

*Ex occidente lux*Greek medical works as represented in pre-Salernitan  
Latin translations<sup>1</sup>*Klaus-Dietrich Fischer*

If a story is gripping, it hardly matters where you start. I will take my starting point from a condition that all scholars suffer from – melancholy. At least this was the opinion of the unknown author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* ch. 30.1. As the title of my contribution states, I will discuss some of the evidence for Greek medical texts as preserved in Latin translation, and in Latin only, even if there is in general little doubt that what we read in Latin is but a version of some Greek text. Pliny the Elder was, I think, absolutely right – at least in antiquity, the language of medicine was Greek, even in the normally Latin-speaking west, and perhaps surprisingly we still find some doctors in late antiquity, like the one mentioned in Ausonius' poem on the *professores Burdigalae*, who did their professional business in Greek. Another similar case from the same period, i.e. the late fourth or early fifth century that will come to mind is Theodorus Priscianus, a student of Vindicianus.

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1 I have kept the oral form of the paper read, first at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and somewhat later at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid. It 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. My stay there also became possible through a grant of leave of absence from the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz by the ministry of cultural affairs of the Rhineland-Palatinate. At the same time, this article forms part of my research undertaken 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.

Theodorus Priscianus first wrote his medical treatise in Greek and later also published it in an abridged form in Latin; and apart from very few fragments of the Greek work, it is in this Latin guise that his work survives.

## I

Almost the same may be said of Soranus. However, both as a physician and as an author, Soranus, the *princeps methodicorum*, ‘the head of Methodist doctors’, as his Latin translator and adapter Caelius Aurelianus calls him, was infinitely more important. Soranus was active in Rome around the turn from the first to the second century AD. Of his many works, only a gynaecological treatise survives in its original Greek, first edited, by the way, less than 150 years ago by the Dutch physician Ermerins. Surprisingly, this important work has come down to us in a single manuscript, where we encounter it mixed up with excerpts from other ancient gynaecological treatises. It was Caelius Aurelianus, a doctor from Sicca Veneria, a prosperous town located a little east of the present border between what is now Tunisia and Algeria, who preserved for us precious Soranic materials in his two large works, *On Acute Diseases* (3 books), and *On Chronic Diseases* (5 books). With the help of an anonymous Latin fragment on bringing up blood (*De sanguinem reicientibus*) which likewise can be shown to go back to Soranus<sup>2</sup>, it can be demonstrated beyond doubt that Caelius Aurelianus reworked and shortened Soranus’s text. He also introduced a few elements of his own, as we shall see later.

Nevertheless, Caelius Aurelianus was not the only Latin writer that lent his voice to Soranus<sup>3</sup>, a doctor for whom his later contem-

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2 Cf. my remarks (which include an edition of the text) in Bisher unberücksichtigte Handschriftenfunde zur Überlieferung der Werke des Caelius Aurelianus, in: *Le traité des Maladies aiguës et des Maladies chroniques de Caelius Aurelianus. Nouvelles approches*. Actes du colloque de Lausanne 1996. Textes réunis et édités par Philippe Mudry avec la collaboration de Olivier Bianchi et Daniela Castaldo, Nantes 1999, 141-176.

3 Of Soranus’ gynaecology, the widely current Latin version was made by an otherwise unknown Mustio. Only one ms. of Caelius Aurelianus’ translation

porary Galen showed great respect in spite of his general (and wholesale) rejection of Methodism. The second important Latin version<sup>4</sup> connected with Soranus is attributed, in our manuscripts, to two undoubtedly spurious authors, namely to Aurelius for the discussion of acute diseases, and to Esculapius for chronic diseases.

I now wish to turn to an excerpt from Soranus's chronic diseases, where the topic is melancholy. It is the final chapter, 6 (180-184), of book 1 of Caelius Aurelianus' *On Chronic Diseases*. In the pseudo-Aristotelian *problema* 30.1, which was the first and immensely influential account of melancholy and its connection with genius known to us, some famous sufferers from this condition are mentioned, at the very start, by their names. Pseudo-Aristotle begins with personages known from mythology, Hercules, Ajax, and Bellerophon, followed by the Spartan general Lysander. Of these four, Caelius Aurelianus mentions but one, Hercules, and in addition he quotes parts of two lines on the madness of Hercules from Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 8.219-220):

Item Vergilius, Hercule alta<sup>5</sup> iracundia moto,  
Hic (inquit) uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro  
Felle dolor (*Cael. Aur. tard.* 1.6.180)

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is known (it is now at the New York Academy of Medicine, ms. SAFE), and there, his text is mixed with that of Mustio. In older works, Mustio is sometimes called Muscio, which is wrongly believed to be the corresponding Latin form of Moschion. However, under the name of Moschion, Mustio's Latin version of Soranus was later turned once more into Greek.

- 4 Apart from the fragment *De sanguinem reicientibus* mentioned above.  
5 Cf. Sang. 751 p. 390, an anonymous text on *mania* and *melancholia*, which also seems to connect *altus/altitudo* with melancholy:

DE MELANCOLIA PASSIONE ET MANIA CCXVIII

Mania est autem [sic ita est] siccitas calida est nimia natura et uerum qui malancolicano pro habundantiam colerum nigrorum dicta est sed pro magnitudinem et altitudinem <nomen> accepit unde et uir sapientissimus hypocras nihil altum premitens melina apellauit altum uel ingentem unde amarum mel(n) nominauit ex qua elemento uir disertissimus aristotilus philosophus Dixit: Melancolica natura hominis uehementer aptare et perfectos facere uel indictiones uersuum quia sit sunt uel uigilantes quasi omnino corpus in<u>aserit mortem ingerit.

The author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *problema* had quoted three verses from Homer, and Vergil was, after all, and aspired to be, the Roman Homer. We cannot know whether Soranus's original Greek text had contained the quote from Homer – it is lost, as you will remember –, but it is utterly unlikely that Soranus would have quoted Vergil, let alone in the original Latin, just as the reference to Cicero in Caelius Aurelianus' text will hardly derive from Soranus' Greek, although Hellmut Flashar seemed to think so<sup>6</sup>.

Now we will look at Esculapius, ch. 5 *De melancholia*. He has the following to say about patients who suffer from melancholy:

5.3 Iracundia irritantur, cum mentis peruersitate insaniunt, ut maniaci: in uociferatione solum differunt, Aristotele philosopho testante. Defecerat hac passione inaudita uirtute Metellus, offensus ex fellis nigri abundantia, frigidam uim habente.

I quoted this passage from the only printed edition to date, published in Strassburg in 1530, together with the *Physica S. Hildegardis* and the *Diaeta Theodori*. A more recent critical edition, presented as a Madrid PhD thesis by Manzanero Cano in 1996, has not yet been published in book form and is therefore largely inaccessible. Based on all mss. known to Manzanero Cano, its text is of course quite different from the Strassburg 1530 printing, as we shall see. Let us stay with this Strassburg version for one moment longer. Metellus, famous for his luck, how could he have been a melancholic? But then, which Metellus? There were several Roman generals of this name; the first of them served with distinction in the First Punic War. None of our other sources connects any person by the name of Metellus with melancholy, and this particular Metellus *defecerat*, 'had succumbed' to melancholy. This is a tough one, so let us go back to the beginning of the passage in Esculapius, where we are told that Aristotle the philosopher had maintained that the difference between maniacs and melancholics consisted in the shouting,

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6 Hellmut Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in den medizinischen Theorien der Antike*, Berlin 1966, p. 80.

*uociferatione*, of the maniacs. But if we look for a passage in Aristotle stating just that, we again draw a blank.

The oldest ms. of Esculapius, unknown to Manzanero Cano because of imperfect cataloguing, is kept in Glasgow, no. 96 in the Hunterian Collection of the University Library (CLA II<sup>2</sup>.156; T.4.13 was the now obsolete shelf-mark), and it was written late in the 8th century, or perhaps early in the 9th, in a Visigothic centre in Southern France, the Narbonensis to be precise, if we follow Bernhard Bischoff, the renowned German palaeographer. Correct (i.e. classical) Latin spelling was not the forte of the copyist, but what he transmits is still interesting:

5.3 in iracundia inritantur cum mentis peruersitatis insaniuntur  
in manicis uocis feracionis sola mortale filosofo protestantem  
sic defecerunt hec passiones · in acuta uirtute et sculis pala hedis  
set bellere fons ex fellis nigri abun<dan>cia frigita: uim:  
abentem

Two short observations: older mss. are not necessarily better or more trustworthy, but even a very corrupt text might hide an important clue to a correct reading. When we compare the Glasgow ms. and the Strassburg printing, we notice that whoever was responsible for the Strassburg text was certainly a gifted philologist, with an ability to convert utter gibberish into acceptable Latin, and since he had to work without microfilms, without access to catalogues of mss., or to the internet, we should admire rather than despise him for what he did to sort out the text. Starting from the final part of the paragraph, we now see, in the Glasgow ms., that a personal name was indeed mentioned, and that this was Bellerophon (Βελλεροφών) or Βελλεροφόντης (both these forms were current). This allows us to make sense of the letters immediately preceding in the ms. and to discover one more personal name, that of Palamedes<sup>7</sup>. While the aforementioned Bellerophon likewise ap-

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7 Servius ad Aen. 2.82 does not enlighten us about Palamedes' madness or melancholy; he was the one who showed that Ulixes only pretended to be mad when he was called upon to join the Greeks in their Trojan campaign.

pears in the pseudo-Aristotelian *problema*, Palamedes does not, and I am at a complete loss to explain his presence in this context. However, with the help of another ms., the Reichenau codex Aug. CXX, written (as again Bernhard Bischoff said) in Northern Italy in the second quarter of the ninth century (it is now in Karlsruhe), it dawns on us that *et sculis* must hide a third name, none other than Hercules!

Hercules and Bellerophon have taken us back to Aristotle, or rather pseudo-Aristotle, and I would argue that the presence of these names is a convincing pointer to the original author of our passage, Soranus<sup>8</sup>. Since, of our three heroes, Hercules alone makes his appearance in Caelius Aurelianus' account of melancholy, Esculapius's source for the other two names in his text, Palamedes and Bellerophon, cannot have been Caelius Aurelianus. This is further proof that those earlier scholars who considered the works of Aurelius and Esculapius as abbreviated versions of Caelius Aurelianus, for instance the authors of the first volumes of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, were mistaken<sup>9</sup>. Rather, it is clear that these portions of the work of Esculapius must derive from a different Latin translation of Soranus' *On Chronic Diseases*.

Caelius Aurelianus' eight books on acute and chronic diseases were a rather lengthy and bulky text for readers (and especially copyists) in the early middle ages, in its length a close second, I think, to the Latin translation of Oribasius' *Synopsis* (nine books). It should come as no surprise that, for this reason alone, it must have been quite rare. While I would guess that a greater number of mss. than just the two on which the *editiones principes* were based made it

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8 Correctly identified as a Methodist source by Valentin Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina. Mitteilungen aus Handschriften zur Geschichte der griechischen Wissenschaft*, Zweites Heft, Berlin 1870 (reprinted Amsterdam 1963), 176: 'man könnte diese quelle für einen kurzen auszug des C(aelius) A(urelianus) halten, wenn sie sich nicht in so selbständige worte kleidete, wie sie dieser späten zeit in keiner weise zuzutrauen sind. es sind jedenfalls wörtliche reste einer alten methodischen schrift. aus dieser quelle ist z. b. das Aristoteles-citat c. 5 (das doch nur auf die bekannte stelle Probl. 30, 1 geht)'.

9 Flashar seems to have been unaware of the discussion of melancholy in Esculapius.

through to the renaissance, there cannot have been all that many. It is therefore surprising that we should come across Caelius Aurelianus in a Salernitan treatise called in its first and only printing (Torino 1901, from Roma, Biblioteca Angelica n. 1408, fol. 19r-38v), edited by Piero Giacosa in the *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*<sup>10</sup>, under the title *Trattato delle cure*. Melancholy features in chapters 13-16 (p. 184-186)<sup>11</sup>, and I give you the complete text of the first part (p. 184-185), in classical spelling and with my own corrections and emendations, to allow for easy comparison with Caelius Aurelianus:

### De melancholia XIII.

13.1 Melancholia est cuiuslibet malae rei superuenientis credulitas uel suspectio animae de natura quae timorem et tristitiam generant. Est autem tristitia rei multum amatae amissio; timor uero rei sibi nociturae suspectio;

13.2 uel melancholia est aegritudo ex distemperantia nigrae fumositatis in mediastina cellula cerebri existentis.

13.3 Melancholia uero aegritudinis nomen est et humoris. melan enim Graece, Latine nigrum, colon humor. Fit autem ex nigro felle, melancholico sanguine, flegmatis infusione, potu ueneni, morsu rabidi canis uel ex frequenti drimyphagia seu calidorum antidotorum acceptione.

### Signa XIII.

14.1 Crebra sensuum inmutatio, humanae mentis conuersio, irrationabilis fletus, uultus maestitia, taciturnitas, nunc uitae nunc mortis cupiditas, inflationes praecordiorum, effusiones uentris cum intestinorum tormentis;

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10 This publication is now accessible on Google.

11 i.e. part 1 of the work; cf. Giacosa p. 278: 'Il Trattato delle cure si può dividere in due parti; la prima che tratta dei morbi particolari *a capite ad calcem*, la seconda degli universali. La prima parte è una parafrasi dell'opera che va sotto il nome di Passionario di Garioponto ...'.

12 Giacosa's *ne* for the correct *nunc* in both instances is probably just due to an incorrectly expanded abbreviation (nc).

14.2 gaudent obscuris, cogitant de mortuis, alii se credunt terrea uasa, alii se credunt non habere capita; perdiderunt enim rationem propter melancholiam cholericis humoris fumositatem mediatinam cellulam denigrantem. Ut enim aer nebula obscuratur, sic et logistica<sup>13</sup> nigra fumositatem denigratur, unde ratione priuatur.

Cura XV.

15.1 Sint in aere lucido et humido. Rade caput et inunge calidis unguentis cum oleo muscelino<sup>14</sup>, Sycionio, lacte mulieris uel asinae distemperatis. Fomentum decoctionis chamomilae, papaue-  
ris, fenugraeci, melliloti et rosarum capiti est adhibendum. Prouoca ptarm[ic]um<sup>15</sup> cum lacte mulieris uel asinae, succo fenugraeci uel rutae uel absinthii admixto. ...

I will pick a few points for comment. Melancholy is, as the anonymous author rightly says, both a humour and a disease (13.3). We will agree with the first part of his etymology, *melan* = 'black', but have difficulty with the second, *colon* = 'humor'. It is not, as one might think at first, a mistake for *chymon* (the Greek word for 'humour' or 'juice'). Salernitan authors were quite fond of supplying etymologies, and it is just possible that the entry C172 in the Salernitan glossary *Alphita* originated, at least in part, from the passage under consideration, although it could as easily have been the other way round:

Colen, id est, humor; inde colera rubea, ille humor; et hec colera, horum colerum, id est melancholia, melan enim nigrum interpretatur, colen, humor; et quandoque pro illo humore, quandoque pro quolibet.

The variation between *colon* and *colen*, where our choice (as an editor) seems to be so simple, is really a difficult one, because a

13 *temptari* (sc. cellula); sarcastica *Giacosa*.

14 Not known to me from other texts.

15 *correxī sec. noxem* ptarmus, ἰ (πταρμός), quae uox Latine apud solum Oribasium inuenitur (syn. 1.21. 5 La p. 73, 11 ptarmi, id est sternutamenta, non expedit).



good number of mss.<sup>16</sup> read, like our text of the *Trattato delle cure, colon*, which is also repeated in the later medical dictionary compiled by Matthaeus Silvaticus<sup>17</sup>. And in any case, neither *colon* nor *colen* can mean, by any stretch of the imagination, ‘humour’. All this in spite of the fact that the correct interpretation could easily have been extracted from Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies*:

(Isid. orig. 4.5.5) Melancholia dicta est quod sit ex nigri sanguinis faece, admixta abundantia fellis. Graeci enim MELAN nigrum uocant, fel autem ΧΟΛΗΝ appellant.

Obviously, Isidore had ceased to be the popular reference work as which he had served for half a millennium. Now would you want to venture a guess where Isidore’s correct information had come from originally?

(Cael. Aur. tard. 1.6.180)<sup>18</sup>

Melancholia dicta, quod nigra fella aegrotantibus saepe per uomitum ueniant, Graeci enim nigrum melan uocauerunt, fel autem cholen appellant, et non, ut plerique existimant, quod passionis causa uel generatio nigra si<n>t<sup>19</sup> fella.

Isidore had made use of the introductory lines of the chapter on melancholy in Caelius Aurelianus, and while it is perfectly possible, or, in my opinion, highly likely that Caelius Aurelianus’ *Medicinales responsiones* contained the same or at least a very similar text as the one we read in the *Chronic Diseases*, the Aug. CXX<sup>20</sup>, being the one and only ms. that we have to depend on for the *Medicinales respon-*

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16 DBUL in Alejandro García González’s recent edition (based on a total of 14 mss.), *Alphita*. Edición crítica y comentario, Tavarnuzze 2007 (Edizione Nazionale La Scuola Medica Salernitana 2).

17 According to J.L.G. Mowat’s edition of *Alphita*. A medico-botanical glossary, from the Bodleian manuscript, Selden B. 35, Oxford 1887 (Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval and Modern Series. Vol. I part II), p. 43 n. 10.

18 To be added to the testimonies in Bendz’s edition in the *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*.

19 *correxī*.

20 The same ms. also transmits, among other texts, Aurelius and Esculapius.

*siones*, does not supply a definition or etymology of *melancholia*, and I suspect that the version we read today had already been abridged and pared down at an early date, preceding the hyparchetype common to both the Augiensis CXX and to Esculapius<sup>21</sup>. Before I say a little more about the transmission of Caelius Aurelianus inside the work of Esculapius, I will continue with Isidore.

The overtly simple connection between Isidore and Caelius Aurelianus yields one further result. If we print Greek letters for those Greek words in Isidore (as the last editor, Lindsay 1911 in his OCT, did), it is unavoidable to do the same in turn in Caelius Aurelianus, in spite of what the manuscripts of Caelius Aurelianus may transmit. Did I say manuscripts? None survive, or rather just a scrap (amounting to three folia) preserved from the 9th-century Lorsch codex of the *Chronic Diseases*, now in the library of the town council of Zwickau in Saxony<sup>22</sup>. A few badly mangled and distorted excerpts from Caelius Aurelianus in the *Liber passionalis* I managed to identify are interesting for the history of the text but not really important for improving it.

The most recent critical edition of Caelius Aurelianus by Gerhard Bendz lists, on p. 1219, Voces Graecae Graecis litteris scriptae, all of which, with not one single exception, occur in the *Acute Diseases*. There are two ways of explaining this: Caelius Aurelianus used Greek letters in one of his major works, but refrained from doing so in the other, or, and this is the explanation I favour, the first editor of the *Acute Diseases*, Johannes Winter von Andernach<sup>23</sup> (Paris

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21 The *Medicinales responsiones* are included in our text of Esculapius, which is a composite of several sources.

22 Augusto Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano. Secoli IX, X e XI*, Roma 1956 (Storia e Letteratura. 53), 235 is probably right in guessing that it was Janus Cornarius, who had befriended the editor of *On Chronic Diseases*, Johannes Sichardus (Sichart) in Basel, who took these leaves to Zwickau.

23 On his biography and the controversy regarding the years of his birth and death (Durling thinks that 1505 and 1574 are the most likely), see Richard J. Durling, A chronological census of Renaissance editions and translations of Galen, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, 1961, 230-305, at 237 with n. 41.

1533), introduced the Greek letters, while the more conservative editor of the *Chronic Diseases*, Sichardus (Basel 1529), chose to stick to the Latin transliterations he encountered in his manuscript. It is remarkable that nobody seems to have noticed this circumstance earlier.

Let us now return to the connection between Esculapius and Caelius Aurelianus. As alluded to above, many earlier scholars had believed that Esculapius was nothing but an abbreviated and re-worked version of Caelius Aurelianus' *On Chronic Diseases*. This idea was convincingly explored by a young Swiss scholar, Pierre Schmid, in his 1942 PhD thesis, following earlier work by his thesis director Antoine Thomas and confirming what Valentin Rose had correctly stated more than seventy years earlier. All the same, Esculapius in its present guise does indeed contain verbatim excerpts from Caelius Aurelianus. These, however, do not originate from the *Chronic Diseases*, but from the *Medicinales responsiones*<sup>24</sup>, bearing the rather clumsy title *De speciali significatione diaeticarum passionum* ('Diagnosis of internal diseases'). The Aug. CXX, our only ms. witness for this work, breaks off in section 80, and what follows in Rose's 1870 *editio princeps*, not replaced so far<sup>25</sup>, was in its turn re-excerpted (by Rose) from Esculapius<sup>26</sup>. In a very few cases, the *Physica Plinii Florentino-Pragensis*, a compilation in three books<sup>27</sup> dating from the High

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24 Originally at least nine books.

25 Like a number of other *editiones principes* of Latin medical texts for which Rose was responsible.

26 The *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* does no longer quote any section of *diaet. pass.* beyond 80.

27 It is based on the earlier *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*, transmitted in its complete form in the Cass. 69. (Önnerfors' 1975 edition, relying on *Bamb. med.* 2 [his Q] and quoting variants from the abridgement contained in *Bamb. med.* 1 [his M], or *Lorscher Arzneibuch*, does not make use of the Cass. 69, which was identified as a witness of the *Physica* only more than ten years later, by Sergio Sconocchia, and Önnerfors' edition therefore breaks off where the *Bamb. med.* 2 does. It is now clear that M = *Bamb. med.* 1 transmits additional genuine material from the *Physica Plinii* in the *secunda capitulatio*.) It does, however, not contain quotes from the *Medicinales responsiones* of Caelius Aurelianus, which also applies to other version of the *Physica Plinii* from the early middle ages, the *Physica Plinii Sangallensis*, recently edited by Önnerfors.

Middle Ages and edited by three students of Alf Önnersfors, also may be drawn on<sup>28</sup>, and surprisingly, it offers a text of better quality<sup>29</sup>.

Here is what Caelius Aurelianus has to say about diagnosing a patient as being affected by *melancholia*:

(Cael. Aur. diaet. pass. 63)

Ex quibus melancholicum adprehendis?

Ex odio uitae atque conuersationis humanae, mentis cum uultus maestitia, taciturnitate, anxia insidiarum sibi paratarum suspicionem cum fletu irrationabili et nunc mortis nunc uitae cupiditate, inflatione praecordiorum, articularum frigido torpore cum leui sudore atque colore nigro uel uiridi, cum corporis macie ac debilitate et cibi accepti corruptione, cum ructationibus male redolentibus hoc est fumosis uel acidis<sup>30</sup> aut bromosis, et uomitu fellium nigrorum aut eorum per uentrem effusione cum intestinorum tormento. Hanc passionem Latini atram bilem uocauerunt.

If it were not for the beginning, *crebra sensuum inmutatio*, we would be unable to decide whether the source for 14.1 of the *Trattato delle cure* had been Caelius Aurelianus or Esculapius. We can also see that *conuersationis humanae mentis* in Esculapius and *humanae mentis conuersio* in the *Trattato delle cure*, which derives from it, had its origin in misconstruing Caelius Aurelianus' Latin text. Where Caelius Aurelianus had said that 'both mind and face were sad' (*mentis cum uultus maestitia* – anteposition of the genitive, so well-known from

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28 Indicated in the margin of Rose's edition. The *Physica Plinii Florentino-Pragensis* was referred to as Plinius Valerianus in older works; in fact, books 1-3 of the Plinius Valerianus equal the *Physica Plinii Florentino-Pragensis*, books 1-3, while its book 4 is Garg. Mart. med. and its book 5 the *Liber diaetarum Alexandri et aliorum medicorum*, excerpted (with a few exceptions) from the Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles and offering dietetic advice for a number of diseases. The fullest account is in Alf Önnersfors, *In Medicinam Plinii studia philologica*, Lund 1963.

29 According to Rose, *Anecdota* (*supra*, n. 8) p. 177: '... der Pseudo-Plinius hat also offenbar noch einen sehr guten text gehabt (s. II, 26.28. III, 6.9.10.12)'.

30 *acidiosis Aug., per errorem, nam acediosus est qui acedia premitur, correxit Rose.*

Germanic languages like English or German that we wouldn't bat an eyelid, went out of fashion in Romance languages when the genitive was replaced by the use of the preposition *de*), after stating that patients were averse to life and the company of fellow-humans, later readers were led astray and took *humanae* as a qualifier of the next word, *mentis*. We should keep in mind that *scriptio continua* was still the rule even in the eighth century, and both then and later the correct transcription of older texts relied heavily on the copyist's command both of Latin and of the subject matter. Once *humanae mentis* had been established as a *syntagma, conuersationis* as the word on which both depended did no longer make sense, and changing it to *conuersionis* must have seemed a good idea; after all, melancholics were deranged and had had their mind 'turned over'. A textual critic worth his or her salt would have seen that in *conuersio humanae mentis, humanae* was now spare, but such people, when and where they existed in the middle ages, perhaps even today, turned their attention to better things, poetry for instance, or law, if they did not aim at something even higher (and more profitable) i.e. divinity.

To a textual critic, *Hanc passionem Latini atram bilem uocauerunt* likewise does not appear to be beyond suspicion. Caelius Aurelianus, in his *Chronic Diseases* (tard. 1.6.180), had only said *nam Tullius atram bilem dixit ueluti altam iracundiam*, and if we compare Cic. Tusc. 3.5.11, this is not exactly what we read, and what Caelius Aurelianus himself must have read:

quem nos **furorem**, μελαγχολίαν illi [*sc. Graeci*] uocant, quasi uero **atra bili** solum mens ac non saepe uel **iracundia grauiore** uel **timore** uel **dolore moueatur**, quo genere Athamantem<sup>31</sup> Alcmaeonem<sup>32</sup> Aiacem Orestem furere dicimus.

*Latini* as applied to speakers of Latin is, however, found a number of times in Caelius Aurelianus, but why didn't Caelius Aurelianus simply say that μελαγχολία was called *furor* in Latin? The point that Cicero is making is rather that it is inappropriate to call this

31 Athamas 2, RE II (1896).

32 Amphiarai filius ex Eriphyle, qui matrem occidit. (ThLL s.v. Alcmeo)

condition μελαγχολία, because madness (*furere, furor*<sup>33</sup>) is not caused by black bile alone but also by serious anger or wrath, by fear, or by grief.

As you will remember, Ajax is the only personage in this passage common to both Cicero and Pseudo-Aristotle. Nevertheless Cicero also mentions Bellerophon in the same work at Tusc. 3.26.63:

Ex hoc euenit ut in animi doloribus alii solitudines captent, ut ait Homerus de Bellerophonte [Il. 6.201-202]

qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis  
ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans<sup>34</sup>

Pseudo-Aristotle begins in fact with the preceding verse Iliad 6.200, so the whole reads in English translation:

But when Bellerophon in his turn came to be hated by all the gods, then it happened that he wandered alone over the Aleian plain, eating his heart out, and shunning the paths of men,<sup>35</sup>

I must confess that I marched you to the Aleian plain for some purpose; and now we will travel even further, to Wittenberg in Germany, a university whose fame spread as far as England, and Denmark. You will remember that the Danes sent their young prince, the heir to the throne, to Wittenberg for his higher education. Perhaps the most famous professor that this university had in the first half of the 16th century was the classicist, Protestant theologian and philosopher Philipp Melancthon, honoured with the title of *praeceptor Germaniae*. In book 2 of his treatise *De anima*, first printed

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33 *furere* is also Cicero's choice at diu. 1,81, where he refers to Ps.Arist. probl. 30.1 *Aristoteles quidem eos etiam, qui ualetudinis uitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur, censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagiens atque diuinum.*

34 Cic. fr. poet. 20 Traglia.

35 Transl. A. T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt, Cambridge/Mass. and London, England 1999 (Loeb Classical Library 170).

in 1540 and quoted by Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl from a later edition, we meet the same verses as before with a minor variation,

Si ipsa per se atra bilis redundans aduritur, fiunt tristitiæ maiores, fugæ hominum, qualis fuerit Bellerophontis mœsticia.  
 Qui miser in campis errabat solus Aleis,  
 Ipse suum cor edens, hominum uestigia uitans,  
 ut inquit Homerus<sup>36</sup>.

We saw earlier that these Latin verses had been composed by M. Tullius Cicero, and an accomplished Humanist author like Melanchthon undoubtedly borrowed them from him. But I am not ready to believe that Melanchthon based the passage just cited on Cicero or Pseudo-Aristotle. I surmise he drew on another Greek author, likewise spurious, but in Melanchthon's day and long after none other than the famous second-century-AD doctor Galen. The work in question is the *Introductio siue medicus*, of which Caroline Petit has provided the first critical edition<sup>37</sup>. For our purposes, it suffices to quote the text as printed in Kühn XIV 740-741 (introd. 13.24 Petit):

τῆς δὲ μελαγχολίας αἰτία μέλαινα χολή, ψυχρότερος χυμὸς καὶ ζοφώδης. διὸ ζοφοειδεῖς τέ εἰσι καὶ δύσθυμοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι. ὕποπτοι δὲ εἰς πάντα καὶ μισάνθρωποι τε καὶ ἐρημίαις χαίροντες, οἷος ὁ **Βελλοροφόντης** ἱστορεῖται.

Ἦτοι ὁ κάπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἷος ἄλατο,

Ὅν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλείων.

My hypothesis is the following: Melanchthon had used the Latin translation of the *Introductio* published by the young German doctor I have mentioned earlier, Johannes Winter von Andernach<sup>38</sup> (first

36 Latin text quoted from the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; slightly different the text in Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the history of natural philosophy, religion and art*, London 1964, p. 90 n. 70, probably from the Corpus Reformatorum vol. 13; an English translation can be found *ibidem*, on p. 90.

37 Collection des Universités de France, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2009.

38 He was responsible for the Greek letters in Caelius Aurelianus *Acute Diseases*, as we saw above.

printed in 1528<sup>39</sup>), and did a cut-and-paste job with the Homeric verses that Winter had rendered somewhat differently<sup>40</sup>, like this:

Nam cito longa maris remeabat littora solus  
Cor edens curis, hominum vestigia vitans.

It is probably no coincidence that Winter has the identical ending of the second hexameter, and may have known Cicero's version. The Greek text Winter was working from, most likely the Aldina edition of 1525<sup>41</sup>, the first complete printing of Galen's works in Greek, had not corrected the lines from Homer, which ran like this:

ἦτοι ὤκα πεδίον τὸ ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο, / ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων,  
πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλειίνων.

Winter, therefore, was forced by this imperfect Homeric text to come to the incorrect conclusion that Bellerophon was running (ὤκα = *cito*<sup>42</sup>) along the beach (πεδίον τὸ ἀλήιον = salty plain).

I will leave Winter alone now but stick out my neck still further, claiming that in the *Tusculanae disputationes* Cicero may have used, for his Homeric quote, not Pseudo-Aristotle but a (hypothetical) work which had the same source as the *Introductio*. Why? Had Cicero been

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39 No variation in the 1529 printing Parisiis apud Simonem Colinaeum, p. 27<sup>v</sup>. Durling, *Census* (n. 23 *supra*), also lists editions of this translation in 1534 and 1537, which I have not checked yet.

40 Kühn prints Cicero's version, which is confusing. Ps.Gal. *Introd.* in the Aldina, Venetiis 1525, Pars 4a, p. 6<sup>v</sup> is given below. Lorenzo Valla translated: Postquam autem dijs factus inuisus est, in suo agro errabat, consortia hominum fugiens, et solitariam ac moerore plenam uitam agens. (*Homeri ... Ilias* per Laurentium Vallensem ... latina facta, Coloniae 1522, p. 69<sup>r</sup>). A later prose version of Homer reads: Hic in campo erratico solus errabat Suum animum corrodens, consortium hominum fugiens (*Homeri ... Ilias* Andrea Dino ... interpretate, ad verbum translata, Venetiis 1537, p. 67<sup>r</sup>).

41 See Durling, *Census* (n. 23 *supra*), 237.

42 For *cito* with short syllables in later dactylic poetry, cf. ThL III 1209,83.



using Pseudo-Aristotle, I think he would in all likelihood have included the preceding verse, Hom. Il. 6.200, as well as 6.201-202.

Melanchthon was not just a student of Galen but of medical literature in general, as he tells us himself:

in medicorum libris legendis bonam temporis partem consumpsi.

There is a host of interesting medical information in his *De anima*, which would, I feel, repay careful study by an ancient medical historian. I say this because a few lines earlier, Melanchthon had also quoted Vergil on the wrath of Hercules:

Vt Virgilius de ira Herculis inquit:  
Hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro  
Felle dolor.

As you will remember, this is exactly the quotation we had met before, in Caelius Aurelianus' description of melancholy, and the most likely explanation that occurs to me is that Melanchthon had indeed studied the *editio princeps* of *On Chronic Diseases*, published in 1529.

Before we leave Vergil and Homer, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that an author might have chosen different verses from the Iliad to illustrate the condition of melancholy, as did Aretaeus. In 3.5.2, he quoted Il. 1.101-104

among them rose the warrior, son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon, deeply vexed; and with rage was his black heart wholly filled, and his eyes were like blazing fire<sup>43</sup>.

## II

Now we leave the heroes of a very distant past and likewise the upper part of the body and move downwards, to a disease that

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43 Same ed. and translator as above (n. 35).

could not have a place in epic or tragic poetry, but is more serious, perhaps even fatal. *dysenteria* was linked with black bile in the Hippocratic aphorism 4.24: 'If dysentery starts from black bile, it is deadly'. It could also be connected with yellow bile, or, as Galen says, corrosive humours. We should remain aware that, like in the excerpts on melancholy we examined earlier on, humoralism was by no means the only approach to human disease current in antiquity, although it was to prevail for many centuries to come. Before taking a closer look at some new texts on *dysenteria*, I will begin with a few short general remarks about the sources where such fragments are likely to be identified.

Collections of recipes occasionally contain excerpts from medical manuals because of the recipes that are mentioned there as part of the therapy. I was able to demonstrate this for Ps. Democritus, i.e. the third Latin translation of Oribasius' *Synopsis*<sup>44</sup>, and likewise for the *Liber tertius*<sup>45</sup>. Then, in 2008, I drew attention to an interesting passage in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (Plin. phys. Bamb. 67.2), from which we learn that doctors not only sometimes did in fact amputate the female breast as a treatment for mammarian cancer (contrary to the unambiguous advice of Hippocrates, followed by the majority of ancient doctors), but also that some local anaesthetic (as we would call it) was used for pain control during this kind of surgery.

The longest new text on *dysenteria* presented here for the first time is taken from a very extensive collection of recipes preserved in Monte Cassino 69, written at the end of the 9th century. Re-

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44 Der *Liber medicinalis* des Pseudo-Democritus, in: *Tradición e Innovación de la Medicina Latina de la Antigüedad y de la Alta Edad Media*. Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional sobre los textos médicos latinos antiguos. Artículos reunidos y editados por Manuel Enrique Vázquez Buján, Santiago de Compostela 1994 (Cursos e Congresos da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. 83) 45-56, at pp. 52f.

45 Der pseudogalenische *Liber tertius*, in: *Galenismo e Medicina tardoantica. Fonti greche, latine e arabe*. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Siena 2002, a cura di Ivan Garofalo e Amneris Roselli, Napoli 2003 (Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Quaderni, 7), 101-132, at pp. 109f.

cently, this ms. came again into focus following Sergio Sconocchia's discovery in it of some more recipes from the *Compositiones* of Scribonius Largus<sup>46</sup>, as well as of the complete text of the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (published by Önnersfors from Bamb. med. 2<sup>47</sup>). Monte Cassino 69 is linked to another Bamberg ms., Bamb. med. 1, published in full in 1991 and often referred to as *Lorscher Arzneibuch* (Recept. Lauresh.), because it was copied in the abbey of Lorsch near Worms of Nibelungen fame, in the very first years of the 9th century<sup>48</sup>. The second section of this work, styled *capitulatio*, is an abridged version of the (complete) *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* just mentioned, while section 5 (the *quinta capitulatio*) contains an antidotary transmitted, again in a fuller form, in Cass. 69 (cf. esp. pp. 314b ff.). Bernhard Bischoff thought it likely that the Bamb. med. 2 had been written in Italy in the early 10th century, which would make it the youngest of the three mss. (Bamb. med. 1 and 2, Cass. 69) under consideration here. Their common ancestor for the material they share could have been in Northern Italy, a region which played such an important role in the transmission of medical mss. to north of the Alps, but, apparently, also to further south, as we conclude from Cass. 69.

The antidotary in Cass. 69 contains two therapeutic fragments; one of them deals with diseases of the intestinal tract, the other is gynaecological in nature (but absent from Monica Green's survey<sup>49</sup> because it is embedded in the antidotary and had thus escaped her

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46 See now K.-D. Fischer and S. Sconocchia, 'Nuovi *excerpta* scriboniani tra tardo antico e medioevo', *RFIC* 136, 2008, 267-311.

47 According to Bischoff, written in Italy, more likely in the first half of the 10th century than in the ninth, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Teil I: Aachen-Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz), no. 224, p. 50.

48 Bischoff, *Handschriften* (preceding note), no. 223, p. 50.

49 Monica H. Green, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West. Texts and Contexts*, Aldershot 2000 (Collected Studies Series. 680), Appendix: Medieval gynaecological texts: A handlist.

notice). We will now take a closer look at a chapter from the first fragment, the part that deals with dysentery<sup>50</sup>.

Let us start our examination of this text with an antique definition<sup>51</sup> of this condition, likewise unpublished. It comes from the pseudo-Soranean *Quaestiones medicinales*, but is absent from the London ms. employed by Valentin Rose for his *editio princeps*<sup>52</sup> in 1870, because that ms. had lost some folios. The two additional mss. not known to Rose at the time he prepared his edition, Lincoln Cathedral 220 and Chartres 62, offer a slightly divergent text, which is why, for my present purpose, I will refer to the Lincoln version (L) only.

255.1L Quid est dissinteria? Vulneratio intestinorum in interiori<bu>s partibus cum reumatismo. Sequuntur autem eos uariae egestionones, colerica uel sanguinea et cum nimio putore egeruntur etiam tanquam pus aut muccis simile cum dolore et uix continentur nec non et febres sequuntur.

255.1L What is dysentery? A lesion of the intestines in their inner parts (i.e. their lining) with flux. Patients will suffer from stools of varying kinds (or: varying consistency), bilious stool or bloody stool, which are passed with an excessively fetid odour. Stools may also contain something resembling pus or slime and

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50 A fuller account may be found in Esculapius, ch. 30 Manzanero Cano (ch. 31 in Schott). Caelius Aurelianus tard. 4.6 has a gap at the end of 4.6.88.

51 Isid. orig. 4.7.36 transmits a rather peculiar definition: *Disinteria est diuisio continuationis, id est ulceratio intestini. Dis enim diuisio est, intera intestina. Fit autem antecedente fluore, quem Graeci διάρροϊαν uocant.* This is interesting insofar as it attests the spelling *dis-* in his time, and that probably none of his medical friends (he must have had some, I reckon) knew any better. Isidore's source was the Latin commentary Lat-A on Hipp. aph. 3.11: *Scitote quia dysinteria nihil aliud est nisi continuationis diuisio*, as Manuel Enrique Vázquez Buján pointed out, cf. his article *Isidoro de Sevilla y los libros de la medicina ...*, in: *Isidorus medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina*. Edición a cargo de Arsenio Ferraces Rodríguez, A Coruña 2005 (Universidade da Coruña. Monografías 113) ..., 243-262, at p. 250.

52 Which I hope to replace in the near future.

be passed with pain, and can hardly be held back. These patients will also develop fever.

255.2L *Aliter*. *Dissinteria* ulcus est intestini cum flegmone et egestionibus sanguineis. Facit etiam *liminata*<sup>53</sup> id est arisionem intestinorum et cum nimia mordicatione uel dolore uentris egeruntur.

255.2L A different definition. Dysentery is an ulceration of the intestine with inflammation and bloody stools. It also causes *liminata* that is burning of the intestines, and (stools) are passed with excessive griping or abdominal pain.

Present-day doctors do not consider dysentery as a disease in its own right, but rather as a symptom, in most cases of intestinal infections with a number of different pathogenic agents, which must be checked and eliminated. Now, we return to the text in Cass. 69, which I have divided for convenience of reference into 11 sections, which I shall summarize for you.

Section 1 deals with the various kinds of dysentery according to the place that is affected; it differentiates between three segments of the intestinal tract, viz. the upper portion, the middle, and the lower. This is done because it is claimed that according to the location, dysentery requires a different treatment. If it be located in the upper part, therapy is by potions, for the lower, enemas are appropriate, and for the middle part of the intestine, both enemas (from below) and potions (from above).

To follow these suggestions, it is of course important to know how you can tell which part is affected, and this is set out in sections 2 to 5.

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53 ἀπολύματα Heliod. apud Orib. coll. 44.7.13 (LSJ quote, wrongly, 44.10.13) ‘tissue particles’ (in a passage that does not concern dysentery); this reading should also be restored in Archig. apud Aët. 9.40.

The rest of our fragment, sections 6 to 11, specifies the treatment. Section 6 lists the potions: the triangular troche, the saffron-coloured or yellow troche, the troche prepared with corals, or the famous potion devised by the physician Philo, the Philonium.

In section 7, enemas are prescribed, which are to be made up with the well-tried troche; and for bloody stools, again the troche containing corals is used. For more severe cases (8), when the patients pass sheer blood and pieces of intestinal tissue and there is constant straining, our author recommends an enema containing Lycium<sup>54</sup>, buck's tallow, and incense, mixed together in rice-water, whereas his prescription for feverish patients with an involvement of the liver (9) specifies an enema with Lycium and rice-water. For the final cure, a fumigation is indicated: a heated mill-stone is to be put in a new earthenware vessel, and wine is poured on it in winter and vinegar in summer; this fumigation (steam-treatment would be a better word) should be repeated often.

The last section (11) gives a recommendation for patients whose violent and painful diarrhoea prevents them from sleeping during the night. These patients will receive suppositories made up from a mixture of incense, castoreum, opium, and ginger, mixed with the juice of comfrey.

LXXII. Ad dysintericos<sup>55</sup>.

1. <In> dysinteria necesse est secundum loca curari. Si enim superior intestinus passus fuerit, potionibus utendum est; si inferior, iniectio[n]ibus; si medius, et potionibus et iniectio[n]ibus.
2. Locus autem passioni[bu]s intellegitur ita: Si superior intestinus in causa est, primum quod<sup>56</sup> in superioribus partibus dolor

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54 A decoction of the roots and twigs of *Rhamnus petiolaris*, cf. *Diosc.* 1.100.2 for the preparation and 1.100.3 for its use in dysentery.

55 Punctuation and capitalization have been changed, and the rare abbreviations have been expanded in keeping with the style of the ms.

56 que *Cas.*

est; deinde quod<sup>57</sup> sanguis qui exit siue pus siue<sup>58</sup> crusta siue rasura, nimium cum flegmate sunt commixta, ita ut unum corpus facere uideantur.

3. Si autem in medio fuerit, mediocriter commixtum et dolor in media parte sentitur.

4. Si autem in inferiore fuerit, supra scybalum<sup>59</sup> fel uel flegma uel sanguis siue sanguinolentum siue rasura.

5. Sed et alia[s] res significat locum. Si enim in superiore[m] intestino fuerit, tenuissim<a>e sunt qu<a>e exeunt et angust<a>e rasur<a>e; si in medio, medi<a>e; si <in> inferiore, et lat<a>e et grandes et pingues et spiss<a>e.

6. Curabis autem hoc modo. Si potionibus ut<i> necesse est, dabis trociscum trigonum<sup>60</sup> uel crocodem uel dia corallion; quod si necessitas talis fuerit, et [de] Philonion<sup>61</sup>.

7. In inferioribus autem inicies de trocisco probatissimo, <si> tamen nimium reuma est aut nigrum descendit. Si autem sanguinolenta descendunt, uti potest dia corallion.

8. Si autem sanguis ipse purus sit et rasur<a>e et conationes, lycium et seuum hircinum et turis modicum cum suco oriz<a>e potione[m] commisces et inicies.

9. Item ad eos qui sanguine<m> ex nimio calore fellis mittunt et febriunt: Lycium in modum abellan<a>e soluis et cum suco oriz<a>e potione <commisces> et tepidum per biduum aut triduum inicies; optime curabis.

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57 que *Cass.*

58 ciue *Cass.*

59 sce- *Cass.*

60 trico- *Cass.*

61 fyl- *Cass.*

10. Ad curationes tamen percurandas suffumigas ita: Lapidem de mola ignitum mittis in uasculum nouum et superfundis ei hieme uinum, <a>estate uero acetum, et supersedeat. Hoc frequenter facies; curabis.

11. Quod si tam nimia fuerit, ut insomnietate<m> faciat, collyrio uteris quod<sup>62</sup> accipit haec: turis ÷ III, castorei ÷ III, opii ÷ II, zinzib(eris) ÷ II. Haec teris et cum suco symphyti<sup>63</sup> formas longa collyria [h]ac subicies.

What is new in this account, or less common, and what can be paralleled in other writings? The division of dysentery into one kind that affects the upper part of the intestinal tract and another one situated lower down seems to have been commonplace and corresponds perfectly with gross human anatomy, which distinguishes between the small and the large intestines; the latter would start with the caecum<sup>64</sup> or, more precisely, at the valvula ileocaecalis. We find this division into two kinds for instance in Galen<sup>65</sup>, de loc. aff. 6.2 VIII 382f., and Galen agrees that the locus of the lesion is of major importance for the treatment to be chosen: 'For the treatment of the ulceration it is of great importance to know in which part of the

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62 que Cass.

63 sinfiti Cass.

64 Ps.Gal. liber tertius 71.2 *Nam dysenteriae causae duae sunt. Una est, quae fit in intestinis minoribus, quae desuper sunt. Alia est, quae de maiore intestino uenit, quod inferius positum est, in quo potiones peruenire non possunt; nam per chystem magis curantur.* 72.1 *Incipiunt causae dysenteriae quae in intestino maiore est, hoc est de inferiore parte, id est in longaone[m], qui ano iungitur.*

65 Sincere thanks to Beate Gundert for advising me about passages in Galen dealing with *dysentery*. Also in the commentary Lat-B (quoted from London, BL Regius 12.E.XX) on Hipp. aph. 6.3/6.4: '*In plena disinteria abstinencia cibi malum. Et cum febris mala defluentia.*' *Vulneratio intestinorum disinteria uocatur. que fit duobus modis. seu in intestinis maioribus quae iusum meatui iunguntur seu in minoribus que post stomachum fiunt. Ergo in ista disinteria longa si fastidium natum fuerit periculosum est maxime ut dicit. si cum febris fit disinteria et mala defluentia dicit hoc est diuersi coloris.* Mathias Witt, *Weichteil- und Viszeralchirurgie bei Hippokrates*, Berlin/New York 2009, believes, wrongly I think, that the passage from Galen (his Testimony 1b) refers to the treatment of abdominal wounds caused from the outside; the same applies to his testimonies 1c-1e.



intestines it is located. Ulcerations in the upper parts benefit from drugs which are swallowed; while those in the lower parts, from drugs that are injected (through the anus, i.e. enemas)', a statement which is repeated almost verbatim by the sixth-century Byzantine doctor Alexander of Tralles (II 415.9 Puschmann).

However, our anonymous author in Cass. 69 does not tell us clearly where he wants his three parts of the intestines to begin or to end. I did wonder if the middle part that we find here might not have had its origin in some doctrine of the mean (cf. 3 *mediocriter commixtum*, 4 *si in medio, mediae*), or in the practical therapeutic distinction between the use of (a) potions (i.e. drugs taken by mouth), (b) a combination of potions and enemas, or (c) enemas alone. It is rather surprising to find this distinction between three kinds of treatment for dysentery paralleled in Esculapius (30.24 Manzanero Cano): *disintericorum curas nos oportet intimare, quorum genera sunt tria*. But a still closer parallel exists in Alexander of Tralles (II p. 415 ff. Puschmann). Alexander talks about the middle parts of the intestines (II p. 417 and p. 425); the rectum seems to be for him the lower part, and since the upper part must include the small intestine (anatomically quite different from what follows), Alexander's middle part should then refer to what we call the colon. It is interesting that Alexander, like our author, stresses the necessity of establishing the precise place where the lesion is located (II p. 415), because (as he says) an excellent cure proceeds from an excellent diagnosis.

I will conclude with one last excerpt (reproduced below without changes) which takes us back, in a way, to our codex from the Reichenau, the Aug. CXX, which also transmits an anonymous Latin commentary on the Hippocratic aphorisms. This was printed three times in the 16th century, and it is ascribed, according to some manuscripts from the high middle ages and without a shred of proof, to Oribasius. In all the older manuscripts it is anonymous. To distinguish it from a probably later commentary in Latin which is likewise anonymous, Joseph-Hans Kühn (no relation of the editor

of Galen) called it Lat-A, and the later, and shorter one, Lat-B<sup>66</sup>. Lat-A must be based on a Greek original, or at least on Greek material. The fact that it was excerpted by Isidore of Seville for his *Etymologies* provides a convenient *terminus ante quem*<sup>67</sup>. This commentary has the same distinction of *tria loca* affected by the ulceration, and it also provides some short hints about how to establish a diagnosis which of the three parts is affected. All this is contained in the commentary on Hipp. aph. 6.3, and at least for the same lemma, neither the recently edited commentary by Stephanus, nor the older ones edited by Dietz more than 150 years ago (Theophilus and Damascius) transmit material that is in any way similar or comparable.

Comm. in Hipp. aph. 6.3(-4) Lat-A

III. [6.3] In longa dysinteria abstinencia cibi malum. malum et cum febribus mala [6.4] deflueria uulnera malitiosa.

1. Scitote quia dysinteria quam maxime ex distemperantia fit. In qualitatem. et hoc dicit.' quia non in eis conuenit abstinencia. quia duobus modis leditur. unum.' quia plus fit distemperantia. aliud. quia debilitationibus duæ naturæ adsumpsit.' et esse non potest. una cibi. et alia ex indigestione.

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66 Cf. my article "Zu des Hippokrates reich gedeckter Tafel sind alle eingeladen". Bemerkungen zu den beiden vorsalernitanischen lateinischen Aphorismenkommentaren, in: Wilhelm Geerlings und Christian Schulze (Edd.), *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter. Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*, Leiden 2002 (Clavis commentariorum antiquitatis et mediæ aevi 2 [Ergänzungsband]), 275-313.

67 Cf. my article Neue oder vernachlässigte Quellen der *Etymologien* Isidors von Sevilla (Buch 4 und 11), in: *Isidorus medicus. Isidoro de Sevilla y los textos de medicina*. Edición a cargo de Arsenio Ferraces Rodríguez, A Coruña 2005 (Universidade da Coruña. Monografías 113), 129-174, at pp. 134ff., as well as Manuel Enrique Vázquez Buján, *Isidoro de Sevilla y los libros de medicina*. A propósito del Antiguo comentario latino a los *Aforismos* hipocráticos, in the same volume, 243-262.

2. Tribus enim locis a dysintēria. hoc est ipsa ulceratio. uisum est quando ex sanguine ministrat. aut in medium. unde cruentum stercore faciunt. aut enim in grossum intestinum inferiorem unde sicut mucilagines et rasuras ita deponunt.' et inde sunt uulnera malitiosa.

This confirms yet again that it is time for students of ancient and Byzantine medicine to pay more serious attention to these pre-Salernitan Latin, and Latin-only, sources, whose very existence occasionally seems to have remained unknown to them.

