CHAPTER 3. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF
THE LATIN VERSION

This chapter describes, and offers a preliminary evaluation of, the manuscript
tradition of the Latin Alexander. This tradition is one of the richest, if not the richest,
known for such an early medieval Latin medical text as the Latin Alexander must be, in
particular for such a long text.\(^1\) To date we know of twenty-one complete copies of the
text,\(^2\) dating from the ninth to the sixteenth century, even if only four of these are from
before 1100. On the other hand, the text was evidently subject to excerpting from a very
early date, being used as a source for various compilations, at least three of which are
transmitted by three or more manuscripts. It is noteworthy that the manuscripts so far
identified as containing excerpts are by and large significantly older than the mainstream
tradition; this is a well-known phenomenon which applies both to other medical texts
(such as Cassius Felix, who indeed is represented in the same collections as Alexander
Trallianus) and more generally.\(^3\) I embarked with some trepidation on an account of the
secondary tradition, as it is so very complex, and it seemed that, whenever I spent time
with it, the material grew — further witnesses were identified — and the questions
multiplied. My hope is that, although I fail to specify closely the origins of the various
branches of the secondary tradition, it will have been worthwhile to include my findings
so far, as in most cases it has seemed possible to give a clear preliminary assessment
(with examples) of their potential value for the editing of the Latin Alexander as a
whole, and several of them are clearly going to be important.

The present chapter, then, comprises three parts. The first (3.1) gives a conspectus
of the manuscripts so far identified which transmit the text of the Latin Alexander as a
whole. They are listed below in chronological order, but for ease of reference their
descriptions are ordered alphabetically by siglum. For each manuscript, I offer a
bibliography; a physical description; a summary of the contents; and details of the Latin
Alexander material transmitted (some notes on the form of the Latin in each manuscript,
and the extent and nature of any secondary material or other interventions in the text,
may be found in 4.9, 4.10.1 and the Appendix).

The second part (3.2) offers an account of the more important strands of the
secondary tradition of the Latin Alexander, including sample comparisons between the
excerpting and the mainstream manuscripts. It begins with an overview, partly in tabular
form, of all the excerpts from the Latin Alexander so far collected, and then considers
in turn several important sets of excerpts, each of which has its own, more or less
separate manuscript tradition, namely the Liber passionalis, the so-called Tereoperica
(Therapeutica) ascribed to Petroncellus of Salerno, the Liber diaetarum diversorum
medicorum, the De podagra often ascribed to Galen (drawn from the chapters on gout at
the end of Book 2 of the Latin Alexander and appearing also in Book 4 of the
Passionarius of Gariopontus of Salerno), and the so-called Bamberg Surgery.

\(^1\) Leaving aside short tracts such as Vindic., Ad Pentad. and the Ps. Hippocratic letters (both late antique rather
than early medieval).

\(^2\) I include Chartres 342 and Metz 278, both destroyed in World War 2, and Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1209 and
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 524 (twelfth century), which I have not yet seen.

\(^3\) This is true of, e.g., Gargilius Martialis, the Medicina Plinii (see Fischer, ‘Lib. Byz.’, 291 n. 49) and indeed
of Pliny’s Natural History as a whole.
Finally (3.3), the principal manuscripts containing these several parts of the secondary tradition — at least, those that I have examined and worked with — are described as in the first part of the conspectus, again in alphabetical order by siglum.

In order to give an initial impression of the extent and spread of the tradition known to date, both mainstream and secondary, I list below in chronological order: (1) the complete copies so far identified; (2) the excerpting manuscripts and the secondary tradition, first those manuscripts containing miscellaneous excerpts only, and then works which have used Alexander as a source (listing for these last at most only those manuscripts which I have used).

(1) Complete Copies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Location/Institution</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>Paris, BN, lat. 9332</td>
<td>early 9th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Montecassino, Archivio della Badia</td>
<td>97 (early 10th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Angers, Bibl. mun. 457</td>
<td>11th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Orléans, Bibl. mun. 283</td>
<td>end 11th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ch)</td>
<td>Chartres, Bibl. mun. 342</td>
<td>12th cent. (surviving only in a few photographs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Durham Cathedral, C. 4. 11</td>
<td>end 12th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 435</td>
<td>12th–13th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu</td>
<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 344</td>
<td>12th–13th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>Oxford, Pembroke College</td>
<td>8 (12th–13th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cambridge, Gonville &amp; Caius College</td>
<td>400 (early 13th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ge</td>
<td>Geneva, Bibl. publ. et univ.</td>
<td>78 (13th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>Madrid, BN, 1049</td>
<td>13th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>Paris, BN, lat. 6881</td>
<td>13th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>Paris, BN, lat. 6882</td>
<td>13th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Vatican City, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, Pal. lat. 1209</td>
<td>(13th cent. — nondum uidi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Brussels, KBR 10869</td>
<td>14th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2</td>
<td>Glasgow, University Library, General 1228</td>
<td>second half 15th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>London, British Library, Harley 4914</td>
<td>16th cent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Excerpting Manuscripts and the Secondary Tradition

(2.1) Miscellaneous excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Location/Institution</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vat1</td>
<td>Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, regin. lat. 1143</td>
<td>(first half 9th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 664</td>
<td>(9th or 10th/11th cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v1</td>
<td>Vendôme, Bibl. mun. 109</td>
<td>11th cent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE LATIN VERSION

(2.2) *Liber passionalis*

- Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps lat. 1790 (second–fourth quarter 9th cent.)
- Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 752 (10th cent.)

(2.3) *Tereoperica [=Therapeutica]*, a compilation ascribed to Petroncellus of Salerno, part of it transmitted already in Paris, BN, lat. 11219 (early 9th cent.), etc.

(2.4) *Liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum*

- Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 752 (second half 9th cent.)
- Copenhagen, Koninglike Bibliotek, Gamle Koninglike Samling 1653 (11th cent.)
- Vendôme, Bibl. mun. 109 (11th cent.)
- London, British Library, Royal 12. E. XX (12th cent.)

(2.5) *De podagra*

- Poitiers, Bibl. mun. 184 (11th cent.)
- Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, Barb. lat. 160 (11th cent.)
- Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, lat. 4417 (11th cent.)
- Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, lat. 4418 (11th cent.)
- Vendôme, Bibl. mun. 109 (11th cent.)
- London, British Library, Royal 12. E. XX (12th cent.)

(2.6) *Passionarius (Galeni or Garioponti)* of Gariopontus of Salerno, an important eleventh-century synthetic redaction, transmitted in over fifty manuscripts, and including the Latin Alexander, *De podagra*.

(2.7) ‘Bamberg Surgery’, an anonymous, early twelfth-century(?) compilation on surgery, transmitted in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, med. 3 (L. III. 11) (mid-12th cent.), etc.

5 Included here because Vendôme 109 also contains the chapters on gout, but evidently directly from the mainstream tradition.
3.1. Conspectus of the ‘Mainstream’ Latin Manuscripts

3.1.1. Complete Copies

A  Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 457 (442) (autopsy April 1999) Plate III
   (Beccaria, Codici, 125f.; Bischoff, Katalog, 21; Cat. gén. Dép., XXXI, 345;
   Mihăileanu, 94f. [in Rum.]; Puschnmann I, 91; Stoffregen, 25f.; Vezin, 98, 106 n.
   43, 160; Wickersheimer, Manuscrits, 15f.)

   Eleventh century (Wickersheimer, Bischoff). Of local manufacture, at some point
   ‘Ex libris monasterii S. Albini Andegavensis Congregationis S. Mauri’. Vellum,
   325×254mm, ff. 142. Large and clear and beautiful minuscule, in two columns of
   about 33 lines, chapter-numbers and chapter-initial capitals in red, titles (including
   sub-titles, such as Item aliud) in red lower case, or in black lower case underlined or
   boxed in red, or in black capitals each highlighted in red (with or without red underline),
   capitula numerals in red, initial capitals highlighted in red. The whole is carefully and
   clearly corrected.

   Contents: two erased folios used as fly-leaves
   2r–139v Alex. Trall.
   140r–142v Alexander, De pulsibus et urinis: in a similar but smaller hand
   (at least 45 lines in a column, 2 columns)

   Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 144 capitula numbered, 2ra–3rb, numerals always on outer edge
   of column; 144 chapters exactly fill 3v–51v. There is confusion in the
   copying of 1.6–12.9
   Book 2: 146 capitula numbered, 52ra–53vb, numerals to left of column
   52rv but on outer edge of column 53rv; 146 chapters 53vb–129va.
   Book 3: 65 capitula numbered,10 129va–130ra, numerals to left of
   column; 34 chapters, 130rb–139vb, the text breaking off abruptly in 3.34,
   line 4 (XXXV) with ‘Si autem non facile uomit calefieri oportet’.

B  Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10866–10869 (autopsy January 2000)
   (Calcoen, 40–1; Durling, Guide, 3, 342; Kristeller III, 100; Puschnmann I, 91;
   Silvestre)

   Ff. 1–4 twelfth century, the rest fourteenth century (Calcoen). Liège, S. Laurent.11

6 The ninth-century dating offered by Cat. gén. Dép. and Beccaria is rejected by Bischoff, Katalog, 21 (a
   reference I owe to Professor David Ganz).
7 So Bischoff (apud Beccaria) and Vezin.
8 These words are in the lower margin of 1r in seventeenth-century letters. The ms. is not, however, listed in a
   twelfth-century inventory of this library.
9 A at first omits 1.6–12, save the first recipe of 1.7. A 4rb after 1.5: ‘Deest una sententia [i.e. chapter!]. VII. Vt
   furfures non nascantur. Calicanto absintio acceutido ana = vi. [1.7 in A has the first recipe in ed. but ed. omits
   the first ingredient and adds ‘adiannitos [sic] miret nigre asiane ana = vi’ before trita.] Trita hic infundex in oleo
   diebus vi colabis et uteris. Hic desunt vi sententie omnino superfue. XIII. Ad pitiriaseos. . . . At 6ra, however,
   A has second thoughts, and the missing chapters appear as 6ra–8va, including the start of 1.7 for the second time:
   A 7ra ‘VII Ad capillos cadentes et caluos. Vt non cadant capilli et ne furfures nascantur’ — then the first recipe
   exactly as before (see above); the rest of 8v and all of 9r are blank. The tradition of this group of chapters is
   confused also in the Greek Alexander: see 2.4.1 above.
10 Ending ‘LXIII. Lyxoperita epitimata et embroce febrrientibus Marturii medici. LXV. Epitimata Galieni
   quibus usus est ad humectandum diversas febres’: cf. Mu and O below.
11 cf. 5r, before the capitula, in another, much larger hand, ‘P. (?) Sa(ncti) Lauren(tii) in Leodip.’; and 142r,
   after ‘explicit’, in the same hand, ‘P.(?) Sa(ncti) Lauren(tii) in Leod.’.
Parchment, ff. 203, octavo (ff. 74–144 are c. 5mm smaller than the others), in single columns of 40–41 lines. Alex. Trall. chapter-titles (in large lower case) and initial capitals in red (presignalled in brown in the margin). Many marginal notes and corrections appended in the same hand(?) A number of folios were damaged before being used, holes or unusable areas being written around.

Contents:

1r of medical content, in the same hand as 1v–4v
1v–4v Speculum medicorum
5rv a paragraph on weights and measures, then the capitula to Constantinus
6r–72r Constantinus Africanus’ Latin translation of Ibn al-Jazzar, Viaticum
72v–73v obscure
74r–114v Matthaeus Platearius, De simplicibus medicinis
115r app. of medical content
116r–142r Johannes Platearius, Practica
143r–200v Alex. Trall.

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: unnumbered capitula in 3 columns 143r, 1 column 143v; chapters 143vb–166r.


Book 3: unnumbered capitula in 3 columns 200r, 2 columns 200v (ending with the title of 3.66), and then, 200v (just less than half a page of the start of Book 3): (3. Pr.) ‘P etisti [sic] a me Cosma . . . . Inprimis ergo de effimeris simplicibus febribus q(u)e etiam frequenter solent p(ro)uenire hominibus. (3.1) E fflimer [sic] febres. Q(ue) tantum in sp(iritu) qui est in corde consistunt. n(ihil?) a(utem?) in se habent manifestius.’

C Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 400 (729) (autopsy October 2002)
(early thirteenth century (James). Made in England (James, Suppl.). Vellum, 232 × 172mm, ff. iii + 90 + ii. Well and clearly written in a small hand, for the most part in single columns of 38 lines (ff. 84–93, in 2 columns of 37 lines), with lovely illuminated book initials, ornate chapter-initials in red, blue, green, and yellow, and foliation in red.

Contents: 3 fly-leaves+2 at the end (all with thirteenth-century writing)
4r blank
4v–83v Alex. Trall.
84ra–90va Liber cyrurgie (i.e. the Bamberg Surgery, 3.2.7 below)
90va–93ra Liber flebotomie
93ra–93vb De theriaca (in another, slightly later hand)

12 Above all, these draw attention to remedies attributed to Alexander himself: e.g. 152r (1.70) beside three remedies is, respectively, ‘nota opus Alexandri’, ‘nota’, and ‘nota dignum’. Note also 157r (1.99) about a third of the way down, in the first hand, ‘totus iste iersus corruptus est’.
Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 147 unnumbered capitula, 4v (3 columns) and 5r (2 columns), with initials alternately red and blue; the sections on the eyes, ears, and nose each have an additional title underlined in black; 5v–34v text of Book 1.

Book 2: only 75 (sic) unnumbered capitula, 34v–35r (in 2 columns); 35v–75v text of Book 2.

Book 3: 62 unnumbered capitula, 75v (3 columns) and 76r (2 columns), ending with the title of 3.66; 76r–83v text of Book 3, including all but the very last recipe of 3.66.

Durham Cathedral Priory, ms. C. IV. 11
End twelfth century, made in Italy. Parchment, ff. 139, written in 2 columns of about 32 lines, with decorated initials at ff. 51 and 123. Some of the chapters are numbered.

Contents:
1r ‘1. Liber alexandri yatros sophiste [fourteenth century] De medicinis’
1v a list concerning the colours of urine
f. 2 apparently cut in half vertically; 2r is blank

2v–137va Alex. Trall.
137vb–139v a short text on the seven branches of learning in a later (fifteenth-century?) hand

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: (the capitula, 1.1–5 and the first three lines of 1.6 are missing); 2v–49va text of 1.6 line 4 to end of Book 1.

Book 2: 49va–51ra 148 unnumbered capitula, the start of each on a new line; 51ra–122vb text of Book 2.

Book 3: 122vb–123rb about 64 unnumbered capitula written continuously, ending with the title of 3.66; 123rb–137va text of Book 3, to end of 3.65 followed by ‘EXPLICIT ALEXANDER YATROS SOPHOS’.

Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. lat. 78 (Petau) (Aubert, Notices ... Geneève, 41–4)

Two manuscripts (of which the second (ff. 145–315) contains Alex. Trall.), thirteenth/forteenth century (ff. 1–144) and thirteenth century (ff. 145–315), respectively. Parchment, ff. 317 (several ff. having been lost), 230 × 165 mm; the second manuscript beautifully written in single columns of about 32 lines, with chapter-titles in red, chapter-initials alternately in red and blue (in the lists of capitula, in red), and originally with very elaborate, lovely book-initials in gold and various colours (the f. containing the initial to Book 1 is lost). No chapter numbers. Annotated throughout in a much later, minute hand.

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13 Not all ‘capitula-titles’ are in the text (e.g. after (2.29) De siti, the title (2.30) Ad eos qui habent ardores ... is not in the text, 38v). On the other hand, in the ‘capitula-titles’ for Book 2 there are only three entries between (2.68) De athonia epatis (text 45r) and (2.235) De podagra (text 69r), and in general there are more titles in the text than in the capitula.

14 I am very grateful to Alan Piper, Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library, for information about the manuscript. He informs me: ‘it contains [1r] a Durham letter-mark (L) and note of content in a hand of the later fourteenth century. Subsequently it is entered in the 1392 catalogue of the books kept in the Spendement, the strong-room adjoining the cloister.’ The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library catalogue entry, reproduced at the front of the microfilm, gives as the date of the ms. thirteenth century.
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Contents: 15

1–126 Rhazes, Liber uocatus Almanzor (alias El-Mansour or Verba Albubecri, Latin translation from the Arabic by Gerard of Cremona
126–144v an anonymous treatise on fevers (by Johannicius? Johannes Ferrarius?)

145–289v Alex. Trall. (145 is blank, being the original end-paper)
290v two hexameter quatrains in a fourteenth-century hand
291–314 blank
315r a summary table of contents to Alex. Trall.

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: (one f. missing, containing the capitula, 1.1–4 and most of 1.5);
146r–197r text of Book 1, from 1.5 line 9.
Book 2: 197r–198v 141 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns; 198v–274v
text of Book 2 to the end of 2.271.
Book 3: 275r the capitula of 3.64, 65, 66 in 2 columns at the top;
275r–289v text of 3.1–65. There follows, 315r (in a later hand, fourteenth or fifteenth century), a table of contents summarizing all three books in a column and a half (with the entry De ethica after (3.65.t.) De marasmode!).

G1 Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 435 (autopsy January 2006) Plate V
(Puschmann I, 92; Schenkl, 32; Young and Aitken, 358 [I quote their
description below, with a few modifications prompted by autopsy])

Twelfth/thirteenth century, made in France(?) (Young and Aitken; end twelfth-century,
Schenkl). Vellum, 242 × 165mm, ff. vii+132+ii (of which iii+i are recent; foliated in
1961), originally ff. 138; beautifully written (?in France), in single columns (with a few
exceptions) of 30 lines, each 165 × 89mm, ruled and margined with plummet.
No signatures or foliation, probably cropped, catchwords, chapter-titles (and subheadings)
in red, chapter-initials alternately red decorated with blue and blue decorated with red, the
three book-initials in red, blue and green (2r; 45r; 111v), small red and blue initials
(alternately) in lists of chapters preceding the three books, careful marginal and interlinear
notes throughout in more than one hand. Vellum defective in places and sewn, square
place-finding tabs cut in 5, 5 and 15, 8, much cropped, otherwise well preserved and clean.
Contents: iv verso in twelfth/thirteenth-century uncials ‘ALEXANDER AD
COSMAM ET DAMIANVM’
v recto–verso Pharmacopoeia
vi recto–vii verso Ponderum et mensurarum explicatio

1r–124r Alex. Trall.
124v–126v Nominum medicorum explicatio
127r–132r Anonymus, De passionibus mulierum
132v Constantinus Africanus, Viaticum, excerpts on epilepsy and menstruation.

15 Note that the manuscript has been refoliated since Aubert.
16 Pace Aubert, we have not lost the end of Book 2, merely the explicit and the first (approximately) 63
capitula of Book 3. It is surprising that the latter should have occupied a whole folio.
17 For assistance and information relating to both of the Glasgow manuscripts, G1 and G2, I am grateful to
David Weston, Keeper of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.
18 For this pair of names, cf. the ‘foreword’ to P2 (below).
19 In the same hand as the Alex. Trall., it begins ‘Incipit Genecia Prisciani’, and is version B in the terms of
Green, ‘De genecia’.
19a I am grateful to Monica Green for this information.
Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 1r–2r 139 unnumbered capitula written continuously in 2 columns; 2r–43v text of Book 1.
Book 2: 43v–45r 135 unnumbered capitula written continuously in 2 columns; 45r–110v text of Book 2.
Book 3: 110v–111v 69(!) unnumbered capitula written continuously in 2 columns; 20 111v–124r text of Book 3, including all but the very last recipe in 3.66 (no Explicit).

G2 Glasgow, University Library, General 1228 (autopsy January 2006)
(Durling, Guide2, 348; Ker, II, 926; Kristeller, IV, 31a; Schenkl, 34)
Second half fifteenth century, probably made in France (Ker, Kristeller; fifteenth century, Schenkl). Vellum, 305×215mm (the written area 190×110mm), ff. ii+413+ii (ff. 1 and 415 being medieval parchment fly-leaves). Large size, Northern hand (Kristeller), ‘a large ugly set hybrida’ (Ker), in single columns of 25 lines. Three-line red chapter-initials, a few of them illuminated (e.g. 63r, the face of a man in the ‘N’ of ‘Non una est . . .’, the start of 1.75 De Melancholia), red chapter-titles and section-initials throughout. Neat marginalia and interlinear notes in several hands throughout.
Contents: only Alex. Trall.

(Cat. Harley, III, 220; Durling, Guide2, 348; Kristeller, IV, 181b; Puschmann I, 92)
Sixteenth century, written in France. Paper, ff. 316 (+4 prepared but unused), paginated. Clearly written in single columns of 26 lines. Lined in red throughout, and with chapter-numbers, titles, initials, and paragraph markers in red throughout.
Contents: only Alex. Trall.

L2 London, British Library, Royal 12. B. XVI
(Warner and Gilson, II, 15)
Late thirteenth century. Formerly belonged to Athelney Abbey, Somerset (f. 2v ‘Athelney pertinet’). Vellum, ff. 113, 216×152mm. Clearly written in two columns of 35 lines (save the capitula of Book 1, in 3 columns). Elaborate book-initials, and chapter-initials throughout (save in the capitula to Book 3). Chapter-titles written into the gaps only on the first side of the first folio of Book 1 (4r). Damage to the outside central section of ff. 42 and 43 affects mainly the capitula of Book 2.

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Contents: only Alex. Trall.\textsuperscript{21}

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 3rv unnumbered capitula, initials alternately in red and blue; 4ra–42vb unnumbered chapters.
Book 2: 42vb–43vb unnumbered capitula written continuously (and hard to read); 44ra–102vb unnumbered chapters.
Book 3: 102rb–vb unnumbered capitula without initials, ending with (3.61) De uino; 102vb–113vb unnumbered chapters ending with the end of 3.65.

Ma Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional ms. 1049 (L. 115)
(Domínguez Bordona I, 255, no. 520; Durling, Guide\textsuperscript{2}, 349; Gallardo, 163; Inventario III, 274; Kristeller IV, 521a)
Thirteenth century (Kristeller; Inventario). From the Primitiva Biblioteca Real. ff. 162+2. Vellum, 243×150mm. Written in single columns (the capitula in double columns) of 30 or 31 lines, 140×90mm. No numbers, and no chapter-titles in running text: gaps were left for titles; some were sketched in, but none were written in. Elaborate chapter-initials; each book begins with a wonderful illuminated initial. Numerous corrections and marginalia throughout. f. 143 was evidently accepted for use lacking its bottom third: no text is lost.

Contents: \textbf{1–161 Alex. Trall.}
162rv an alphabetical medical glossary, mainly Greek-Latin, A–T

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 1r–2r 142 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns; 2v–56v text of Book 1.
Book 2: 57r–58v 269 unnumbered capitula (the last being that of 2.269); 58v–144r text of Book 2.
Book 3: 144r–145r 66 unnumbered capitula, ending with the title of 3.66; 145r–161v text of 3.1–65, followed by Explicit.

M Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, V. 97 Plate II
(Beccaria, Codici, 297–303; Beccaria, ‘Sulle tracce’, II, 27; Cat. Casin., 96ff.; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’; Howald and Sigerist, v–vi; Loew, Beneventan Script, passim; Loew, Scriptura Beneventana, tab. xxxvi, p. 543; MacKinney, Medicine, 163, n. 77, 168, n. 97; MacKinney, ‘Ethics’, 8, 24 n. 39 (no. 4); Mihăileanu, 97f. [in Rum.]; Orofino, 58–72; Puschmann I, 91; Stoffregen, 41–2)
Early tenth century (Loew; Beccaria), less probably ninth century (Howald and Sigerist), probably made in the Abbey in Montecassino. Vellum, 414×300mm, pp. 552, some folios having been lost (including one of Alex. Trall.). Beneventan minuscule, perhaps by a single hand (Beccaria), in 2 columns of 40 lines, with titles and numbers in red, and chapter-initials generally decorated and coloured. Occasional marginal and interlinear glosses, corrections and additions in contemporary, sometimes slightly later, ordinary minuscule.

Contents: 1a–1b Sapientia artis medicinae; 1b–3a pseudo-Hippocratic and other anonymous prognostic texts 3a–4a Incipiant indicia ualitudinum Yppogratis; 4a Quomodo uisitare debes infirmum; 4a–4b Cura febrientibus

\textsuperscript{21} On f. 2v is the false title ‘Constantini monachi viaticum’ (in a sixteenth-century hand).
4b–6a Vindicianus, *Epistula ad Pentadium*
6a–8a Vindicianus, *Gynaecia*
8a–10a Incipit epistula Yppogratis de fleubothomia; 10a–10b De mensura tollendo sanguinem in magnitudine aegritudinis et fortitudo uirtutis; 10b–12b Pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata*; 12b–13b De passionibus unde euiniunt
13b–20b Isidore, *Etymologiae* 4.1–12
20b–23b Hippocrates, *Epistula ad Antiochum regem*; 23a–24a Item alia aepistula; 24a Item alia aepistula; 24a Alia; 24a–26a Epistula de ratione uentrinis uel uiscerum; 26a–26b Item alia aepistula de pulsis et urinis
26b–33a De pulsibus et urinis
33a–199b the pre-Gariopontean ensemble minus De podagra:
33a–89a Galen, *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo* 1–2
89a–108b Liber tertius
109a Theod. Prisc., end of Book 2
109a–131a Liber Aurelii
131a–199b Liber Esculapii
199b–282a Commentary (Lat. A) on Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 1–7

282a–466a *Alex. Trall.*

466a–474b Galen, *Alphabetum ad Paternum*
477a–522b Apuleius Platonicus, *Herbarius*; 475b–476a De herbis
476a–476b, 523a–532b Dioscorides, *Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis*
532b–545a Incipit de quadrupedibus: 532b–533a De taxone liber;
533a–545a Sextus Placitus, *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*
545a–552b Galen, *Alphabetum ad Paternum*

*Alex. Trall.*:

Book 1: 282a–284a 145 numbered capitula; 284a–346a text of Book 1.
Book 2: 346a–349b 262 numbered capitula; 349b–442b text of Book 2, but missing a folio between pp. 394 and 395 containing the text of 2.137 (here CXVIII) line 9–2.144 (here CXXV) line 3; the last chapter is numbered 264.
Book 3: 442b–443a 64 numbered capitula (the numbers XXXIIIff. are invisible because of the binding); 443a–466a text of Book 3 ending with the penultimate recipe of 3.66 (minus the last three words); the last chapter, numbered LXV (*Lyxiperitus et inbrocas Galieni ad febres*), begins at 3.66 line 9.

Mu

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 344 (autopsy January 2001)

(*Cat. Monac.*, I, 90; Mihaileanu, 97 [in Rum.])

Twelfth/thirteenth century, written in Italy (*Cat. Monac.*). Vellum, ff. 81 (but f. 61 twice), written in 2 columns of 52 lines. Highlighting in red: chapter-titles and numbers and a few chapter-initial capitals ff. 1–28r (the initial C of 1.1 is in blue); then again 44r–45r but with some titles missing and others very faint 44v–45r. Then only isolated initial capitals 45v–50v, 54va, 59rv, 60r. The text of Alex. Trall. has been corrected and annotated throughout, in places (e.g. 2.235–6) several times and by a different hand. ff. 1–61 (= Alex. Trall.) have been rebound and recut, f. 44 carelessly so that the text

22 Ending with: ‘*Lyxiperitus et inbrocas febrientibus. Lyxiperitus et inbrocas Galieni ad febres.*’
leans into the binding, and part of a marginal note (44rb) is lost. The left margin of the lower half of f. 51ra is difficult to read because of the binding. There are some empty or barely-used sides: 37va (last few lines), 37vb contains only ‘CVRATIO VENTOSITIS’ at the bottom; 43va (most of it), vb empty; 51rb uses only a few lines; 51va uses only a few lines (a recipe: ‘Ad ictericiam. Apium cum modico aceto . . . per urinam fel deducit’), 51vb is empty, and 51v contains a faint sketch of a man’s bearded face. There is quite a bit of staining, smudging, and rubbing throughout. Particularly bad are 1rv top, 2r top, 24v top, 25r top, 26v top, 27r top, 44v, 45r, 55ra (part of the prologue to Book 3), 58v top–61r top. These parts would have been top outside corners in the original binding.

Contents:

1–61ra Alex. Trall.
61bis–80va a commentary on Alex. Trall. Book 1 and part of Book 2 (to about 2.22)23
81 43 hexameters on matters grammatical

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 1ra numbered capitula for C–CXLV only; 1ra–22vb text of Book 1.
Book 2: 22vb–23va 146 numbered capitula; 23va–54va text of Book 2: a folio is lost between ff. 40 and 41, so that we jump from 2.147 line 10 to 2.161 (CIX) line 4.
Book 3: 54vb 65 numbered capitula24 divided by a wiggly line into two columns in order to fit all the capitula into 54vb; 55ra–61ra text of Book 3 to the very end of 3.66 (EXPLICIT LIBER ALEXANDRI).25

O Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 283 (237) (autopsy April 1999) Plate IV
(Pellegrin, ‘Fragments’, 351; Septier, 136–7; Wickersheimer, Manuscripts, 191–2)
A small book, with covers of wood more than 10mm thick, containing two fragmentary manuscripts, of which the first (pp. 1–77) contains the Latin Alexander. Second half eleventh century (Septier, Wickersheimer),26 c. 1100 (Ganz, pers. comm.); earlier belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Fleury. Vellum, pp. 77. Written in a minute hand (8 pt or smaller), ‘a very informal, scholarly hand’ (Ganz, pers. comm.), with many abbreviations, in single columns of about 59 lines. Chapter- and section-titles and chapter-initial capitals are highlighted in red (which makes the titles appear as if they have been crossed out!). This highlighting is also used to pick out other items judged significant, including personal names (e.g. 35b ‘Iacobus’) and statements in the first person (e.g. 35a ‘Ego autem’27). There is some, mainly interlinear, glossing, and a

23 In red, on a folio pasted to the inside of the front cover: ‘Libri Celeberrimi medici | Alexandri | Atrosophiste | tetrapeuticum. Et sunt | libri tres. Deinde | commentum et expositio | Doctoris Hartmanni | Schedel de | Nurenerberga | .413. | Alexander Lythos hoc est medicus | cognomento sophista | per hoc tempus | ob ingenii magnitudinem medicorum | princeps habitus; totius medicine | disciplinam tribus libris explanaut | et alia quedam compositu.’ The reference is to Hartmann Schedel, the humanist and doctor (b. Nürnberg 1440, d. Nürnberg 1514), who was brought up by his older cousin, the humanist and doctor Hermann Schedel (Nürnberg 1410–1485). (On Hartmann Schedel’s books, see Stauber.)

24 The last two (LXIII and LXV) are exactly as in A (n. 10 above), except that LXIII lacks the word febrientibus.

25 61rb contains a recipe for a ‘Medicam(en) pro locutione ammissa’.

26 The second manuscript (pp. 78–109) is in Beneventan script, probably of early twelfth-century date (Wickersheimer, Manuscripts).

27 This highlighting may be an error: it immediately follows the unhighlighted section-title (2.11) De lapide spatato.
few marginal notes picking out points judged important (e.g. 11a ‘fuge frigidam aquam’!). The pages are in varying condition: some were clearly accepted for use in a damaged or misshapen condition (e.g. 7–8, 19–20, 20–1, each of which is very short with a sharply curved bottom edge); many show signs of heavy wear and the text has been rubbed completely away at numerous points. The tiny hand and frequent abbreviations have as a consequence that a small area of damage or severe wear renders a large stretch of text illegible. For no apparent reason, the lower half of 42a (end of 2.52) and all but the very bottom of 42b (start of 2.53, without title) are blank.

Contents:  
1. Hippocrates, *Indicia uaeludinum*  
2.–77 Alex. Trall.  
78–109 Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (the alphabetically-ordered recension)  

Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 2a–3a 145 numbered capitula; 3a–33a text.  
Book 2: 33a–34a 146 numbered capitula; 34b–74b text.  
Book 3: 74b–75a 58 capitula (not numbered and with initial capitals in column and set off from the second letter in each line); 75a–77b text, breaking off abruptly after (3.13 ad fin.) ‘Et magis si egrotantem uideris aquam desiderare frigidam adtendere autem si’.

Oxford, Pembroke College 8 (autopsy June 2003)  
Twelfth/thirteenth century, perhaps written in France (Kristeller). Parchment, ff. i+121+i, 240×135mm, ff. not numbered (but see below). Well written in single columns of 34 lines, with wide margins to the sides and below and interlinear and marginal notes in various hands, above all in a minute fourteenth-century(?) hand giving numerous explanatory notes between vertical lines ruled in the very wide margins; there are also marginal addenda, of material originally omitted, added in the first hand(?), often in the form of a triangle or diamond and surrounded by a red line; with a fine initial in blue, gold, red, and white at the beginning of each book (excised from Book 1  
chapter-titles in red, the first two or three words of each book in alternating red and blue capitals (not done for Book 2  
), and chapter-initials  
alternately in red decorated in blue and blue decorated in red. There is a large Roman numeral decorated in red at the bottom of the verso of every eighth f., the last being XIV at the bottom of f. 111v, but only the following ff. have modern numbering: 9, 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65, 73, 81, 89, 97, 105, 112, 121. Both foliations ignore the fact that what was originally f. 110 has been cut out (see on Book 3 below).

28 Note the ascription to Theod. Prisc. in the incipit (in a different hand) on p. 2b ‘Passionalis liber Theodori Prisciani sophiste de diuersis morbis et curis eorum incipit’.
29 The last two are exactly as in *Mu* (n. 24 above).
30 I am very grateful to Mrs Naomi van Loo, Deputy Librarian of the McGowie Library, Pembroke College, Oxford, for information relating to this manuscript, and for supplying me with a copy of an extract from typescript notes by Miss A. Anderson entitled ‘Some medical manuscripts’ and describing Pembroke College mss. 8, 10–13, 15 and 21, which are listed in the Appendix to the Sixth Report to the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but which (*pace* Masullo, 31) do not appear in Coxe.
31 There is consequent loss on f. 1v of a square of text c. 35×35mm from (1.4) *De simplicibus medicamentis*. The blade used to remove the illuminated C at the start of Book 1 cut through as far as f. 11, but without causing further damage to the text.
32 Of the opening words ‘Tussis quidem accidentia’, only the ‘T’ (illuminated) is present.
33 Only very rarely omitted, e.g. 2.3.1 ‘<T>ussiunt’.
The capitula to all three books are at the end (119v–121v), in 3 columns save on the last side (121v) in 2 columns, the last title in Book 3 being (3.65) De marasmode perfectius existente.

P1
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9332 (autopsy April 1999, June 2000, and August 2004) **Plate I and Cover**

Late eighth century (MacKinney, *Medicine*, 111), c. 800 (MacKinney, *Illustrations*, 169), or early ninth century (Beccaria, Bischoff, Mostert, Wickersheimer), made at or in the region of Fleury (Beccaria; Bischoff; Lowe, *CLA*; MacKinney, *Medicine*; Mostert),\(^\text{34}\) formerly belonged to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Chartres.\(^\text{35}\) Vellum, 392·270mm, ff. 321, written in minuscule in various hands,\(^\text{36}\) in 2 columns of 36 lines; titles and numbers in red or green, and with frequent elaborate illuminated initials, sometimes in one colour, sometimes in several (all now much faded), although chapter-titles are occasionally not written in Book 1 (as early as 1.13) and are frequently left undone from early in Book 2. f. 140r is filled by a picture of a double arch with Alexander seated under the left arch holding a medicine case or book (MacKinney, *Illustrations*) and under the right arch a cross with a prayer for salvation beginning, ‘scantia crux psalua nos’ (see Bischoff, *Studien*, II, 291). Many ff. are in places worn, spotted, or stained to the point where even the original is impossible to read. Some ff. were accepted for use in a damaged state (with holes or with a corner missing). One f. has been torn out between ff. 184 and 185; its stub is still bound in. Six ff. are missing after f. 242, the end of Alex. Trall. and the start of Dioscorides.

Contents: 1va–138va Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* 1–9 (including an added recipe, 69rb)

**138vb–242vb Alex. Trall.** (including an added spell and recipes, 233vab)
243ra–321va Dioscorides, *De materia medica*: the start is lost — it begins XXXIII. *De balanino* (including *Epistula de uulture*, 251va–vb, and an added recipe, 321va)

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\(^{34}\) Less probably in Italy (Molinier). Lowe, *Membra disiecta*, argues for an Insular exemplar.

\(^{35}\) Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, A. 91, fig. 7 (2 ff. containing the start of the Latin Dioscorides) once belonged to this manuscript (see Beccaria, *Codici*, 352f., Homburger, *Bern*, and Lowe, *CLA*, who associates P1+Bern with a group of Fleury manuscripts from around A.D. 800).

\(^{36}\) The hands appear to change sometimes for as little as part of a single column: e.g. there is a change to a much cruder hand for the lower two thirds of 167rb, but we are back to ‘normal’ at the top of 167va; a cruder hand appears again for just the last 2 vv and a word of 168ra and the top 7 vv of 168rb, and for exactly one column at 170rb, 172va.
Alex. Trall.: Book 1: 138vb–139vb 143 numbered capitula, with one number repeated (in an eleventh-century hand (Beccaria)); 140vb–179va text of Book 1. There is some confusion in the copying of 1.16–17.  

Book 2: 179vb–180vb 145 numbered capitula, with 5 numbers repeated; 180vb–233va the text of Book 2 (missing one folio, the stub of which can still be seen, between ff. 184 and 185 containing 2.26 v. 11–2.32 v. 3). Book 3: 234ra–rb 64 numbered capitula; 234rb–242vb the text of Book 3, breaking off at 3.63 (LXI): ‘De testicolis qui para<t tas uocantur. Testiculus uero gallorum dare semper oportit hicti`cis’.

Plate VI  
(Miha˘ileanu, 96 [in Rum.]; Puschmann I, 91)  
Thirteenth century. Vellum, ff. 121, the folios edged in gold, beautifully written in single columns (save in capitula and in text completing a page containing capitula, where there are 2 columns) of 33–5 lines. Lovely ornate book-initials, chapter-titles in red, initials of capitula in red; chapter numbering is sporadic, chapter-initial capitals in running text are missing throughout (although the letters to be supplied by the rubricator are written very small on the left of the left-hand margin). The text has been carefully corrected, not only with an eye to accuracy in matters of detail but also more substantially, apparently against another exemplar (in places where we can guess at it, the original seems to have been closer to the text of A; see 4.7.1 below). There are numerous marginal glosses in a third hand, and frequent occurrences of the word ‘Nota’ or a picture of an arm with the index-finger pointing at a section of text.

Contents:  
1–4va apparently an essay, in a thirteenth-century(?) hand, on a medical work in seven books which, while probably not the Latin Alexander, at least draws significantly on it; the ‘essay’ is interspersed with — indeed, dominated by — numerous medical glosses, notes, and etymologies; it contains references to Theodosius (presumably for Theodorus) Priscianus, Paul (of Aegina?), Democritus, and ‘Garipontus Salernitanus’, who is said to have reordered the material of the seven books, which used to begin with fevers (see 2.3.3 above).  
4vab medical glosses
5ra–121v Alex. Trall.  
Book 1: 5ra–6rb 137 capitula; 6rb–45v text of Book 1.  

50 CHAPTER 3

37 Immediately after 1.15 (numbered 14), P1 has (a) 1.17 (numbered 15) as far as ‘impetiginosas’, then (b) most of the recipe omitted by ed. (‘Item alit ad ea que in capite scauias sunt … olie folia’), followed by a repetition of the end of 1.15 (‘ad autem humidioris pitiriasis … experimentatum multum abeo’), then (c) 1.16 (numbered 16), then (d) a new chapter numbered 17 but without a title (‘Ad psidracia et ad ea que in capite scauias sunt … ’), with the whole of the recipe just mentioned (ending ‘cum mel catapl()’), and the last recipe in 1.17. There are marks indicating that (b) should follow (d).

38 The last is ‘LXIII. Lixooperito et inbrocas Galine ad febris’. Note also ‘LXIII. De pomis modis febris’ (a blend of 3.64 De pomis and 3.65 De marasmode).

39 At 2.236.6 (4.10.6 below), the corrector’s version of the definition of duplicata distemperantia, which is written over four erased lines of the original is almost identical with that of φ.
(Avril and Zaluska, I, 26 (no. 48), pl. XIV (f. 102v); Dubief, 50f., pl. 10 (f. 74v); Mihăileanu, 96f. [in Rum.]; Puschmann I, 91)

Last quarter twelfth century, or twelfth/thirteenth century, made in central (south-central?) Italy (Avril and Zaluska). Vellum, ff. i +114, 280×190mm, beautifully and clearly written, in single columns of 38 or 39 lines; chapter-titles in red, with chapter-initial capitals alternately in red and blue, both in the capitula and in the running text; wonderful illuminated initials at the start of each of the seven books of this edition (cf. the description of P2 above), each of which also has its own capitula (see below). There are numerous corrections, additions, and marginal notes on nearly every page, many of them extensive, in three separate hands.

Contents: only Alex. Trall.
Alex. Trall.: Book 1: f. 0rv 79 unnumbered capitula in a single column, the first 1.1, the last 1.84; text of 1.1–84; 19r ‘Incipiunt capitula libri secundi ad oculorum passiones’ (my emphasis): 19rv 59 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns (of ‘Book 2’), the first 1.85, the last 1.149; text of 1.85–149.
Book 2: f. 37v 76 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns (of ‘Book 3’), the first 2.1, the last 2.78; text of 2.1–78; 54v–55r 86 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns (of ‘Book 4’), the first 2.79, the last 2.157; text of 2.79–157; 74rv 84 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns (of ‘Book 5’), the first 2.158, the last 2.232/233 (but 2.234 is in the text); text of 2.158–234; 90v 36 unnumbered capitula in 2 columns (of ‘Book 6’), the first 2.235, the last 2.269 (but 2.270–271 are in the text); text of 2.235–271.
Book 3: ff. 101v–102r 71 unnumbered capitula in a single column (of ‘Book 7’), the first 3.1, the last 3.66; ff. 102v–114v the text of Book 3, breaking off without an Explicit after only 8 lines of 3.66 (just before Emplastrum Galieni).

3.1.2. LOST COPIES

Ch Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 342 (383)
(Cat. gén. Dép., XI, 165; Dronke, 125; MacKinney, Medicine, 211 n. 282; Puschmann I, 91)

Twelfth century (Cat. gén. Dép.). Chapitre de la Cathédrale de Notre Dame. Parchment, 250×163mm, ff. 140. Minuscule, in single columns of about 40 lines (but 140r has 65 lines!). This manuscript was destroyed in May 1944. The University of North

40 Avril and Zaluska include it in their chapter on ‘l’aire bénéventaine et du royaume normand’.  
41 i.e. there are book-initials at the start of 1.1 (1r), 1.85 (19v), 2.1 (38r), 2.79 (55v), 2.158 (74v), 2.235 (90v), and 3.1 (102v). According to Avril and Zaluska, while the first, second, and fifth show ‘rapports avec le style géométrique tardif d’Italie centrale’, the others do not, and are presumably the work of a second artist.
42 1. The original is fine dark brown, quite angular. 2. The first corrector is rounder, thicker and lighter brown; occasionally he adds or corrects chapter-titles using red ink. 3. The corrector of both 1. and 2. is fine black. He also makes some additions. 4. The latest is fine, very dark brown. He glosses heavily and provides a sort of running header vertically down the outer edges of the folios.  
43 However, the middle of 2.269 and the second half of 2.270 were added in a different hand (m2?) at the bottom of 101r and in the margin of 101v, respectively.  
44 The form of the last — De lixoperitis pannis et embrocis — is identical with the last capitulum in G1 (n. 20 above).
Carolina at Chapel Hill has photographs made by L. C. MacKinney of seven sides (see below). MacKinney thought that this manuscript ‘appears to have been copied from the former Chartres ms., now Paris B. N. 9332’ (P1 above), but my collations do not bear this out.

Contents: the entry in the *Catalogue général* is very brief, but it is clear that the manuscript contained only Alex. Trall., and all three books. The Chapel Hill photographs depict the following:

3r ‘Incipiunt capitula Primi libri Alexandri yatros’ (chapter-titles I–XXVII (=1.1–28))

68rv 1.145 (CXL), v. 7 ‘coques’–149 (CXLV) end ‘... Incipiunt capitula libri secundi Alexandri. [I De tusse. | II De tussis cognitione que de calida distemperantia generatur’

127v–128r 2.268, v. 4 ‘aloe’–2.271 ‘... Incipiunt capitula libri tertici’

140r vv. 1–32: 3.66 complete

vv. 33–45: ‘Cordapsus id est dolor ylii ... Ventrem procurabis ex lacte decocto in quo (ui?)s facies uel dissolui aut aloe aut scamonea’

vv. 46–55: ‘Debilitatur uox aut p(er) clamorem aut p(er) frigorem aut p(er) estum nimium ... et antidotum beicum aut catapodias ad hanc causam confectas’

vv. 56–65: ‘Arteriacis sunt quibis fauces reumatizant ... aut purum (parum?) oleum infundendum est secundum qualitatem temporis sicut sepe docuius’

140v last side: ‘lib(er) medicinal(is) Alexandri yatros’

**Metz. Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 278**

(*Cat. gén. Dép.*, V, 118; Diels, *Handschriften*)

Early thirteenth century (*Cat. gén. Dép.*). This manuscript was destroyed in September 1944; no reproductions of, or studies bearing on it, are known. The entry in the *Catalogue général* makes clear that the manuscript (‘petit in-folio sur vélin’) contained only Alex. Trall. lat. It describes the contents as ‘Alexandri Iatrosophistae de morbis dignoscendis et sanandis libri III’, and gives the Incipit (‘dempta praefatione’) as ‘Incipit ejusdem deallopicia. Contingite hic dupliciter passio’, and the Explicit as ‘Explicit liber

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45 I am very grateful to Christiane Pollin of the Bibliothèques de Chartres for information about the manuscript, and to Michael McVaugh for his kind assistance in the matter of acquiring reproductions of the Chapel Hill photographs. There is, however, no mention of this manuscript in Bischoff, *Nachlaß*, nor in the papers of Loren C. MacKinney at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (I am indebted to Eliza Glaze for this information), nor in the Handschriftenscheden of the *CMG/CML* in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (I am indebted to Diethard Nickel for this information). For a complete list of the Chartres material preserved, see Behrends. (A BBC News Online article of 4 July 2003 reports the possibility of using multispectral imaging to render some of the Chartres material legible.)

46 Behrends wrongly reports 1r.

47 The *Catalogue général* quotes ‘... ferens inchoantem marasmon. Explicit liber tertius Alexandri’. This, the end of 3.65, was presumably on f. 139v. Why was the Explicit placed here, rather than after line 32 on f. 140r? The *Catalogue général* reports f. 140 as containing ‘recettes médicales’, apparently not recognizing the first as Alex. Trall. 3.66.

48 I am grateful to Dr Philippe Hoch, the Conservateur en chef of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Metz, for this information. There is no mention of this manuscript in Bischoff, *Nachlaß*, nor in the papers of Loren C. MacKinney at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (I am indebted to Eliza Glaze for this information), nor in the Handschriftenscheden of the *CMG/CML* in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (I am indebted to Diethard Nickel for this information).
Alexandri medici Iatrosophistae, translatus a Johanne episcopo, cui benedicat Deus’, without in the latter case quoting the last sentence of the translation.

3.1.3. UNCONFIRMED

**Oxford,** Bodleian Library, Bodl. 524  
(Madan and Craster, no. 2586; incorrectly given as ‘Digby 524’ by Thorndike and Kibre, 259, no. 13)

Twelfth century (Madan and Craster, Thorndike and Kibre), written in Italy (Madan and Craster). Parchment, iii+277 pp., in two hands (a slightly later one beginning on p. 222), with some illuminated initials, etc., in a thirteenth-century English binding.

Contents: apparently only Alex. Trall., in three books each with a list of chapters, plus an additional Latin recipe on p. 277

**Vatican,** Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, Pal. lat. 1209  
(Kristeller VI, 358b; Schuba, 198)

Thirteenth century. Parchment, ff. vi (a–f)+92+vi (93–8, blank), 180 × 130 mm, written in early Gothic minuscule in several hands, in single columns (the capitula in 2 columns) of 35 lines, with interlinear and marginal glosses of thirteenth/fourteenth century.49

Contents: only Alex. Trall.

Alex. Trall.:  
2r the start of Book 1.  
37r the start of Book 2.  
81v–92r Book 3, ending with the end of 3.66, ‘cum oleo roseo ungito et uteris’.

3.1.4. CORRIGENDUM

**Paris,** Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 867 (end thirteenth century, Glaze,50 ff. ii+265+ii) does not (pace Diels, *Handschriften*, II, 12) contain the Latin Alexander. Its principal contents are:

1r–72v Johannes Platearius, *Practica*;  
73r–170v Gariopontus, *Passionarius* (with the prologue beginning ‘Iste liber ex diuersis auctoribus’ (=Glaze’s Prologue B, *Medical Books*, 309ff.));  
171r–235v *Liber Constantini (de febris)*, beginning ‘Quoniam te karissime fili Johannes lacrimas mesto cordis dolore’;  
236r–239v Constantine, *Liber pauperum*;  
240r–249v the Latin Hippocratic *Aphorisms*;  
249v–256r the Latin Hippocratic *Prognostics*;  
256r–258r *De pulsibus*, ascribed to Philaretus;  
258r–263v *De urinis*, incomplete, ascribed to Theophilus.

49 The index on f. c and notes on ff. 1–6 are in the hand of the (fifteenth-century) Heidelberg doctor Martinus Rentz.  
50 See Glaze, *Medical Books*, 183 n. 41, 312; eadem, ‘*Passionarius*’. Cf. also Cat. gén. Arsenal, II, 142–3.
3.2. THE SECONDARY TRADITION

In the following paragraphs, I give a brief introduction to, first, miscellaneous excerpts (which include for editorial purposes some of the most important of the excerpts), and then, in a plausible chronological order, each of the late antique or medieval Latin compendia which have used the Latin Alexander directly or indirectly as a source, and which have independent manuscript traditions of their own (the Liber passionalis, the Tereoperica ascribed to Petroncellus, the Liber diaetarum, the De podagra, the Passionarius of Gariopontus, and the so-called ‘Bamberg Surgery’). Time has not permitted systematic collation of these secondary traditions with the mainstream, but I offer for each a sample portion of text, for which I have collated at least some of the manuscripts, with the purpose of giving a flavour at least of each work, of illustrating how each has made use of the Latin Alexander, and of showing (if possible) how the source of each is related to the mainstream tradition and what value, if any, each has as a potential witness for the reconstruction of the mainstream text. There follow (3.3), in alphabetical order by sigla, descriptions of some of the manuscripts of the secondary tradition that I have inspected and worked with.

Table 3.1 offers an overview of many of the excerpts from the Latin Alexander known to date, and of all those noted in the present work.

Table 3.1: An overview of the secondary traditions of the Latin Alexander
(for a more detailed conspectus of Lib. pass., Lib. diaet. and De podagra, see Tables 3.2, 3.5 and 3.7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book 1</th>
<th>Lib. pass.</th>
<th>Lib. diaet.</th>
<th>Ter.</th>
<th>v1</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 De allopitia et ophiasi</td>
<td>83 (84)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ter. 1.3-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Signa ex quo humore allopitia generata sit</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3 Cura ad tineam capitis</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.4 De simplicibus medicamentis</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.5 De compositis medicamentis ad tineam capitis</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.6 De capillis cadentibus</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13 Ad capillos auro similes faciendos</td>
<td>83 (84) cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14 Ad capillos albos faciendos</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17 Ad psidracia et exantimata in capite facta</td>
<td>84 (85)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ter. 1.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19 De acore signis</td>
<td>85 (86)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ter. 1.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20 Curatio achorarum</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

51 The order I have chosen reflects the age of the oldest manuscript in each case, but also deliberately juxtaposes two pairs of texts which it is desirable to compare, Liber passionalis and Tereoperica, and De podagra and Gariopontus’ Passionarius.

52 None of these exists in a reliable modern edition, although all but the Tereoperica and the Passionarius are of a very manageable size, and the Liber diaetarum and the De podagra in particular would make excellent PhD projects.

53 There are almost certainly more to be found: two, very different, sources which will probably merit systematic study are, on the one hand, the Latin Oribasius and, on the other, the material referred to in Sigerist, Rezeptliteratur.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.25</th>
<th>Si de nimio epatis calore caput dolet</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>(1.31bis) Curatio si ex uino caput doleat</td>
<td>80 (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>(1.32) Si ex percussura caput doleat</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>De cibis in frenesi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>De litargico .i. obliiuoso</td>
<td>23 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>Curatio litargicorum</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>Cura epileptie</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.64-67</td>
<td>De apozimis et cathaputiis dandis; De catarticis; De apoflegmatismis; De uomitu</td>
<td>(80–83) (be only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>De cibo dando menomenis uel melancolicis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>Curatio hiis qui de colerico et acro humore laborant</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.100</td>
<td>Ad nictilopas .i. eos qui post transmutatum solem non uident</td>
<td>Ter. 1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.103</td>
<td>De mulsa</td>
<td>v1, 1r v2, 1r v3, 2rv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.107</td>
<td>Ad egylop&lt;fa&gt;es</td>
<td>78 (79)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.108-123</td>
<td>De passionibus aurium – (123) Ad aures surdas</td>
<td>v1, 59v-63r</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.119</td>
<td>Si in aure fuerit aliquid ingressum</td>
<td>'Bamberg Surgery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.124-128</td>
<td>De parotidis – (128) Curatio si ex colerico humore iant parotide</td>
<td>76 (77)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.130</td>
<td>De dieta (scil. in parotidis)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.131-133</td>
<td>De narium passione; Ad sanguinis fluxum de naris; De fluore in facie</td>
<td>v1, 63v-65r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.131</td>
<td>De narium passione</td>
<td>77 (78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.134-135</td>
<td>De dentium causis id est passionibus; De dentium dolore cura</td>
<td>v1, 65r-66r</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.136</td>
<td>De squinance uel sinance</td>
<td>Cf. v3, 49r</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.140</td>
<td>De flobothomia et catartico ac uentosis sinancis</td>
<td>Cf. v3, 49r</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.142</td>
<td>De dieta sinanticorum</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.145</td>
<td>De cibis dandis sinanticis</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>2.18</td>
<td>Curatio si ex frigido contingat cynorodoxeos</td>
<td>14 (15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>Curatio si ex frigore imbecillis fiat cateltica uirtus</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>Curatio si ex calore nimio fuerit imbecilla cateltica uirtus</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>Si de spissis et glutinosis humoribus fastidium fiat</td>
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<td>2.27</td>
<td>Si de calida distemperantia facta fuerit absque humore de solo calore anorexia</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>De cardiaca passione</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>Curatio cardiae</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>Si melancolicus aut colericus humor uomitum excitet</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>De hiis qui satis &lt;spuunt&gt; et humidum habent stomachum</td>
<td>20 (21)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ter. 1.47</td>
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<td>2.55</td>
<td>Curatio (scil. ad colericam pass.)</td>
<td>20 (21)</td>
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<td>2.61</td>
<td>Curatio de flegmone epatis</td>
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<td>2.62</td>
<td>De potionibus et apozimatibus</td>
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<td>2.73</td>
<td>Curatio calide distemperantie epatis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>Curatio epatice dissinterie de frigida epatis distemperantia</td>
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<td>2.79</td>
<td>De reumate uentris Filominis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>De cibo dissintericorum</td>
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<td>2.94</td>
<td>De pomis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.108</td>
<td>Curatio frigide et humide distemperantie splenis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.109</td>
<td>Curatio calide et humide distemperantie</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.135</td>
<td>De cibo</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.156</td>
<td>De dieta ydropicorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.164</td>
<td>De dieta emptoicorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.180–184</td>
<td>Curatio nefreticorum – (184) Curatio de flegmone cum inflammatione facto in renibus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.184</td>
<td>Curatio de flegmone cum inflammatione facto in renibus</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.187</td>
<td>De hiis qui pus per urinam faciunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.200</td>
<td>Curatio dyabetis</td>
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### Table 3.1:Continued

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<th>Section</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.205 De dieta (scil. colicae passionis)</td>
<td>(35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.222 Curatio si de colerico humore colica fuerit passio generata</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.235–270 De podagra – (270) De antidotoalio podagricis dando per totum annum</td>
<td>v1, 75v-86v</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.237 Signa si de colerico humore podagra fuerit generata</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.238 Curatio podagre calde de coleribus adhibenda</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.239 Podagricis que sunt extrinsecus adhibenda</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.240 De embrocis</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.241 De dieta</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.242 De balneis</td>
<td>(22)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.244 Curatio flegmatice podagre</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.246 De catartics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.250 Oximel Iuliani catarticum</td>
<td>19bs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.251 De cathaputiis dandis</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.261 Curatio podagre ex sanguine generata</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.262 De localibus curis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.263 Ad porros hoc est si in nodis tumores fuerint et lapides</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.264 De antidotis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.265, 267, 270 Ad porros; Catarticum de hermodactilis; De antidoto alio podagricis dando per totum annum</td>
<td>v3, 93v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.267 Catarticum de hermodactilis</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Book 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alex. Trall. lat. ed.</th>
<th>Lib. pass.</th>
<th>Ter.</th>
<th>Miscellaneous excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.46–47 De ethicis febribus; De marosmode</td>
<td>72 (73)</td>
<td>Ter. 2.17.2(?) (l3, f. 113rv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.66 (part) Lixoperita epithimata et embroce et emplastra febrrientibus Martyrii medici</td>
<td></td>
<td>vat1, 87v-88v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perhaps the most striking feature revealed by Table 3.1 is the almost complete lack of excerpts from the third book of the Latin Alexander, on fevers. Apart from 3.66, which is not in the Greek Alexander as we have it, and which could be an addition to the original version of the Latin Alexander, I know of only one passage drawn from Book 3, namely chs 46–7 (De icticis febribus and De marasmode), which incidentally (like several other chapters) appear both in the Liber passionalis (3.2.2 below) and in the Tereoperica (3.2.3 below). The excerpting of Books 1 and 2 is the work predominantly of the makers of the Liber passionalis, the Liber diaetarum (3.2.4 below), the De podagra (3.2.5 below), and of Vendôme ms. 109, the most important of the manuscripts containing ‘miscellaneous excerpts’, with which I begin.

3.2.1. Miscellaneous Excerpts

The Vendôme medical manuscripts are described in detail in a long article by Henry Sigerist,54 which includes a considerable amount of transcribed material and photographs of several folios, which I will not repeat and to which I refer for further detail. Three Vendôme manuscripts contain excerpts from the Latin Alexander, namely mss. 109 (=v1), 172 (=v2), and 175 (=v3), all of the eleventh century. Of these three, v1 is for present purposes far and away the most important, in that it contains very substantial extracts (a total of 65 chapters: 22 from Book 1, 43 from Book 2) faithfully copied without editorial intervention from a complete copy of at least Books 1 and 2 of the Latin Alexander. The faithfulness of the copying extends to the (for the purposes of v1, pointless) reproduction of some of the chapter-numbers of the original. These match the numeration of M and P1, and given numerous errors in common with these two mainstream manuscripts, it is clear that at least one of the copies used by the maker of v1 was closely related to γ, and probably a descendant of β (see 4.2 below). I say ‘at least one of the copies’ because the maker of v1 evidently had two versions of part of 1.114, the second (presumably discovered only after the first act of copying was complete) being written in-between the lines of the first version (f. 61v), and neither of these versions is close to γ (though the interlinear text is almost identical with that of A: see pp. 100–1 below). It is equally clear that – again, presumably at different times – two versions of the Liber diaetarum were used (see 3.2.4 below). Whether it is by chance that there is virtually no overlap (just a few lines in 2.79) between the Liber diaetarum and the other Alexander extracts in v1, or whether the maker of v1 knew that he was about to copy the Liber diaetarum and, aware of its contents, avoided duplicating them, one can only speculate. The excerpts in v1 from the mainstream Alexander are all in their original order, save 1.103 De mulsa and 2.36 De cardiaca passione. The latter chapter, also in u (p. 96), immediately precedes the big run through Books 1 and 2, which dominates v1 ff. 59v–86v (although interspersed with material from other sources). The former, the Mulsa Alexandri for treatment of the eyes, is in fact the earliest chapter of Book 1 to be reproduced by v1 (the next being 1.108), but it is put at the front of the codex and functions practically as a frontispiece not only in v1 (f. 1r) but in v2 (f. 1r) and v3 (f. 2rv) as well. This is surely not coincidental, but must reflect a scriptorium decision to reproduce such a highly-recommended remedy55 over and over again right at the front of

54 Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’.
55 Note Alexander’s endorsement, 1.103 ‘Nescio enim si ante ab aliquo tam magnum inuentum fuerit adiutorium’ (=Greek II, 55, 7–8).
key medical compendia (in v3 presumably after the two manuscripts, both originally beginning with the Liber Esculapii, had been joined?). As for the selection of the subjects copied by v1, it is perhaps noteworthy that three substantial sections (ff. 63v–70v, on diseases of the nose and teeth, and reuma uentris) are not in the Greek Alexander: the appeal they held for the makers of the Latin Alexander was evidently still felt, and their incorporation vindicated.

While in v2 Alexander is represented only by the tacking on of the Musa Alexandria to the front of the text of and commentary on the Latin Hippocratic Aphorisms, v1 and v3 (the latter of which contains apart from the Musa modest extracts from 1.136, 1.140, 2.238, and 2.267) both transmit Alexander together with Esculapius and Theodorus Priscianus, and v1 also with other elements of the Galenic and pseudo-Galenic pre-Gariopontean ensemble that accompanies the Latin Alexander both in complete copies and in other sets of excerpts (see 3.2.5 below). The first 86 folios of v1 could be seen as a sort of prototype of this corpus, resembling the later compendia also in ending with Alexander on gout, but with the important difference that the De podagra in v1 is a faithful copy of the complete text and shows no signs of the radical recension represented by the De podagra described in 3.2.5 below.

There are elements of this corpus (excerpts from Gal., Ad Glauc. 1, the Liber tertius also in u, which curiously, in a large collection of remedies towards the end of the manuscript, has Alex. Trall. 2.36 De cardiaca passione in common with v1, evidently (as in v1) copied without editorial intervention, and made from a mainstream copy closely related to the source of v1 and to the mainstream manuscripts M and P1 (on the place of u’s source within the tradition, see 4.2 below).

vati (p. 97) is important above all for Theod. Prisc., Eup. 2 and 3 and Vindic., Epist. ad Pentad., but it also contains a superior text of a portion (smaller than that implied by Beccaria or Pellegrin et al. Vaticane) of Alex. Trall. 2.36 De cardiaca passione in common with v1, evidently (as in v1) copied without editorial intervention, and made from a mainstream copy closely related to the source of v1 and to the mainstream manuscripts M and P1 (on the place of u’s source within the tradition, see 4.2 below).

As for the value for editorial purposes of these first sets of ‘miscellaneous excerpts’, the age, the text quality, and the probable genetic relations of v1, v2, v3, u, and vati — and the fact that none shows any sign of editorial intervention in the text of their excerpts from the Latin Alexander — all these factors make them important witnesses, whose testimony should — and will — certainly be used in the editing of the chapters that they transmit. In at least five other sets of excerpts, the Latin Alexander has been used as a source for other works, each of which shows, although to different degrees, its own editorial intent and consequent readiness to modify the excerpted text. Nevertheless, quite apart from their evidently important role in the medieval ‘reception’ of the Latin Alexander, and in the constitution of medieval Latin medical literature more generally, soundings indicate that even these more

56 On v1 and the pre-Gariopontean ensemble, see now Glaze, ‘Passionarius’ and ‘Galen refashioned’.
independent branches of the secondary tradition are not without value for the textual criticism and the editing of the Latin Alexander itself.\(^{57}\)

3.2.2. **Liber passionalis**

The *Liber passionalis* (henceforth *Lib. pass.*) is a compendium in eighty-one chapters setting out diagnosis and therapy of about the same number of diseases. Its main concern is with internal medicine (nervous or mental diseases, diseases of the head, the chest, the gastro-intestinal tract, the abdomen). It has some notably elaborate chapters on gynaecology, but nothing on fevers (infectious diseases) or surgical treatment. The fact that each chapter begins with the diagnosis or clinical picture of the disease suggests that it was intended for readers with some medical experience.\(^{58}\)

The *Lib. pass.* is known from three manuscripts, namely Berlin, Phillipps 1790 (be, p. 92) beginning with the end of ch. 21, St Gall 752 (s, p. 96, below) more or less complete, and Rouen 1407 (O, 55; late eleventh century) containing chs 1–11 only.\(^{59}\)

The *Lib. pass.* was discovered by Valentin Rose, who compared s with be — a remarkable discovery, given the disarray of be (see below); the presence of the work in Rouen 1407 was identified by Klaus-Dietrich Fischer.

Alex. Trall. serves as the sole or main source for fourteen chapters of the *Lib. pass.* (which altogether draws on twenty-six chapters of Alex. Trall., entirely from Book 1, save 2.50\(^{60}\) and 3.46–7\(^{61}\)). Table 3.2 offers an overview of the Alexander material in the chapter order of *Lib. pass.*, comparing in some detail the contents of be and s.

### Table 3.2: The Latin Alexander and the Liber passionalis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alex. Trall. lat. ed. (M)</th>
<th>be, ff. 51, 53, 82–87, 43–44</th>
<th>s, pp. 231–233, 236–237, 305–320</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.50 De his qui satis &lt;spuunt&gt; et humidum habent stomachum</td>
<td>51r (XXI.) (begins with last line of 2.50: see Table 3.4)</td>
<td>231–3 XX. … stomachum humidum habent (=2.50 minus last clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.59 De litargico i. obliuioso</td>
<td>53rv XXIII. De litargo uerus quippe litargicis(?) (=1.59: see Table 3.3)</td>
<td>236–7 XXIII. De lytargicis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.46 De ethicis febribus</td>
<td>82r LXXIII. De hicteticis(?) febribus (=3.46–47 complete)</td>
<td>305–6 LXXII. De hictericis febribus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.47 De marosmode</td>
<td>82v De marasmodus</td>
<td>De marismodis in text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{57}\) Compare Fischer’s demonstration (in ‘Wer lest’) of the importance of the secondary tradition for the editing of Cassius Felix and Gargilius Martialis, respectively. Cf. Fraisse, LXXV f. on Cass. Fel., and Maire, LI–LXV on Pliny and Garg. Mart.


\(^{59}\) On Rouen 1407, see Beccaria, *Codici*, 183–5; Wickersheimer, *Manuscrits*, 159–71; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’. In the Rouen manuscript only chs 1–11 are preserved, which contain nothing from Alex. Trall. The chapters drawn from Caelius Aurelianus reveal that the text of Rouen, although two centuries younger, is probably more conservative than that of be (I am indebted to Cloudy Fischer for this information).

\(^{60}\) Both 2.50 and 3.46–7 are also in *Ter.* (as are Alex. Trall. 1.1–4, 1.17 & 19–20, 1.59, 1.107). On the closeness of *Lib. pass.* and *Ter.* also with regard to material shared with the *Liber Byzantii*, see Fischer, ‘Lib. Byz.’, 286.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.1 De allopitia et ophiasi</th>
<th>82v LXXIII. De alopicia et ophiosis(?) (=1.1–4; 1.5 line 9 to the end; 1.13 lines 1–8; 1.14)</th>
<th>306–9 LXXIII. De alopicia et ophiosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Signa ex quo humore allopitia generata sit</td>
<td>1.2.t. in text (minus allopitia)</td>
<td>1.2.t. in text (... humore generata sit alopicia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Cura ad tineam capitis</td>
<td>Curatio ad alopiciam capitis uel tiniae</td>
<td>Curatio alopitiae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 De simplicibus medicamentis</td>
<td>t. as ed.</td>
<td>De simplicibus medicaminibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 De compositis medicamentis ad tineam capitis</td>
<td>1.5.t. absent</td>
<td>1.5.t. absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13 Ad capillos auro similes faciendos (Vt capill( ) auro simil( ) facias M)</td>
<td>Vt capill( ) auro facies colore</td>
<td>Vt capillos auro facias similes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14 Ad capillos albos faciendos (Vt capill( ) aluos facias M)</td>
<td>Vt capill( ) albus facias</td>
<td>Vt capillos albos facias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17 Ad psidracia et (et om. M) exantimata in capite facta</td>
<td>83v-84r LXX(?) De sidracia exantimata in capite facta sidracia (=1.17 complete, incl. the penult. recipe om. by ed.)</td>
<td>309 LXXIII. De sideratia exantimata ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19 De acore signis</td>
<td>84rv LXXVI De acorus signa (=1.19 lines 1–10; 1.20 complete but modified)</td>
<td>310–11 LXXV. De acoras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.20 Curatio achorarum</td>
<td>Curatio acoras in text</td>
<td>1.20.t. absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.124 De parotidis</td>
<td>84v-86r LXXVII De parotidas (=1.124 complete; 1.125 complete but much modified; 1.126–128 much shortened)</td>
<td>311–14 LXXVI. De parotidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.125 Curatio si ex plenitudine sanguinis fiant parotide</td>
<td>1.125.t. garbled in text</td>
<td>Curatio eorum talis est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.126 Curatio in quibus parotide sunt scrototides tumoris</td>
<td>1.126.t. absent</td>
<td>1.126.t. absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.127 Signa si in pus conuertantur parotide et cura</td>
<td>Si in pus conuertantur parotidas</td>
<td>Si in fus conuertantur parotidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.128 Curatio si ex colerico humore fiant parotide (humore reuma fiat M)</td>
<td>Curatio. Si ex colerico et reuma fiat parotidas</td>
<td>Curatio si ex colerico et reuma fuerit parotidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.131 De narium passione</td>
<td>86rv LXXVIII De narium passiones (=1.131 shortened in the middle)</td>
<td>314–16 LXXVII. De narium passione</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.107 Ad egylops</td>
<td>86v-87r LXXVIII Ad elilopas (=1.107 complete)</td>
<td>316–17 LXXVIII. De elilopas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.64 De apozimis et cathaputisis dandis</td>
<td>43r LXXX De apozimis et catarticis (=1.64 complete)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.65 De catarticis</td>
<td>43rv LXXXI De catarticis (=1.65 complete)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.66 De apoflegmatismis</td>
<td>43v LXXXII De apoflecmatismis (=1.66 complete)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.67 De uomitu</td>
<td>LXXXIII De uomito (=1.67 complete)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.32 (1.31bis) Si ex uino caput doluerit</td>
<td>LXXXIII. Si ex uino caput dolet facile sanus fit (=1.32 complete)</td>
<td>319–20 LXXX. t. as ed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The only significant difference between these two copies of the *Lib. pass.* is that Alex. Trall. 1.64–7 on the treatment of epilepsy, complete in be, is absent from s.\(^{62}\)

The maker of *Lib. pass.* has for the most part tried to make an exact copy of the model that he was excerpting, although frequently he either omits complete sentences (e.g. from 1.5, 1.13) or modifies the original in order to shorten it while retaining the gist at least of the content (e.g. the penultimate recipe in 1.17, 1.20, 1.125, 1.131). His procedure is well illustrated in his use of 1.59 and 2.50, for each of which I give side by side the versions of both *Lib. pass.* and *Ter.*, together with a full text of the Latin and the Greek originals (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below).

As for the genetic relations of the copy of Alex. Trall. used by the maker of *Lib. pass.*, I have not undertaken an extensive systematic collation, but in what little I have compared there are clear hints that the source here shares errors with *M* and *P*\(^1\) and so belongs on the right-hand side of the stemma (Plate XII), possibly as a descendant of \(\gamma\) (4.2.2. below). Note, for example, the agreements signalled in the footnotes in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below, in the former, n. 1 and in the latter in nn. 3 and 5–9; in Table 3.2 (above), note that the *Lib. pass.* titles corresponding to Alex. Trall. 1.13 and 1.14 agree with those in *M*, and that *M* agrees with *Lib. pass.* also in omitting *et* in the title of 1.17 (cf. also 1.128 t.).\(^{63}\)

3.2.3. *‘Tereoperica’, Attributed to Petroncellus of Salerno*

The work known as *‘Tereoperica’* (\(\approx\) *Therapeutica*; henceforth *Ter.*), ascribed in the High Middle Ages to Petroncellus of Salerno,\(^{64}\) is an extensive compilation in two (?) books drawing on various late antique and early medieval Latin medical texts,\(^{65}\) and prefaced by a doxographical ‘letter’ about the beginnings of medicine and the several medical schools or sects, the *Epistula peri hereseon*; it too was compiled from several sources including Isidore and Agnellus of Ravenna.\(^{66}\) The principal sources used by the maker of *Ter.* are on the one hand some of the ensemble of texts used by Gariopontus (3.2.6 below), especially the *Liber tertius* (but excluding Theodorus Priscianus and the *De
Table 3.3: A sample comparison of the mainstream Latin Alexander (1.59) with the Liber passionalis and the Tereoperica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alex. Trall., I, 527, 20 Περὶ λθαργοῦ</th>
<th>(Alex. Trall. lat. 1.59 P1, f. 154ra)</th>
<th>(Lib. pass. ch. 24 be 53rv (ch. 23 s 236–7))</th>
<th>(Ter. 2.6 Sloane 2839, ff. 82v-83r; cf. Vat. Reg. lat. 1004, f. 59r)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1– Ο γνήσιος λίθαργος, ὥσπερ ἡ φρενίτις.</td>
<td>LVI. 1- Verus quippe lithargus quemadmodum et frenec-&lt;t&gt;cus fit.</td>
<td>XXIII De litargo. 1- Verus quippe litargicus quemadmodum et freneticus sit</td>
<td>De litargia passione. Litargia prope similis est frenesin9 ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2– ἐχει μὲν τόπον ἐγκεφάλου, ὅλην δ' ἐναντίαν τῇ φρενίτιδι.</td>
<td>2- abit enim et ipse locum in cerebro ledendi, materia autem contraria freneticā:</td>
<td>2- habet enim et ipse locum in cerebro litendi materia his amerario3 frenetico</td>
<td>2- ipse locus cerebri contrariam habet materia ... -2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3– ἐπὶ ὄλεγματι γὰρ πλεονάζοντι γίνεται ὑγραίνοντι αὐτὸν καὶ διαβρέχοντι ῥηχυράς, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι μεπισήθαι τῶν λεγμένων, ἀλλὰ μὲν εἰ ἐθέλειν τὰ βλέφαρα 4- καὶ πιθανῶς ἢ δὲ ὁλον καρομένους ὑπὸ τῆς καταπνιγοὺσας καὶ ναρκώσθης τῷ ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα ὑγρότητος ὀμία καὶ ψύξου.</td>
<td>3- ex fleumate enim efficitur humectandum et infundendum fortier cerebro ut non possit nec rememorare ut aliquid loquatur sed clausas palpebras abens.</td>
<td>3- litargicus facit humectando et infrigendo fortier cerebro et non possit nec rememorare ut aliquid loquatur sed causas palpebras habens.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4– tacit2 quietus et in toto grauato uel oppresso stopore animo ostinditur humectatus et infringdatus esse cerebrum.</td>
<td>4- tacet iacet et in toto grauato uel oppresso stopore animo ostinditur humectatus et infringdatus esse cerebrum.</td>
<td>4- iacet quietus et in toto grauato uel oppresso stopore animo tenditur humectatus et infringdatus esse cerebrum.</td>
<td>3- si flegmaticus humor fuerit solus -5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5– εἰ δὲ λυθαργικὸς ἢ μόνον ὁ τὸν λθαργον ἐγχαζόμενος χῦμος, ὁ γνήσιος λθαργος γίνεται ...</td>
<td>5- Si enim fleumaticus humor fuit solus lithargus facit uerum. + – +</td>
<td>5- Si enim fleumaticus humor fuerit solus litargum facit uerum</td>
<td>5- si flegmaticus humor fuerit solus -5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 ipse locum MPI locum ipse A ed. 2 tacet A iacet ed. pro tacit quietus habet cacochnime M(!) 3 materiam est contraria s 4 Ad litargicos Quippe habet. similitudinem frenetici Vat. (continued)
Table 3.3: Continued

6- Si autem non solus fuerit fleumaticus humor putredinis in capite sed et colericus simul cum illo mixtus accedit et accedentias sit

7- ita ut modo uigilias patiuntur modo etiam grauior praemantur somnos et modo alienentur

8- utrumque agentes simul et gludden umbra et manus sicut qui euellere pilos aut auferre uolunt continere manus non possunt que euellere aut auferre

5 fuerit om. Vat.  
6 graui oppresso somno Vat.  
7 contemplare Vat.  
8 ferre Vat.
Table 3.4: A sample comparison of the mainstream Latin Alexander (2.50) with the Liber passionalis and the Tereoperica

| Latin Alexander (2.50) A, ff. 66vb–67ra; cf. PL, ff. 189vb–190ra | Liber passionalis ch. 20 s pp. 231–3 (ch. 21 be f. 51r with only the last few words of this ch.) | Ter. 1.47 Par. 11219, f. 65rb–va; cf. SL = Sloane 2839, f. 29r |
| Alex Trall. II, 311, 19–313, 3 | XLVII. De his qui satis spuunt et humidiument habent stomachum | XLVIII. Ad eos qui nimia expunt saliua et humidiument sthomacho |

1– ὤσπερ πάλιν δει λογίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστιφύνων πλεύνα καὶ ψυχρῶν αἰομένων ἔχειν τὸν στόμαχον
2– οὐ γὰρ πάντως ὑπὸ πολλῆς υγρότητος γίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ διὰ θερμότητα συμβαίνειν
3– <οἱ γοὺν (M)> νηστεύοντες γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγουστονες πάρχουσι τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ οὖ παῦονται σελέριζτες καὶ ἀποστιφύντες πολλά, ἡμὶ οὐ τροφὴν προσενέγκονται.
4– δὴ λοιπὸν δέ, ὅτι τὰς θερμασίας ἀναλοφυῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ βάθει υγρὰ συνέβαινε τοῦτον . . .

1– Oportet iterum eos (pr)ui-dere qui multum expuunt et humidiument habent stomachum. 2– Non enim omnibus sub multa stomachi humectatione hec contingunt. quia possibile est et ex calore contingere. 3– Qui ergo ieiuni et modicum cibum accipientes hec frequenter patiuntur et non pulsant (παῦονται!) saliunas proiciendo donec cibum accipient. 4– Manifestum est quia calor resoluit qui in profundo sunt humores.

1 om. ed. 2 Quibus . . . ieiunis . . . accipientibus PL 3 pausant PL ed. 4 est humor PL

5 uniter SI 6 sed aliquibus ex ilegma capitis SI 7 resument hoc est cessant SI 8 manifestum quiuppe est quando ex calore soluitur saliua quia SI (continued)
5- ὅτι δὲ διὰ θερμότητα γίνεται τὸ πτυσσόμενον αὐτοῦ πλέον, ἐνεστὶν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τῶν κειμένων ξύλων· ἀποστάζουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ ψήγων δηλοῦσί τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκεννύντος τὸ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ περιεχόμενον υδάτας.

6- τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομένων κρεών μᾶλλον ἐστὶ συμβαίνον θέασθαι.

7- θεραπεύειν οὖν χρῆ τοὺς διὰ θέρμην πολλὰ πτώσιμα διὰ τὸν ἐμφυσοῦν καὶ δυσκατεργάταις τροφῶν, ὥσπερ πάλιν τοὺς δὲ ύπρότητα τοῖς θερμαίνοντις καὶ ξηραίνοντις (M>}

5- Nam ex calore fit saliuarum effusio quemadmodum in lignis ardentibus fit quomodo ex ipsis defluit humor qui in ipsis est aquosus.

6- Similit(ér) autem et in carnibus fit quando assantur.

7- Curare eos oportet qui de calore multum saliuarum effusione laborant qui infrigdare possint cibum et non facile diierere.

9 θερμότητα LM

10 om. P1

11 qui infrigdare possunt cibos P1

12 dare P1

13 ex his om. P1

14 medicaminibus que infrigdare Sl
podagra), and on the other hand Cassius Felix.\textsuperscript{67} The manuscripts of the Ter. start early, the four oldest copies currently known being as follows:\textsuperscript{68}

Paris, lat. 11219, ff. 42ra–103ra (c. 850, France, perhaps Saint Denis) (Book 1 only),\textsuperscript{69} London, Harley 4977, ff. 1ra–120vb (11th cent.),\textsuperscript{70} London, Sloane 2839, ff. 5v–112v (end 11th/beginning 12th cent., perhaps England);\textsuperscript{71} Munich, clm 29698 (formerly 29137), ff. 1r–2v, fragments only of incipit, capitula, and chapters 2–5 (early 10th cent.).\textsuperscript{72}

The version of Ter. transmitted by a later manuscript, Paris, lat. 14025, ff. 1ra–101vb (end 12th/beginning 13th cent., Glaze), was reproduced by De Renzi, under the title (taken from the manuscript) \textit{Practica Petrocelli Salernitani}, in vol. IV of his \textit{Collectio Salernitana}.\textsuperscript{73}

Several chapters of Ter. draw on the Latin Alexander, and there may be more to be found. It is possible that in some sections the direct source was not Alexander but an earlier compilation akin, say, to the \textit{Liber passionalis}, with which Ter. has at least six Alexander-based excerpts in common, namely those from Alex. Trall. 1.1–4, 1.17 & 19–20, 1.59, 1.107, 2.50, and 3.46–7 (for a summary of other points of contact between Ter. and Alex. Trall., see Table 3.1 above). The distance between the texts of Ter. and Alexander, however, varies enormously. On the one hand, it is clear from collation of Par. lat. 11219 with the mainstream tradition of Alexander for 1.17 & 19–20 that the source of Ter. 1.12–13 is a faithful copy of the text of Alexander without editorial modification (one moreover which shares frequent errors with P\textsubscript{1} and M and may therefore be a descendant of \(\beta\); see 4.2 below). On the other hand, it is immediately apparent from the Ter. versions of Alex. Trall. 1.59 and 2.50 set out in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 above that here the maker of Ter., or his source, was excerpting Alexander with much modification sentence by sentence, and in 1.59 even changing the order of certain sentences and phrases. Likewise, if the extract \textit{De icticis febribus} (London, Harley 4977, f. 113rv), obviously based on Alex. Trall. 3.46–7, is in fact from Ter., it is very different both from the Latin Alexander and from the version in \textit{Lib. pass}. For the reconstruction of the original text of such passages, then, Ter. will be a witness of at most marginal interest. Nevertheless, given the presence in the tradition of Ter. of the faithful and important early copy of Alex. Trall. 1.17 & 19–20, this is clearly a witness that deserves to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

\textsuperscript{67} cf. Sabbah, ‘Cassius Felix’, 23–7; Fraisse, LXXV f. It emerges, however, from Fischer’s work (n. 65 above) that Cassius Felix is not the main source of Ter. Book I, and that Theod. Prisc. is used by Ter., e.g. in the chapter on spasm.

\textsuperscript{68} Referred to by Fraisse in her edition of Cass. Fel. as T1, T2, T3, and T4, respectively. See also Talbot.


\textsuperscript{70} (Autopsy January 2003.) In spite of the eleventh-century dating (\textit{Cat. Harley}, III, 235; Sabbah, 23, n. 50), not in Beccaria, \textit{Codici}.

\textsuperscript{71} See Beccaria, \textit{Codici}, 261–3; Glaze, \textit{Medical Books}, 50–1 n. 73; Wickersheimer, ‘Un manuscrit’, 10, dates it to the fifteenth century!

\textsuperscript{72} See Beccaria, \textit{Codici}, no. 65.

\textsuperscript{73} On pp. 185–286, with extracts from Books 2 (pp. 287–90) and 3 (pp. 290–1). On Paris 14025, see Fischer, ‘Pseudo-Democritus’, 49; Wickersheimer, ‘Un manuscrit’, 10, dates it emphatically to the fourteenth century! Ter. is transmitted also in Vat. lat. 4421, ff. 1r–54v (twelfth/thirteenth century, Glaze), and in extracts in Chartres 70, Montpellier 185, Cambridge Gg 5. 35, Vienna 10, Salzburg. Mus. Carolino-Augustei 2169, London, Harley 1585 (twelfth century), and (from Book 2) Vat. reg. lat. 1004, Flor. Aedil. 165. I owe this information to Cloudy Fischer.
3.2.4. *Liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum*

The *Liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum hoc est Alexandri et aliorum* (henceforth *Lib. diaet.*) is a compilation of some forty-five chapters containing dietetic recommendations for the treatment of about the same number of diseases. It is drawn very largely from the Latin Alexander, excerpts being taken from twelve chapters of Book 1 and twenty-five chapters of Book 2. Although Alex. Trall. Book 3 contains extensive dietetic sections (e.g. 3.20, 36, 58), the maker of *Lib. diaet.* evidently turned to another source (or sources) for his last few chapters, on diet in fevers. All of the Alexander chapters stand in *Lib. diaet.* in their original order, and presumably represent the fruit of a single pass through a complete copy of Alex. Trall. Books 1 and 2.

The *Lib. diaet.* is perhaps better known as Book 5o of the thirteenth/fourteenth-century recension of the *Physica Plinii* (the so-called *Physica Plinii Florentino-Pragensis*), in which excerpts from Q. Gargilius Martialis, *Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis* were made to constitute Book 4. It is in this context that it was first edited by Tommaso Pighinucci (*C. Plinii Secundi Medicina*, Rome 1509, ff. u 2r–x 6r).

However, the *Lib. diaet.* appears also on the one hand in manuscripts containing the *Medicina Plinii*, rather than the *Physica Plinii*, and on the other hand independently of any of the ‘Pliny books’. In the earliest surviving copy, s, and in l2, the *Lib. diaet.* immediately follows the *Medicina Plinii* and the Gargilius book,77 while v1 and co transmit the *Lib. diaet.* alone of this Plinian corpus.78

Table 3.5 gives an overview of the use made of the Latin Alexander by the maker of *Lib. diaet.*, collating v1, co, l2 (and Pighinucci’s edition of Book 5 of the *Physica Plinii Flor.-Prag.*) against s.

Again, I have not undertaken a systematic collation of this tradition, but in this case it is at once evident that we have to reckon with (at least) two branches: s, v1 and l2 are united in error against co in omitting the extract from Alex. Trall. 2.187 (between chapters XXXII and XXXIII Pighinucci), and s and v1 (and the *Phys. Plin. Flor.-Prag.*) compound the error by retaining the title of the missing chapter (2.187) in place of that properly belonging with the next chapter, from Alex. Trall. 2.200. It is apparent

74 So it is called in v1, l2, and co (co lacks the word medicorum); s has only *Liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum.*

75 Each of the several versions of the *Physica Plinii* is named after the location of its (chief) manuscript(s). The oldest, the *Bambergensis*, is a (probably fifth/sixth-century) recension in three books, including some additional material, of the *Medicina Plinii*, a compilation (from around A.D. 300) of eugorista in three books taken very largely from Pliny, *Nat.* 20–32. See BTML, 113–14 and 127–9, and Langslow, *Medical Latin*, 64 and 68–9 for further references.

76 The title of Pighinucci’s edition — with medicina rather than physica — is misleading. His edition was closely followed by that of Alban Thorer, in *De re medica* (1528), ff. 92v–98v (repr. in *Medici antiqui omnes* (1547), ff. 207v–211r). See BTML, 111 nos 389–90, and Onnerfors, *Med. Plin.*, XXXIII.


78 Beccaria also reports that extracts of the *Lib. diaet.* are transmitted in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 44, pp. 268–276 (later ninth century; Beccaria, *Codici*, 364–8), Siena, Bibl. comunale degli Intronati F. V. 8, ff. 173–175 (tenth/eleventh century; Beccaria, *Codici*, 331–2), and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 878, p. 374 (earlier eleventh century).
Table 3.5: The Latin Alexander and the Liber diaetarum

($§$ indicates that text and unnumbered title are present pretty much as in $s$; under $l_2$, (2) indicates that the whole original title was overwritten)

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.6 med.</td>
<td>I. De capillis cadentibus</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>Dieta illorum quibus capilli cadunt (2)</td>
<td>I. ... fluentibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>II. Si de epate caput dolet</td>
<td>Dieta si ...</td>
<td>... dolet caput</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.32(1.31bis)</td>
<td>III. Si ex uino caput dolet</td>
<td>Dieta si ...</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>III. Si de ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.33 med.</td>
<td>III. Si de percussione caput dolet</td>
<td>Dieta si de percussura ...</td>
<td>... percussura ...</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>IIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>V. De cibis freneticis</td>
<td>Dieta freneticorum</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>... freneticorum</td>
<td>V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.60 fin.</td>
<td>VI. De letargicus</td>
<td>Dieta de lithargicus</td>
<td>Dieta de lithargicus</td>
<td>Dieta lithargicorum (2)</td>
<td>VI. Dieta de lythargicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.63 med.-fin.</td>
<td>VII. De epilepsia</td>
<td>Dieta de epilepticis</td>
<td>De epilepsia</td>
<td>Dieta epilepticorum (2)</td>
<td>VII. Dieta de epilepticis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.81 init.-fin.</td>
<td>VIII. De melancolia</td>
<td>Dieta de ...</td>
<td>De melancolia</td>
<td>Dieta melancolicorum (2)</td>
<td>VIII. De melancolicis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>VIII. De oculorum passione</td>
<td>Dieta de ...</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>IX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.130</td>
<td>X. De aurum passione</td>
<td>Dieta de ...</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.142</td>
<td>XI. Dieta sinantici&lt;ins&gt;is&lt;/ins&gt;</td>
<td>... sinancis</td>
<td>... sinancis</td>
<td>... sinancicorum</td>
<td>XI. ... synanticis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XII. De catarro Yppocratis</td>
<td>$§$</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XII. Dieta de catarro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XIII. &lt;ins&gt;bis&lt;/ins&gt; Dieta Sorani ad pleuresin</td>
<td>Dieta S. pleureticis</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§ (2)</td>
<td>XIII. Ad pleuresin</td>
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</table>

(continued)
Table 3.5: Continued

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<tr>
<td>2.18, 2.21</td>
<td>&lt;XIII.&gt; Dieta ad stomachum frigidum</td>
<td>... de stomacho frigido</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XV, ... de stomacho frigido</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>XV. Si de calore nimio</td>
<td>Dieta si ... nimio stomachus dolet</td>
<td>XVI. Si de calore uino</td>
<td>Dieta infirmi de calore (2)</td>
<td>XVI. ... nimio fiat fastidium</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>XVI. Si de glutinosis et pinguibus &lt;humoribus&gt; fiat fastidium</td>
<td>Dieta si ... humoribus ...</td>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>§ (2)</td>
<td>XVII. om. fastidium</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>XVII. Si de calida distemperantia fiat fastidium</td>
<td>Dieta si ...</td>
<td>XVIII. ... fiat fastidium</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XVIII. ... fiat fastidium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>XVIII. Dieta ad cardiacos</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XIX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.40 init.</td>
<td>XVIII. Dieta si melancolicus humor uomicam exierit</td>
<td>Dieta melancolicis que de colero humore uomicam exierit</td>
<td>XX. Dieta melancoli() qui de colero humore uomicam exierit</td>
<td>... exegerit (si ... uomicam overwritten)</td>
<td>XX. Si ... exegerit</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>&lt;XX.&gt; Si ex colerum plenitudine effusio uentris cum uomitus fuerit</td>
<td>Dieta si ... effusio nimia uentris uel uomitus fuerit</td>
<td>XXI. Dieta si de ... effusio nimia uentris cum uomitus fuerit</td>
<td>§ (Si ... cum overwritten)</td>
<td>XXI. ... effusio nimia uentris uel uomitus sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXI. Dieta de peripleumonicis secundum Soranum</td>
<td>D. Sorani de p.</td>
<td>XXII. De pleumonicis dieta Sorani</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XXII. Dieta Sorani de peripleumodicis</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;XXII.&gt; Dieta tetanis</td>
<td>... tetanicis</td>
<td>XXIII. ... tetanicis</td>
<td>... de titanis</td>
<td>XXIII. ... tetanicis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.61, 2.62</td>
<td>XXIII. Dieta de epaticis</td>
<td>Dieta epaticis</td>
<td>XXIII. Dieta epaticis</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XXIII. De epaticis</td>
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<td>2.73 fin.</td>
<td>XXIII. Dieta epatis calide distemperantie</td>
<td>... epaticis ...</td>
<td>XXV. ... epaticis ...</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XXV. ... epaticis ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.74, 2.79</td>
<td>Dieta frigide distemperantie epatis siue uentris</td>
<td>... epatis si uenter emiserit</td>
<td>XXVI. ... distemperantie si uentre emiserint</td>
<td>§</td>
<td>XXVI.</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>De sintericis</td>
<td>Dieta disintericis</td>
<td>Dieta de disentericis</td>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>Dieta disintericis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.108</td>
<td>Dieta spleneticis frigide distemperantie</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.109</td>
<td>De calida distemperantia splenis</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>Dieta calidae d-ae s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.156</td>
<td>Item dieta de ydropicis siue epar patientibus</td>
<td>... de epar ...</td>
<td>XXX.</td>
<td>Dieta udropem siue quidem epate male aliquid patitur</td>
<td>De ydropicis siue de epate patientibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.164</td>
<td>Dieta de emoptoicis</td>
<td>... diemoptoicis</td>
<td>XXXI.</td>
<td>De e. dieta</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.184, med.-fin.</td>
<td>Dieta nefreticis</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXXII.</td>
<td>De freneticis</td>
<td>Dieta nefreticorum (n. overwritten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.187</td>
<td>Dieta ad renum inflammationem</td>
<td>Dieta cum urina multum funditur</td>
<td>Dieta multum fundentium urinam (2)</td>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
<td>... renum ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.200</td>
<td>Dieta ad renium inflammationem</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
<td>... renum ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.205</td>
<td>Dieta de coli passione que ex frigore fit</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
<td>... renum ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.222</td>
<td>Si de colerico humore coli patiuntur dieta est ordinanda</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXXV.</td>
<td>...: quomodo dieta ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.241 med.</td>
<td>Dieta podagricis ex colerico &lt;humore&gt;</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>XXXVI.</td>
<td>... humore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from autopsy that **l2** corrects this title and adds the missing chapter with the correct title a few folios later.\(^79\) (Many titles in **l2** have been overwritten in whole or in part (indicated by ‘(2)’ in Table 3.5). In some cases it is clear that they were thereby changed, but often it is unclear whether the writing over was to correct them or to make more legible the fading red of the original.)

The text presented, in two parts, by **v1** is of interest. In the first place, the first part of the *Liber diaetarum* ends (f. 137v) with ch. XXVI followed by XLIII (*Dieta ad eos qui seringiones habuerint* — not from Alex. Trall.). Secondly, while the first part shows a number of significant agreements with **co** (note chs III, VI, XI, XIII, XXIII–XXVII), the second part (f. 140vff.) diverges from **co** (including in the matter of the extract from 2.187 mentioned above) and agrees very closely with **s** in every chapter-title (XXVIII–XXXVI). Evidently, the maker of **v1** had two versions of the *Liber diaetarum* at his disposal. It is possible that he regarded the first one (close to **co**, used for chs I–XXVII and XLIII) as complete, for he adds an Explicit after ch. XLIII on f. 137v. That he realized that he had a second copy of the same work is suggested by the fact that he resumed copying (from the second version, close to **s**) at the point where his first version gave out.

These two branches in the earlier (i.e. pre-*Physica Plinii*) tradition of the *Lib. diaet.* are further characterized in the sample piece of text in Table 3.6 below; this passage, relating to the dietetic treatment of gout, was chosen deliberately to allow further comparison between the *Lib. diaet.* and the *De podagra* (3.2.5 below).

Even in such a short extract, we see in several places that **s**, **v1** and **l2** agree against **co** (and are in general closer than **co** to the ancestor of *Phys. Plin.*). For example, **co** alone retains *ut inimicum* at the end of §2, *carnes* at the start of §5, a particle at the end of §6; in §1, for *qualia sunt*, **co** alone has *qualis est*; in §5, for *bouinas** co** alone has *bubulas*, and from the pair of co-ordinated adjectives, originally *tenuis atque subtilis*, at the end of §5, **co** alone has *utiles* (presumably reflecting *su(b)tiles*; cf. the reading of **po** in Table 3.8 below), the others all *tenues*.

This extract gives a pretty representative idea of how the maker of *Lib. diaet.* set about excerpting his source. His aim was evidently to reduce the text to a fairly minimal set of lists of things to take and things to avoid. The extent to which he has shortened this chapter is readily seen from Table 3.8, where the original is reproduced in full. Given this ruthless approach to any remotely dispensable material, it is remarkable that the strictly otiose intensifier *ut inimicum* survived in the version preserved in **co**. The earlier tradition of the *Lib. diaet.* contains a terrible error in §1 in banning all the foods there listed, an error corrected by the addition of *dandus est* in the *Phys. Plin.*, but only partly corrected, in that it remains unclear where the list of banned substances begins.

Finally, this passage — again, in spite of its modest length — contains one clear indication, and two possible further hints, that the source of the *Lib. diaet.*, unlike that of the *De podagra* (3.2.5 below), was an Alexander manuscript within the mainstream tradition. The manuscript used by the maker of *Lib. diaet.* evidently contained the error *duras* (§4), an error shared with all the mainstream manuscripts, in place of correct *albas* (for Greek *λευκ主营业* transmitted by the *De podagra* tradition and **v1**). That the source of *Lib. diaet.* was a descendant of **α** is consistent also with the shared error

\(^79\) After (2.184) *Dieta nefreticum* in **l2**, there is a circle with an upright cross, which refers the reader to f. 154r *Dieta ad renum inflammationem*. 
### Table 3.6: A sample comparison of the mainstream Latin Alexander (2.241) with the two branches of the (earlier) tradition of the Liber diaetarum (and with Phys. Plin. Flor.-Prag. Book 5)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DE DIETA</strong>&lt;br&gt;1- ... sed ea sunt offerenda que&lt;br&gt;infrigdent et humectent corpus&lt;br&gt;qualia sunt.¹</td>
<td>Dieta podagricis ex colerico&lt;br&gt;1- + → Omnis cybus qui&lt;br&gt;infrigidat et humectat qualis&lt;br&gt;est</td>
<td>Dieta podagricis ex colerico&lt;br&gt;1- Omnis cybus qui infrigidat et&lt;br&gt;humec-tat qualia sunt intuba,&lt;br&gt;lactuca, malua, bletus, grisola&lt;br&gt;canabrasica, cardamomum,&lt;br&gt;eruca, porrum, allium et cepa&lt;br&gt;fiugiendus est.⁶</td>
<td>Dieta podagricis ex colerico humore&lt;br&gt;1- Omnis cybus qui infrigidat et humec-tat dandus est: qualia sunt intuba,&lt;br&gt;lactuca, malua, blita, brassica, chrysola-brasa, cardamum, eruca, porrum, allium&lt;br&gt;et cepe fiugienda sunt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- <strong>DE OLERIBVS.</strong> Olera danda&lt;br&gt;sunt intuba lactucas maluas et si&lt;br&gt;delectentur blitus Crisolacana&lt;br&gt;succos² et ea quecunque sunt que&lt;br&gt;infrigdare et humectare possunt,&lt;br&gt;Brassica autem et cardamum³ et&lt;br&gt;erucum et porrum et allium et cepas&lt;br&gt;ut inimica sunt fiugienda.</td>
<td>intuba, lactuca, malua, bletus,&lt;br&gt;grisolacana, + → brassica, cardamomum, eruca,&lt;br&gt;porrum, allium, cepa ut inimica&lt;br&gt;fiugienda.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- <strong>DE VOLATILIBVS.</strong> Volatilia&lt;br&gt;dandasunt fasanos et domestici pulli&lt;br&gt;et⁴ non saginati, perdices, turbos,&lt;br&gt;merulas, gattiolas, fecitulas.</td>
<td>3- De volatilibus dabis&lt;br&gt;fasianos et domesticos pullos,&lt;br&gt;perdices, turbos, merulas,&lt;br&gt;gantulas, facetulas.⁷</td>
<td>3- Volatilia dabis fasanos et&lt;br&gt;domesticos pullos, perdices,&lt;br&gt;turbos, merulas, gantulas,&lt;br&gt;facetulas.⁷</td>
<td>3- Volatilia dabis phasianos ac domesticos&lt;br&gt;pullos, perdices, turbos, merulas,&lt;br&gt;cantulas, ficedulas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- <strong>DE PISCIBVS</strong> Pisces uero&lt;br&gt;aspratiles, et maxime eos qui albas⁵&lt;br&gt;habent carnes</td>
<td>4- Pisces aspratiles et&lt;br&gt;maxime qui duras carnes&lt;br&gt;habent + →</td>
<td>4- Pisces aspratiles et&lt;br&gt;maxime qui duras habent&lt;br&gt;carnes.⁸</td>
<td>4- Pisces aspratiles et maxime qui duras&lt;br&gt;carnes habent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ corpus qualia sunt *om. ed.*
² crisola canseus *P* crisolacane
³ succus *ed. crisolacana* A
⁴ sed α
⁵ duras α
⁶ α sunt 12
⁷ fic- 12
⁸ carnes habent s

(continued)
| Table 3.6: Continued |

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<tr>
<td>... (Et ysicia ...)</td>
<td>5- Carnes berbicinas manducent iuscellatos maxime uentres et bouinas similiter. Quando autem nimius est dolor in pedibus, tunc tenues atque subtiles dieta danda est. ...</td>
<td>5- bouinas(^9) manducent iuscellatos maxime uentres et bouinas similiter; quando grauis est dolor hec non sunt danda, sed tenues cibi.</td>
<td>5- Veruecinas uero carnes manducent uiscellatas: et maximee xhis uentres ac bouinas similiter; quando autem grauis est dolor hec non sunt danda, sed tenues cibi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- DE CARNIBVS Berbicina manducent iuscellata et maxime uentres et bouinas similiter. ...</td>
<td>6- Legumina dabis fabas uirides et siccas sed in aqua ante infusas fasioli similiter infusos. +∂ + Nam alia legumina sunt fugienda. +∂ +</td>
<td>6- Legumina dabis fabas uirides et siccas (corr. ex -is) sed in aqua ante infusas(^{12}) et fasiolos (corr. ex fass-) similiter infusos. Alia legumina prohibenda sunt.</td>
<td>6- Legumina dabis fabas uirides et siccas sed in aqua ante infusas et faseolos similiter infusos. Alia legumina prohibenda sunt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- DE LEGVMINIBVS. Fabas uirides et siccas sed ante infusas in aqua et fasiolus alexandrinus et maxime infusas ... Alia autem legumina prohibenda sunt. ... ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) Berbicinas (-a) s\(^{12}\)  
\(^{10}\) et s\(^{12}\)  
\(^{11}\) dolor est \(^{12}\)  
\(^{12}\) infusas ante in aqua \(^{12}\)
cardamomum (§2) for correct cardamum (the latter in De podagra and v1; Greek καρπέδιαμον), although this error could easily be polygenetic. It is interesting also that Lib. diaet. like α (and in this case v1) lists five kinds of bird at the end of §3, while the Greek text and De podagra have only four.

From this small sample comparison one may provisionally conclude that Lib. diaet. was not made from De podagra, nor from a source derived from other than the mainstream tradition, and that — also in view of the radical excerpting methods employed by its maker — it need be called as a witness for the reconstruction of the chapters that it excerpts only in extremis.

3.2.5. De podagra

The De podagra, in the manuscripts sometimes ascribed to Galen, is drawn entirely from the Latin Alexander, and represents a selection with some rearrangement of part or all of twenty-seven of the thirty-seven chapters on gout at the end of Book 2 (235–71). I include v1 here (and in Table 3.7 below) because these chapters are excerpted also in this manuscript, but it is important to note that the section on gout in v1 is not a recension but a faithful copy from a mainstream manuscript closely related to M and P1 of chs 235–70 in their entirety; this is demonstrated in extenso in the fact that in Table 3.8 below the text of Alex. Trall. 2.241 is actually based on that of v1 (with select comparisons with P1, A and ed.). It is not clear why ch. 271 was not copied by the maker of v1. The excerptor may have been led to regard 271 as of marginal importance by its preamble announcing remedies for those patients unable to keep down medicines taken by mouth; or he may have been put off by the long final recipe calling for flesh of stingray and blood of mole. We cannot know. Nor is it clear whether any significance is to be attached to the fact that 271 is ignored also by the De podagra, which does make use of 270.

Table 3.1 (above) allows more easily than Table 3.7 (below) a swift overview of the content and arrangement of the De podagra. The chapters are excerpted in the following order: 235–6, 261–70, 237–51 (omitting 242), 242. After the optimistic introduction on the curability of gout (235) and the survey of the various types of cause of the disease (236), we jump to the treatment of gout caused by the blood (261). This could be seen as a (perfectly defensible) decision to treat the humours from which the disease arises in the order set out in 236, where sanguis precedes colericus humor, were it not for the fact that nine further, unrelated chapters are then excerpted (262–70) before we return to gout caused by the second humour, colericus humor (237) and thence proceed in order to 251, omitting only (by accident?) 242 De balneo, which is then added at the end. Chs 252–60, which detail a number of further, complex treatments for gout arising from flegmaticus humor, are absent from all the copies of De podagra known to me, whether by accident or as a result of an editorial decision, we cannot know. Overall, then, the original text is severely curtailed, but there is at least one recipe in the De podagra which is apparently absent from the mainstream tradition of the Latin Alexander as we know it at present, namely the Puluis catarticus inuentus a peritis medicis described in ch. 5 of De pod. (=Pass. 4.6 Cura) but absent from ed. and A.

80 cf. Thorndike and Kibre, 1056, nos 8 (=v1) and 9 where this text is said to form 'part of Galen, De febrivus ad Glauconem'. Cf. also 3.2.6 below.

81 This is correctly observed by Wickersheimer, Manuscripts, 151 in his comments on po. Note, however, that the preceding recipe, the Leptocarion, which Wickersheimer says is also lacking from ed., is in fact present in the mainstream tradition, including in ed., where only the title is missing.
Table 3.7: The Latin Alexander, the pre-Gariopontean De podagra and Gariopontus, Pass. 4.4–18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Text Notes</th>
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<td>De podagra (f. 75va, line 1 badly damaged; black caps boxed in red)</td>
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<td>De podagro (m2) (lacks end of 2.236; 2.261 follows)</td>
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<td>2.237 Signa si de colerico humore podagra fuerit generata</td>
<td>De podagro (m2) big initial (following 2.260)</td>
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<td>2.238 Curatio podagre calide de coleribus adhibenda</td>
<td>De podagro (m2) (following 2.260)</td>
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<td>2.239 Podagricis que sunt extrinsecus adhibenda</td>
<td>De podagro (m2) (following 2.260)</td>
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<td>2.240 De embrocis</td>
<td>De podagro (m2) (following 2.260)</td>
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<td>2.241 De dieta</td>
<td>De podagro (m2) (following 2.260)</td>
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<td>De tragimatus</td>
<td>De tragimata</td>
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<td>De gestatione</td>
<td>De uectatione</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.242 De balneis</td>
<td>De balneis</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.243 Que oportet podagricis extrinsecus adhibere ad dolorem mitigandum...</td>
<td>...adhiberi.</td>
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<td>2.244 Confectio dyalteecaeltice</td>
<td>...dialteas calastici</td>
<td>...dialteas calasticum</td>
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<td>Exemplar fenicis</td>
<td>Emplaustrum finicin 2.246.t. in text</td>
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<td>2.246 De liniments</td>
<td>De lenimentis</td>
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<td>2.247 Signa si de flegmatico humore podagra generetur</td>
<td>CXXXVII. ... odagra fuerit genera</td>
<td>...fleumatico (hum(ore) s.s.) fuerint (n-s.s.) generata</td>
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<td>Curatio si de flegmatico humore podagra generatur</td>
<td>Curatio si de fleumatico et frigido hum(ore) podagra generatur</td>
<td>(following 2.241) no t., big initial</td>
<td>(following 2.241) no t., big initial</td>
<td>(following 2.241) no t., big initial (vat3 lacks the last three words)</td>
<td>(following 2.241) 4.15 De pod. ex phleg. generata (minus last sentence of 2.248) Cura</td>
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<td>2.249 De catarticis</td>
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<td>2.250 Oximel Iuliani catarticum</td>
<td>Oximelle Iuliani catarticum</td>
<td>Catarticus oximelli Iuliani</td>
<td>no t., big initial (stops in v. 3 without reason)</td>
<td>XX. De oximelle Iuliani</td>
<td>no t.</td>
<td>vat3 no t., big initial</td>
<td>vat4 Deocximelle</td>
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<th>2.251 De cathaputiis dandis</th>
<th>De catapotiis dandis</th>
<th>De cataputias dandas (no new heading)</th>
<th>XXI. De cataputiis dandis (incomplete, loss of folio)</th>
<th>De cataputias danda (2.242 follows)</th>
<th>no t., big initial (2.242 follows)</th>
<th>4.17 De catapotiis .i. pilulis (2.242 follows)</th>
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<td>De antidotis podagricis aptis</td>
<td>De antidotis podagricos</td>
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<td>Confectio de antidotis</td>
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<td>Antidotum Eraclii (corr. ex -tlii uel -dii) philosophi</td>
<td>Antidotus autem est et alter dandus 2.253.t. in text</td>
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<td>De calefactionibus</td>
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<td>Item aliud cataplasma</td>
<td>Item cataplasma</td>
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<td>2.259 Ad eos qui in pedibus de flegmatico humore nimiōs habent tumores</td>
<td>CXXXVIII. t. as ed.</td>
<td>as ed.</td>
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<td>Psilotron podagricis</td>
<td>Psilotra podagricis in text</td>
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<td>2.261 Curatio podagre ex sanguine generate</td>
<td>CXXXVIII. Si ex sanguine fuerint generata</td>
<td>De podagra. Si ex sanguine fuerit generata</td>
<td>(following 2.236) De eodem (m2) no t., big initial</td>
<td>(following 2.236) II. De cura eorum (in marg., edge of f. cut: Signa podagra qu[sanguine fit et cur])</td>
<td>(following 2.236) Podagra si ex sanguine fuerit generata</td>
<td>(following 2.236) no t., big initial</td>
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<td>2.262 De localibus curis</td>
<td>t. as ed.</td>
<td>t. as ed.</td>
<td>De eodem (m2) no t., big initial</td>
<td>III. De reumatizato loco</td>
<td>t. as ed.</td>
<td>no t., big initial</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.263 Ad porros, hoc est si in nodis tumores fuerint et lapides</td>
<td>CXL. . . si in nodis tuberes fecerit</td>
<td>In text: Ad poros hoc est si in nodos tubos fecerit aut lapides</td>
<td>In text: as vat2 ( . . . nodos tuuos . . . )</td>
<td>III. Ad poros soluendos</td>
<td>In text: Ad poros hoc est si in nodo tubos fecerit aut lapides</td>
<td>In text: as vat2 ( . . . feceri ut . . . vat3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.265</td>
<td>Ad porros</td>
<td>no t., big initial (4 recipes + 1 not in ed.)</td>
<td>V. Curatioeorum (a selection of the remedies in 2.265, the last third of 267 and all of 270)</td>
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<td>2.266</td>
<td>De anodi-nis antidotis et catarticis dandis</td>
<td>t. as ed.</td>
<td>(the last third only) (2.270 follows)</td>
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<td>2.267</td>
<td>Catarticum de hermodactilis</td>
<td>Catarticum de hermodactilo</td>
<td>(the last third only) (2.270 follows)</td>
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<td>2.269</td>
<td>Potio de coronopodium</td>
<td>Potiones de coronopodio et diamiro</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.270</td>
<td>De antidoto alio podagricis dando per totum annum</td>
<td>Item antidotum aliud quod datur in anno integro podagricis (in text)</td>
<td>Item aliud antidotum qui datur in anno integro</td>
<td>In text as v1</td>
<td>(V. cont.)</td>
<td>vat3 no t., big initial; vat4 (ornate I-) Iter antidotum aliud quod datur in anno integro podagricis (2.237 follows)</td>
<td>(Cura³ cont.) (2.270 complete)</td>
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<td>2.271</td>
<td>De loca-libus adiutoriis mitigatuis</td>
<td>CXLVI. t. as ed.</td>
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82 CHAPTER 3
Table 3.7 (above) offers a detailed comparison of the form and arrangement of the *De podagra* in five eleventh-century manuscripts with on the one hand the chapters on gout in the mainstream tradition and in *vI*, which evidently belong together, and on the other hand the chapters devoted to the disease in Book 4 of the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus.

Precisely because the *De podagra* is transmitted also in the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus (and seems indeed to be the only point of contact between the Latin Alexander and Gariopontus), I save further comment on the text of the *De podagra* until I have introduced the latter work.

### 3.2.6. Gariopontus of Salerno, *Passionarius*

The *Passionarius Garioponti* (or, as in some manuscripts, *Galeni*; henceforth *Pass.*) is an important ‘synthetic redaction’ in seven books, made in the second quarter of the eleventh century by the Salernitan medical author Gariopontus (Gari(m)potus/Guarampotus). The raw material for Gariopontus’ work as redactor was a collection of late antique/early medieval Latin medical texts, including the two books of the Latin Galen, *Ad Glauconem* with the so-called Liber tertius, parts of Theodorus Priscianus, the books of Aurelius and Esculapius, and the *De podagra* drawn from the Latin Alexander (3.2.5 above). Glaze rightly emphasizes the importance of distinguishing the ‘unsynthesized’, pre-Gariopontean ensemble of these texts, often transmitted in sequence together, from the ‘synthesized, redacted version’ properly identified with Gariopontus. Gariopontus’ contribution was by excerpting and rearranging, and a certain amount of rewriting, to produce from this popular but unwieldy early medieval ensemble a single work in seven books (each with a table of contents), organized largely by the affected body-parts, and in which all varieties of a given disease, regardless of the theoretical orientation of the original source, are taken together.

The *Passionarius* was a best-selling success. No fewer than fifty-seven manuscript copies of the work are currently known (eleventh–sixteenth century), of which the earliest is probably Vienna 2425 (late eleventh century), and of which nearly half are from the twelfth century. Gariopontus’ work was printed three times in the second
quarter of the sixteenth century,\(^93\) and held in the highest regard until the early twentieth century. It has been more recently the victim of scholarly neglect, but its importance is now being positively re-evaluated in the work of Eliza Glaze.

For present purposes, we are concerned with Book 4 of the *Pass.*\(^94\), which, after three chapters from the *Liber Esculapii*,\(^94\) consists entirely of the *De podagra*, more or less complete (although with some additions and some subtractions) and with the chapters selected and ordered as in *po*, *l2*, *vat2*, *vat3*, and *vat4*. Given that the *De podagra* is not attested before the eleventh century, the question arises in principle whether we owe it in the first place to the editorial activity of Gariopontus, or whether he incorporated it more or less as he found it in a pre-existing redaction. The latter is made a priori more likely if, as seems to be the case, the *De podagra* is the only point of contact between the Latin *Alexander* and the *Passionarius*, and the collation of a single chapter in its three versions in, respectively, the mainstream Latin *Alexander*, the *De podagra*, and the *Passionarius* puts it, to my mind, beyond doubt. Table 3.8 (below) sets side by side Gariopontus (the 1536 Basel edition compared with Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 128 (early twelfth century)\(^95\) and Paris, Arsenal 867 (late twelfth century)\(^96\)), the Greek *Alexander*, the Latin *Alexander* (based on the text of *v1* compared with *P1*, *A* and *ed.*), and the *De podagra* (based on the text of *po* compared with *l2* and the three Vatican manuscripts), all on the subject of the dietetic treatment of gout.\(^97\) From this comparison a number of important points emerge with clarity.

In the first place, to begin with the question raised a moment ago, the text of Gariopontus represents consistently and frequently a further recension of the version of the Latin *Alexander* transmitted in the *De podagra*; this is true already of the manuscript versions of the *Passionarius*, and the distance is increased by the 1536 edition.\(^98\) It is never the case that the *De podagra* must owe its form to a Gariopontian reworking of *Alexander*, but it is frequently the case that the text of Gariopontus appears to reflect an attempt to tidy up, and improve the Latinity of, the *De podagra*. For example, at the end of §5 Gariopontus must have found something like the text of the *De podagra*, ‘si ipse qui patitur estum aut ardorem calidus iuuenis aut medie etatis sit’, which obviously contains in the underlined words a corruption of *est natura calidus* (Greek θερμὸς τὸν κρόσιν), but which he rewrites as ‘qui patiuntur aestum aut ardem si calidi iuuenes aut media media sit’, ‘qui patiuntur aestum aut ardem, si calidi iuuenes aut media media sit’. Here, although he smooths the Latin, he compounds the error in the text of the *De podagra*. Elsewhere, he appears to correct it successfully, e.g. §5 ‘de tenui et acri rheumat’ for *detenuisse acra reuma*, §5 ‘nimium rhuma’ (‘nimium dolor’ in the Paris ms.) for *minor dolor*, §6 ‘alicas’ for *aliquantas*. The last three examples may suggest that he had access to a superior text, but this is often not the case. His text

\(^93\) First by Bartholemi Trot as *Passionarius Galeni* (Lyons, 1526), and then twice by Henricus Petrus as *Garioponti vetusti admodum medici ad totius corporis aegritudines remediorum praxeon libri v* (Basel, 1531), and as *Habes sinceris medicinae amator, iterum renatos viii de morborum causis, accidentibus et curationibus libros Garioponti medici, qui usu et successu artis nemini ex ueteribus cedit, testibus qui usi sunt eius remediorum ratione indicatione* (Basel, 1536). On the confusion, in the Renaissance and since, over the authorship of *Pass.*, see Glaze, ‘Galen refashioned’, 58ff.

\(^94\) *Pass.* 4.1 *De sciatica* = *Esculapius* 44; 4.2 *De psialgia* = *Esc.* 45; 4.3 *De podagra* = *Esc.* 47. I owe this information to Cloudy Fischer.

\(^95\) On this manuscript, see Glaze, ‘*Passionarius*’.

\(^96\) On Paris, Arsenal 867, cf. 3.1.4 above.

\(^97\) This particular chapter (2.241) was chosen for this purpose partly in order to allow an easy further comparison between the *De podagra* and the *Liber diætarum* (3.2.4 above).

\(^98\) Note e.g. *adiutum* for *iuuatum* in the first part of §5; the addition of *porcellorum*, and the loss of *quales sunt* (or *id est*), at the end of §5; the loss of *autem expeditum* at the start of §8.
Table 3.8: A sample comparison of the mainstream Latin Alexander (2.241) with the earlier tradition of the De podagra, and with the use of the latter in the Passionarius

Alex. Trall. II, 509, 2 ff.

2- DE OLERIBVS. Olera danda sunt intuba, lactucas, maluas et si delectantur blitis crisolacana succus et ea quecunque sunt quae infrigdire et humectare possunt. Brassica autem et cardamum et eruca et porrum et allium inimica sunt fugienda.

De oleribus uero danda sunt intiba, lactuce, malua, et si delectantur blitus, chrisolo chana et quecunque humectare et infrigdire noverit corpus. Brassica autem et cardamum et eruca et porrum et allium inimica sunt fugienda.

9 Ergo quibus A ed.
10 seruare ed.
11 corpus qualia sunt om. ed.
12 crisola canascous P1 crisolacane succus ed. crisocola A
13 cardamomum a

po, 65v–66v (cf. I2, 110v–111r vs vat2, 111v–112r; vat3, 84r; vat4, 105v–106v: f = vat2 vat3 vat4)


(continued)
Peri ornithon. Tön dé ornithon prosferosethoun tón te basiánon kai tòv katoikódhov ornithon tòv mé lipará kai áppegyhav kai pérítos kai kastásdous kai kíqhav.

Peri Íthous. Kav tón Íthous tov petaqión májista kai tòn állovon, oís h Ístous leúca kai uaphar kai kata Íthous kai Íthous eýchousa pimelekdex, tò ménti e kýlmis paraitetsesthoun éstousan dé pántan av aprrtísseis áppehi mihtè eýlaion polý mihtè tòn drýmèon (dromitéron L M) spermatón prosplamábounousa.

Peri istikov. Kavi o istikos dé o ek tôn tovón òphelámolatávit esti kai májista o ek tôn sklepróteron (Íthous ad L M), ói món Íthous, kitòdos, teúthidós, Ísthas, ktenidion, kai tôn Ístakrídonov dé Íthous ðeðiésthina epóðboxa.

Peri krión. Kai tòn prábatovón dé krión prosferesethoun to apózéma kai májista tòv koilías tòn boión, Ímhoioi givon Ídá tinav tòn stóu ñemwlóamévon epí plêisthov kai dríwei réumati múghsta òphelámolunov upò tòn boíevon krión, Íúkèti yar Íúteu syneghó oúte ñòphdvòs tòv elègen álgyen tôs pódas, Ísper ote tì leπtvunov diáav kehrménon Ív, eanthien dé tôs pódas autón mállon kai tòv koilías apózématos, Ív dé Íúteu ákmiavon tòv Ùlmavon kai Ívhravon tìn krápsin.

Peri ñétrion. Tòn dé ñétrion prosferesethoun autózov te tôs 3- DE VOLATILIBVS. Volatilia danda sunt fasiáni et domestici pulli et nonx saginati, perdices, turdus, merula, gattiolos, fexulids.

4- DE PISCIBVS. Pices uero aspratiles et maxime eos qui albas habent carnes et nichil se habent pinguidinem. Qua autem in stagnis et in limosis locis capians prohibendi sunt. Sit autem conditura piscum cum hac qualitate ut neque oleo multo condiantur et alqua aliquibus acris seminis.

5- DE CARNIBVS. Berbicia manducent iussellata et maxime ventres et bouinas similiter. Ego igitur scio quendam reumatizantem de cumia et cirreuma et quam maxime bubula manducanque fusius iuvaum. Sed hec non frequenter danda est. Quando autem nimius est dolor in pedibus, tunc tenuis et subtilis dieta danda est. Comedant autem pedes eorum magis et uentres in iussello et ipse qui patitur si est nature calidus et iuvenis et media etate.

6- DE LEGMINIBVS. Fabas uirides et siccas sed ante infusas in aqua et faseulm.
κυάμονς χειροϊς καὶ τῶν ἔρων τούς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ ὀστιοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρινοῦ, μάλιστα τοῦ ἀκοφραγέντος καὶ τῆς τήλειας τούς βλαστούς, ἄλλως καὶ πτισάνης, οὐδὲν ἀποτελόν ἐστὶν αὐτοὺς προσδέσθαι, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τῶν ὁσπιαῖν καλλίστων ἐστὶν αὐτοὺς παρατείσθαι.

Περὶ ὀστρωτοῦ. Καὶ τῶν ὀστρωτῶν τὴν πάνω γλυκεῖαν καὶ πέπεραν συμ-

κουλουθείων προσδέσθαι περὶ ὀρέων δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην, μάλιστα τῶν

περσικῶν καὶ αβδακίων καὶ σταφυλῆς τῆς σκεληρᾶς καὶ ἀστύφεως ἔχωσις τὰς ῥαγάς καὶ δαμασκηνῶν καὶ μῆλον τῶν

7- DE POMIS Poma que multa sunt dulcia et maturas ultrâ accipere eas secunda aut tertia hora, maxime persica si sint duracina aut uas duracinas et mala dulcia et citonia purgata et mundato bene, pera et mela granata et alia omnia poma.

Poma que multum dulcia sunt naturâ suadeo accipere hora secunda aut tertia, maxime persica si sint duracina aut uas duracinas sed non stipticae et damascena et mala dulcia et citonia purgatae mundato bene, pira et mala granata, alia uero poma omnia aut rare aut nullo.

XIII. De pomeris. Poma quae mul
tum sunt dulcia natura suadeo accipere hora secunda aut tertia, maxime si persicae sunt duracina aut uae duracinae sed non stipticae et damascena et mala dulcia et citonia purgata et mundata bene pira et mala granata.

19 sed add. 20 alius add. 21 pingue add. 22 passcentur ed. 23 alicem add. 24 de temae et alia reuma et P1 de temei et alio reuma è A ed. 25 et maxime ed. 26 alicem 27 suadeo 28 hora ante secunda add. A ed. om. P1 29 p. et m. 30 Pisces uero 31 hi 32 alia habens carnes add. alius habent carnes 33 in se nichil pingordimis habentes 34 et nichil habent (habentia va44) in se pinguer 35 et 36 seminibus condurretur f. 37 et 38 de carnis uerubentricis (verb- va44) 38 De carnis uerubentricis (verb- va44) 39 enim om. 40 detenuisset 41 bubulum 42 bubulam manducando carmen 43 he 44 minus f. 45 in ceter. 46 aut f. 47 semens coner 48 suppe va42 sube va4 49 odoerem va4 50 ardeoerium habent aut si sit iuuenis 51 sit om. 52 fasiolium f. 53 54 dulcia sunt et matura 55 et bene mundata 56 omnia poma 57 De uolatilibus 58 ficentula Z P 59 Pisces uero 60 habent albus carnes Z P 61 sumant P 62 et Z 63 acribus Z P 64 pistes maxime Z P 65 alia Z P 66 non dabis Z P 67 alicas et P 68 Z 69 acri 70 uas 71 he 72 reuma Z 73 ardeoerium 74 in ceter. 75 autem 76 pistes et 77 colerici 78 medie etatis 79 leguminibus (lug-) 80 phaselum Zf aseulum 81 alicas et 82 phaselum et foenugraecia cimae et alicas 83 ptisanas accipiant, alia autem legumina prohibeantur.
Table 3.3: Continued

84 nucleos pineos A ed.
85 contusa Z
86 articulis P
87 De gestatione Gestare A
88 absque P1 A
89 calefactum P1
90 accenduntur A ed. adissentur P1
91 sunt gustanda f, 92 expetunti 12 Peterh. 251
93 et 12, 94 aut amigdalas accipiant f
95 in om. f, 96 Egestare P1 Peterh. 251
97 labore ... est om. vat4
98 que f, 99 plus om. 12, 100 accenduntur f accendunt(? ) 12
101 articulis 12 vat2 vat4
102 longinquus 12 f
103 reumatismus nascitur 12

raro aut nullo modo sunt gustanda.
modo gustanda sunt.91

De tragematibus104 maxime castaneas aut nuces uel nucleos pinearum aut amigdalas accipiant aut
sed neque placenta 105 aut crustula aedantur.106 Omnia107 haec
nocuia sunt quibus ex cholerico108 rheumatizant articuli.

De tragematibus104 maxime castaneas aut nuces uel nucleos pinearum aut amigdalas accipiant aut
sed neque placenta 105 aut crustula aedantur.106 Omnia107 haec
nocuia sunt quibus ex cholerico108 rheumatizant articuli.

88 CHAPTER 3
evidently contained §5 ceruinam (in common with po and l2), which he accepts for correct ueruecinam (so in the Vatican copies); in the second part of §4 he is obviously working from a text in which the sentence beginning 'Et ysicia ex eis facta' is corrupt in the same way as the archetype of the five De podagra manuscripts here considered; in §7 he finds and accepts, in common again with these five De podagra manuscripts, the erroneous new sentence-opening alia uero; in §2 he may have found inimicitius (as in the Vatican copies), of which his 'plus inimico' looks like a correction. For a clear example of an attempt by Gariopontus to improve the Latin of the De podagra (and the Latin Alexander), note his construction in §1 'obseruandum est ne offerantur' replacing 'oportet eos obseruare ut non+subjunctive', or his insertion/reconfiguring of the imperative main verbs 'sumantur', 'condiantur', 'non dabis' in §4, and 'gestentur' at the start of §9.99

Secondly, as for the tradition of the De podagra, it is immediately evident from the text of the chapter De diaeta (which is not clear from the comparison of the overall arrangement of the work in Table 3.7, above), that, while there are innovations common to all the manuscripts so far studied (e.g. §2 ‘humectare et infringdre noeurint corpus’ for infringdre et humectare possunt, §4 the intrusion of ‘condiantur’, §4 the terrible mess in the sentence beginning ‘Et ysicia ex eis facta’, §5 ‘minus/minor’ for nimius, §6 ‘aliquantas’ for alicam, §7 ‘natura’ for matura), we must reckon with at least two branches. One is represented by the three Vatican manuscripts, which are almost identical, and derive from a superior copy, but which share errors such as §2 ‘inimicitius’ for ut inimica, §9 ‘que’ for quia. The other branch is represented by po and l2, which show more divergences between themselves, but share important errors including §1 ‘adhibeant’ for utantur, §2 ‘ulutti’ for ut, §5 ‘ceruinam’ for ueruecinam.100

For the history of the text of the Latin Alexander, the De podagra is of direct interest and importance in transmitting (in the short section that I have collated) at least one good reading lost from the mainstream tradition. In 2.241, in the section De piscibus, where the mainstream tradition (and the Lib. diaet., 3.2.4 above) has ‘duras’,101 the De podagra and the Passionarius have ‘albas’, which in view of the Greek λευκη (II, 509, 19) is surely to be preferred. It is particularly nice that at this point v1, which as I have already noted was evidently copying a lost complete manuscript, also has albas.102 This provides, on the one hand, further characterization of the archetype of the mainstream tradition (α in the stemma), and, on the other, proof of the need to take this part of the secondary tradition into account when reconstructing the full text of the Latin Alexander on gout.

3.2.7. ‘BAMBERG SURGERY’

Finally, let me make brief mention of a third medical compilation made probably in Salerno which contains at least one passage drawn from the Latin Alexander. This is the so-called ‘Bamberg Surgery’, dated by Sudhoff103 to the period 1080–1160, and

99 Cameron, 72, speaks of Book 4 of the Passionarius as ‘virtually a direct copy’ of the De podagra. This is, it seems, an exaggeration, but the dependence-relation is correctly stated.

100 Cambridge, Peterhouse 251 evidently belongs to the latter group, and is closer to l2 than to po. It has §5 ceruinam for ueruecinam in common with both, but §8 expetunt for expedient and §9 egestare for gestare in common with l2 alone. I owe these readings to Eliza Glaze, pers. comm.

101 I have collated P1, M, A, P3 and P2 with ed.

102 Note also the divergent translations of σπερματων in §4 between sementis in α (this time with v1) and seminibus in De pod./Pass. Which is likely to be correct, I cannot yet say.

probably to the second quarter of the twelfth century. It is transmitted in at least seven
manuscripts including the following (which I have checked):\textsuperscript{104}

- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, med. 3 (L. III. 11), ff. 158r–173v (mid-12th cent., made
  in the monastery of Michelsberg, today part of Bamberg);\textsuperscript{105}
- Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 400 (\textsuperscript{1}C above), ff. 84r–90v (early 13th cent.);
- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, med. 7 (L. III. 10; mid-13th cent.);
- New York, Acad. of Med, ms. SAFE, ff. 3vb–8vb (mid-13th cent., France)
  (incomplete).\textsuperscript{106}

On the basis of the two Bamberg manuscripts, Sudhoff prints an edition of the
complete text of the 	extit{Bamberg Surgery}, in 1,242 lines.\textsuperscript{107} Lines 267–74 of his edition
represent a shortened and otherwise altered version of Alex. Trall. 1.119 (the Latin
Alexander at this point being a shortened version of Greek II, 95, 23–97, 11). In Table 3.9
below I reproduce side-by-side the Greek Alexander, the Latin Alexander, and Sudhoff’s
text of the 	extit{Bamberg Surgery} (which I have checked against Bamberg, med. 3, and
compared with the New York manuscript).

This short extract illustrates nicely a very selective and abbreviating use of
Alexander. It also shows us the work of an excerptor who was not concerned to
change the wording of his source. Apparently he adds the occasional phrase to clarify his
text (e.g. ‘si aliquid intus cecidit’ at the end), but, as far as I can see, all the lexical
divergences are most probably due to corruption, sometimes fairly dramatic (‘interius’ >
‘inferius’ for \textit{mitius}; ‘cum in occulos’ somehow for \textit{aulisco in}; even, I would suggest,
‘uulnere’ for \textit{vulueris}), conceivably reflecting unfamiliarity with the letter-forms of the
(Beneventan?) exemplar.\textsuperscript{108} This extract also reminds us, if reminder was needed, how
very different versions of a practical text can arise within a relatively short time:
Sudhoff’s text based on the oldest manuscript represents, at least to judge from these few
lines, a recension of the version in the New York manuscript, which, although a century
younger than Bamberg, med. 3, transmits a text significantly closer to that of the original
source (compare the New York readings that I have picked out in the small apparatus to
Table 3.9, nn. 2–10).

\subsection*{3.3. Conspectus of the More Important Manuscripts
of the Secondary Tradition}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{b} Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 181
    (García, 624–5; Green, ‘Handlist I’, 140; Green, ‘\textit{Trotula} (=\textit{Women’s
    Healthcare}, V), 134–5; Kristeller IV, 483a)
  \end{itemize}

Early thirteenth century, Spain or Catalonia (Gen\textsuperscript{109}). Parchment, ff. 211, 160×210mm,
in various hands, the part containing Alex. Trall. being written in 2 columns of 30 lines.

\textsuperscript{104} On the first three, see Sudhoff, \textit{Chirurgie} II, 103–7. Thorndike and Kibre
Dekker, \textit{Chirurgie} II, ff. 99r–103v (14th cent.); and [\textit{Constantini chururgiae}] Leyden 37, ff. 1r–13v (14th cent.). I owe this reference
to Cloudy Fischer. The \textit{Bamberg Surgery} is also in Yale University, Cushing Medical Library, ms. 10 (12th cent.),
I owe this information to Eliza Glaze.

\textsuperscript{105} On this manuscript, see Glaze, ‘\textit{Passionarius}’.

\textsuperscript{106} On this manuscript, drawn to my attention by Cloudy Fischer, see Green, ‘Handlist’ I, no. 64, p. 157f.

\textsuperscript{107} Sudhoff, \textit{Chirurgie}, II, 108–47.

\textsuperscript{108} An idea I owe to Eliza Glaze.
Table 3.9: An extract of the Latin Alexander (1.119) in the Bamberg Surgery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peri twn empiptonton ein twn akou neitharidion eis allon tivn. Atharidion ou xwrimou eis allon tivn empiptonto eis tin akou neitharidion tin mijlostita er Ei bapofon methein terebinthion eis tin twn ekeukolovn kai kathes prwos epistpws. Kai plartmon de kivn emfaste to stoma kai tas rìnves katà ýar tìn ginomén tin pvesmatos éntas pein ekpíptetai to òndov sògnovn. Poi eis touto sunevon kai spondázei óws toxeon ekpeubíghi.</td>
<td>CXVII. Si in aures aliquid fuerit ingressum. Siue favae nea lapillus. Si autem lapillus aut fava aut aliquid aluid in aures fuerit ingressum; inivoluee eis spatomelam lanam. et intinges in resina terebintina. aut in aliquid glutinoso medicamine. et depones mitius; et tacto q(uo)d incidit extrahes. Sternumente quidem adhibitæ mouent aperiendo meatus auris sp(r)ittu eirrato; et sic pr(o)citut.</td>
<td>Si in aurem ingressum fuerit aliquid sicut(?) fava uel aliquis lapillus, circa aliquid lignum&lt;eul&gt; spatumilem lanam inuolue et eam tertebintiam intinge aut aliquid conglutinoso et depone inferius et sic subito abstrahas et sternumente adhibeas. Mouet enim aperiendo auris meatum spiritumque irritat et sic proicitur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ei de mú ge, flegminen epigenoménne saqemoi pollikás epitakolouboísin, ós kai kivnueuei avtoueis apológeitai. Dei ouv nai kai elaiao pollikás egeihin xliarón útopa ýar tón tónos flegmagnántovn xgenoménovn to étygenemovn ràdiov éxelevneitai. Kwi kivzhein de melikrató kalón éstin avtous, ótan xanuvóthosin ai flegmeynoi anappteita yar dia tó úgró pollikís to empeínovn kai dia trikolabión eúxerós éketai. kai avolidén tines embalóntes tò akoin, eite tó stómati ekmiyázántes ëndunúthesan tó próóto toutó épitasaámenvn elikése. Dei de pró ge plántovn éllaió xliaró kexoítai kai tóis pármikoxis, òs eirhetai, kai melikrató oútopa ýar hêmovn praxántovn eúxerós kai metá mýlostitos kai muv oiouvóthei boulubhein tis eirnmenovn ek tòv básous anevkhíthei.</td>
<td>+– –+</td>
<td>Et cum in occulos uel aures missum fuerit adherendo potest abstrahi. Oportet autem oleo tepido uti ante et post sternutamentum ut dictum est. Sic etiam &lt;agentibus nobis cum spatumille facilius abstrahitur aut&gt; ex uulnere si aliquid intus cecidit a profundo extrahitur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents:
(I quote Green) ‘medical texts, including Johannes Afflacius, Liber aureus; Alexander of Tralles; and several Salernitan authors’, and a version of the Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum (cf. Green):

108rb–130r Alex. Trall., Book 3 + an excerpt from Book 1
131r–134v Incipit prologus libelli Warbodi (Marbodi?) de ornamentis uerborum (!)
135r–210v the Practica of Magister Bartholomeus

Alex. Trall.: 108rb–109rb 74 unnumbered capitula to Book 3, 109vb blank, 110ra ‘Incipit prologus tercii uel quinti libri alexandri de Tralles yatros sophiste’ (emphasis mine). There follow (110ra–130ra) the prologue and all sixty-six chapters of Book 3, including the lines at the end of 3.19, 3.59, and 3.64 missing from ed., and omitting (like M, G1, and C) only the very last recipe at the end of 3.66, and then (130ra), without any sign of a break, the last six lines of 1.144 (De cura pleureticorum), without the first word of the sentence ‘(periculum): maximum infert ita ut difficiatatem faciat ad prohibendos humores . . . si autem infirmior uiurite fuerit fuger(e) ommmo narcissas passiones dare pleureticis!’

110 Just before the lacuna in (probably) e (see end of Section 4.3), ba has for tardandus est: ‘trahendus est uel moretur’!
110 cf. the wording of A: ‘(Periculum enim) maximum infert ita ut uix difficultatem faciat ad proieendos liuiores . . . Si autem infirmior uiritute fuerit fuger ommmo narcissas potentioes.’
111 This volume was formerly part of the Meerman collection, at which point it had ff. 169.
113 The first section in be (43–47v) actually contains the end of the collection. The first twenty chapters are lost, so that f. 51 begins with the end of XXI=XX of the version in the Sangallensis 752 (s below). See Rose, Verzeichnis . . . Berlin, 362, 367–9.
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE LATIN VERSION

89r–103v Galen, *Ad Glaucionem*, extracts from Book 1
104r–111r medical recipes

Alex. Trall. *Liber passionalis*: on the use made of Alex. Trall. in the *Liber passionalis*, see Section 3.2.2 above and Table 3.2; note that *be* contains Book 1, chs 64–7, which are not in the version of the *Liber passionalis* in s.

Cambridge. Peterhouse 251 (*non uidi*)

(Gameson, 68; James)

Six mss., all medical, in a single (twelfth/thirteenth-century) binding. Our concern here is with No. 6 (ff. 106–191), smaller than the others. c. 1090–1110, made in St Augustine’s, Canterbury (Gameson). Vellum, 242×162mm, written in a ‘beautiful round clear hand’ (Glaze, pers. comm.) in single columns of 37 lines, with book-initials (at least the first excised); capitula- and chapter-initials alternating in red, blue, green, and purple throughout.

Contents: the pre-Gariopontean ensemble (minus Theod. Prisc.), in six books, ‘but lacking any attributions to Galen, Aurelius, Esculapius or Alexander’ (Glaze, pers. comm.):

106r–129v Book 1 and 129v–142r Book 2 (Galen, *Ad Glaucionem* 1–2)
142v–158r Book 3 (*Liber tertius*)
158v–167r Book 4 (Aurelius)
167v–186r Book 5 (Esculapius)
and as Book 6: 186r–191r *De podagra*, entitled ‘De podagricis’
191rv miscellaneous medical prescriptions

Alex. Trall.: *De podagra*: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above; contains 22 capitula complete, from (1) ‘Podagricorum causas scire oportet quia .. ’ to (22) ‘De balneis quomodo uti debeant .. . si fri<gi>dum tempus est’.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gamle Kongelige Samling 1653


Eleventh century, made in Italy (from fourteenth century, in England for a time). Parchment, ff. 220, 210×138mm, written in Beneventan minuscule by several hands, in single columns of 39 lines, with here and there titles, numbers, and initials in red; with insertions in the text and margins in contemporary ordinary minuscule and with other, less frequent, insertions in a fourteenth-century hand.

Contents: 3r–28v Mustio, *Gynaecia*
28v–31v Cleopatra, *Gynaecia>*
31v–60r Galen, *Alphabetum ad Paternum*; 60rv Galen, *De dinamidiis*
61r–66v *Liber diætarum*
66v–67r *Diaeta Hippocratis*; 67r–71v *Diaeta Theodori*
72r–75v *Liber artis medicinae*; 75v–76v *Dogma Hippocratis*; 76v astrological fragments

114 For the following information on this ms. I am indebted and extremely grateful to Eliza Glaze.
115 For this information, again, I am indebted to Eliza Glaze.
77r–147v Oribasius, *Synopsis* 1–6 (including 109r isolated recipes): note that Book 5 is the *Liber Byzantii* (see Fischer) 148r–149r *De succedaneis* (on substitute ingredients) 149r–181v medical recipes, especially antidotes 181v–182r and 182r–183v two treatises on weights and measures 183v–184r four short treatises on prognosis and therapeutics 184r–185r an alphabetical (A–I) index of medical recipes 185r–188v medical recipes 189r–215v medical recipes from Oribasius in alphabetical order

Alex. Trall.: *Liber diaetarum*: on the use of Alex. Trall. in the *Liber diaetarum*, see Section 3.2.4 above and Table 3.5; note that co alone contains the extract from 2.187 in its rightful place.


Mid- to late twelfth century (Glaze), 1110–1130 (Gameson), made in England (Beccaria, Kibre, Önnerfors), ?Rochester (Gameson). Vellum, ff. 164 (orig. 162, ff. 163–164 being added later), 178×121mm. Written in England in several good small hands, in single columns (save in lists of *capitula*, which are in 2 columns) of 38 or 39 lines, with chapter-numbers and titles in red and chapter-initials alternately in red and green, with fine ornamental book-initials, but not all of them coloured in (including that at the start of the *De podagra*, f. 107v).


\(^{116}\) Compare Warner and Gilson’s note of the contents of 33r–111v, ‘a compilation (in six books, incomplete because of loss of leaves after f. 111) perhaps meant to be taken for a work of Galen, as it begins with part of the preface to the treatise *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo*, but containing really a different recension of the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus of Salerno’; this is to be corrected.

\(^{117}\) Correct Gameson’s ‘Pliny the Elder, extract on medicine from *Historia naturalis*’.

\(^{118}\) Correct Gameson’s ‘Latin abridgement of Alexander Trallianus, *Therapeutika*’. 
154r–156r miscellaneous commonplaces of medicine (beginning with *Dieta ad renum inflammationem* misplaced from the *Liber diaetarum*)

156r–162v a collection of antidotes

Alex. Trall.: *De podagra*: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above; l2 has a list of 22 capitula, but, because of the loss of a folio or more after f. 111, it lacks the end of (2.251) *De catapuciis dandis* and the last chapter, which should have been (2.242) *De balneis quomodo uti debent*.

*Liber diaetarum*: see Section 3.2.4 and Table 3.5 above; note that l2 contains on a later folio the extract from 2.187 correctly preserved in co but lost in the common ancestor of s and v1.

**Madrid.** El Escorial N. iii. 17 (*non uidi*120)

(Cat. Escorial, III, 155; Diels, *Handschriften*, I, 94, 130; Glaze, ‘*Passionarius*’: Diels, Nachtrag, 34, 44)

Twelfth century (Diels), written in ‘a puny, spindly, ungainly 12th-c. minuscule with an excess of abbreviations’ (Glaze, pers. comm.).

Contents: 41r ff. the pre-Gariopontean ensemble, minus Theod. Prisc.:

41r Galen, *Ad Glaucenom* 1–2
81r Liber tertius
99r Liber Aurelii
109v Liber Esculapii

**130v–136r De podagra**

Alex. Trall.: 130v 22 numbered capitula to *De podagra*, the last three being *De oximelle Iuliani, De catapuciis dandis*, and *De balneis*; the *De podagra* is apparently complete, and ends 136r after the last chapter, *De balneis*.

**Po** Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale 184


Eleventh century (Wickersheimer, Sigerist), late eleventh or early twelfth century (Beccaria), made in France.121 Parchment, ff. 81 (originally of two parts, or two manuscripts, of the same age, joined very early), 198×132mm, written in single columns of 27 lines, with titles and initials in red, with contemporary marginalia.

Contents: (A) the pre-Gariopontean ensemble minus Theod. Prisc.:122

1r–27r Galen, *De medendi methodo ad Glaucenom* 1–2
27r–46r Liber tertius
46r–54v Liber Aurelii
54v–60v Liber Esculapii, fragments, on melancholy

**60v–67r Alex. Trall., De podagra**

67r–69v varia: *De diebus aegyptiacis ursus; Calendarium diaeteticum; De macrocosmo et microcosmo; De diebus aegyptiacis; Medicamenta ad guttam*

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119f. 111v ends: ‘melius enim si non semel sub una potione purgentur sed sepius et paulatim oportet’ followed by anacoluthon and abrupt change of subject.

120I depend for the description of this ms. on the works listed and the generous assistance of Eliza Glaze.

121And fifteenth-century French marginalia on ff. 67v–68 suggest that it was at that time in France.

122Sigerist’s description of 27r–67r as ‘the first four books of Gariopontus’ is to be corrected; cf. Glaze.
70r–73v Grimaldus, De dieta... ancipitrum

(B) 74–81v Liber Esculapii, fragments, 12 chapters, with a chapter of the Liber Byzantii appended to ch. 4 (see Fischer)

Alex. Trall.: De podagra: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above; no Incipit, 20 capitula; breaks off mid-folio without apparent cause (with ‘et tenues educit’) after only three lines of XVIII. De oximelle Iuliani (=2.250, line 3) and so lacks (2.251) XVIII. De catapuciis dandis and (2.242) XX. De balneis.

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 752 (autopsy January 2001) Plate XI

(Verzeichnis ... St. Gallen; Beccaria, Codici, 381–3; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’; Önnerfors, Med. Plin., XIX; idem, Stud. phil., 83; Rose, Anecdota, II, 108–9, 130, 171; Rose, Verzeichnis ... Berlin, 364–5, 367; Sigerist, ‘The Sphere’, (including a facsimile of p. 82 on p. 295); Sudhoff, Chirurgie, II, 621)

Parchment, pp. 326 (comprising two manuscripts, 5–160, 161–326), 245×190mm, perhaps both from the St Gallen scriptorium; both written in single columns, with titles, numbers and initials in red. (A) (pp. 5–160) second half ninth century (Bischoff apud Önnerfors)/end ninth century (Beccaria, Sudhoff); (B) (pp. 161–326) tenth century (Beccaria, Rose), but generally the manuscript is dated to tenth–eleventh century (see Beccaria, Codici, 383).

Contents: (A) 6–159 Physica Plinii Sangallensis, in five books:

6–80 Medicina Plinii 1–3
83–133 Gargilius Martialis, Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis
133–159 Liber diaetarum duiersorum medicorum
80–81 Hippocrates, Epistula ad Antiochum regem
82 Sphaera Apulei Platonici de uita

(B) 161–178 Isidore, Etymologiae 4

179–326 Liber passionalis: ‘Incipiunt oxea et chronia passiones ypocratis gallieni et urani (Sorani) — Explicit liber passionalis’.

Alex. Trall.: Liber diaetarum: see Section 3.2.4 and Table 3.5 above; the version of the Lib. diaet. in s is very close to that contained in v1.

Liber passionalis: see Section 3.2.2 and Table 3.2 above; note that s lacks Alex. Trall. 1.64–7 (=chs 80–3 in be).

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, (Carolina) C 664

(Andersson-Schmitt, 239–43; Beccaria, Codici, 344–50; Bracciotti, 62, n. 8; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’)

Parchment, ff. i+179+i (more recently paginated 1–358) (originally in several parts: see Beccaria):

(A) pp. 1–84 and 101–358: first half ninth century (Beccaria) or second half (Bischoff apud Önnerfors, Eranos 58 (1960), 147–9; Andersson-Schmitt), or ‘un periodo di transizione fra i secc. X e XI’ (Bracciotti), made probably in northern Italy, 240×170mm. Written by various hands, in single columns of 26–27 lines, with numbers, titles, initials, and sometimes capoversi in red, and with later insertions by several hands (including in Old High German of twelfth/thirteenth century). Many of the texts are incomplete through loss of, or damage to, ff.
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE LATIN VERSION

(B) pp. 85–100: ninth century, northern Italy, 207×147mm. Written by a single hand in 2 columns of 29 lines.

Contents: (A) numerous small medical works, including:

8–10 Vindicianus, *Epistula ad Pentadium*
10–14 Hippocrates, *Epistola ad Antiochum regem*
14–22 Vindicianus, *Epitome altera*, incomplete
25–30 Ps. Alexander, *De pulsibus et urinis*
55–78, 81–84 *Liber tertius*

(B) 85–97 a collection of recipes

97–100 Ps. Alexander, *De pulsibus uel urinis. . . De effimeris febribus*

(A) 127–156 Ps. Apuleius, *Herbarius*

157–175 *Curae herbarum*
185–186 *Curae ex hominibus*
187–260 *Curae ex animalibus*

293–330, 335–336, 331–334, 337–338 a collection of medical recipes numbered up to 140, including:

320–322 Alex. Trall. 2.36
339–340 *Diaeta Theodori*, fragment

Alex. Trall.: this important medical manuscript contains just one extract from Alexander, namely (2.36) ‘CXXVIII. Cardica passio stomachi causa est. Contigit autem his quibus pessimi et uenenosi cum mordicationem stomachi ibidem colliguntur humores . . . aut ex egritudinibus diuersis augmentantibus’.

vat1 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, reg. lat. 1143 Plate IX

(Beccaria, Codici, 319–22; Pellegrin et al., Vaticane II.1, 149–50)

First half ninth century (with OHG words of tenth and eleventh century), made in Germany, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Mainz (Bischoff *apud* Pellegrin et al.). Parchment, originally in three parts, ff. 202 (with altogether four quaternions and other folios lost), 210 × 130mm; written in single columns, with occasional titles and numbers in red and initials decorated and highlighted in red, with additions by other, slightly later hands. Some folios have been damaged by moisture.

Contents: 1r–80v Theodorus Priscianus, *Euporista* 2–3

80v–86v miscellaneous recipes and extracts, ending with the start of the *Epistula ex quatuor humoribus* which comes in its entirety at 193r–196r; other miscellaneous medical recipes also at 105v–109v, 118–125, 129v–134v, 141r–187v, 190r–193r, 196r–200r

86rv Isidore, *Etymologiae* 4.5

87v–88v Alex. Trall., part of 3.66

88v–101v, 110r–117v, 102r–105v a medical compendium of pseudonymous letters and therapeutic texts

125r–129v Vindicianus, *Epistula ad Pentadium*

\footnote{123} I am unable to identify the ‘Antidotus Theodosion’ (87rv), implicitly ascribed to Alex. Trall. by Beccaria and Pellegrin et al., *Vaticane* (cf. the ‘Antidotum Theodotion’ at the end of the collection of recipes in *vat3* below, ff. 98r–108r). An antitode recommended for gout at Alex. Trall. 2.266 (Greek II, 565, 16ff.) is ascribed to ‘Theodosius philosophus’.
135r–140r Hippocrates, *Epistula ad Antiochum regem*; 140rv a Hippocratic letter on blood-letting

200rv. 187v Latin–OHG glossary of plant-names (eleventh century)

Alex. Trall.: 87v–88v ‘Item ad eos quibus in profundo sunt febres . . . oleo uetus sext. I, aqua sext. ’ – Alex. Trall. 3.66, f. 93r vv. 18–37 (i.e. omitting the instructions for the last recipe, and without the last three recipes in ed.).

Then: ‘Alexandri adrostiæae de effemiras et icîcas et maramodis febribus et de orrore et frigdore liber explicit feliciter.’


Eleventh century, probably from Apulia (Beccaria, Kristeller, Pellegrin et al.); the 1060s, from Monte Cassino (Newton). Parchment, ff. ii+289 (+ 5 ff. unnumbered or wrongly numbered), 334×230mm, originally in several parts (ff. 1–142; 143–198; 199–235; 236–289). Written partly in Beneventan (ff. 1–129, 143–253) and partly in ordinary contemporary minuscule, in both cases in several hands, mainly in single columns, with intestazioni, numbers, and smaller initials in red and some larger ones decorated in red or yellow, and with beautiful illustrations of the herbs and animals in the opening books.

Contents:

1r–6v Apuleius, *Herbarius (capitula)*
6v–8r Hippocrates, *Epistula ad Maecenatem*
8r–10r Antonius Musa, *De herba uettonica*
10r–27v Apuleius, *Herbarius*
27v–38r Sextus Placitus, *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*
38r–48v Dioscorides, *Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis*
48vff. the pre-Gariopontean ensemble minus Theod. Prisc.:

48v–76v Galen, *Ad Glaucinem* 1–2
76v–88r Galen, *Liber tertius*
88r–94r *Liber Aurelii*
94r–109r *Liber Escaulapii*

**109r–112v Alex. Trall., De podagra**

113r–135v collection of medical recipes; 135v–136r a treatise on weights
136r–138v Galen, *De urinis*; 138v–141r Ps. Alexander, *De pulsibus et urinis*
141r–142r *Dogma Yppochratis*
143r–198v commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms 1–7 (Lat. A)
199r–216r Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*
216r–235v Galen, *Alphabetum ad Paternum*
236r–265v Theod. Prisc. 1–3
266va–274va Quintus Serenus, *Liber medicinalis*
274va–275va Hippocrates, *Epistula ad Antiochum regem*

124 The last recipe in vat1 contains three ingredients not in ed. and water as the last ingredient (wax in ed.), but no instructions as in ed. and Ch.
275va–276ra Vindicianus, *Epistula ad Pentadium*, incomplete (at 288rv it is complete)

276ra *Dies Aegyptiaci*

276rb–281vb three sets of medical recipes (*including some from Alex. Trall.*

282rv *Sapientia artis medicinae*

282v–286r Isidore, *Etymologiae* 4

286rv–288r excerpts from: Galen, *De dinamidiis*; a medical letter; Hippocrates, *Prognostica*; Hippocrates, *Indicia ualetudinum*; *Quomodo visitare debeas infirmum*; *Quomodo febrientem curare debeas*

288r–289v Vindicianus, *Epistula ad Pentadium*;

Alex. Trall.: *De podagra*: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above; in *vat2* this section begins: ‘LVII. Incipit liber Galieni de podagra’. *vat4* has the same incipit, with the ascription to Galen; the chapter numeration follows on from that of the *Librer Esculapii*, the *capitula* of which list 57 chapters.


End eleventh century or beginning twelfth century (Glaze),

probably from Italy (Beccaria, Glaze). Parchment, ff. 127, 307 × 178mm. Written in single columns (save lists of *capitula*, in 2 columns), with ornate and coloured interlaced/animated initials in a distinctively Beneventan style, and smaller initials and some titles in red or highlighted in red; with, in the first texts, interlinear glosses in the same hand, and, in the margins, titles and additions in hands of twelfth- and fourteenth-century date.

Contents: the pre-Gariopontean ensemble, minus Theod. Prisc.:

1r–37v Galen, *Ad Glauconem* 1–2

37v–54v *Liber tertius*

54v–64r *Liber Aurelii*

64r–80v *Liber Esculapii*

80v–85v *Alex. Trall., De podagra*

85v–87v various medical recipes, and two dietetic calendars

87v–95v collection of medical recipes

96r–98r Galen, *De succedaneis*


109v–112r signs from the urine; *De pulsibus et urinis*, excerpt

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125 These include f. 276rb *Trociscus crucudes Alexandri* (from 2.97 = p. 132, 19 Mih.); f. 277ra *Trociscus Alexandri splenitis* (from 2.148 = p. 190, 5 Mih.); f. 277rb *Trociscus Alexandri ad ciliacum optimum* (from 2.100 = p. 144, 12 Mih.). I am grateful to Cloudy Fischer for drawing my attention to the name Alexander in these places.

126 c. 1090–1120 (Eliza Glaze, personal communication to Cloudy Fischer, May 2001).

127 I owe this information to Eliza Glaze.

128 Some of the disease names in these tables are glossed in the same manner as by Gariopontus (e.g. f. 37v, which also contains a Gariopontus prologue, in the blank space by the *capitula* of the *Liber tertius*; other early glosses show influence of the early pharmacopoeia developments following Constantine’s translations (names of *materia medica* mostly) (Eliza Glaze, pers. comm.).

129 At least one of these is from Alex. Trall., namely f. 106v *Antidotum Alexandri ad stomachum frigidum et ad eos qui non bene digerunt* (=the first recipe in 2.35). The ‘Antidotum Theodotion’ is similar to the ‘Antidotus Theodosion’ in *vat1*, f. 87rv (above, n. 123).
112r–114v on medicinal weights and measures
115r–117v Pseudo-Democritus, Liber medicinalis LXVIII–LXXVII.
119r–127v medical glossary (ed. Goetz, CGL III, 616–30)

Alex. Trall.: De podagra: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above.

vat4

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. apostolica vaticana, lat. 4418
(Beccaria, Codici, 309–12; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’; Rose, Theod. Prisc., X, 484)
Eleventh century (Beccaria, Glaze), from central or southern Italy (Beccaria, Glaze).
Parchment, originally in three parts, ff. 172, 270 × 163mm; written by several hands in single columns, with titles in red, a few ornate and coloured large initials, and smaller initials in red and yellow, with interlinear glosses in parts (A) and (B).

Contents: (A) the pre-Gariopontean ensemble, minus Theod. Prisc.:

1r–8v, 25r–48v, 9r–24r Galen, Ad Glauconem 1–2
24rv, 49r–67v Liber tertius
67v–79v Liber Aurelii
80r–101v Liber Esculapii

101v–107v Alex. Trall., De podagra
107v–109r Sapientia artis medicinae
109r–110r Vindicianus, Epistula ad Pentedium

(B) 111r–143v collection of medical recipes
143v–148v alphabetically-ordered medical glossary
149r–149v verses on the dies Aegyptiaci; a short diagnostic text(?); an astrological (?) text

(C) 150r–171r Dynamidia 1–3

Alex. Trall.: De podagra: see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above; as in vat2, this section in vat4 begins: ‘Incipit liber Galieni de podagra’.

v1

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale 109 (autopsy April 1999) Plate X
(Beccaria, Codici, 185–8; Cat. gén. Dép. III, 425f.; Glaze, ‘Passionarius’; Rose, Theod. Prisc., xiii, xvii, xxiv, 256; Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 68ff. (including facsimiles of ff. 59v and 61v); Wickersheimer, Manuscrits, 175–81)

Eleventh century, formerly at the Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Vendôme (f. 1r). Parchment, ff. 144, 306 × 216mm; written in neat and clear minuscule in 2 columns (250 × 175mm) of 37 lines. Has suffered damage in places from fire and water.

A noteworthy feature is that, f. 61rb being inexplicably blank, f. 61v (= 1.114; Greek II, 83–85) shows an interlinear text running through both columns, which ‘must have been copied from another, much better MS . . . a good example of an early mediaeval text emendation’.\textsuperscript{130} I have collated a few of the complete copies with the two versions of v1 at this point and established that the interlinear text, much superior indeed (as Sigerist thought) to the original, 2-column version, is from a manuscript very similar to, if not identical with, A (above), the only difference worth reporting in a passage of some 400 words being one instance of et v1: enim A and one of aliud v1: alia A. More puzzling is the relation of the 2-column version to the mainstream tradition. In 2.36 and 2.235–6, v1 frequently agrees in error with M and P1, and was probably using a descendant of ω?(see 4.2 below). Here (1.114), however, v1 shows no significant

\textsuperscript{130} Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 76; Sigerist reproduces both versions side by side: ‘Vendôme’, 76–8.
agreements in error with \textbf{M} or \textbf{P1} or \textbf{P3} (which knew a descendant of $\gamma$, $\gamma'$: see 4.7.2 below) or \textbf{P2}. My impression (from \textbf{M}, \textbf{P1}, and \textbf{P3}) is that the text deriving from $\gamma$ is pretty chaotic at this point, and it may be that the maker of \textbf{v1} for this reason sought another first model, the congers of which may be revealed by further collation or may belong to another branch of the tradition.

Contents:

\textbf{1r Alex. Trall., De mulsa}  
1v–58r four books of the pre-Gariopontean ensemble,\textsuperscript{131}  
\textit{Liber tertius}  
extracts from Theod. Prisc. 2  
58r–59r a short extract \textit{De sincope}\textsuperscript{132}  
\textbf{59r–66r Alex. Trall., extracts}  
\textbf{66–86 Esclapiaus and Alex. Trall., extracts, including De podagra}  
87 Ps. Galen, \textit{De dynamidiis}  
87–88 Caelius Aurelianus, \textit{De salutaribus praeceptis} (a short fragment)  
88 a glossary, only partly medical  
88v–91v Theod. Prisc. 3.1–8 and part of 3.9  
92r–97v three series of medical recipes (mainly antidotes against poisons; purgatives; simples) and a short text on blood-letting  
98–134v \textit{Liber dynamidi}, altogether more than 380 recipes  
\textbf{134v–137v and 140r–142v Liber diaetarum} (interrupted by a short series of medical recipes and two short texts of medical wisdom)

\textbf{Alex. Trall.:}  
1r (1.103) \textit{Mulsa Alexandri}  
59r (2.36) ‘De cardia passione. De secundo libro Alexandri ubi de stomacho locutus est’  
59v–63r (1.108–23) ‘De auribus uitia Alexander’: it is noteworthy that 1.112–14 on f. 60v bear the same numeration as in \textbf{M} and \textbf{P1} (CVIII, CX, CXI)!  
63v–65r (1.131–3) ‘De narium passiones’  
65r–66r (1.134–5) ‘De dentium causationes Galienus’, and ‘Ad dentium dolores’  
68v–70v (2.79) ‘Incipit de reuma uentris de libro Alexandri sicut ibidem testabatur ut de libro Philonium subtraxisset’  
71r–73r (2.180–4) ‘Incipit de secundo libro Alexandri de cura nefreticorum’  
75v–86v (2.235–70) \textit{De podagra} (with chapters in the order of the mainstream tradition): see Section 3.2.5 and Table 3.7 above  
134v–137v and 140r–142v \textit{Liber diaetarum}: see Section 3.2.4 and Table 3.5 above (the contents are summarized also by Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 84–6).

\textbf{v2}  
Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale 172 (autopsy April 1999)  
(Beccaria, \textit{Codici}, 188f.; Beccaria, ‘Sulle tracce’, II, 28; \textit{Cat. gén. Dép.}, III, 450; Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 89–91 (including illustration of f. 3r=fig. 3); Wickersheimer, \textit{Manuscrits}, 182–4)

\textsuperscript{131} Rose’s reference to this manuscript as ‘Gar(iopontus)’ is to be corrected; cf. Glaze, ‘Passionarius’.  
\textsuperscript{132} The Incipit at this point ascribes the following work to ‘Alexander amicus ueritatis’, and clearly links this extract with those at 59r ff., which are from Alex. Trall. Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 74–5, took this extract \textit{De sincope} to be from a Latin version of Alexander Philalethes, head of the Herophilean school near Laodicea at the end of the first century B.C. Von Staden, \textit{Herophilus}, 533–9, is more doubtful.
Eleventh century (Beccaria, Wickersheimer, Sigerist), from the Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Vendôme. Parchment, ff. 72, 240×180mm, written in single columns (185×120mm) of 35 lines. In ff. 31 and 40ff. the ms. is badly damaged.

Contents:

1r Alex. Trall., De mulsa
1v–11r Hippocrates, Aphorismi
12r–72r Hippocrates, Aphorismi, with Latin commentary (Lat. A)

Alex. Trall.: 1r (1.103) Mulsa Alexandri.

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale 175 (autopsy April 1999)
(Beccaria, Codici, 189–92; Cat. gén. Dép., III, 451–2; Rose, Theod. Prisc., XVIII, XXI, 257; Sigerist, ‘Vendôme’, 97–113 (including illustrations of f. 45=fig. 5); Wickersheimer, Manuscrits, 184–90)

Eleventh century (Sigerist, Wickersheimer), end eleventh century (Beccaria), from the Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Vendôme. Parchment, two manuscripts bound together: (A) ff. 45 (1–45), 195×120mm, written in 2 columns of 39 lines, with titles, numbers, and initials in red; (B) ff. 105 (47–151), 180×115mm, written in single columns of 33 lines.

Contents: (A) 1r miscellaneous recipes
2rv Alex. Trall., Mulsa
3ra–41ra Esculapius, De morbis, ending with De podagra. LIII
41ra–42r Cassius Felix, excerpts (11 chapters)
42r–45rb miscellaneous recipes and excerpts on the womb and menstruation

(B) 47r–93r Esculapius, De morbis (including, 49r, reminiscences of Alex. Trall.)
93r–94r miscellaneous recipes (incl. some from Alex. Trall.)
94r–97r Theodorus, Diaeta
97v–99v Theodorus Priscianus, Gynaecia, and (99–108) other gynaecological works
108v–133v collection of medical recipes
134r–150v Liber ad Glauconem secundum Aurelianum de positione membrorum omnium interaneorum, incomplete
151v miscellaneous recipes (fourteenth century)

Alex. Trall.: 2rv (1.103) Mulsa Alexandri
49r Sinancis passio bears an unmistakeable resemblance to Alex. Trall. 1.136 De squinane uel sinance, but is very different, and contains eight lines more on the differential diagnosis of the four types; likewise (49r) Cura sinancis resembles Alex. Trall. 1.140 De flobothomia et catartico ac uentosis sinancis: the first sentence is almost identical, but the v3 version is then very much more compressed.
93rv two recipes from Alex. Trall. 2.238 ‘De libro Alexandri catartico dia[d]rodon . . .’ and ‘Item alio dia cidion melon.’
93v three recipes from Alex. Trall. 2.267 (vv. 21–29 ed.) ‘Catartico de campassionem . . .’ and ‘Item alia potio satis bona et a nobis experimentata . . .’, followed by some Emplastra which I have not been able to identify.