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GALEN, PARDALAS, AND SUNDRY DELIGHTS FOR THE STUDENT OF ANCIENT GREEK MEDICINE

Klaus-Dietrich Fischer

FEW scholars interested in ancient Greek medicine are aware of the fact that what they are looking for may be found not in a Greek manuscript, but in a Latin codex, containing a translation from the Greek. In general, they have heard of the translations of Hippocratic works into Latin in late antiquity, but they are less sure about other translations from the same period, for instance those of some works of Galen. At present, Galen's *de sectis* is known from one main ms.; his two books *ad Glauconem de medendi methodo* were immensely popular, to judge by the number of manuscripts that transmit them, and became part of the compilation known as either *Passionarius Galieni* or *Gariopontus* (the name of the compiler, active probably just before 1050), which in its turn is found, according to Eliza Glaze, in more than fifty mss. This late antique Latin translation was also the version printed in Diomede Bonardi's edition of the complete works of Galen in Latin (F. Pinzi, Venezia, 1490).¹

Galen's extensive compilations of recipes, the *de compositione medicamentorum per genera* and *de compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, as well as his writings on antidotes and the theriac,² may also have been translated into Latin, albeit perhaps only in small portions. These excerpts survive in Latin collections of recipes known as antidotaries, a designation that became common only with the School of Salerno (roughly in the 11th century). Some of these antidotaries were edited by the young Henry E. Sigerist, and even specialists often believe that Sigerist had edited all there was, certainly as far as the pre-Salernitan period was concerned. As we shall see, this is by no means the case. Material similar to that printed in Sigerist's edition can be found, waiting to be edited, in a good number of manuscripts listed by Augusto Beccaria, and may run from a few isolated recipes at a time to several hundred pages in the large-format *codex Cassinensis* 69 (p. 261a-p. 475b), which has more than 700 recipes! While Sergio Sconocchia discovered some recipes from Scri-

¹ Conveniently available from the internet site <http://www.bium.uniparis5.fr/histmed/medica.htm> (accessed June 8, 2009), where one also finds the Latin translation of Aetius I will refer to later.

² In the volume *Galen on Pharmacology. Philosophy, History and Medicine*, ed. by Armelle Debru, Leiden etc. 1997 («Studies in Ancient Medicine» 16), see especially Vivian Nutton's article *Galen on the theriac: problems of authenticity*, pp. 133-151. I also wish to thank Vivian for responding very quickly to my queries and helping me to improve the representation of some sections of this article with his remarks. For an edition of the Arabic text of Galen, *de theriaca ad Pisonem*, see Lutz Richter-Bernburg, *Eine arabische Version der pseudogalenischen Schrift De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, diss. phil. Göttingen, 1969. On p. 3, Richter-Bernburg refers to a study of the Greek text of *Ad Pisonem* by Friedrich Holtiegel, which had not been completed by the time Richter-Bernburg was writing. I have been unable to find traces of Holtiegel's work.

bonius Largus in this collection,³ the bulk of the material there comes from the Greek, either directly or via other, earlier collections.

Cass. 69 (C) is dated to the end of the 9th century,⁴ whereas Sigerist's earliest item (Antidot. Lond.)⁵ in London, British Library, Harley⁶ 5792 (CLA II 203), is assigned to the 7th/8th century, which makes it one of the oldest medical mss. in Latin.

In Cass. 69, as in many similar collections, the recipes are listed *per genera*, starting with antidotes, running to a total of 102 in all. It is in this section that we find (as no. 25, p. 281a-283a)⁷ a description of the benefits deriving from the use of theriac salts,⁸ and where a person by the name of Pardalas is mentioned:

de salibus theriacis quid possint.

16.⁹ Boni sunt non solum infirmis. sed etiam sanis. Addunt etiam delectationem cibi et potus faciuntque digestionem,¹⁰ <h>ilaritatem uultus pr<a>e-stant et omnes sensus acuciores reddunt. Suffusiones oculorum nondum solidas, dum adhuc est uisus, solbunt potentissime nec pati sinunt humorum suffusionem quibus cotidie da<n>tur. Flegma optime solbunt purgationes<que> menstruas qu<a>e deti-

16. Theriac salts are not only for sick people, but also for those in good health. They enhance also the enjoyment of food and drink and aid the digestion, they provide cheerfulness of countenance and make all senses sharper. Cataracts which are not yet solidified, while (some) vision is left, they resolve with great power and prevent the flowing down of humours if ad-

³ See K.-D. Fischer and Sergio Sconocchia, *Nuovi excerpta scriboniani tra Tardo antico e Medioevo*, «RFIC» 136, 2008, 267-311, with the bibliography cited there. Cass. 69 also contains the full text of Plin. phys. Bamb., as Sconocchia recognized (Önnerfors' 1975 *editio princeps* is based on the incomplete text in Bamb. med. 2); it precedes the antidotary.

⁴ For a detailed description of this and other medieval Latin mss. mentioned in this article, cf. Augusto Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano. Secoli IX, X e XI*, Roma 1956 («Storia e Letteratura» 53); for mss. in France, Ernest Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins de médecine du haut moyen âge dans les bibliothèques de France*, Paris, 1966.

⁵ Abbreviations follow the lists of the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch (Abkürzungs- und Quellenverzeichnis*, 2. verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage, München, 1996) and the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae (Index librorum*², Leipzig 1990) while those for Greek works are at times fuller than those in Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English lexicon*⁹, Oxford, 1940 (and the revised supplement of 1996).

⁶ An online catalogue of the medical mss. in the Harley collection produced by Dr. Laura Nuvoloni is available on the website of the British Library, London, United Kingdom.

⁷ Apart from capitalizing proper names and introducing a modern style of punctuation, I have, in the following transcriptions of the Latin texts, only silently expanded abbreviations (and replaced the manuscript's symbol for *drachma* with <) but have otherwise made only minute changes in the spelling, usually documented in the footnotes.

⁸ Their preparation is described e.g. in Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 19. 14.290-293 K and Paul. Aeg. 7.11.6.

⁹ The numbering follows the sections in a text from a ms. in Uppsala (U) that overlaps with C and will be presented later. Punctuation is modern; other changes have as a rule been indicated in the notes.

¹⁰ digessionem C.

nentur impedimento frigoris aut spissitudine flegmatis. Hi[*v*] ipsi e contrario profluuium sanguinis conpescunt. Vitam longiorem absque <a>egritudine conserbant, ita ut a quibusdam appelletur antidotus immortalis. Mihi autem uidetur etiam menti ipsi ad intellectum uel memoriam prosesse.

17. Si quis uero de¹¹ his primo ieiunus gustauerit, aduersus omne[m] uenenum et serpentum uirus inuenietur inuictus neque mori ueneno poterit, p̄cipue si renobata crebro confectione[m] corpus suum frequentius uirtute¹² horum temperet secundum exemplum Mitridatis regis Ponti, qui uictus a Romanis dum uenenum dup[*p*]lici uel triplici bibisset¹³ mensura, mori non potuit, sed uiuus comprehensus uix ferro peremptus est.¹⁴

18. Set nec a cane rabioso ledi poterit, qui his fuerit usus. Si quis etiam morbo egritudinis temptatus utatur ieiunus, expellit malum, maxime ut¹⁵ misceat †smyridos†¹⁶ tes poas.¹⁷ Ad elephantiosos quoque magni sunt, ebrietate<*m*> etiam expellunt. Aliquibus autem prestant ut, <*si*> sint in plurima <aegritudine>,¹⁸ minima¹⁹ ne pantantur et reuocentur ad

ministered on a daily basis. They make *phlegma* flow quite well and menstrual fluxes which are kept back through hindrance of cold (conditions) or by the viscosity of the *phlegma*. These same salts, on the other hand, check bleeding. They prolong life without sickness to such an extent that some call them the antidote of eternal life. In my opinion, they also benefit the mind's power of reasoning and memory.

17. If someone takes them on an empty stomach before being exposed, he will prove unassailable against all kinds of poison and snake venom, and cannot die from poison, especially if he has conditioned his body with their power by frequently renewing the preparation, in keeping with the example of Mithridates, King of Pontos, who, when conquered by the Romans, when he had drunk a double or triple measure of poison, could not die (i.e. could not take his own life), but was taken alive and only with difficulty killed by the sword.

18. Whosoever has taken them cannot be hurt by a mad dog. Also if someone, attacked by disease, ingests them on an empty stomach, it drives out the bad element, especially if he mixes †emery-powder† with them. Against cases of leprosy also, they are great, they drive out even the effects of too much drinking. In some people they bring it about that if they are very sick, they suffer

¹¹ pro C de U.

¹² ue trad., an ui?

¹³ bibis. sed C.

¹⁴ Gal. *antidot.* 2.9. 14.154.9-12 Κ Ταύτη ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης αἰεὶ ἐχρήτο προφυλακῆς χάριν θανάσιμου. ἠνίκα γούν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐάλω, δις πῶν θανάσιμον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, ξίφει ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

¹⁵ an ubi?

¹⁶ σμύρις: On this stone, see Diosc. *mat. med.* 5.147. The Latin Aetius has *myricae herbam*, on which see Diosc. *mat. med.* 1.87. It is possible that neither is correct, but τῆς πόας shows that a herb is intended.

¹⁷ paos trad., i.e. τῆς πόας.

¹⁸ temptauī.

¹⁹ minime trad., correxi.

pristinam sanitatem, quomodo †hęc seruauit²⁰ etiam magnus ille Pardalas. Dentes uero non solum semper candidos prestabunt, uerum et firmos atque <in>uulnerabilis reddent, caput quoque mundant et oculos siccant, renes purgant, lapides ex ipsis comminuunt et ad pristinam²¹ sanitatem etiam ualde infirmos renes reducunt.

19. His autem qui subito tenebras oculorum et grauitudinem capitis patiuntur et longam dolorem et qui epilemtici sunt, nihil aliud ita remedio est, si quis per annum his iugiter utatur, ita ut initio mel cyatum unum prius mastice et ita utatur ipsa bunder. Sciat et <h>ypticos et colicos et auriginosus per hoc curatos. <H>ydropicos sicca<n>t, colera frigida conpescunt, et qui bulimum hoc est famem maximam ex frigidore patiuntur, curant, et uię plene frigoribus facilius eorum consolatione transeguntur. Sudores de corde egredientes conpescunt et tussim umectam exsicca<t>. Scio autem eos qui uomebant sanguinem iam deficientes mirabiliter sanatos et paulatim reuocatos ad cibum.

20. Paralyticos autem ad calorem corporis et ad sanitatem reducunt perfectam. Ad podagram autem et maxime initium habentem et ad omnes iuncturas uel articulos hęc optima cura inuenta est uel quidam dulcis modus cibi. Admoneo sane ut frequenter utatur his salibus qui podagra caruerit. Quid plura? Hi[i] sales omnes fere egritudines curant.

very little and are restored to their former healthy state, as the great Pardalas is on record. As for the teeth, they will not only render them clean and white at all times, but will also make them firm and unasailable. They also cleanse the head and dry the (watering, inflamed) eyes, purge the kidneys and break up stones (coming) from them and restore even very sick kidneys to their previous health.

19. For those who suffer sudden blackouts and heaviness in the head and chronic headaches and who are epileptics, nothing else is so beneficial, if they take them constantly all year long, to start with first chewing a *cyathus* of honey and then using them (the salts) in generous amounts. One (the patient?) should know that (even) liver disease and bowel disease and jaundice have been cured by this; they dry up dropsy, contain cold bile and they treat those suffering *bulimus*, that is excessive hunger caused by cold weather, and their soothing effect makes it easier to travel on roads with a lot of frost. They check sweating coming from the heart and dry up a moist cough. And I know cases of patients, who were vomiting blood and already near death who were restored to health in a miraculous way and were little by little brought back to eating food.

20. They restore paralytics to bodily warmth and perfect health. For gout, especially in the early stages, and all (problems in) joints or limbs, this has been found the best treatment, and even a pleasant form of food. I urge of course that a patient free from gout should use these salts often. Need I say more? These salts cure almost any condition.

²⁰ seruauit *trad.*; an hoc seruauit aut obseruauit? *De forma quadam passiuu cogitauit V. Nutton, e.g. praeseruatur.*

²¹ primam C, *corr.* U.

The most important item in this list of the positive effects of theriac salts²² is the mention of Pardalas, ‘the famous, great Pardalas’.²³ As we read in PIR² C 951, a person with this name was a friend both of the rhetor Aelius Aristides and of C. Iulius Severus,²⁴ proconsul of Asia in 151/152 (born ca. 90 A.D.). But this Pardalas (Ti. Claudius Pardalas)²⁵ was also the *strategos* (the highest civil office) of Pergamum in the time of Antoninus Pius and held various offices as a priest. So we learn here that this Pardalas used the salts regularly to good effect. The number of people with that particular name, all associated with Asia Minor, is small, and if we look for a famous one, this is the one we will surely pick. In our passage, he must have been mentioned as someone to recommend the preparation, a kind of name-dropping not uncommon in Galen. Nevertheless – there is no mention of Pardalas in Galen’s works as we have them.²⁶ Pergamum as the centre of Pardalas’ activity, and at the same time the birthplace of Galen and theatre for some of his exploits as physician to the gladiators there, make both the identification of Pardalas and the assumption that he figured in one of Galen’s works more likely. That work could be *de theriaca ad Pisonem*, in a form different from that printed in Kühn, containing the passage quoted above in Latin, or (as Vivian Nutton suggests),²⁷ *de antidotis*.²⁸ It is hard to imagine that someone at a later date would have known enough about Pardalas to forge a passage with information which is irrelevant in this context, with the intention of passing it off as genuine Galen.

We find a fuller version of the benefits of theriac salts in Aetius. At present, the only text of Aetius accessible for this part of his work is the Renaissance translation by Janus Cornarius,²⁹ where it is ch. 97 of book 13, entitled *Sales Theriaci ex libris Martiani*,³⁰ *cum quibus consentit Galenus*. But while Mithridates is mentioned here as well (without details of his death), the name of Pardalas is absent. When we talk about Greek sources, this must be understood with the *caveat* that the immediate source for the Latin text could also have been the source shared with Galen (and Pseudo-Galen), and not the Greek text of Galen (and Pseudo-Galen) proper.

²² As far as I can see, Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 15-16. 14.270-284 K.

²³ I am deeply grateful to Glen Bowersock and Christian Habicht, *professores emeriti* at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (NJ), for their help with the identification of Pardalas. Cf. Maria Domitilla Campanile, *I sacerdoti del koinon d’Asia, (I sec. a.C.-III sec. d.C.)*, Pisa, 1994, pp. 86f., no. 75, and, for the name Pardalas itself, Louis Robert, *Noms indigènes de l’Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1963, p. 172.

²⁴ Cf. Friedrich Münzer, C. Iulius Severus [Severus 484], *RE* X, Stuttgart, 1918, cols. 811,67-820,45.

²⁵ *MAMA* IX, London 1988, no. 18-21, esp. no. 21 p. 10.

²⁶ For the last comprehensive account on the contemporaries of Galen see Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen, *Die römische Gesellschaft bei Galen : Biographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Berlin-New York, 2003.

²⁷ *per litteras*.

²⁸ Jean-Marie Jacques, *Le manuscrit de Florence « Laurentianus gr. » 74,5 et les écrits galéniques sur la thériaque et les antidotes*, «*REA*» 101, 1999, 523-531, sheds important light on the transmission of these works and discusses possible surplus material, this time coming from the Florence Greek ms.

²⁹ Special thanks to Anna Maria Ieraci Bio, who kindly supplied me with a Greek text of the passage in question from the materials left by Alessandro Olivieri (who was unable to finish his edition of books 9-16 of Aetius). The Latin text is available from the BIUM site cited in note 1 above.

³⁰ Perhaps we should read Markianos (this one not in *RE*), as in Scribonius Largus 177 (*PIR*² Marcianus 208) and in the Greek ms. of Aetius (unspecified) used by Olivieri.

II.

The text that immediately precedes the properties of theriac salts in the same Monte Cassino ms. 69 (no. 24, p. 278a-281a) deals with the theriac proper under the title *Antidotus mitridatis*. It is not the same as the recipe transmitted only partially by Scribonius Largus (170) or any of those discussed by Laurence Totelin,³¹ and is likewise different from the one found in Celsus *med.* 5.23.3A-B.³² Aetius 13.91 does not ascribe it to anyone in particular, but obviously transmits the same text including a few ingredients now absent from the Latin version in *Cass.* 69. The Greek in *Ps.Gal. ther. ad Pamph.* 14.308.3-309.3 K (Paul. Aeg. 7.11.5 p. 294.5-19 Heiberg) is closer to our Latin text than *Gal. ther. ad Pis.* 2.12, 14.259.11-260.11 K. The indications match the text in *Ps.Gal. ther. ad Pamph.* 14.301.5-305.8 K to a surprising extent. Again, the Latin Aetius (13.91 for the recipe, 13.96 for the indications) provides a close and occasionally more detailed parallel.

Antidotus Mit<h>ridatis theriace diec<id>no<n> (= θηριακή δι' ἐχιδνῶν)

1. <ar>tisci scyllitici < XLVIII, artisci teriaci < XXVIII, idi[o]cro[c]ju magma < XXI-III, opiu meconos³³ < XXVIII, piper nigru < XXVIII, scordiu < XII, cecydos agrias < s>perma < XII, rose sicce < XII, cinnamomi < XII, agaricu³⁴ < XII, 2. cc³⁵ < VI, pentafili < VI, prassiu < VI, petroselinu < VI, sticados < VI, piper albi < VI, zz³⁶ < VI, origani comen (= ἡ) < VI, [zz] troglitis < VI, costi < VI, 3. piper longi < VI, diptamni Cretici < VI, scynuantus < VI, nardi Syriaci < VI, seseleos < IIII, carbopalsami < IIII, thlaspeos < IIII, ameos < IIII, camepiteos < IIII, camedreos < IIII,
4. ypicistidos c<h>yly < IIII, nardu Celticu < IIII, fyllu < IIII, gentiana < IIII, meu

³¹ Laurence M. V. Totelin, *Mithridates' antidote – a pharmacological ghost*, «Early Science and Medicine» 9, 2004, pp. 1-19, with the relevant bibliography, which I shall not repeat here. To it may be added Lutz Winkler, *Die Galenschrift 'De Antidotis'. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Antidot und Theriak*, diss. rer. nat. Marburg/Lahn 1980, which contains a German translation of, and notes on, this treatise. A compact survey of what we know about Mithridates is in Max Wellmann's chapters on medicine in Franz Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur der Alexandrinerzeit*, zweiter Band, Leipzig, 1892, p. 415 n. 3. Absent from both Totelin and (surprisingly) Wellmann is Marcell. *med.* 36.12, who has a *Compositio Mithridatica ad podagram et neruorum dolores et contractiones*.

³² Celsus has only three antidotes, the one preceding that of Mithridates is by Zopyros. For Scribonius' version of Zopyros' antidote, not preserved in the mainstream transmission, see my article *Die Antidotos des Zopyros und andere Fundstücke zu Scribonius Largus*, in *Language and Context in Latin Medical Texts of the Pre-Salernitan Period*, ed. David R. Langslow (in press).

³³ Greek drug names are often only transliterated and not translated and thus keep their Greek genitive singular terminations. This must be intentional, because a translator, even if he was not sure about the meaning of a particular Greek drug name, would know that *chylu* should be *succi* in Latin.

³⁴ *agaricu* (ἀγαρικῶν, a tree-fungus, but in Latin also referring to *Vitis alba*), also found in *Gal. ther. ad Pis.* 12, 14.259.15 K., should perhaps be emended to ἀμοράκου (marjoram) in *Gal. antidot.* 1.10, 14.52 K, *Gal. ther. ad Pis.* 13, 14.263.1 K, and *Ps.Gal. ther. ad Pamph.* 14.306.11 K.

³⁵ Abbreviation for *crocus*.

³⁶ Abbreviation for ginger; the Latin may be *zingiberis*, *zingiberis*, *gingiberis*.

< IIII, fenuculi semen < IIII, amomu < IIII, acoru < IIII, miltu limnias < IIII, 5. fu < IIII, calcu cecaumenu³⁷ < IIII, ypericu < IIII, acacias c<h>yly < IIII, cummi albu < IIII, cardamomu < IIII, daucu < II, aspaltu < II, galbani < II, opopanicis < II, 6. sagapeni < II, castorei < II, centauriu lyptis³⁸ < II, aristoloc<h>ia longa < II, glycirize < XII, mel non coctu lib. I.

7. Facit autem ad potiones mortiferas et aduersum ueneni uulnera, etiam ad suspitionem ueneni et pericula subita et incerta que inmitantur [ad] corruptionem ueneni. Datur in modum abellane in uini cyatos III.

8. Iubat autem ad tussem ueterem uel recentem, dolorem toracis aut lateris cum uino et melle, si sine feb(re) sunt; si uero feбриunt, cum aqua et melle. Ad nocte<m> accipiunt mensuram³⁹ fabe gypti, quae ciborium appellantur.⁴⁰ Ad inflationes stomachi, ad tortiones intestini,⁴¹ ad colicam detur cum aqua similiter ut supra mensura supra scripta, ad fastidium quamuis longi temporis mensura similiter <per> aquam aut per uinum neque plus a tribus cyatis neque minus a duobus.⁴²

9. Ad omnem typum, infrigidationem, uomitum cholericum, ad accessiones subitas et incitationes dabitur ut supra. Ad typum ante accessione<m> accipiat per uices III aut ut satis IIII. Excludit frigora, ita tamen ut consuetudo escae non impediatur potionem. Nullum enim ita ualidum est adiutorium medicine.

10. Facit ad purgationes menstruum, ut etiam mortuum pecus eiciat, si per infirmitatem na-

7. It is effective against deadly potions and against poison wounds, also when poisoning is suspected, for sudden and uncertain illnesses which resemble the deleterious effect of poison. It is administered in the quantity (equivalent to the size of a hazelnut) in three *cyathi*⁴³ of wine.

8. It helps against cough, chronic or acute, pain in the chest or the side, with wine and honey, if they (the patients) are free of fever; if on the other hand they have fever, with water and honey. At night, they should get the amount of an Egyptian bean, which is called *ciborium* (). For wind in the stomach, for griping in the bowels, for *colicam*⁴⁴ it is to be administered with water in the same way as above, in the same quantity as above, for lack of appetite, even of long standing, the same amount with water or wine, not more than three *cyathi* nor less than two.

9. For all returning fevers, cold, vomiting of bile, for sudden attacks and paroxysms it will be administered as above. For returning fevers, he (the patient) should take it before the attack three or at most four times. It banishes chills, in such a way however that the usual partaking of food does not get in the way of the potion, for no other medicinal aid is so strong.

10. It works for the cleaning of the menses, so much so that it will even bring forth a dead fetus, if because of a weakness of na-

³⁷ χαλκίτεος ὀπτῆς in Galen, Pseudo-Galen and the Latin Aetius.

³⁸ λεπτή; for a female form, see LSJ.

³⁹ mensura trad.

⁴⁰ κιβώριον Ps. Gal. ther. ad Pamph. 14.303.3 K.

⁴¹ intestina trad.

⁴² aduobis trad., corr. Ferraces Rodríguez.

⁴³ The *cyathus* is the twelfth part of a *sextarius*, roughly equivalent to a pint (imperial) = 568 ml, i.e. one and a quarter fluid ounce.

⁴⁴ Obviously a bowel disease, but I have no idea how to define it; cf. ThLL s.v. colon.

ture emitti non potest. Datur autem ita, ut in melicrato aut dulci aliquo coquatur uel ruta uel diptamnus, in quo humore resoluatur mensura supra scripta.

11. <H>ydropicis autem et auriginosis datur ita, ut coquatur asarum et cum ipso accipiat. <H>ydropicis sane ita datur, ut ante cibum ipsam puram gluttiat; alii soluunt in posce cyato uno. Et omne[m] corpus rubustum reddi[di]t, humore diminuto sanitatemqu restituet.

12. Ad eos qui uoce inpediuntur admixto duplices mesure dracanto sub lingua retinetur sicut arteriace, paulatimqu resolutum gluttitur, aut certe sola cum ynomelli uel dulci aliquo bibitur [potum].

13. Ad uomitum sanguinis, siue de thorace sit siue de pulmone[s], si recens est uomitus, cum pusca dabitur; si autem multi temporis, cum aque cyatos(!) III. Multum autem expedit si decoquatur in aqua species qu uocatur simfitum et in modum potiones detur mensura supra scripta ad nocte<m> aut mane.

14. Scio præceptores nostros habundanti medicamine torace<m> ante et retro <in cir>cuitu confricuisse, quia multa per hoc comoda fiunt.

15. Conuenit autem his qui causa<m> renum⁴⁵ patiuntur et ad dysentericis et calculosis et suspirium habentibus et ad eos qui circa splenem aut recentem aut multi temporis malitia<m> sustinent. Ad eos qui subito patiuntur, cum oxymelle detur. Oximelle autem fiat de fauis⁴⁶ expressum.

ture it cannot be pushed out. It is administered in such a way that either rue or diptam is boiled in honey-water or in some sweet liquid, and in this liquid the quantity specified above is dissolved.

11. Patients with dropsy or jaundice are given it in such a way that hazelwort is boiled and they receive it (the medicine) with this. To patients with dropsy, however, it is given in such a way that before eating the patient swallows it undiluted; other doctors dissolve it in one *cyathus* of *posca* (a mixture of water and vinegar). And it makes the whole body strong by reducing the liquid and restores health.

12. For those with a voice impediment, it is kept under the tongue with a double amount of tragacanth, like an *arteriake* (a preparation for the windpipe), and it dissolves little by little and is swallowed, or in any it may be drunk by itself with honeyed wine or something sweet.

13. Against the bringing up blood, be it from the chest or the lung, it is to be administered with *posca*, if the condition is not of long standing; if it is a chronic problem, with three *cyathi* of water. It is very good if in the water a herb called *symphyton*⁴⁷ is boiled and given the amount specified above given in the manner of a potion at night or in the morning.

14. I am aware that our teachers rubbed the thorax in front and behind in circles with a lot of this medicine, because this is beneficial in many ways.

15. It is good for those suffering a kidney condition and for those with dysentery, calculi and asthma, and for those who suffer from a disease around the spleen of short or long standing. For those suffering an acute onset, it should be given with honeyed vinegar, and the honeyed vinegar (i.e. the honey) should be pressed from the honeycomb.

⁴⁵ causā renum *mauult Ferraces Rodríguez*.

⁴⁶ fabis *trad.*

⁴⁷ The word has several meanings and may refer to comfrey or liquorice here.

16. Hoc autem et <H>ypocratis in ordinatione diete medicinalis dicit,⁴⁸ ubi et de acito scillitico in medio cyato. Ad suspirium ergo uel calculum patientes uel cum aqua discocta apii aut petroselini, ad renum dolorem cum ynomeli, ad disintericos autem in aqua cum ros<s>yriaco discocta, ad epilepticos uero qui modicam nauisem patiuntur in melicrato, qui uero mutam cum spisso flegmate, in oximelli ut supra dictum est.

17. Quidam autem perfectorum medicorum in his dant prius sinapi gargarizare et sic potionem ad nocte<m> cum aqua, grece fabe magnitudine. Per omnia autem sciendum quod, ubi omnia adiutoria medicin ab gritudine fuerint superata, h c antidotus etiam desperatis mirabiliter prodest.

16. Hippocrates in his recommendations of a medical diet says the same, and there he also mentions squill vinegar, half a cyathus.⁴⁹ Therefore, for asthma or calculi with a decoction of celery or parsley, for kidney pains with honeyed wine, for patients suffering from dysentery with a decoction of sumac, for epileptics who suffer from moderate vomiting in honeyed water, those with pronounced vomiting with viscous phlegm, in honeyed vinegar, as stated above.

17. Some very experienced doctors give, in such cases, first mustard as a gargle and afterwards at night the potion with water, the size of a Greek bean. Overall, it must be realised that, whereas all (other) medical aids have been defeated by the disease, this antidote is wonderfully effective even in desperate cases.

III.

The first three ingredients of the antidote we just examined are the *artisci scyllitici*, the *artisci theriaci* and the ἡδυόμου μάγμα. (Instead of ἀπρίκκοι, these may also be called γκυκλίτικοι or τροχίτικοι). Their preparation is described twice in a ms. written in Vendôme, Vindoc. 109 (s. XI ex./XII in. = V, referred to with the number of the recipe), but the same text is already found in the much earlier *Lorscher Arzneibuch* (Recept. Lauresh.,⁵⁰ Bamb. med. 1 = B), a ms. written in the imperial monastery of Lorsch (near Worms) during the very first years of the 9th century.

We begin with the recipe for the ἡδυόμου μάγμα (described most fully in Aët. 13.89 lat.), which occurs four times in the Vendôme antidotary (the numbering is mine):

⁴⁸ Hipp. acut. (sp.), see A. Anastassiou, D. Irmer, *Testimonien zum Corpus Hippocraticum. Teil II: Galen. 2. Band: Hippokrateszitate in den übrigen Werken Galens einschließlich der alten Pseudo-Galenica*, Göttingen 2001, p. 24.

⁴⁹ Gal. *antidot.* 1.10, 14.51 K.

⁵⁰ Edited by Ulrich Stoll, *Das 'Lorscher Arzneibuch'. Ein medizinisches Kompendium des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Codex Bambergensis medicinalis 1. Text, Übersetzung, Fachglossar, Stuttgart, 1992 (Sudhoffs Archiv. Beiheft 28). Special thanks to him for supplying me, many years ago, with an electronic version of the text, which has proved invaluable for my work.

13. Trociscos idricoi

h c: Aspal<a>ti radices d. XVIII, cortice⁵¹ calami aromatici, costum, asarum, fu, agaricum, mastice, xilobalsamum ana d. XVIII; squinantos ÷ IS, cinnamomum = III, cassia = IIS, ammoniaci gutta, spica nardi ana = IIS; folio ÷ I, murra = III, crocum ÷ IS.

Cum uino Falerno teris. Colligis intingendo digitum in opobalsamo. Facies trociscos unciarum trium et siccas in umbra.

104. Trociscos idrocoi

h c: Aspalat[r]i radices d. XVIII, cortice calami aromatici, costum, asarum, fu, agaricum,⁵² mastice, xilobalsamum ana d. XVIII; squinquantum ÷ IS, cinnamomum⁵³ ÷ III, cassia ÷ IIS, amoniaci gutta ÷ IIS, spica nardi ÷ IIS, folium ÷ I, mirra ÷ III, croco ÷ IS.

Cum uino Falerno⁵⁴ teris. Colligis intingendo digito<s> in opobalsamo. Facies trociscos unciorum(!) trium et siccas in umbra.

Recept. Lauresh. 4.73 is quite similar, while the following recipe (79.) in the Vendôme antidotary deviates slightly; the last (9.) is quite different.

179. Confectio yd<ic>ro<u> magmatis

h c: Aspalat[r]i radix, calamo aromatico, costum, xilobalsamum, fu, mastice ana VI; cassia XXVI, reuponticum XIII, squinquantum III, mirra XV, amomum XXIII, folium VI, crocum XIII. Conficis⁵⁵ cum uino odorato et fac trociscos et siccabis ad umbra<m>. Virtutem habet calidam; humectat confortat et intrat in ant. epithima [h]i<d> quod⁵⁶ dicitur pol[l]ithaumastu<m>.⁵⁷

19. Trociscos idiocri qui per mensuram intrat in eodem antidoto

h c: Murra III, amomum VI, cassia III, spica nardi, costum, iusquinami,⁵⁸ balsamum ana II; folium, crocum ana III; asarum IS, xilobalsamum, fu ana IS; mastice I. Conficis ista omnia cum uino uetere et fac trociscos et siccabis fumigio storacis aut confice †timiamathis.

The next item on the list are the *trocisci theriaci*. The Latin text in the Vendôme antidotary (4. and 105.) is certainly nearer Ps.Gal. *ther. ad Pamph.* 14.307.4-16 K than Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 13. 14.264-267 K, or Gal. *antidot.* 1.8, 14.45-49 K, and cannot come

⁵¹ This should probably go with *aspalathi radice*, i.e. *aspalathi radice corticis*, as it now does in the Greek.

⁵² ἀμαράκου (marjoram) in Gal. *antidot.* 1.10. 14.52 K, Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 13.14.263.1 K, and Ps.Gal. *ther. ad Pamph.* 14.306.11 K, so ἀγαρικοῦ (a tree-fungus, but in Latin referring to *Vitis alba* as well), also found in Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 12. 14.259.15 K, should probably be emended.

⁵³ In the ms., a dot above and one below =, as in all other cases where I print simply =.

⁵⁴ Thus also Gal. *antidot.* 1.10, 14.52 K and Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 13, 14.263.3 K.

⁵⁵ conficit *trad.*

⁵⁶ qui *trad.*

⁵⁷ The TLG has no attestations for πολυθαύμαστος in Greek texts before the middle ages.

⁵⁸ iusquianti *trad.*

from Paul. Aeg. 7.7.4; it is found again in Recept. Lauresh. 4.72.

Recept. Lauresh. 4.72 and Vindoc. 109 antidot. 4/105

Trocisci tiriaci

Recipe uiperas ruboraneas nuper comprehensas IIII aut V, nam illas de clausura acriorem uenenum habent, sicut ex ieiunio hominibus fit amaritudo, et dum comprehensas fuerint, IIII digitos a capite mensuras et incidis et IIII a cauda, et proiecto capite et cauda reliqua pars quae remanserit radis et exenterabis diligenter et lauabis et mittes in olla rude adiecto oleo et aneti surculo et sale modico, et coquis sicut anguillas et postea leuas et tollis ossa earum et proicis. Carnes autem quantum pensauerint tantum bucellati mundi medulla admiscis et teris ita ut umectis manibus in opobalsamo trociscos facias unciarum trium et siccas.

B V4 V105

trocisci] –os V | tiriaci] arteriaci ÷ III quod B corr. V | recipe] recipit haec BV *correx*i | ruboraneas (*Graece πυρράς*) *temptaui* (i.e. *rubor* + *-aneus*, de quo suffixo cf. *LHS I* § 272.3; *nihil apud Stotz*) ruboreneas B roborineas V | comprehensas] *om.* V | IIII aut quinque *post uiperas posuerunt* V | clausura] clusura V | habent] habeant B habet V105 *corr.* V4 | hominibus] omnibus V *corr.* B | comprehensas] prehens V4 apprehens V105 | IIII *bis*] III *bis* V | incidis B | rades V | extenterabis B | diligenter *om.* B | mittis V105 | rude] rubea V105 *inepte* | coquis] coques V105 coque V4 | anguilla V4 | autem quantum *om.* B | pensauerit BV105 | bucellatim V105 bucella V4 *corr.* B | munda V4 | ita *om.* B | humectis V | facias] facis B facies V *correx*i | et siccas *om.* V4

Finally, the squill pills, found in the Vendôme antidotary (5. and 106.) and in Recept. Lauresh. 4.72. These three texts hardly differ from one another, which is why I only print one. The source will again have been Ps.Gal. *ther. ad Pamph.* 14.306.17-307.4 K rather than Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 13, 14.263 K or Gal. *antidot.* 1.9, 14.49-51 K and, because of *κίλλαν πήλω ἢ τεάτι περιπλάσας ὀπτῆρον συμμέτρως*, cannot have been Paul. Aeg. 7.11.3. The version in Aet. 13.88 Lat. is fuller and different.

5. Trociscos scillitici

Squilla<m> inuoluis in argilla et mittis in fornace ardente balnei et dimittis tota nocte. Alia die interiora eius tollis et pensa<s> = XV <et> herbi farina = XVIII. Teris simul et facis⁵⁹ trociscos unciarum sex et siccas in umbra. Isti tres trocisci recipiunt<ur> in tyriaca.

IV.

We now return to the benefits of the theriac salts. This section is merged, without salts being mentioned, with another recipe ascribed to Mithridates,⁶⁰ the «antidote

⁵⁹ facit *trad.*, *corr.* V *infra* et B.

⁶⁰ It is rather surprising that none of the antidotaries edited by Henry E. Sigerist (*Studien und*

with one-hundred ingredients» (ἑκατονταμίγματος).⁶¹ It is not the Μιθριδάτου ἀντίδοτοσ of Galen *antidot.* 2.9, 14.54.9-155.9 K, but rather the ἀντίδοτοσ ἑκατονταμίγματος. ᾧ χρώμαι (i.e. Galen), ἦν ἐσκεύασα Καίσαρι ..., Gal. *antidot.* 2.9, 14.155.10-158.3 K. In Latin mss. I have been able to examine so far (i.e. Uppsala C 664⁶² = U; London, British Library, Sloane 1621⁶³ = S; Vendôme 109 = V, where the text occurs twice, in *antidot.* 6 and *antidot.* 30, referred to as V6 and V30), the name of the author of the recipe is always given as Mithridates. The oldest of these four witnesses, the Upsaliensis C 664, dated to the 10th/11th century,⁶⁴ ends with a long list of indications absent from Galen's Greek. As we see from the parallel text in Cass. 69 printed and discussed above, this list rather enumerates the properties of theriac salts, whose composition is not given at that point in any of the mss. But where we find the prescription for the preparation of these salts, in Galen and in Paul of Aegina, there is no account of their benefits.

Let us start with the Latin text from the Uppsala codex (pp. 95a-97b), and only later turn to the other three witnesses.

1. Antidotum Mitridatis regis qui recipit species centum 1. The antidote of King Mithridates, which is composed from a hundred ingredients.

Texte zur frühmittelalterlichen Rezeptliteratur, Leipzig 1923 [Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin. 13], repr. Vaduz 1977) seems to have included Mithridates' famous antidote in whatever version. This may also be taken as a hint that it is high time for medical historians and medieval Latin (and Romance) scholars to venture beyond what was, after all, Sigerist's *labor iuuenilis*.

⁶¹ We read about another ἐξ ῥ' συγκεμμένην in Gal. *antidot.* 2.17, 14.205.1 K. The word ἑκατονταμίγματος is not in LSJ (including the revised supplement of 1996), or in Richard J. Durling, *A dictionary of medical terms in Galen*, Leiden etc. 1993, but in the new *Diccionario griego-español* (DGE), while the *Vocabolario della lingua greca* (GI) by Franco Montanari, con la collaborazione di Ivan Garofalo e Daniela Manetti, 1996, posits a lemma ἑκατοντάμιγμα, with the (correct) page references to Galen 14.155 and 14.205 K; the compilers of the *Vocabolario* must have had a bad day! We may also forgive Totelin (p. 18) for translating διὰ σκίγκου διὰ in the title of this recipe (Gal. *antidot.* 2.9, 14.152-154 K) as 'through skink' (followed by the more appropriate paraphrase «an antidote made with skink»), but see LSJ s.v. διὰ A III.2 «in later Prose, of Material *out of* which a thing is made», and Bailly s.v. διὰ B III 3 «en parl. de la matière au moyen de laquelle on fait qqe chose, ou que l'on mêle à qqe ch.». In recipes, it should be rendered as 'containing' or 'based on', see DGE s.v. διὰ II 2.

⁶² The entry in Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Håkan Hallberg and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, Bd. 6. Handschriften C 551-935, Stockholm, 1993 (Acta Bibliothecae R. Univ. Ups. 26:6), pp. 239-243, does not add much to the account in Beccaria, pp. 344-350. «Il testimone ... è vergato con una penna mozza in una carolina che pare databile a un periodo di transizione fra i secc. X e XI; la datazione più alta può essere stata suggerita dalla g di forma 'semionciale', che però è interpretabile come dovuta a un influsso di una minuscola insulare, riscontrabile anche in base ad altri elementi (così ancora la Prof. Supino Martini)» is the opinion of Annalisa Bracciotti, *L'apporto della tradizione indiretta per la costituzione di un testo critico delle Curae herbarum*, «Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale» 42, 2000, pp. 61-102, at p. 62 n. 8.

⁶³ The old catalogue of the British Library says «Membranaceus, in 8vo., ff. 111, sec. fortassis X; hic illic mutilus; olim Thomae Jones»; s. XI (thus Beccaria, p. 260) seems more likely.

⁶⁴ Maria Frederiksson, *Esculapius' De stomacho*. Ed. with an Introd., Transl., and Comm. by M. F., diss. phil. Uppsala, 2002, dates it considerably earlier, 2nd half of the 9th century.

Qui facit ad omnia mortifera potiones et omnia mala medicamenta et a<d> serpentium morsu et ad spalangionis morsu et ad caducos et ad lunaticos et ad typum cottidianum, tertianum et quartanum, et ad paralisin et ad nefreticos et ad cauculosis et ad nescia et ad podagricos et ad arteticos et ad eos qui cibum non contine<n>t et ad splenem et epaticos et ad sciaticos et qui malum colorem habe<n>t et ad ple<u>risin et sanguinem uomentibus.

It is effective against all lethal draughts and all poisons and against bites of snakes and venomous spiders, and for epileptics and lunatics, and for day-fevers as well as tertian and quartan fevers (i.e. malaria), and for paralysis, and for kidney-disease, and for urinary stones, and for sciatica,⁶⁵ and for gout, and for patients affected by diseases of the joints and for those who cannot keep down their food, and for diseases of the spleen and liver, and for sciatica, and bad skin colour (i.e. cachexia), and for pleurisy and spitting of blood.

2. [p. 155 Kühn] Recipit hæc: abrotanum drag. III, aristologia longa et rotunda drag. XX, cassia < IIII, croco < III, asaro < IIII, arciotidos < II, aniso < III, amomu < VII, agarico < X, 3. carpo balsamo < II, bidellio < III, balaustio < III, genciano < IIII, liquiritia < IIII, coconidio ortice semen < VIII, ges <S>amias < I, dauco sperma [p. 156 Kühn] < I, dragontea < X, 4. [P]erissimu[s] sperma < XI, irisilirica < III, smirnis < IIII, gingiber < VI, thlatheos < VII, erinuo risis < VI, origano eptafila < II, ci[m]pereo < VI, cendrion < VI, 5. cicute semen < I, ameo < IIII, [I]gnicu[s] sperma < VII, centauria < VII, calamo aromatico < II, cardamomum < IIII, ca<c>reus < III, cifeus < IIII, calbano < VI, libanotidos [< IIII, sile] Z III<I>, 6. el<e>lifago < IIII, lo<n>gitidos sperma < II, lino sperma < III, libano < III, malatro sperma < VI, op[i]o miconus < X, lemnis < IIII, malabatrums < VII, meu < I, sisamis < VI, 7. tiriaci < VI, nardo celtico < VII, xilobalsamo < VI, ormino sperma < VII, orobon leuco<n> < V, panacus rigis < VI, [p. 157 Kühn] pellicinus < III, polion < V, <p>oligon<u> fillu < VIII, elemos rigis < I, 8. petroselino < VI, pencafilon opo peucid[i]ano ana < VIII, piper albo < III, piper longo < IIII, escincu < III, teruentina < II, rodon siron < III, sagapino < VIII, stiras < IIII, 9. st<r>ofilon pe // dosmen<on> < VI, sticados < IIII, squinantu < II, s<t>aphis agria < II, †critariu sarcus †iespili ursim < IIII, siseleos masapofi < V, stafilinis spe<r>ma < IIII, 10. colis tauri<n>o co<lis> artio ana < VI, camipiteos < IIII, psileos sperma < IIII, camitreos < IIII, sisami pef<r>o[o]<gme>ne(n) < III, sinfito rigis < IIII, scrodio rigis < IIII, staphisargia < V, [S]trifillu < III, 11. tro<d>ili sperma < II, camidrei folia < I, ipoquistididos [s]ciru, ipiricu carpo ana < II, iusquiami sperma < IIII, [p. 158 Kühn] fu < IIII, cotilidon < I.

12. Sucus fel sanguis ouus uitella smirnis cume[o] opobalsamo galbano sagapino stirax infundis in uino Falerno. Caetera comiscis cum melle quod sufficit et mittis.

12. † Juice, bile, blood, egg yolks, myrrh, gum, balsam juice, galbanum, *sagapenum*,⁶⁶ storax: these you soak in Falernian wine. Mix the other ingredients with enough honey and incorporate them.

⁶⁵ The Late-Latin *nescia* is a deformation of *ischia/ischias*, not recognized any longer as such, which is why sciatica is mentioned twice.

⁶⁶ Probably *Ferula persica*.

13. †ubi† uehementer et ad omnia mala medicamenta ante datum et post acceptum et ad omnes mor- sus ferarum siue uipere facit 14. et ad indigestionem et ad putredinem [m]oris gargarizatur, epaticis et pleureticis et ad omnes passiones stomachi ad [e]stranguilia, ad petram, ad inflationes coli, ad [e]sciaticos, ad nefreticos, ad asmaticos, ad eos qui de nimia habundantia sanguinis reiciunt.

15. Febrientibus dabis ad magnitudinem faue egyptiæ cum idromelle ieiunis, tuscientibus et ad tercianas dabis magnitudine[m] erbi.

13. † ... † and is effective against all poisons, whether it is given before or taken after, and against all bites of wild animals and cobras, 14. and for bad digestion and is used as a mouthwash for ulcerations in the mouth, for patients with liver-conditions and pleurisy and for all diseases of the stomach, for stopped flow of urine, for stones, for blown-up feeling in the gut, for sciatica, for kidney-disease, for asthma, for patients who bring up blood because they have too much.

15. To feverish patients you are to give the size of an Egyptian bean with hydromel (mixture of water and honey) on an empty stomach, to patients with a cough and for tertian fever you are to give the size of the fruit of the bitter vetch.

16. <Boni sunt>⁶⁷ non solum infirmis, sed etiam sanis, adducit enim delectatione<m> cibi et potus. Facit digestionem,⁶⁸ illaritatem uultus⁶⁹ prestat et omnes sensus acutiores⁷⁰ reddit. Suffosiones oculorum <nondum solidas dum adhuc est>⁷¹ uisus soluunt potentissime <nec pati sinunt suffusionem quibus cotidie datur. Flegma optime solbunt>⁷² et purgationes <quae detinentur>⁷³ inpedimento frigoris aut spissitudine flegmatis.⁷⁴ Hi ipsi e contrario profluuium sanguinis conpescunt.⁷⁵ Vitam longiorem absque egritudine[m] conseruant⁷⁶ ita ut a quibusdam antidotum appellentur inmortale.⁷⁷ Mihi autem uidetur etiam menti ipsi⁷⁸ ad intellectum uel memoriam prodesse.⁷⁹

17. Si quis uero de his primum ieiunus gustauerit, aduersus omne[m] uenenum et serpentium uirus inuenietur inuictus, neque⁸⁰ quis mori ueneno pot[u]erit <praecipue si renouata crebro confectione corpus suum frequentius temperat> secun-

⁶⁷ *suppl. C, qui hic incipit.*

⁶⁸ *digessionem C dicessionem U.*

⁶⁹ *in illis U.*

⁷⁰ *saniores U.*

⁷¹ *suppl. C sanat U.*

⁷² *suppl. C.*

⁷³ *suppl. C.*

⁷⁴ *fleumaticis U.*

⁷⁵ *conpescit U.*

⁷⁶ *conseruat U.*

⁷⁷ *appellentur antidotus immortalis C antidotum appellentur inmortale U.* There is, of course, a preparation called *ἀθανασία*.

⁷⁸ *mentis ipsi C inter ipsos U.*

⁷⁹ *persequi U.*

⁸⁰ *neque C ne U.*

dum exemplum Mitridatis regis Ponti,⁸¹ qui uictus a Romanis⁸² dum uenenum duplice[m] uel triplice[m] bibisset [et] mensura, mori non potuit sed uiuus comprehensus uix ferro peremptus est.

18. Sed nec a cane rabioso ledi poterit his qui fuerit usus. Si qui<s>⁸³ etiam morbo⁸⁴egritudinis temptatus⁸⁵ utatur, [animum]⁸⁶ expellit malum. Maxime ad elefanciosis magne sunt. Ebrietatem eciam expellit. Dentes uero semper mundos et candidos prestabunt. Caput quoque mundat. Oculos siccant, renes purgat, lapides etiam et ipsos comminuit et ad pristinam sanitatem red[d]u<cu>nt.⁸⁷

19. His autem qui subito tenebras oculorum et grauitudinem capitis paciuntur et longum dolorem et qui epilemtici sunt, nihil aliud remedium est, si qui per annum bis utatur; aurigi[o]noso †per os curatos, ydropicos siccant, bulimum maxime <qui> ex fricdore paciuntur curant et tussem umectam siccant et paulatim reuocatur a<d> cibo.

20. Paralyticus autem a dolore corporis ad sanitatem perducit perfectam. Ad podagras uel omnes huncturas articuli, hec optima cura inuenta est si frequenter utatur. Experimentatum est.

When we later compare the other two manuscripts, we will notice that U gives us a transcription rather than a translation of the Greek words in the recipe itself, a phenomenon that occurs in other places as well but has, to my knowledge, not been studied so far. Even very common words that must have been known to any translator, like *rodon siron* (ρόδων ξηρών, dry roses, i.e. rose petals) or *rasis* (root, i.e. ρίζη), were left in their Greek forms.⁸⁸ This also raises the question how people with no or only a very rudimentary knowledge of Greek could have made sense of these recipes.

I will now briefly turn to the relationship of our four Latin witnesses. S and V6 form a separate branch that is opposed to U and V30.⁸⁹

(3.) centumfolia⁹⁰ (centuf- S) d. II SV6: βαλαντιού Gal. : om. V30

(3.) rapae semen d. VIII (VIII S) SV6 : congilidos sperma < VIII V30 : gongylidis

⁸¹ Cf. Gal. *antidot.* 2.9, 14.154 Ταύτη ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ἀεὶ ἐχρῆτο προφυλακῆς χάριν θανάσιμου. ἦνίκα γοῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐάλω, δις πίων θανάσιμον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, ζῆφει ἐαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. The same story in a longer version at Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 16, 14.283-284 K.

⁸² uictus a Romanis C luetur et ronus U.

⁸³ quis C.

⁸⁴ morbo U.

⁸⁵ temperatur U.

⁸⁶ om. C.

⁸⁷ corr. C.

⁸⁸ In 5., however, U has *cicute*, but V6 *conii* (*conu* V30)!

⁸⁹ There is some loss of text at the top of pages in this part of Vindoc. 109. For the present purpose, I will write *om.* for something that cannot be read in the ms., irrespective of whether the text in question could have fitted the mechanical lacuna caused by the crumbling or damaged parchment.

⁹⁰ For plant synonyms, I refer once and for all to Jacques André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris, 1985; for the early middle ages, his earlier *Lexique de termes de botanique en latin*, Paris, 1956, is still useful because it lists terms not found in the later work. Unless I comment specifically, I assume that the different words in the three mss. refer to the same plant.

horticae⁹¹ (coconidio ortice *trad.*, *correxi*) semen < VIII U γογγυλίδος σπέρμα Gal.

(5.) conii semen discoriatum d. II V6 : coriandri (*falso*) discoriati d. II S : conu⁹² sperma < I V30 : cicute semen < I U κωνείου πέρματος ἐπιτιμμένου Gal.

(6.) feniculi semen SV6 : maratri sperma V30 : μαράθρου σπέρματος Gal.

(7.) anatis (anati<s> S) sanguine SV6 : theriacis V30 : tiriacis U νήσσης αίματος Gal.

(7.) xilobalsamum (balsami ligno S) cum cortice d. III (III V6) SV6 : xilobalsamum ... ana < III : xilobalsamo ξυλοβαλκάμου Gal.

(7.) orobo albo < VII S : herbi albi d. VII V6 : orobi leuci < V V30 : orobon leuco<n> < V U ὀρόβων λευκῶν ἴσον (= < VIII) Gal.

(8.) petrosilino d. III S : petroselinum macedonicum d. III V6 : *om.* V30 : petroselino < VI U πετροσελίνου Gal. (πετροσελίνου Μακεδονικοῦ Andromachus apud Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 12, 14.259 K)

(8.) piperis longi (piper longo S) d. II SV6 : piper album < III piper longum < III V30 : piper albo < III piper longo < III U πεπέρεως μέλανος τριώβολον καὶ λευκοῦ δ' ὀβολοῦς γ' καὶ μακροῦ α' VGal.

(8.) rosae aridae d. III SV6 : rodon xiron < VI V30 : rodon siron < III U

(9.) siseli<s> (sisebis S) Massaliotici (masileuntici S massileontici V6) SV6 : siseleos V30 : siseleos masapofi U : *σικέλεως* Gal.

σίεελι δὲ τὸ Μεσσαλιωτικόν, πετροσελίον δὲ τὸ Μακεδονικόν is Galen's recommendation at *san. tuend.* 6.282.7 K, and may well have been in the Greek text of Gal. *antidot.* 2.9, as they are in the theriac salts of Gal. *ther. ad Pis.* 19, 14.293 K. The examples quoted above also remind us that antidotaries were composite works, which may well transmit the very same recipe from various sources and in slightly different form, as happens in the case of *antidot.* 6 and 30 in *Vendôme* 109 (and with the *trochisci* discussed earlier).⁹³

⁹¹ This adds another attestation for *horticus*, *a*, *um*, 'garden-', cf. Ehlers in the ThL s.v.

⁹² i.e. *conii* misread.

⁹³ This article was written during my stay as a member of the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, and it is with great and sincere gratitude that I remember the kind and efficient support provided by this institution (not least for revising the English). My stay was also made possible by a grant of leave of absence from the ministry of cultural affairs of the Rhineland-Palatinate, where I usually work at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz. The article also forms part of my research in the context of the project *Textos médicos latinos de los siglos VI-XI: transmisión, edición crítica y estudio léxico* of the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia-FEDER (HUM2006-13605-C02-01), directed by Arsenio Ferraces Rodríguez, Universidade da Coruña, Departamento de Filoloxía Española e Latina, Facultade de Filoloxía, A Coruña. Arsenio, whose stay partly coincided with mine, saved me from a number of incorrected readings in C, which he reexamined. The text of this paper has profited from discussions with him and comments made, and improvements suggested, by colleagues in the British Isles, David Langslow (who spent much time on improving my translations from Latin into English), Vivian Nutton, and Simon Swain, for which I offer my sincere thanks.

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