33 εὐρεθέντι (Esdr. I, 1, 7) and R. Hanhart (ed.), *Esdrae liber I*, Göttingen 1974, p. 56, l. 8. Cf. G. A. Hirschig (ed.), *Erotici scriptores*, Paris 1856, p. 22, l. 25 (Parth. 35) εὐρέθη, as well as C. C. Th. Schmidt (ed.), *Κλεομήδους κυκλικῆς θεωρίας μετεώρων βιβλία δύο*, Lipsiae 1832, p. 57, 15 εὐρεθείη. Cf. further Ign. Trall. 13, Migne P.G. V 685 A εὐρεθείητε and J. Fr. Boissonade (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis*, vol. V, Parisiis 1833, p. 48, l. 2 (*Martyr. Areth.* 48) εὐρέθη.

¹⁷ See, e.g., *Photii Patriarchae lexicon*, ed. C. Theodoridis, vol. II, Berlin 1998, p. 218, 2303 εὐρήσεται ἄντι τοῦ εὐρεθήσεται. Cf. *Suidae lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, pars II, Δ-Θ, Lipsiae 1931, ed. stereotypa Stuttgartiae 1967, p. 467, 3684 Εὐρήσεται: ἄντι τοῦ εὐρεθήσεται. Cf. further Oribasius, *Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, ed. I. Raeder, vol. III, Lipsiae et Berolini 1931 (CMG VI 2, 1), p. 169, 29–30: οὗτος γὰρ ἀκίνδυνος ὁ τῆς χειρουργίας εὐρήσεται τρόπος.

Galen often employs the passive voice of εὐρίσκω to express a passive meaning; the form εὐρεθήσεσθαι alone occurs no fewer than ten times in his works that remain extant in the original language¹⁸. Moreover, εὐρήσεσθαι would be, if adopted, a *hapax legomenon*. That the mediaeval translator rendering the text into Latin read εὐρεθήσεσθαι is at least probable, given that he has used the infinitive present passive (... *non modicum inveniri quod deest*). Inasmuch as the middle and passive forms of εὐρίσκω were used interchangeably in later Greek, the corruption that occurred in the hitherto known manuscripts can be easily explained.

A diverting error occurs at 114.11 (XIV 644.17 K), where, according to V. Nutton's apparatus, the hitherto collated manuscripts read τυροῦ 'of cheese', which has been athetized in the critical edition. In line three on f. 98^r / 106^r the *Vlatadon* codex transmits τοῦ ῥοῦ, allowing us to restore the genitive absolute ὕδατώδους ὄντος τοῦ ῥοῦ, which makes very good sense: "So we have all decided to cling to drying the wetness beyond measure of the affection, because the discharge was watery". This easy corruption was in all likelihood facilitated by the presence of τυροῦ in 114.8 Nutton (XIV 644.15 K)¹⁹.

At 92.12 Nutton (XIV 623.3 K) the hitherto known manuscripts read καὶ εἰ γνῶσιν. The *Vlatadon* offers κἄν γνῶσιν in line 40 on f. 95^r / 103^r; this construction, i.e. κἄν followed by the subjunctive (which corresponds to Attic prose usage),²⁰ frequently occurs in Galen's genuine writings²¹. Walter Müri, who printed καὶ ἔάν γνῶσιν, nearly anticipated this lection about fifty years ago²².

At 138.23 Nutton (XIV 670.13 K) cod. *Vlatadon* 14 supports αἰσθητικὴν διάγνωσιν instead of the hitherto attested words αἰσθητικὴν διάθεσιν (*sensitivam dispositionem* in the Latin translation ascribed to Niccolò da Reggìo). It seems to me that the reading of the Thessalonica manuscript is correct, for Galen is here focusing upon the difficulty of accurately interpreting the pulse and is entirely concerned with pulse diagnostics²³.

¹⁸ Cf. *De anat. admin.* 7.10, II 620.3 K, 7.16, II 644.9 K and II 645.5 K, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 9.1, CMG V 4, 1, 2, 2nd part, p. 540, 24 De Lacy, V 722.2–3 K, *De differ. febr.* 2.11, VII 374.12–13 K, *De meth. med.* 3.2, X 169.17 K, *In Hipp. Prorrh. comment.* 1.4, CMG V 9, 2 p. 17, 27 Diels, XVI 519.13 K and *De sophism.* 3, XIV 589.17 – 590.1 K: εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μέλλει καλῶς εὐρεθήσεσθαι ... Cf. R.B. Edlow, *Galen on Language and Ambiguity: An English Translation of Galen's 'De Captionibus (On Fallacies)' with Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Leiden 1977, 98, 2–3. See further *In Hipp. Acut. comment.* 1.13, CMG V 9, 1 p. 127, 18 Helmreich, XV 439.7–8 K and 3.19, CMG V 9, 1 p. 241, 20 Helmreich, XV 673.9 K.

¹⁹ On the likelihood of such errors, cf. *infra*, note 25.

²⁰ See Schwyzer II, 313 and 684–85; cf. Kühner-Gerth II 2, 473–74.

²¹ Cf. e.g. κἄν φλεβοτομηθῶσιν Gal. *In Hipp. Epid. VI comment.* 1.6, CMG V 10, 2, 2 p. 24, 14–15 Helmreich (XVII a 833.4 K), κἄν ἐπισχεθῶσί ποτε *De alim. facult.* 2.9, CMG V 4, 2 p. 276, 7 Helmreich (VI 574.6 K) and κἄν εἰς ἔσχατον ἀφικηταί ποτε *De usu part.* 16.12 ed. G. Helmreich, vol. II, Lipsiae 1909, p. 431, 10 (IV 337.10 K).

²² Cf. W. Müri, *Der Arzt im Altertum*, Munich³ 1962, 52 (repeatedly reissued).

²³ On pulse diagnosis, cf. Gal. *Thras.* 23, Scr. min. III, ed. G. Helmreich, Lipsiae 1893, 61, 7–8 (V 845.8–9 K): ἡ τῶν σφυγμῶν τε καὶ τῆς θερμασίας διάγνωσις.

The word sequence αἰσθητικὴ διάγνωσις is found both in *De locis affectis* 4.2, VIII 225.15 K, and in *De propriis placitis* 15 (CMG V 3 2, p. 122.12–13 Nutton)²⁴, whereas, to my knowledge, there is no further occurrence of αἰσθητικὴ διάθεσις in Galen's other extant genuine writings. In *De locis affectis* 4.2 the words τὰς αἰσθητικὰς διαγνώσεις are linked to a form of the verb σφάλλῃσθαι, as is the case in the present passage transmitted by the newly explored manuscript witness.

The lection διάθεσιν can easily be explained as a corruption of διάγνωσιν, especially since the noun διάθεσιν occurs earlier in the text at 138.17 Nutton, XIV 670.5 K.²⁵ Furthermore, the words ὡσαύτως δὲ περὶ τὴν ... διάγνωσιν σφάλλονται (138.26–28 Nutton, XIV 670.16–18 K) echo the earlier sequence αἰσθητικὴν διάγνωσιν ... σφάλλονται (138.23–24 Nutton, XIV 670.13–14 K) and *eo ipso* corroborate the hitherto unknown lection.

Another passage where the *Vlatadon* manuscript transmits a novel reading is 140.27 Nutton (XIV 672. 14 K). At some point Hermann Schöne rightly noticed that something was missing before ἕκαστον and added πρὸς in his private copy of the Kühn edition, currently preserved by the Berlin Academy. In 1924 he pointed out in the journal *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* that a preposition is needed with ἕκαστον and conjectured εἰς²⁶. The hitherto neglected witness exhibits καθ', i.e. καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν προβαλλομένων εἰπεῖν, 'to speak in particular about the topics proposed'. This fits neatly into the context. It should be noted that εἰπεῖν with the bare genitive repeatedly occurs in the Galenic corpus²⁷. The lection of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 is corroborated by the Latin version assigned to Niccolò da Reggio, which reads *secundum unumquodque*.

At 102.19 Nutton (XIV 633.2 K) the formerly scrutinized manuscripts transmit ἐπισκεψάμενος. Codex *Vlatadon* 14 offers in lines 15–16 on f. 96^v / 104^v the lection ἐπισκεψόμενος, which was previously known from the annotations of the Saxon Humanist Janus Cornarius (ca. 1500–1558) and from René Chartier's edition. The

²⁴ Cf. V. Boudon-Millot, A. Pietrobelli, 'Galien ressuscité: Édition *princeps* du texte grec du *De propriis placitis*', *Revue des études grecques* 118, 2005, 189, line 30.

²⁵ Cf. M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, Stuttgart 1973, 21: "The scribe may be reminded of a similar word or phrase that he has copied earlier, it may be many pages earlier." See further L. v. Ulrichs, F. Blass et al. (eds.), *Einleitende und Hilfs-Disziplinen* (Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft I), Munich 1892, 265: "Recht wichtig ist noch folgendes. Aus dem Geschriebenen haftet ein Wort noch eine kleine Weile fest, oder aus dem vorweg Gelesenen prägt sich etwas fester ein; dies Wort nun wird mechanisch für ein anderes gesetzt, welches irgendwelche, noch so geringe Ähnlichkeit hat, oder es übt auf dies einen angleichenden Einfluss."

²⁶ Cf. H. Schöne, 'Verschiedenes', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 73, 1920–24, 158.

²⁷ Cf. *De plenit.* 7, VII 540.15–16 K, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀποδείξεσιν ἀναγκαίαις ἕκαστον ὧν εἶπομεν ἄρτι πιστούμενοι, *Ars med.* 24, I 370.8 K, ἀρμόσει συμμετρία τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀκριβῆς, ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον, ἡσυχίας τε καὶ κινήσεως and *De sympt. caus.* 1.7, VII 131.6–8 K, αἱ ἀμυδραὶ τῶν ὀρέξεων οὐκ ἐξ ἀπολωλότων ὧν εἶπομεν, ἀλλ' ἐγγυὲς ἀπωλείας ἠκόντων ἔπονται. See further "ὧν εἶπον πλοκάνων τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου κύρτου ...", Gal. *In Plat. Tim. comm.* 15.13–14 (CMG Suppl. I p. 20, 7–8 Schröder). On *verba dicendi* with the bare genitive and followed by a subordinate clause, as is the case in the passage under consideration, cf. further Kühner-Gerth II 1, 363.

subjunctive with ὅταν is obviously prospective²⁸. The future participle after the verb of motion denotes purpose²⁹ and indicates posteriority³⁰. According to this reading the sequence of events is as follows: The physician enters the patient's home to start the consultation; slightly later, while the examination is under way, his attendant comes in and makes an announcement. Straightaway, the doctor surreptitiously feels the pulse to ascertain whether the patient is strongly affected by the news or not.

The aorist participle ἐπισκεψόμενος is less fitting and blurs the sequence of the events that were so shrewdly planned by Galen. The reading of the mediaeval Latin version, *visitaturus*, clearly supports the lection ἐπισκεψόμενος. A further superior reading occurs in the subsequent section, where the verb governing the participle is, according to the hitherto known codices, ἔλθω (“when I *come* to the woman”). The *Vlatadon* MS supports εἰσέλθω and transmits εἰς ἔλθω πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα. The verb εἰσέρχεσθαι followed by the preposition πρὸς is also used elsewhere in the Galenic corpus with reference to medical visits³¹. In the light of the parallel passages the reading εἰσέλθω πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα represents the *lectio difficilior*. The section ὅταν ἐπισκεψόμενος εἰσέλθω πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα can be translated simply as “when I enter the woman's accommodation in order to examine her”; this obviously is appropriate in the given context.

At 102.20 Nutton (XIV 633.3 K) cod. *Vlatadon* 14 transmits Μόρφιον (Nominative Μόρφοις) in agreement with the mediaeval Latin version (*enunciaret mihi morfium saltasse hodie*, Fig. 6, ll. 2–3 and Fig. 7, l. 2). The linear mark drawn in the Greek manuscript above Μόρφιον plainly indicates the proper name (f. 96^v/104^v, 16, Fig. 4, l. 3)³². These two sources are at variance with the two hitherto known witnesses, which read Μόρφον (Nom. Μόρφος) in V. Nutton's account. It should be noted that the suffix –ιος occurs fairly frequently in Greek men's names,³³

²⁸ See Kühner-Gerth II 2, 447–48: “Die ... Konjunktionen ... ὅταν, ὅτ' ἂν u. ὅτε κεν ep(isch) ... werden mit dem Konjunktive verbunden, wenn die Handlung als eine bestimmte einzelne in der Zukunft liegende ... bezeichnet werden soll”; cf. Schwyzler II, 310.

²⁹ See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, MA, 1920, repr. 1980, 458, §2065.

³⁰ See Kühner-Gerth II 1, 183: “Eine gesonderte Stellung nehmen der Optativ und die nominalen Formen des Futurums ein, die immer eine im Verhältnis zur Haupthandlung zukünftige Handlung bezeichnen ...”.

³¹ See *De diebus decr.* 1.11, IX 822.14–15 K ὀποσάκις ἂν εἰσέλθωσι πρὸς τὸν νοσοῦντα and *In Hipp. Progn. comment.* 1.8, CMG V 9, 2 p. 216, 14–15 Heeg, XVIII B 36.3–4 K εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἄρρωστον. Cf. further *De ther. ad Pis.* 1, XIV 210.6–7 K εἰσελθὼν γὰρ ποτε πρὸς σε κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ...

³² A concise description of this fairly common scribal practice was made centuries ago by Bernard de Montfaucon: “Observandum autem, Librarios bene multos nominibus propriis lineolam adscribere, ut distinguant ab aliis vocibus, ut vides hic in voce Φρεδερίκος [φρεδερίκος in his adjacent manuscript reproduction]...” (Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca, sive de ortu et progressu literarum Graecarum* ..., Paris 1708, 321. Copy used: Houghton Library, Harvard University, Call number f FC7 M7654 708p). Cf. further L. Traube, *Nomina sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*, Munich 1907, 46, n. 3.

³³ Cf. Ernst Fraenkel, *Namenwesen*, RE XVI (1935), 1640: “–ιος und –ίων sind in Männernamen nicht selten: Φίλιος, Λεύκιος, Λύκιος, Σμίσιον, Οἰωνίων, Ἀμπελίον u.v.a. ... Das Neutrum auf –ιον beschränkt sich auf Frauennamen: Σίμιον, Μόσχιον, Χελιδόνιον, Ἀστάριον, Μύρτιον, Σταγόνιον.” See further *ibid.*, 1642, 53–58 and 1643, 25–28.

whilst –ος seems to be less common³⁴. The feminine pendant of Μόρφιος, viz. Μόρφιον, is epigraphically attested³⁵. As the reports regarding the inscription EM 11076 of the Athenian Epigraphical Museum vary³⁶ and no photographic reproduction of this piece of archaeological evidence is available in the scholarly literature, it seems recommendable to publish it here for the first time (Fig. 5)³⁷.

The name Καλλίμορφος is well documented³⁸ and Εὔμορφος occurs in a marble inscription,³⁹ but the evidence one would wish to quote in support of Μόρφος is inconclusive;⁴⁰ it is encountered as a constituent of proper names, but does not find attestation as a Greek name in its own right. On the whole, the reading Μόρφιον, which is confirmed by the hitherto insufficiently explored Latin version, seems preferable. It should also be pointed out that W. Kroll's Pauly-Wissowa article *Morphos* is exclusively based on Kühn's text,⁴¹ so that its documentary basis is, from today's perspective, much too narrow and of highly questionable reliability. Besides, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the

³⁴ In relevant publications –ος is not discussed as an onomastic suffix; cf. C. Dobias, L. Dubois (eds.), *Olivier Masson: Onomastica Graeca selecta*, vol. II, Paris [1990], 635 and Ernst Fraenkel, *Namenwesen*, RE XVI (1935), 1635–41.

³⁵ See *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, ed. Udalricus Koehler, Berolini 1888 (*Inscriptiones Graecae* vol. II, pars III), p. 318, No. 3973 (= IG II 3973), cf. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, ed. I. Kirchner, pars tertia, fasciculus posterior: Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli memoriales, Berolini 1940 (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, voluminis II et III ed. minor, pars tertia), p. 801, No. 12172 (= IG II² 12172). See further W. Peek, 'Attische Inschriften: Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu IG. I². II²', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*, 67, 1942, Berlin 1951, 215–16. Cf. also P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, M. J. Osborne, S. G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II, Oxford 1994, 320 s.v. Μόρφιον and F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle a. d. Saale 1917, 615.

³⁶ Cf. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, ed. I. Kirchner, pars tertia, fasciculus posterior: Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli memoriales, Berolini 1940 (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, voluminis II et III ed. minor, pars tertia, fasc. 2), p. 788, No. 11976 (= IG II² 11976) and further Σ. Α. Κουμανούδη, *Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι*, Athens 1871, 365 [repr. 1993, vol. I, 365] as well as *Ἐφημερὶς τῶν φιλομαθῶν Φιλολογικῆ καὶ τῆς δημοσίας ἐκπαιδύσεως* (Athens), May 14, 1870 (ἔτος ΙΗ', ἀριθ. 737), p. 2080, No. 8.

³⁷ Warm thanks are due to the staff of the Athenian Epigraphical Museum, whose collections currently comprise over 13,500 inscriptions, especially to the archaeologist Mrs. Ελένη Ζαββού, who was very benevolent and co-operative during my research visit on April 26th, 2012. At present, this inscription is not on view, but preserved in a store-room of the museum.

³⁸ For Καλλίμορφος cf. e.g. *Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae*, ed. G. Kaibel, Berolini 1890 (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, vol. XIV), p. 125, No. 501 and p. 428, No. 1682 (= IG XIV 501 and 1682). See further T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*, vol. I, Bonn 1997, 147, A. Rizakis, 'Munera gladiatoria à Patras', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 108, 1984, 540 and J. M. R. Cormack, 'Zeus Hypsistos at Pydna', in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux*, Paris 1974, 52, line 38.

³⁹ Cf. P. Herrmann (ed.), *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. V.1, Vindobonae 1981, p. 244, 745, 10.

⁴⁰ On the lost inscription that allegedly transmitted ΘΥΟΣΧΩΤΕΣΜΟΡΦΟΥ, cf. G. Kaibel's rendering "ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κλίνῃ τῆι ἐς δεξιῶν ἐσιόντι ἐνεστιν" as well as his record "Μόσχος Εὔμορφου Keil; latent alia." (IG XIV 788). The onomastic suffix –σχωτες found in N. Ignarra's eighteenth-century copy is, so far as I can see, entirely unparalleled.

⁴¹ Cf. RE XVI. 1 (1933), 313. 56.

mediaeval translation is less related to the *Vlatadon* witness than the two hitherto known Greek MSS are to one another; these are thought to derive from the same majuscule codex.⁴² Accordingly, the lection Μόρφιον is supported by two out of three independent channels of transmission.

The repetition of the pronoun αὐτῶν in 92.32–33 Nutton (XIV 624.10–11 K) is both unnecessary and inelegant. The *Vlatadon* manuscript,⁴³ as well as the mediaeval Latin version, which reads *imperitiam eorum et malignitatem redarguere non curavi*, confirm only its first occurrence in line 32 Nutton.

The reading ἀνεβλόμην, restored through the athetesis of one letter in Nutton's edition (102.2, XIV 631.17 K) on the basis of the perfect tense found in the mediaeval Latin translation, is clearly legible in cod. *Vlatadon* 14 at the end of line five on f. 97^r / 105^r.

C.G. Kühn and, hesitatingly, V. Nutton adopted θαυμαστόν in the final period of the treatise (142.12 Nutton, XIV 673.11 K). The reading θαυμαστά, mirrored by the mediaeval Latin version (*Miranda esse videntur propter multorum ignorantiam nequaquam per se ...*) and conjectured by Hermann Schöne,⁴⁴ previously lacked manuscript authority. It is found in the first line on f. 99^r / 107^r of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 and is further supported by renaissance translations, such as those by Ioannes Guinterius Andernacus (Johann Winter aus Andernach, 1505 – 1574),⁴⁵ Janus Cornarius (Johann Haynpol),⁴⁶ and Julianus Martianus Rota.⁴⁷

Inasmuch as the subsequent reflexive pronoun ἐαυτὰ is in the plural and insofar as the plurals τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσα θαυμάζουσιν precede, the form θαυμαστά fits the context much better and should be preferred.

⁴² Cf. Gal., *De praecognitione*, ed. V. Nutton, Berlin 1979 (CMG V 8,1), 21. Some noteworthy disagreements between the Thessalonica manuscript and the version ascribed to Niccolò da Reggio are reported *infra*.

⁴³ On f. 95^v / 103^v, line 12.

⁴⁴ Cf. app. crit. ad locum: “θαυμαστὰ sec. Nic. (miranda) coni. Schöne, fort. recte.”

⁴⁵ Cf. *Claudii Galeni Pergameni opera diversa iam primum in lucem aedita [sic], Ioanne Guinterio Andernaco Medico Interprete, quorum catalogum versa pagella invenias*, Parisiis, Ex officina Simonis Colinaei, 1536, 37: “His enim admiranda esse apparent propter multorum ignorantiam ...” On this German humanist see, for example, W. Killy, R. Vierhaus (eds.), *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, vol. 10, Munich 1999, 533–34, s.v. “Winter aus Andernach”.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Galeni operum quartus tomus ea quae ab ipso de morborum agnitione praenotioneque tradita sunt, & quartae classis asscripta, complectens: quorum catalogum versa pagina reperies*, Basileae 1549, column 844: “Admiranda enim esse videntur, propter vulgi ignorantiam, non propter seipsa ...”

⁴⁷ Cf. *Galeni librorum quarta classis. Signa quibus tum dignoscere morbos & locos affectos, tum praescire futura possimus, docet ... (Galeni omnia quae extant opera in Latinum sermonem conversa [vol. 5]), Venetiis apud Iuntas 1565, f. 220^r: “miranda tamen plerisque videntur, ob ipsorum ignorantiam ...”. According to the biographical information provided by the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, Julianus Martianus Rota was a philosopher, physician and translator of Galen born in Venice. This sixteenth-century humanist also published John Philoponus' commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora*. See *Expositio Ioannis Grammatici Alexandrini cognomento Philoponi, in libros Analyticos Aristotelis posteriores, nunc denique a Martiano Rota post omnes aliorum editiones Graeco exemplari collata, pristinaeque integritati restituta*, Venetiis 1559 and M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300–1800*, vol. IV, Boston, MA 1962, 3100.*

There is an additional striking agreement at 118.12 Nutton (XIV 649.8–9 K) between the *Vlatadon* codex, which supports the reading μήθ' ὀρώντες με μήτε τῶν ἐμῶν οἰκετῶν τινα ἐν Ῥώμῃ,⁴⁸ and the mediaeval Latin translation (... *neque me videntes neque famulorum aliquem in Roma*). These sources side against the other known witnesses, which mistakenly read μήθ' ὀρώντες μήτε τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνθρωπον. V. Nutton's conjecture με, inspired by the Latin version ascribed to Niccolò da Reggio, is thus confirmed. It is appropriate to point out here that in the final chapter of the treatise the Latin words *ingressus sum cum eis* reflect συνεισῆλθον αὐτοῖς (*Vlat* f. 98^v / 106^v, 22) rather than συνῆλθον αὐτοῖς (138.22 Nutton, XIV 670.11 K). Since the verb συνεισέρχεσθαι – which fits the context very neatly – is less common than συνέρχεσθαι, both in the Galenic corpus and in general, the reading συνεισῆλθον should be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*.

It is, however, worth emphasizing that, although cod. *Vlatadon* 14 repeatedly harmonizes with the mediaeval Latin translation, it often stands significantly enough at variance with this version to rule out a very close stemmatic affiliation. As can be seen in lines 16–17 on f. 95^v / 103^v, cod. *Vlatadon* 14 does not omit μέν, ὡς ἅπαντες οἱ νῦν Ἑλληνας ὀνομάζουσι, σωματοφύλακος δέ, ὡς οἱ περιέργως ἀττικίζοντες (94.5–7 Nutton, XIV 624.17 – 625.1 K) as the Latin rendering does. Further down on the same manuscript folio, one finds in line 33 the words τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, which are not mirrored by the Latin version (96.1–2 Nutton, XIV 626.13–14 K). The passage δημοσίᾳ ... λέξεως (96.18–19 Nutton, XIV 627.16–17 K), absent from the Latin text, can likewise be read in this Greek manuscript (ff. 95^v / 103^v, 44–96^r / 104^r, 2). Similarly, in 98.8 and 100.2 Nutton (XIV 628.18 and 630.9–10 K), it does not omit the words ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἀφικνεῖσθαι and ὦ Ἐπίγενες, which appear at lines twelve and twenty-nine on f. 96^r / 104^r. It will be noted that this witness does not support the erroneous Latin lection *die* at 102.24 Nutton (XIV 633.7 K), but instead reads νύκτα at line 18 on f. 96^v / 104^v together with the previously known Greek codices. At 104.18–19 Nutton (XIV 635.4 K) the *Vlatadon* manuscript exhibits καθάπερ ὁ Πυλάδης ὃδ' οὖν οὐδὲ τότε φαινόμενος ἀλλ' ἀκουόμενος ἐτάραττε τὴν γυναῖκα (lines 35–36, f. 96^v / 104^v, Fig. 1). This passage is rendered as follows by the mediaeval translator: *sicut Pilyade: q(ui) neque tunc apparet: s(ed) audit(us) exagitabat mulierem*. One swiftly notices that the particle οὖν is not reflected by the Latin version; the position of this particle in the Greek text is, nevertheless, completely unproblematic.⁴⁹

Furthermore, the section διηγησάμενοί τε τὰ προγεγονότα καὶ τὰ παρόντα συμπτώματα (138.19–20 Nutton, XIV 670.8–9 K), which has no equivalent in the Latin version, is recorded in line 20 on f. 98^v / 106^v.

⁴⁸ This can be seen in line seven on f. 98^v / 106^v.

⁴⁹ Cf. *De facult. natur.* 2.6, Scr. min. III, p. 171, 19–22 Helmreich, II 97.5–8 K and 2.11, Scr. min. III, p. 202, 8–11 Helmreich, II 139.10–12 K as well as *De temper.* 2.6, p. 73, 15–19 Helmreich (I 626.3–7 K) and 3.4, p. 107, 2–6 Helmreich (I 680.7–11 K). See further *De elem. sec. Hipp.* 1.9 CMG V 1, 2 p. 132, 18–134, 2 De Lacy (I 486.3–10 K).

The Latin translation, conversely, does not leave out through any *saut du même au même* the section τινος... παραγενομένου (102.11–13 Nutton, XIV 632.11–13 K),⁵⁰ as is conspicuously the case in lines 11–12 on f. 96^v / 104^v (Fig. 1) of the *Vlatadon* codex.⁵¹

READINGS HITHERTO UNATTESTED, OR RARELY MET WITH, IN THE DIRECT MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

At 92.6 (XIV 622.15), where codex Ambrosianus gr. 659 is mechanically damaged, and at 140.16 (XIV 672. 2 K), the editor Vivian Nutton printed ἔφη<v> and κερμι[μ]ένον, respectively, on the basis of the 1538 Basle edition by Hieronymus Gemusaeus, Leonhardus Fuchsius and Joachim Camerarius⁵². The form ἔφην is clearly supported by the mediaeval Latin version as well (*sed propositum meum dixi iam audivisti multotiens ...*). In the manuscript *Vlatadon* 14 one can effortlessly recognize the correct forms ἔφην and κερμιμένον in line 37 on f. 95^r / 103^r and on f. 98^v / 106^v in line 35.

Similarly, V. Nutton conjectured μέγα<v> ἡγούμενοι τὸν οὐ μέγα<v> in 138.25 (XIV 670 14–15 K) on account of the text found in the Aldine edition issued in 1525. Codex *Vlatadon* 14 exhibits μέγαν ἡγούμενοι τὸν οὐ μέγαν in line 23 on f. 98^v / 106^v.

At 138.26 (XIV 670.16 K) V. Nutton fittingly supplied the article τήν (also printed by Kühn) to read τήν τῶν ἀμυδρῶν ... διάγνωσιν. This conjecture was allegedly inspired by the 1538 Basle edition, in which, rather curiously, the article τήν is missing.⁵³ At the end of line 24 on f. 98^v / 106^v, however, cod. *Vlatadon* 14 clearly offers τήν τῶν ἀμυδρ(ῶν). Likewise at 96.21 (XIV 628.1 K) both Nutton and Kühn have adopted ἐξ αὐτῶν, the former reportedly on account of the same Swiss publication, whose editors nevertheless endorsed ἐξ αὐτοῦ⁵⁴. The *Vlatadon* witness preserves the superior reading ἐξ αὐτῶν in line 3 on f. 96^r / 104^r.

⁵⁰ This passage is rendered by the mediaeval translator as follows: *ab aliqua anime tristitia molestari mulierem contingit illo tempore quo visitabam eam confirmari id. Accedente enim ...*

⁵¹ In the final part of this article a rather controversial passage will be discussed; at that stage some further new readings of cod. *Vlatadon* 14 will be presented.

⁵² Cf. ΓΑΛΗΝΟΥ ΑΠΙΝΤΑ. *Galenus Pergamensis summi semper viri ... opera omnia, ad fidem complurium & perquam vetustorum exemplariorum ... emendata atque restituta ...*, pars tertia, Basileae 1538, p. 454, l. 47 and p. 462, l. 32.

⁵³ Cf. V. Nutton's apparatus ad locum and p. 462, l. 19 of the edition mentioned in the preceding footnote. (Three copies have been consulted: Harvard University, Houghton Library, call number f Typ 565.38.415; Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, call numbers f Treadwell 1057 and f I.H.8.)

⁵⁴ Cf. ΓΑΛΗΝΟΥ ΑΠΙΝΤΑ. *Galenus Pergamensis summi semper viri ... opera omnia ...*, pars tertia, Basileae 1538, page 455, line 35. One can easily notice that the lection ἐξ αὐτῶν is printed in René Chartier's edition; see Renatus Charterius Vindocinensis, *Operum Hippocratis Coi, et Galeni Pergamensis, medicorum omnium principum*, tom. VIII, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1639, 838 D.

In lines 5–8 on page 140 Nutton (XIV 671.9 K) the section *αἰσθανομένους, ὡς μηδὲ πράττειν ἢ ὑπομένειν ἃ πρότερον ἀμέμπτως ἔπραττον ἀλλὰ κατακλιθῆναι τε καὶ δεῖσθαι σκευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο παθόντας ἐνίοις μὲν ὥραις τρισὶ τοῦ φυγεῖν αὐτὴν τὴν γλωσσολαλίαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βλάβη ἕως ὧδε πολλῆς* is rejected as spurious. Thus the editor retains *γυμνασίας ἰσχυροτέρας δεομένης*.

Interestingly, the *Vlatadon* codex offers *γυμνασίας πολλῆς δεομένης*: for the first time a Greek witness confirms the athetesis of several lines in the aforementioned passage. In matters of detail, however, it does not fully support the text as established by C.G. Kühn and V. Nutton. Rather surprisingly, if one looks up John Caius' statement referred to in Nutton's apparatus, one can see that the extremities of the spurious passage differ slightly from those indicated in the 1979 edition. John Caius writes: "in cod. Germanicis parte tertia pag. 462 a γυμνασίας quod uers. 25 est, ad πολλῆς quod uer. 27. omnia superflua sunt, atque ex lib. περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν transcripta: ex tertia item parte, cod. Germ. pag. 380 uer. 13."⁵⁵ The prominent British humanist thus asserts that the interpolation extends from *γυμνασίας* to *πολλῆς* (140.4–8 Nutton). If one eliminates all the words written in between, the resulting text is *γυμνασίας πολλῆς δεομένης*, as transmitted by the *Vlatadon* codex. Caius' hint regarding *Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν* (*De morborum temporibus*) is also helpful, for a part of the obelized passage shows striking similarities to VII 411.2–6 K⁵⁶; bold type indicates verbal coincidence:

ἰσχυροτέρας, καὶ φρίκης ἀξιολογωτέρας αἰσθανομένους, ὡς μήτε πράττειν μήθ' ὑπομένειν ἃ πρότερον ἀμέμπτως ἔπραττον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατακλιθῆναι τε καὶ δεῖσθαι σκευμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο παθόντας ἐνίοτε μὲν ὥραις τρισὶν ...

Since the adjective *ἰσχυροτέρας* is present at VII 411.2 K, i.e., at the beginning of the passage that crept into the text of *De praecognitione*, it is obvious that it should be bracketed. In exchange, the adjective *πολλῆς*, the last word in the section deleted by V. Nutton, should be recognized as genuine and consequently reintroduced into the text, following the reading of cod. *Vlatadon* 14.

Against the inferior readings *κατισχημένα* of the twelfth-century MS Laurentianus gr. 74.⁵⁷ and *κατεχημένα* of the fifteenth-century cod. Marcianus gr.

⁵⁵ See *Cl. Galeni Pergameni nobilissimi medici libri aliquot Graeci partim hactenus non uisi, partim a mendis quibus scatebant innumeris ad uetustissimos codices repurgati & integritati suae restituti, annotationibusque illustrati per Ioannem Caium Britannum, Medicum, Basileae 1544, 322* (Copy used: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, shelfmark 4 A.gr.b. 647). This Renaissance edition is recorded by, e.g., S. F. W. Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der Griechen*, Teil II, Leipzig²1839, repr. Amsterdam 1961, 123.

⁵⁶ The text of *De morborum temporibus* established by I. Wille (*Die Schrift Galens Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν und ihre Überlieferung*, PhD diss., University of Kiel, 1960) does not deviate from that of Kühn in this section.

⁵⁷ On this codex cf. N.G. Wilson, 'A Mysterious Byzantine Scriptorium: Ioannikios and His Colleagues', *Scrittura e civiltà* 7, 1983, 166, 171 and plates IV, VIII, XII. See further idem, 'Aspects of the Transmission of Galen', in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Le strade del testo*, Bari 1987, 54 as well as idem, 'Ioannikios and Burgundio: A Survey of the Problem', in G. Cavallo, G. De Gregorio, M. Maniaci

281, the *Vlatadon* manuscript (f. 96^r / 104^r, line twenty, relating to 98.20 Nutton, XIV 629.14 K) supports the correct reading *κατεσχισμένα*, which was hitherto known from the fifteenth-century manuscript Parisinus gr. 2332 and from the annotations of Janus Cornarius.

For one single word at 98.8 Nutton (XIV 628.18 K), two conjectures endorsed by René Chartier's text⁵⁸ were necessary to restore the proper lection; codex *Vlatadon* 14 confirms their accuracy, rendering both of them superfluous, inasmuch as it transmits *ἀγροικοπυρρῶνείους* in line twelve on f. 96^r / 104^r. The noun *ἀγροικοπυρρῶνείος* also occurs in *De puls. differ.* 4.2 (VIII 711.3 K); no critical edition is currently available for this text, as far as I am aware, and thus no comprehensive survey of manuscript lections. Moreover, Chartier's reading *ἐνδεικνυμένη*, adopted by Nutton and Kühn (*ἐνδεικνυμένη[v]* 100.19 Nutton, *ἐνδεικνυμένη* XIV 631.10–11 K), is supported by codex *Vlatadon* 14; in line two on f. 96^v / 104^v (Fig. 1) are written the words *ὡς μάτην ἐρωτώμενη ἐνδεικνυμένη*.

On account of Janus Cornarius' and Hermann Schöne's annotations, the noun *συνουσίαν* has been restored by conjecture at 96.24 Nutton (XIV 628.5 K). Codex *Vlatadon* 14 exhibits the correct reading in line five on f. 96^r / 104^r.

The lection *προκεισθαί μοι* (118.14 Nutton, XIV 649.11 K), printed by René Chartier and adopted by subsequent editors, is found in line eight on f. 98^v / 106^v of the *Vlatadon* document. For this reading no manuscript basis was hitherto known.

Cod. *Vlatadon* 14 preserves in line twenty-eight on f. 98^v / 106^v the correct lection *ἀμφοτέρων* (140.1 Nutton, XIV 671.5 K; the latter prints *ἀμφοτέρω*) against codd. Laurentianus gr. 74.5 and Marcianus gr. 281, which transmit *ἀμφοτέρα*. The reading *ἀμφοτέρων* was already known to the modern reader, thanks to annotations penned by the humanist Janus Cornarius.⁵⁹

PECULIAR ERRORS

One should not lose sight of the fact that the sigla A, L, M, N and P designate the codices Ambrosianus gr. 659, Laurentianus gr. Plut. 74. 5, Marcianus gr. 281 (coll. 581), Parisinus Suppl. gr. 35, and Parisinus gr. 2332, respectively. The abbreviation *Nic.* refers to the mediaeval Latin version.

In the section of *De praecognitione* upon which we are primarily focusing, the *Vlatadon* manuscript also exhibits a considerable number of peculiar errors,⁶⁰ e.g.:

(eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bizanzio: Atti del Seminario di Erice*, Spoleto 1991, 449, 453. See further e.g. D. Baldi, 'Ioannikios e il *Corpus Aristotelicum*', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6, 2011, 15–26 and P. Degni, 'I manoscritti dello "scriptorium" di Gioannicio', *Segno e testo* 6, 2008, 179–248.

⁵⁸ Cf. Renatus Charterius Vindocinensis, *Operum Hippocratis Coi, et Galeni Pergamenti, medicorum omnium principum*, tom. VIII, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1639, 838 E–F.

⁵⁹ See V. Nutton's apparatus *ad locum*.

⁶⁰ Obviously, such errors also occur in the preceding part of the treatise, e.g., p. 72, 24–25 Nutton *τοῦ τ' ἄλλοις ὑφηγήσασθαι δυναμένους] ἄλλοις τέ τισι τοῦθ' ὑφηγήσασθαι δυναμένοις* Vlat f. 93^r/101^r,

p. 96, 16 Nutton δείξει] δόξει Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 43 || p. 98, 12 Nutton φιλόλογοις] φίλοις Vlat f. 96^f/104^f, 15 || p. 98, 13 Nutton ἐγνώσθη] ἐγνώσθαι Vlat f. 96^f/104^f, 15 || p. 98, 17 Nutton μὲν] om. Vlat f. 96^f/104^f, 19 || p. 100, 21 Nutton ἄλλω] ἄλλο Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 3.

p. 102, 9 Nutton ἔγνω] ἔγνω Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 10 || p. 102, 11–13 Nutton τινος ... παραγενομένου] om. Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 11 (*saut du même au même*) || p. 102, 16 and 21 Nutton εὔρον] εὔρων Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 13 and 17 || p. 102, 17 Nutton τεθορυβῆσθαι] τεθορυβεῖσθαι Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 14 || p. 102, 19 Nutton ἀκολούθω] ἀκολουθῶ Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 15 || p. 104, 2 Nutton τοῦτο] τούτω Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 25 || p. 104, 2 Nutton βεβαίας] βεβαίαν Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 26 || p. 104, 5 Nutton γὰρ] om. Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 27–28 || p. 104, 10 Nutton ἐπισκοπούμενους] ἐπισκοπούμενου Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 30–31 || p. 104, 17 Nutton εὐκολώτερον ἐξεῦρεν] om. Vlat f. 96^v/104^v, 35 || p. 116, 31 Nutton Σιβούρας] ἀγοράς Vlat f. 98^f/106^f, 39 || p. 116, 31 Nutton παραλαβόντα τινὰ] παραβαλλόντι τινὶ Vlat f. 98^f/106^f, 39 || p. 118, 21 Nutton διατρίψαι] διατρίψας Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 12 || p. 138, 17–18 Nutton φωλεύειν ἔδοξαν] χωλεύειν· ἔδοξεν Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 19 || p. 138, 19 Nutton ἀπήνησαν] ἀπαντήσας Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 20 || p. 138, 21 Nutton σφυγμὸν] σφυγμῶν Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 21 || p. 138, 24 Nutton ἰατρῶν] ἀνδρῶν Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 23 || p. 138, 24 and 28 Nutton σφάλλονται] σφάλονται Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 23 and 25 || p. 140, 19 Nutton αἰτίας τινδς] τινδς αἰτίας Vlat. f. 98^v/106^v, 36 || p. 142, 5 Nutton ἀναγνόντες] ἀναγνόντες Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 43–44 || p. 142, 11 Nutton γεγενῆσθαι] γενέσθαι Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 47 || p. 142, 13 δι' ἑαυτά, τοῖς] δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς Vlat. f. 99^f/107^f, 1.

This witness repeatedly agrees in error with other representatives of the direct textual tradition:

p. 98, 1 Nutton τοῖς alt.] τοῦ L M P Vlat f. 96^f/104^f, 8 || p. 98, 2 Nutton τοῖς] τοῦ P Vlat f. 96^f/104^f, 8 || p. 118, 15 Nutton Ῥώμην] Ῥωμαίων L Vlat (Ῥωμαίων) f. 98^v/106^v, 42 || p. 140, 17 Nutton ἀψαμένους] ἀψάμενος L M Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 35 || p. 142, 2 Nutton ἔμαντοῦ καταγνοίην] ἔμοι τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην L M: ἔμοι τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην Vlat f. 98^v/106^v, 42.

The large lacuna occurring in line 18 on fol. 98^v / 106^v should also be mentioned in this connection. The copyist writes ἐντολὰς ἔχοντι παρ' αὐτοῦ. εὐρόντες αὐτοῦ, thus breaking off in the middle of the sentence⁶¹ and leaving out the portion of text extending from τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (118.13 Nutton, XIV 650.13 K) to σφυγμὸν (138.17 Nutton, XIV 670.5 K).

12 || p. 78, 14 Nutton τῆς] τοῖς Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 31 || p. 78, 30 Nutton πιοντ'] πιοντας Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 43 || p. 82, 13 Nutton καταγελῶν] κατεγέλων Vlat f. 94^f/102^f, 30 || p. 82, 28 Nutton ἠλήθευσα] ἠληψα Vlat f. 94^f/102^f, 39.

⁶¹ The period ends with the words ἐντολὰς ἔχοντι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου καλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰ νοσήσειε ποτε. (118.31–33 Nutton, XIV 650.13–15 K).

It will be noted that in the earlier part of the treatise, which is also transmitted by cod. Ambrosianus gr. 659 (Q 3 sup.), there are some striking instances of agreement with this witness, clearly indicating a stemmatic affinity, e.g.:

p. 70, 8 Nutton ἀυτῶν] ante ἀυτῶν add. ἐξ A Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 24 || p. 70, 20 Nutton ὀκνῶν, οἶμαι, καὶ διαβουλεύομενος] om. A Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 32 || p. 70, 21 Nutton ἀυτῷ τῷ μέλλειν] ἀυτὸ τὸ μέλλον A Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 32 || p. 72, 14 Nutton ἄλλων] ἄλλως A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 4 || p. 72, 17–18 Nutton ἐν χειμῶνι ... ζάλῃ] ἐκ χειμῶνος ... ζάλῃς A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 7 || p. 72, 19–20 μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον] πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 8 || p. 72, 23 Nutton πρεσβυτέρως] περαιτέρω A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 11 || p. 74, 24 Nutton ἐνάτην] ὀγδόην A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 36 || p. 74, 27 Nutton πότερον] πρότερον A Vlat f. 93^r/101^r, 38 || p. 76, 17 Nutton ἐχωρίσθην] ἐχωρίσθην ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν A Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 13 || p. 76, 25 Nutton τεταρταίου] τεταρταίαν A Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 19 || p. 78, 27 Nutton ὑποσχομένους] ὑπισχνουμένους A Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 40 || p. 78, 28 Nutton μικρὰ] μικρῶς A Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 40 || p. 80, 11 Nutton σωθῆναι] ἐαθῆναι A L M P Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 11 || p. 82, 5 Nutton ἐπάρχου] om. A Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 25 || p. 82, 17 Nutton ἀυτοὺς γνώσεσθαι] ἀυτοὶ γνώσσονται A Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 32 || p. 82, 21 Nutton ἄγοντα] ἄγοντος A Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 34 || p. 82, 22–23 Nutton μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένης] γενομένης μετὰ ταῦτα A Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 35–36 || p. 82, 25 Nutton σεμνότητος] σεμνότητι A Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 37 || p. 86, 4 Nutton ἀγγέλλοιμι] ἀγγέλοιμι A N Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 2 || p. 88, 6 Nutton ἀυτοὺς] om. A Nic. Vlat f. 95^r/103^r, 2 || p. 96, 11 Nutton πιθήκων] πιθήκους A L M Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 40 || p. 96, 13 Nutton ἔχει] ἔχουσι A Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 41.

Although the *Vlatadon* manuscript often agrees with cod. Ambrosianus gr. 659, it is also repeatedly at variance with it. In one such passage it notably provides our first manuscript authority for a reading hitherto familiar only from an annotation of Joseph Justus Scaliger; in another, it also corroborates a lection formerly traced back only as far as the Aldine edition. In a further passage (86.9 Nutton, XIV 617.7 K) a previously unknown reading occurs, which is backed up by the mediaeval Latin version:⁶²

p. 68, 18 Nutton παρανομεῖν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ἐλαχίστω τε χρόνῳ] παρανομεῖν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ἐλαχίστω τε χρόνῳ Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 15–16: παρανομεῖν (*spatio quattuordecim fere litterarum vacuo relicto*) τῷ θέλει χρόνου A || p. 70, 7 Nutton ἀγαπήσειεν Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 23: ἀγαπήσειαν A || p. 70, 10 Nutton εὔρηταί Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 25: εἴρηταί A || p. 70, 11 Nutton οὖν Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 26: μὲν A || p. 72, 4 Nutton τι Vlat f. 92^v/100^v, 38: τινα A || p. 76, 1 Nutton ἀπιέναι Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 2:

⁶² A detailed examination of the subsequently mentioned lections falls outside the scope of the present article; cf. *supra*, p. 10.

ἐπιέναι A || p. 76, 24 Nutton μετὰ] τὴν μετὰ A: τῆ μετὰ Scaliger: τῆ μετὰ Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 18 || p. 78, 15 Nutton ἦν Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 31: om. A || p. 78, 21 Nutton ἄπεπτον Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 36: ἄπεμτον A || p. 78, 23 Nutton πέψαι Vlat f. 93^v/101^v, 37: πέμψαι A || p. 80, 5 Nutton ἐπιγενόμενος Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 6: ἐπιγενησόμενος A || p. 80, 16 Nutton τε Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 14: om. A || p. 82, 22 Nutton τάς τε Vlat f. 94^r/102^r, 35: om. A || p. 82, 31 Nutton καὶ Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 2: om. A || p. 82, 31 Nutton μικράν Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 2: μικράν A || p. 84, 6 Nutton ἀπάντων Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 6: ἀπάντας A L || p. 84, 17 Nutton ὁποίας Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 13: om. A || p. 84.25 Nutton κάκεινοις ex editione quae Venetiis anno post Christum natum MDXXV in aedibus Aldi typis fuit expressa, Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 19: κάκεινους A L M || p. 86, 9 Nutton ἐσομένων] ἐπιγινομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγενομένων A: ἐπομένων Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 26–27: sequentium *Nic.* || p. 86, 9–10 Nutton συμπτωμάτων Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 27: συμπτώματα A || p. 86, 27 Nutton κενώσεως Vlat f. 94^v/102^v, 39: κινήσεως A || p. 88, 6 Nutton τελέως Vlat f. 95^r/103^r, 2: τελείως A || p. 88, 15 Nutton με τοῖς Vlat f. 95^r/103^r, 8: μετὰ τῆς A || p. 90, 17 Nutton φύσει πονηρῶν Vlat f. 95^r/103^r, 26: φιλοπονηρῶν A || p. 94, 9 Nutton Διομήδους] διομήδους Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 18: Δημόδους A || p. 94, 18 Nutton ὁ Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 25: ὄ A || p. 96, 9 Nutton με Vlat f. 95^v/103^v, 38: μοι A ||

OUTLOOK

A formerly rather controversial passage that looks quite differently in cod. *Vlatadon* 14 is found in lines 29–34 on f. 95^v / 103^v (94.24 – 96.2 Nutton, XIV 626.5–14 K). It is penned approximately as follows (Fig. 7, lines 6–11):⁶³

τ /

τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ζοϊκοὺς τε καὶ περιπατητικοὺς ἀγῶνα παρον καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
τρ /

ἄμ' αὐτοῖς ἰατρῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων. ἀναμνήσω σε προ ὄθεν ἤρξατο διελθὼν ἴν'
√ / ↗

εἰ καὶ τινι τῶν ἀξίων κοινωνοὶ τοιοῦτ λόγων ἐθελήσας μεταδοῦναι τουτὶ τὸ
θ / ↘

γράμμα περιφέρει. τὴν ἀκολου ἅπασαν ἤδι τῶν γεγενημεν ἔχον· καὶ μὴ δια παντὸς
Hσ

ἀσχολίαν ἔχης αὐτὸς διηγούμενος. ὅσα διὰ τε τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἰατρικῆς τέχνης
ἀνατομῶν

⁶³ The reader less familiar with abbreviations used in mediaeval Greek manuscripts might wish to consult the plates published by G. F. Cereteli at the end of his book *Sokraščenijsa v' grečeskich' rukopisjach' preimuščestvenno po datirovannym' rukopisjam' S.-Peterburga i Moskvy* [De compendiis codicum Graecorum, praecipue Petropolitanorum et Mosquensium anni nota instructorum], Saint Petersburg ²1904, repr. Hildesheim 1969. On abbreviations through suspension, see, e.g., B. A. van Groningen, *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography*, Leyden ⁴1967, 45–47. For some of the graphic symbols used in this transcription thanks are due to the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* in Cairo.

τε καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐταῖς λόγων ἐπράχθη μοι τοὺς φθονεροὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ
 φιλοσόφους
 τ
 ἐλέγχον·

No editor has yet printed this section as we can now, in the light of the new witness:

Τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς τε καὶ Περιπατητικοὺς ἀγῶνα παρόντων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἰατρῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀναμνήσω σε πρότερον, ὅθεν ἤρξατο διελθόν, ἴν', εἰ καὶ τινι τῶν ἀξίων κοινωνίας τοιούτων λόγων ἐθελήσῃς μεταδοῦναι τουτὶ τὸ γράμμα, περιφέρεις τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἅπασαν ἤδη τῶν γεγενημένων ἔχων, καὶ μὴ διὰ παντὸς ἀσχολίαν ἔχῃς αὐτὸς διηγούμενος ὅσα διὰ τε τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἰατρικῆς τέχνης ἀνατομῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐταῖς λόγων ἐπράχθη μοι τοὺς φθονεροὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐλέγχοντι.

And of the controversy with the Stoics and Peripatetics, which took place in presence of certain others, both physicians and philosophers, I will remind you firstly. I will recount from where it began, so that, if you should also wish to share this writing with one of those who are worthy of participating in such reasonings, you may circulate it while already having the whole sequence of the facts, and so that you may not always have the trouble to describe in detail, on your own, all that I have accomplished through deeds of the medical art, through dissections and through explanations given in the course of them, thereby refuting the envious doctors and philosophers.

Whilst the words τὸν πρὸς (94.25 Nutton, XIV 626.5 K), which lack a Latin equivalent in the mediaeval version,⁶⁴ are missing, the syntax is nonetheless correct. The readings τινι and ἐλέγχοντι, adopted by Nutton⁶⁵ and documented, respectively, in the translation ascribed to Niccolò da Reggio and in the 1538 Basle edition,⁶⁶ here receive manuscript authority. Since forms of the verbs περιφέρειν and ἔχειν are transmitted by the *Vlatadon* witness in proximity to the adverb ἤδη (94.29 Nutton, XIV 626.10 K), there is no longer any need to alter it into ἴδη or ἴδοι

⁶⁴ In the mediaeval Latin version this passage reads as follows: *Agonis vero qui secundum stoycos et perypateticos presentibus simul cum eis et aliis medicis et philosophis memorabor. pertransiens prius unde incepit. Ut si alicui dignorum communicatione horum verborum volueris tradere hunc tractatum: consequentiam videat omnium que facta sunt: et non habeas ubique occupationem enarrandi ea que per opera medicinalis artis et anothomias et rationes que in eis egi: invidos medicos redarguens.*

⁶⁵ The latter has also been printed by Kühn (XIV 626.14).

⁶⁶ Cf. ΓΑΛΗΝΟΥ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. *Galenus Pergamensis summi semper viri ... opera omnia, ad fidem complurium & perquam vetustorum exemplariorum ... emendata atque restituta ...*, pars tertia, Basileae 1538, page 455, line 24. Nutton's report regarding the source of the lection ἐλέγχοντι is misleading, inasmuch as the Aldine edition issued in 1525 reads in volume five, f. 137^r (by signature mark f. tt 3^r), l. 56 καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐταῖς λόγων ἐπράχθη μοι τοὺς φθονεροὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐλέγχοντα ...

so as to devise a predicate for the final clause introduced by the conjunction ἵνα. Furthermore, the lection ἐχης is clearly preferable to ἐχοις at 94.29 Nutton, XIV 626.11 K⁶⁷.

The discussion of manuscript readings from the later part of Galen's treatise Περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν inscribed to Epigenes has shown not only that the new witness is independent, but also that it is not even remotely akin to any of the previously explored representatives that transmit the sections absent from cod. Ambrosianus Graecus 659 (Q 3 sup.). A new stream of tradition for the final part of the treatise has thus emerged. For its help restoring the text in a significant number of passages, cod. *Vlatadon* 14 is indispensable to future editorial work; its lections will have to be carefully considered⁶⁸. It is clear that a new or at least revised edition of this so lively ancient piece of writing, which offers such an impressive and at the same time documentarily precious picture of its age, represents an important scholarly desideratum.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kühner-Gerth II 2, 378, H. W. Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*, 493, §2196 and W. Goodwin, C. B. Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, Boston 1930, 289, §1374.

⁶⁸ Cf. Paul Maas' pertinent remark: "After all, in recognizing a witness as a variant-carrier we presuppose that it does not share at least one special error of the other variant-carrier; but if it alone has preserved the original in one passage, we are bound to reckon with the same possibility in all the readings peculiar to it." (Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Oxford, 1958, 19).

Plate I

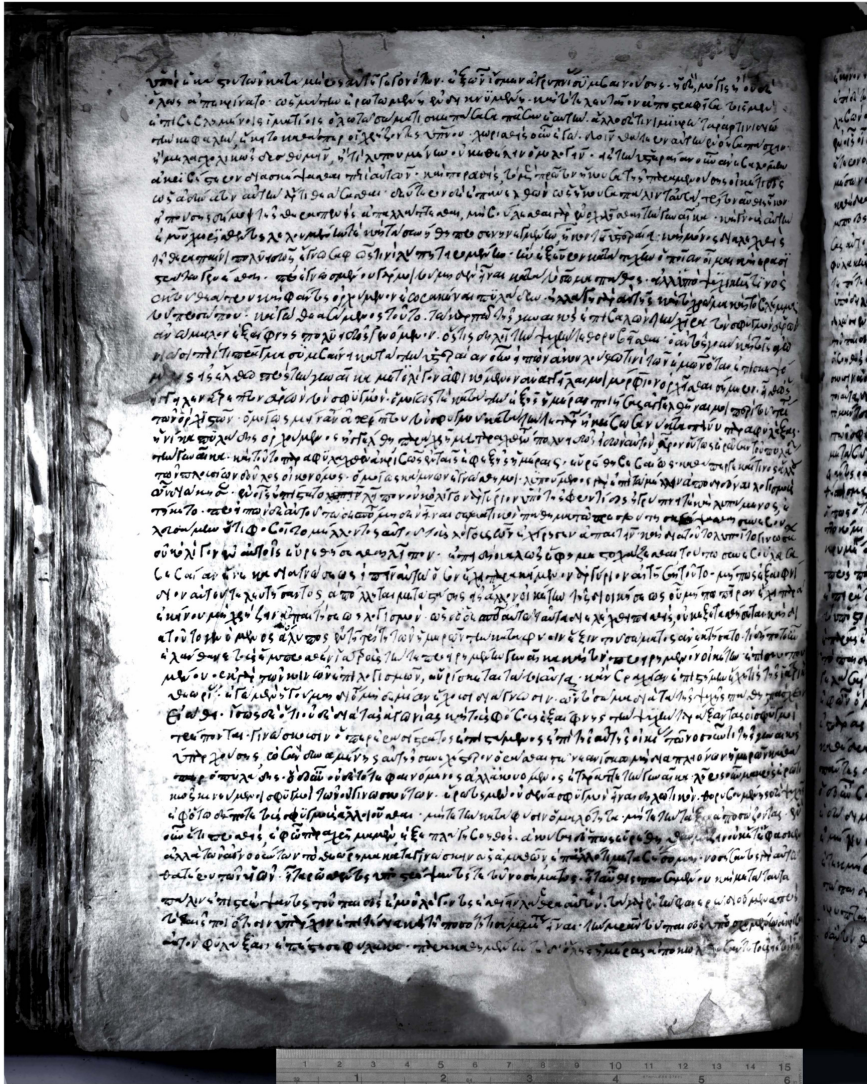


Fig. 1. Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 96^v old / 104^r new folio numbering
 (Cf. Gal. *De praecogn.* 6–7, CMG V 8, 1 pp. 100, 17–106, 1 Nutton; XIV, 631, 8–636, 5 K)
 Enhanced photograph; the ruler at the bottom is graduated in both centimetres and inches
 © Ίερά Βασιλική, Πατριαρχική καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Βλατάδων Θεσσαλονίκης

Plate II

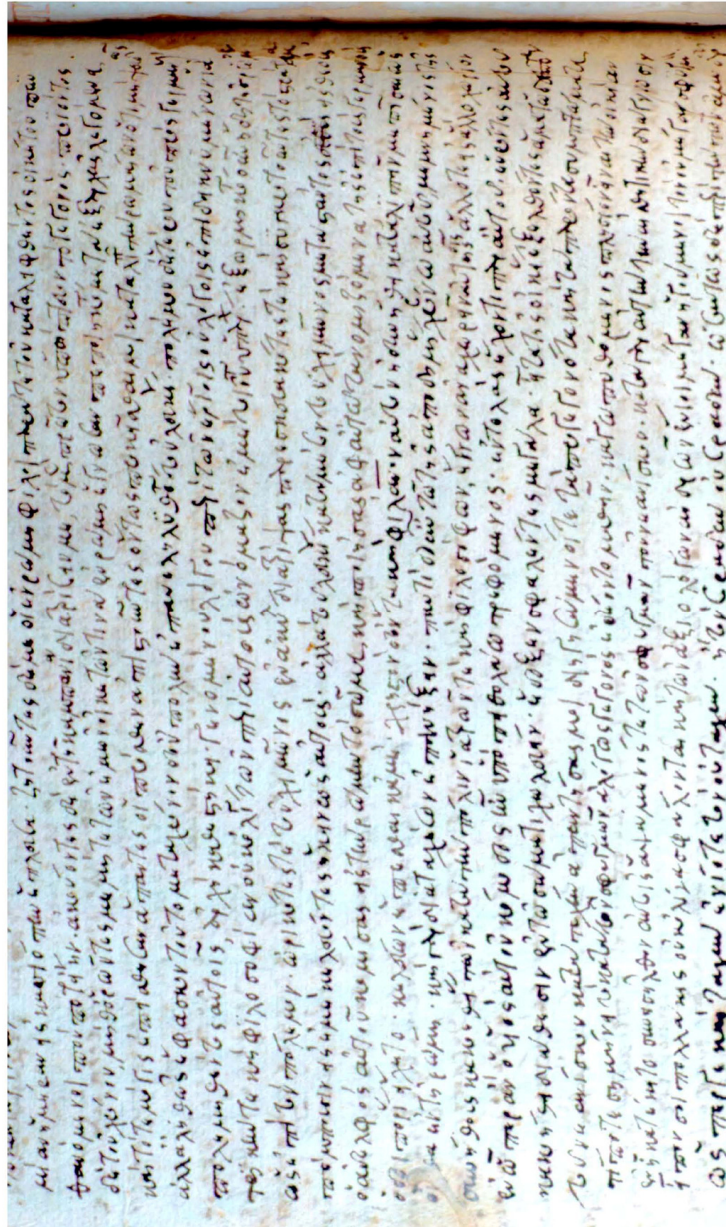


Fig. 2. Cod. Vatlatodon 14, f. 98^v old / 106^v new folio numbering, lines 5–24
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Plate III

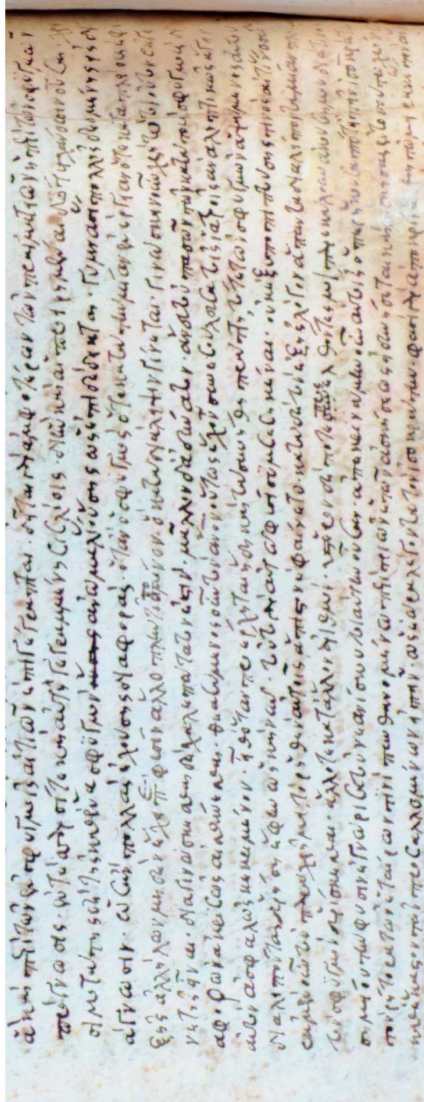


Fig. 3. Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 98^v old / 106^v new folio numbering, lines 28–41
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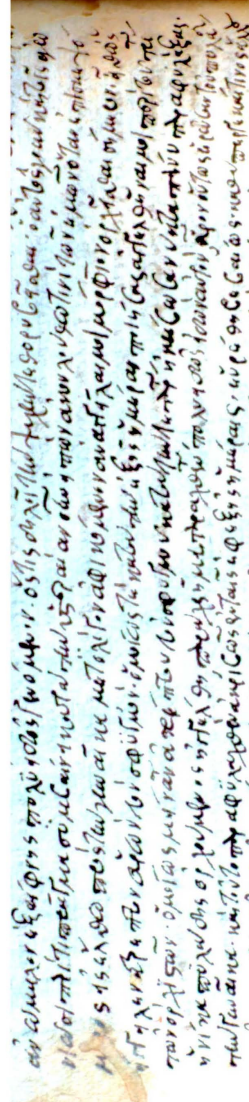


Fig. 4. Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 98^v old / 106^v new folio numbering, lines 14–20
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Plate IV



Fig. 5. Inscription from the Kerameikos. Athens, Epigraphical Museum, Inventory no. EM 11076. Courtesy of the Epigraphical Museum

Plate V

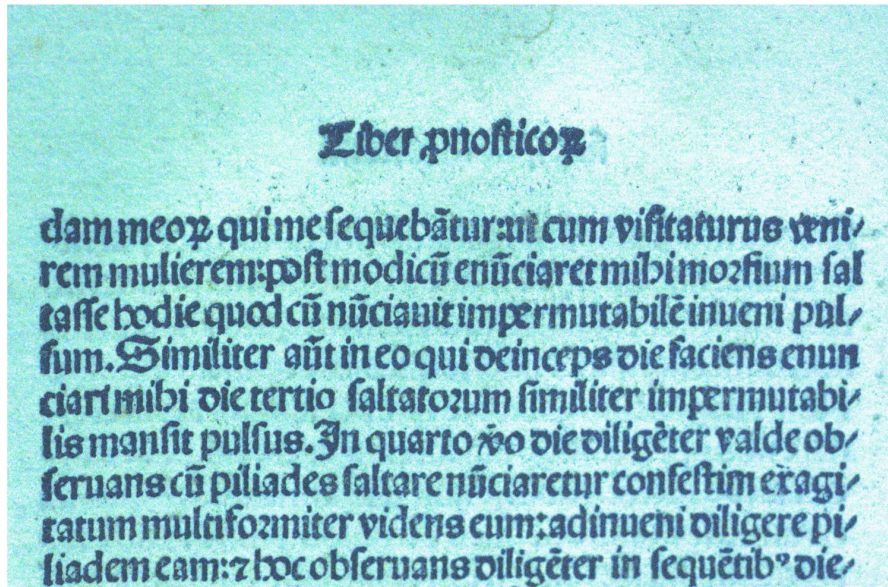


Figure 6. *Galenus Pergamensis medicorum omnium principis opera ...*, Venetiis 1490, vol. I, leaf mm 4^v, top of left column, call number f Ballard 332
 Courtesy of the Boston Medical Library, founded in 1875
 © The Board of Trustees of the Boston Medical Library

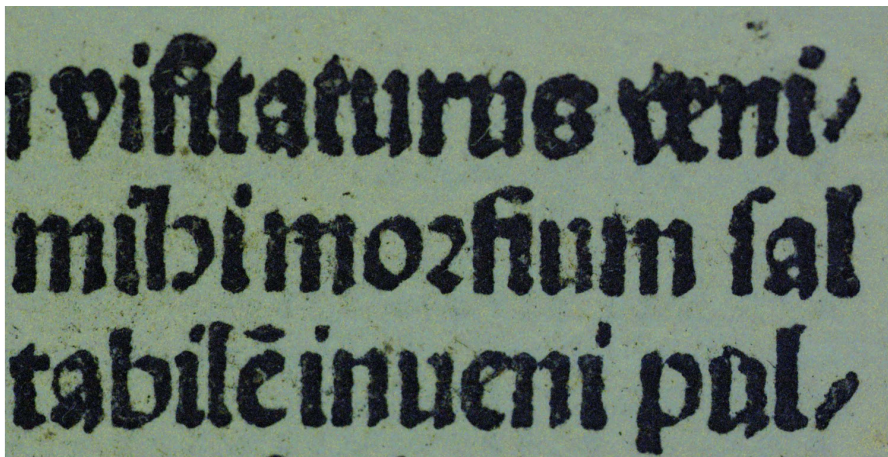


Fig. 7. *Galenus Pergamensis medicorum omnium principis opera ...*, Venetiis 1490, vol. I, leaf mm 4^v, lines 1–3 (view of detail), call number f Ballard 332
 Courtesy of the Boston Medical Library
 © The Board of Trustees of the Boston Medical Library

Plate VI

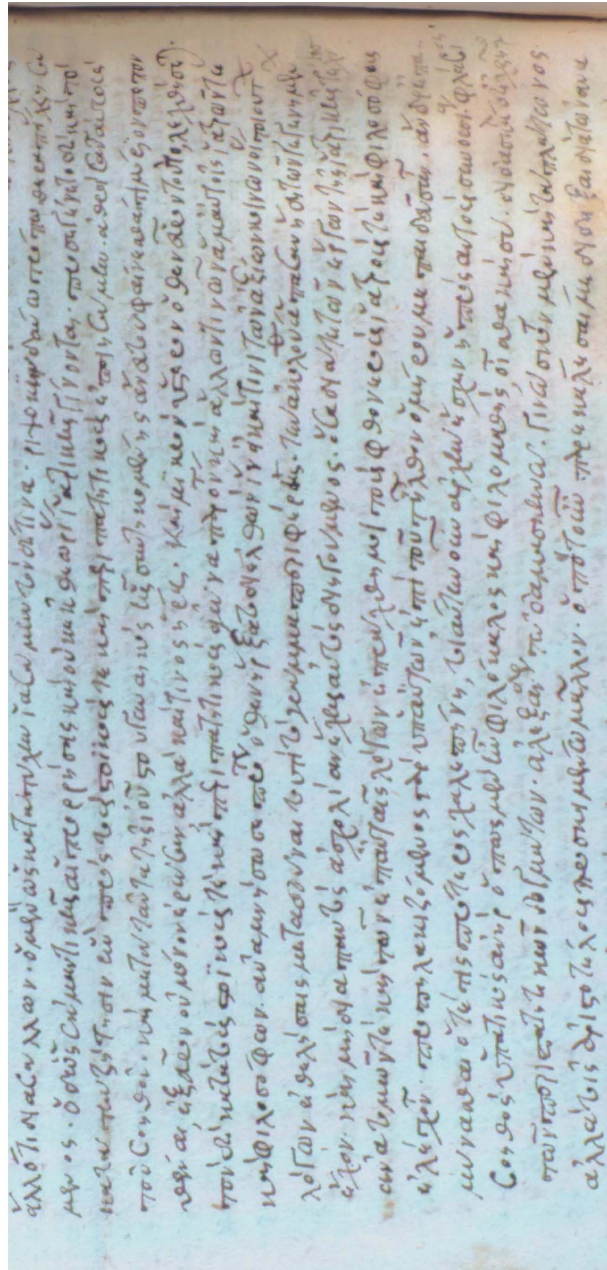


Fig. 8. Cod. Vlatadon 14, f. 95v old / 105^v new folio numbering, lines 24–38
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Plate VII

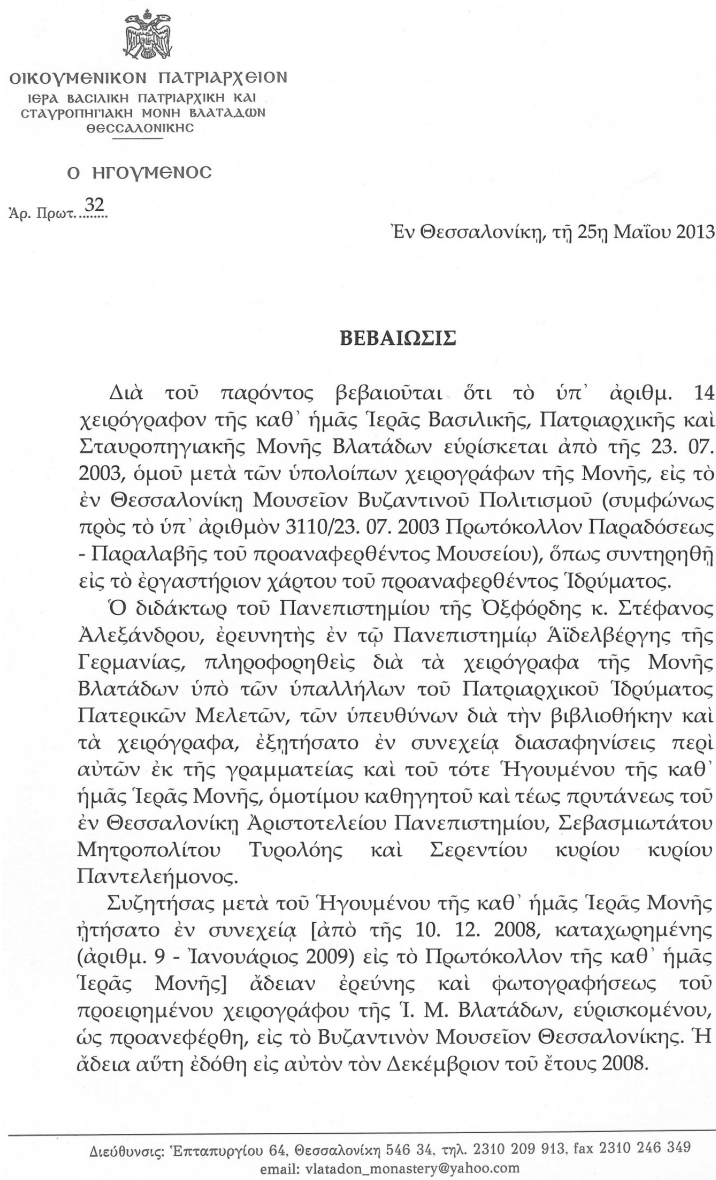


Fig. 9. Written attestation issued by the owners of Codex Thessalonicensis Vlatadon 14 on May 25th, 2013 (First leaf, *recto*)

Plate VIII

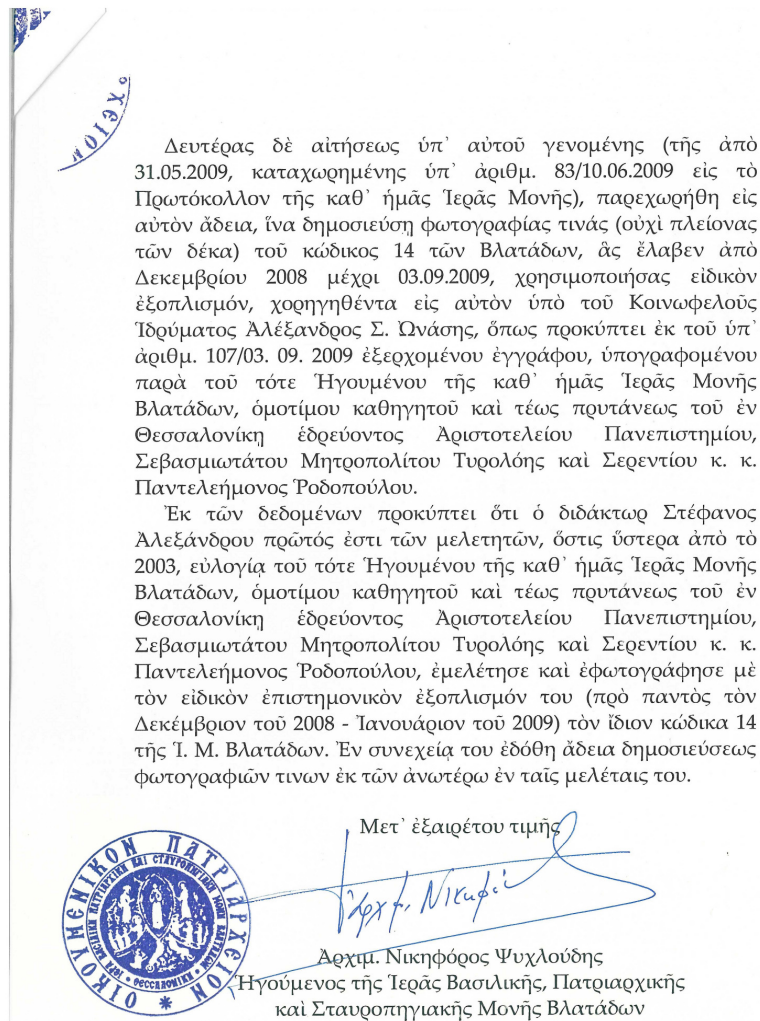


Fig. 10. Written attestation issued by the owners of Codex Thessalonicensis Vlatadon 14 on May 25th, 2013 (Second leaf, *recto*)