

Articoli/Articles

THE GRAECO-LATIN TRANSLATION OF GALEN,
DE SYMPTOMATUM DIFFERENTIIS

BEATE GUNDERT
University of Western Ontario, CA

SUMMARY

This paper applies the method developed by such scholars as L. Minio-Paluello, R. J. Durling, F. Bossier and A. M. Urso to confirm that Burgundio da Pisa is the author of the Graeco-Latin translation of the Galenic treatise De symptomatum differentiis. The results of a complete investigation of a number of particles, of selected vocabulary, and of supralinear and marginal notes in the four extant manuscripts (Wellcomensis 286, Amplonianus F 278, Vaticanus Barberinus Lat. 179 and Matritensis 1978) are discussed in the text and presented in appended charts, together with a selective investigation of the three related treatises De morborum differentiis, De morborum causis and De symptomatum causis. This data, assessed within the framework of the chronological development of Burgundio's translation technique, not only confirms Burgundio's authorship of Sympt. Diff., but also permits a provisional localisation of this translation between those of John of Damascus, De fide orthodoxa (1153/4) and Galen, De locis affectis.

The short Galenic treatise *De symptomatum differentiis* is the third of four Galenic treatises on the differences and causes of diseases and symptoms (*Morb. Diff.*; *Morb. Caus.*; *Sympt. Diff.*; *Sympt. Caus.*)¹. Of these works two medieval Latin translations are extant: the first is an anonymous translation made from the Arabic, probably around 1200 in Toledo², and transmitted under the title of *De morbo et accidenti* in at least 85 manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries³.

Key words: De symptomatum differentiis - Burgundio da Pisa - Graeco-Latin translation

This translation was the subject of studies and commentaries in the late 13th and early 14th century by Arnald of Villanova at Montpellier and in the circle of Taddeo Alderotti in Bologna⁴. It was introduced into the medical curricula at Bologna, Montpellier and Paris probably about the same time⁵, and appeared in the first collected Latin printed editions of Galen from 1490 to 1528⁶.

The second translation, likewise anonymous, was made directly from the Greek. So far four 14th century manuscripts containing the Graeco-Latin translation are known: *Amplonianus* F 278⁷, *Vaticanus Barberinus Lat.* 179⁸, *Wellcomensis* 286⁹ and *Matritensis* 1978¹⁰. Since incipits¹¹ are not always cited in the manuscript catalogues, and titles are deceptive – for the Graeco-Latin translation both a title similar to that of the Arabo-Latin translation, *De accidenti et morbo* (Wc, fol. 133^{va}; 142^{rb}; 156^{vb} and Va, fol. 92^{vb}), and a different title, *De egritudine et symthomate* (Er, fol. 55^{vb}; 78^{vb} and Va, fol. 61^{ra}), are current – it is not impossible that more manuscripts containing the Graeco-Latin translation of Galen's four nosological treatises will come to light in the future.

Neither the Greek manuscript from which the Greek-Latin translation was made nor the autograph of the Latin translation is extant. The translator's original source shows affinities to both main branches of the Greek tradition, α and ϵ . At a later date the translation was revised with the help of a different Greek manuscript belonging to the α sub-group δ , as I have shown in my edition of the treatise¹².

Unlike the Arabo-Latin translation, the Graeco-Latin translation seems not to have enjoyed a wide distribution¹³. It is mentioned once in the commentary on *De morbo et accidenti* ascribed to Arnald of Villanova (c. 1240-1311) in a manuscript copied in 1335 and now in Cracow¹⁴, later in the 14th c. it was used by Guy de Chauliac in his *Inventarium sive Chirurgia magna* (1363), as has been shown by M. McVaugh in his edition of this work¹⁵, and it is referred to again by Agostino Gadaldini and his collaborators in

their annotations to the four treatises in the 1565 Juntine edition; Gadaldini attributes the readings he quotes from this translation to Niccolò da Reggio¹⁶. Later the Juntine citations and their ascription to Niccolò were taken over by René Chartier in his 1649 edition of the treatises¹⁷.

Authorship: External Evidence

Each of the four manuscripts containing the Graeco-Latin translation also contains both other anonymous translations and translations ascribed explicitly to Burgundio da Pisa (c. 1110-1193) and/or Niccolò da Reggio (1280-1350). Since, as McVaugh has shown, Niccolò supplied Guy de Chauliac with new Latin translations from the Greek of other Galenic works, it seemed plausible to assume that Niccolò is also the translator of *De egritudine et symthomate*¹⁸. However, if the reference to the *translatio ex greco* in the Jagellonian manuscript is indeed part of the commentary written by Arnald of Villanova in the last decade of the 13th century, the authorship of Niccolò is precluded. Stefania Fortuna, on the other hand, has argued in a recent article that Burgundio da Pisa carried out an extended translation program to provide the sixteen Galenic treatises belonging to the *Alexandrian Canon* in Latin. That the books on diseases and symptoms belong to this canon would point to Burgundio as the translator of *De egritudine et symthomate*¹⁹.

Further external evidence for authorship is so far lacking. Since the Greek source of the Latin translation is not extant, we do not know whether this was a Ioannikios manuscript of the kind used by Burgundio for other translations²⁰. Another possible avenue of investigation, which lies beyond the scope of this paper, would be to examine whether the commentaries produced in the Alderotti circle give evidence that their Arabo-Latin text has been corrected by reference to a Graeco-Latin version, as is for example the case for *De interioribus (De locis affectis)*²¹.

Authorship: Internal Evidence

I state in my edition of *Sympt. Diff.*, on the basis of internal evidence, that the Graeco-Latin translation of this treatise shows affinities with the style of Burgundio da Pisa. In what follows I will develop this point further by studying particles, vocabulary and style, and by orienting my findings within the chronological framework of Burgundio's work elaborated by Richard Durling, Fernand Bossier and recently Anna Maria Urso²².

I. Evidence from Particles

In his *Galenus Latinus* I/II and other studies, Durling discusses a selection of Greek particles and their Latin equivalents found in a series of translations definitely attributable to Burgundio, comparing these to the different renderings found in the versions of other medieval translators from the Greek²³. Using Durling's method and tables of correspondences, Urso has established Burgundio's authorship of the fourth book of an anonymous translation of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen in Acute Diseases* (= *in Hipp. Acut.*), and situated this translation chronologically within the development of Burgundio's translation technique²⁴. My study is based on my predecessors' findings, in adapting their material to the vocabulary used in *Sympt. Diff.*

As will become obvious, the Graeco-Latin translation of *Sympt. Diff.* favours some of the same renderings for certain Greek particles that have been established through earlier studies as typical for Burgundio²⁵.

In common with the general habit of Burgundio, *Sympt. Diff.* offers the following equivalents²⁶:

δηλον = *manifestum* (6); with one exception (*apertum* in *Loc. Aff.* 168, 45), this is the only equivalent found in Burgundio's translations of *De gen. et corr.*, *Temp.*, *Loc. Aff.* and *in Hipp. Acut.*

ἔτι and προσέτι = *adhuc* (8 + 2) as in Burgundio's earliest translation (*Ethica vetus*), and again from *Loc. Aff.* on, whereas in translations between these two the alternative *amplius* is more frequent.

ὅτι = *quoniam* (8), which corresponds to Burgundio's preference for this particle in *De gen. et corr.* and again in *Loc. Aff.* and in *Hipp. Acut.* whereas in *Temp. quoniam*, although the most common choice, is followed more closely in frequency by *quia* and a few occurrences of *quod*.

οὕτως = *ita* (31); after the early use of *sic* as the equivalent for this particle, *ita* becomes almost the sole rendering in Burgundio from the *Ethica nova* on.

πάλιν (and αὐθις) = *rursus* (3 + 6). In *Sympt. Diff. iterum* appears once as a translation variant for πάλιν, this being extremely rare in Burgundio²⁷.

In the above examples the Greek particle is rendered throughout *Sympt. Diff.* with the single Latin equivalent most common in Burgundio, although his translations occasionally include some less frequent alternatives.

In the following examples, *Sympt. Diff.* offers a variety of equivalents for a single Greek term:

γε = *demum* (8); in *Sympt. Diff.* this particle is ignored more than twice as often as it translated (19 + 5 in part of the Latin transmission), which corresponds to Burgundio's practice up to and including *Temp.* The single occurrence of *utique* in *Sympt. Diff.* picks up the early use of this equivalent in the *Ethica nova* and in *Temp.* The other later alternatives – *tamen* in *De fide orthodoxa* and *Loc. Aff.* and *deinde* in *in Hipp. Acut.* and *De san. tuenda* – do not occur in *Sympt. Diff.*

δή = mostly *utique* (17), the most frequent translation in Burgundio; the equivalents *denique* (4)²⁸ and *itaque* (2) are unusual

for Burgundio, but *denique* is found in Niccolò's translation of *De consuetudinibus* while *itaque* is used by Stefano da Messina and William of Moerbeke. Unique is also the combination *et quippe et* = καὶ δὴ καί. *Quidem* (1) for δὴ is found only in the early Burgundio translation of *De gen. et corr.* The frequent absence of an equivalent (9 + 11 in part of the Latin transmission) may in some cases be due to textual inconsistencies in the Greek²⁹.

ἐπειδὴ = *quia* (3), *quoniam* (2); the almost equal distribution of these two equivalents corresponds to Burgundio's treatment of the particle in *Temp.*, while *quoniam* is never used as a translation for ἐπειδὴ in the later translation of *Loc. Aff.*

οἷον: the preference for *velut* (21) over *puta* (4) and *quasi* (4) is also found in *Loc. Aff.* and in *Hipp. Acut.*

ὅταν: the prevalence of *quando(que)* (6+1) over *cum* (1) stands against Burgundio's practice from *Temp.* on, but does reflect his sole or main use of *quando* in the Aristotle translations. In *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.*, on the other hand, *cum* (8, 2) is equally as or more common than *quando* (2, 2).

τοιοῦτος = most often *talis* (17), which is clearly Burgundio's preference, although alternate renderings are occasionally attested, in particular *huiusmodi* (2), which also occurs in *in Hipp. Acut.* and, as a variant to *talis*, in *Temp.* and *De san. tuenda*³⁰, and *hic*, either alone (6), as also found in *Temp.*, *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.*, or in combination with *talis* (2), as also in *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.* See also Table I.

As this survey demonstrates, the handling of particles in *Sympt. Diff.* fits into the pattern of Burgundio's development during his career as a translator. With regard to the place of *Sympt. Diff.* within the chronology of Burgundio's translations, some affinities can be ascertained to the earlier Aristotle translations, to *Temp.* at the beginning of the middle phase, and to *Loc. Aff.* in the final phase of Burgundio's translation activity.

A more precise estimate, however, of the position of *Sympt. Diff.* within the oeuvre of Burgundio is made possible by an examination of the translation of the particle combinations (a) μὲν γάρ, (b) μὲν οὖν and (c) καὶ ... δέ. As was noticed by Durling, and then mapped out in detail by Bossier³¹, there is a clear transition from (a) *quidem enim*, (b) *quidem igitur*, and (c) *et ... autem* in the translations up to *Temp.* to (a) *Nam ... quidem*, (b) *Igitur ... quidem* and (c) *Sed et* at sentence beginnings in the later translations, beginning with John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa* (1153/54) and including *Loc. Aff.* The actual change can be seen taking place within the translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospels of St. Matthew* (1151). In all three cases *Sympt. Diff.* follows the later practice with (a) *Nam ... quidem* (4), (b) *Igitur ... quidem* (6) and (c) *Sed et* (1); more often, however, one of the particles is omitted from the combination, a practice which has been shown by Bossier to be part of the stylistic pattern of *De fide orthodoxa*³².

While some of the same equivalents for Greek particles that are employed by *Sympt. Diff.* are also used by other medieval translators, certain definite differences are discernible. Thus James of Venice prefers *huiusmodi* to *talis* for τοιοῦτος, *amplius* to *adhuc* for ἔτι, and, unlike *Sympt. Diff.* and Burgundio, translates δὴ with *igitur*, οὕτως with *sic*, and πάλιν with *iterum*. William of Moerbeke also prefers *sic* to *ita* for οὕτως; furthermore he translates δῆλον with *palam*, which is not found in *Sympt. Diff.* or Burgundio, and like Bartolomeo da Messina, he alternates between *quod* and *quia* for ὅτι, whereas *Sympt. Diff.* consistently exhibits Burgundio's *quoniam*. Bartolomeo da Messina prefers *ut* for οἶον, while *Sympt. Diff.* prefers *velut* in agreement with Burgundio's later phase. Unlike *Sympt. Diff.* and Burgundio, Niccolò da Reggio occasionally uses *palam* for δῆλον and *sicut* for οἶον. In these cases, the translation technique of *Sympt. Diff.* agrees with Burgundio's against the usage of other translators³³.

II. Evidence from Vocabulary

A comparison of the translator's choice of words in *Sympt. Diff.* with the result of studies by Durling and Urso on Burgundio's vocabulary yields the following results.

1. Of the expressions studied by Urso, *Sympt. Diff.* shares the rendering of παντελής, παντάπασιν and πάντως by *omnimodus* (2), *omnifariam* (1) and *omnino* (9), respectively, with *Temp.*, *Loc. Aff.* and in *Hipp. Acut.*, where these are the preferred or the only choices; τελέως is translated with *finaliter* (1) as it is frequently in Burgundio and universally in *Loc. Aff.*; τέλειος is *perfectus* (1), as in Burgundio's translations of *Temp.* and in *Hipp. Acut.*, whereas in *Loc. Aff.* Burgundio prefers *finalis*³⁴.

2. Of the neologisms identified by Durling in *Loc. Aff.*, *Sympt. Diff.* shares only a few:

ἀποκριτικός = *excretivus*; ἀφωνία = *invocalitas*; διαπνοή = *transpiratio*; περιστολή = *circumtractio*; πιθανῶς = *suasibiliter*.

The other Greek terms on Durling's list that occur in *Sympt. Diff.* are either transliterated or translated with a different equivalent, e.g.

ἀνορεξία = *inappetibilitas*; ἀσάφεια = *incertitudo*; ἀτροφία = *atrofia* / *atrophia*, with the variant *innutricio*³⁵; ἐρυγή = *eruptuatio*; περισταλτικός = *circumtractivus*; σπασμωδῶς = *spasmose*, these in place of the neologisms *inappetitus*, *inmanifestatio*, *innutricatio*, *ructuatus*, *circumtractativus* / *circumcontractivus* and *spasmatice* in *Loc. Aff.*³⁶

An example in *Sympt. Diff.* of a rare expression used by Burgundio is the rendering of both συντέλεια and ὠφέλεια with *perfectitudo*, which is employed in *Temp.* for τελειότης, while ὠφέλεια is

translated in *Loc. Aff.* with *iuvamen*, *iuvamentum* and *utilitas*, and in Nemesius' *Nat. Hom.* with *utilitas*.

3. Consistency

Sympt. Diff. shows a general tendency towards consistency of vocabulary, with the translator rarely using more than one, or at most two Latin equivalents for one Greek term, except in cases where he is clearly struggling to find a more suitable expression. Thus δύναμις is always rendered with *virtus*, as it is in *Loc. Aff.*, but never with *potestas*, which is found more frequently in *Temp.*, and μόριον with *particula*, but never with *pars* or *membrum*, as it occasionally is in *Loc. Aff.* and *Temp.* Furthermore, certain Greek terms similar in meaning are regularly differentiated by the use of particular Latin equivalents, e.g. (a) terms denoting change:

ἀλλοίωσις = *alteratio* (8), ἐξάλλαξις = *exalteratio* (8), μεταβολή = *transmutatio* (3). The corresponding verbs are: ἀλλοιοῦν = *alterare* (8), ἐξαλλάττειν = *exalterare* (5) and *permutare* (1), and μεταβάλλειν = *transmutare* (2). Furthermore ὑπαλλάττειν = *(sub)mutare* (2) and τρέπειν = *vertere* (2).

These same equivalents are used by Burgundio in *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.* with one exception: ὑπαλλάττειν is translated with *alterare* in *Temp.* and *(sub)alterare* in *Loc. Aff.*³⁷

A similar series exists for (b) terms of naming:

καλεῖν = *vocare* (13); ὀνομάζειν = *nominare* (24); προσαγορεύειν = *nuncupare* (4) and *appellare* (1). The corresponding nouns are: ὄνομα = *nomen* (25); προσηγορία = *nuncupatio* (4).

In *Temp.*, *Loc. Aff.* and in *Hipp. Acut.* the Latin equivalents for these Greek terms of naming are used less consistently; furthermore, in

Temp. Burgundio uses primarily *appellare* and *appellatio*, terms rarely found in his later translations, but never *nuncupare* or *nuncupatio* for προσηγορία and προσαγορεύειν: this transition from the use of one equivalent to another is typical for the development of Burgundio's translation technique as Bossier has shown³⁸.

A further instance of Burgundio's irregular development through time is the treatment of ἐνέργεια in *Sympt. Diff.*, which presents an interesting supplement to the findings of Bossier, who has demonstrated that Burgundio changed his rendering of ἐνέργεια several times during his career as a translator. Thus from an oscillation between *actio*, *actus* and *operatio* in the Aristotle translations, Burgundio changes to only *actus* in *Temp.* In John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa* the translation of ἐνέργεια becomes *operatio* as the only equivalent in the first section of the work (ch. 1-35), while a transition takes place in the second section (ch. 35-51) by the reintroduction of *actus* and *actio* as variants, which then in the last section (ch. 51-100) replace *operatio* completely. A further change takes place in *Loc. Aff.*, where ἐνέργεια is predominantly either transliterated and glossed as *energeia idest actus* (once *idest actio*) or latinized as *energia*, with the earlier translations *actio* and *actus* occurring only once each³⁹. *Sympt. Diff.* seems to reflect this pattern of variation: in the first section of the treatise (pp. 198, 1-218, 10 = VII 42, 3-56, 8 K) the term is latinized as *energia* (32), with the occasional variant or supralinear reading *actus*, *actio* or *operatio*, while in the latter part (pp. 220, 1-258, 5 = VII 57, 1-84, 3 K) the equivalents are *actus* (21) and once *operatio*.

4. Transliterations and Glosses

a. Transliterations

Another feature of Burgundian style is transliterations from the Greek. In *Sympt. Diff.* some of these are explained in one or other of the manuscripts – usually the *Wellcomensis* and/or *Matritensis* – by

an interlinear gloss, but only rarely is a Latin equivalent marked by *idest* introduced into the text, a practice common however in *Loc. Aff.*

Examples in *Sympt. Diff.* are:

p. 232, 14; p. 240, 16 (VII 66, 14; 72, 1 K)

βραδυπεψίαν = *bradipesiam idest tardam digestionem* Wc

p. 216, 20 (VII 55, 14 K)

ἡγεμονικάς = *ygemonicas idest consulares* Va

p. 204, 16 (VII 46, 16 K)

ἐνεργείας = *energias idest actus* Ma

and similarly at p. 204, 17; 208, 22 f.; 210, 3 (VII 46, 17; 49, 14; 50, 5 K).

b. Glosses

As Bossier has shown⁴⁰, an important characteristic of Burgundio's style is the tendency to annotate his translations with explanations or alternate equivalents. These appear in our manuscript tradition either as intralinear or marginal notes, or as variant readings where two or more manuscripts are copied from an annotated model. All four manuscripts containing *Sympt. Diff.* show signs of this practice. While in the *Amplonianus* and *Vaticanus* alternate readings are not common, the *Wellcomensis* and *Matritensis* abound in double readings and explanations, occasionally introduced by *s(cilicet)*, *idest*, or *al(iter)*. How many of these readings go back to the original translator is impossible to determine, but the fact that this practice was common for Burgundio suggests a significant proportion.

The following categories can be distinguished:

i. Latin equivalents added as glosses to transliterated or latinized Greek terms, e.g.

p. 212, 5 (VII 52, 1 K)

σχημάτων = *scematibus* Lat.^{Gr.}: *figuris* Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.}

- p. 214, 1 (VII 53, 4 K)
προηγούμενα = *proigumene* Lat.^{Gr.}: (*idest*) *antecedentes*
Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.}
- p. 220, 19 (VII 58, 4 K)
καρδιαλγίας = *cardial(a)gia* Lat.^{Gr.} (-e Ma): *idest dolor*
cordis ut orifici sto(maci) Wc^{s.l.}: *idest dolor stomaci* Ma^{s.l.}
- p. 224, 11 (VII 60, 5 K)
κάρος = *carus* Lat.^{Gr.} (*karus* Wc): *idest stupor* Wc^{s.l.}
- p. 234, 1 (VII 66, 8 K)
βραδυπεψία = *bradipessia(m)* Lat.^{Gr.}: *debilis digestio* Wc^{s.l.},
tardidigestionem Ma^{s.l.}, Er in marg.
- p. 236, 14 (VII 68, 14 K)
παλμοῦ = *palmo* Lat.^{Gr.}: *idest saltu* Ma^{s.l.}
and similarly at p. 236, 16 (VII 68, 16 K);

ii. explanations that determine the particular meaning of a word in a given context, e.g.

- p. 200, 1 (VII 43, 7 K)
ἐνέργεια = *energia* Lat.^{Gr.}: *idest actio et operatio membri*
Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.} (om. *et operatio*)
- p. 202, 19 (VII 45, 15 K)
ἐπιδεικνύναι = *ostendere* Lat.^{Gr.}: *idest nominare* Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.}
- p. 208, 2 (VII 48, 8 K)
διορίζοιτο = *determinabit* Lat.^{Gr.}: *idest distinguit* Wc^{s.l.}
- p. 214, 13 (VII 53, 18 K)
ἀπεψία = *indigestio* Lat.^{Gr.}: *privata digestio* Wc^{s.l.}
- p. 228, 12 (VII 63, 3 K)
ἀσφυξίαι = *inpulsalitates* Lat.^{Gr.}: *idest privatio pulsus non*
totaliter Ma^{s.l.}
- p. 230, 2 (VII 63, 12 K)
ἀλλοιωτικήν = *alterativam* Lat.^{Gr.}: *digestivam* Wc^{s.l.};

iii. explanations that provide a reference to the context, e.g.

p. 200, 9 (VII 44, 1 K)

ἀμβοῖν = *ab ambobus* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. egritudine et sanitate* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 200, 16 (VII 44, 9 K)

ὀνομάζει = *nominat* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. Plato* Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.}

p. 202, 6 (VII 44, 19 K)

ὑποκείμενον = *subiectum* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. patiens* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 202, 9 (VII 45, 4 K)

αὕτη = *hec* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. dispositio* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 202, 10 (VII 44, 5 K)

ὄν = *existens* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. dum fit* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 224, 4 (VII 59, 16 K)

πολλαχόθι = *in multis* Lat.^{Gr.}: *sc. actibus lesis* Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.};

iv. grammatical explanations, e.g.

p. 226, 19 (VII 62, 3 K)

παρὰ Θουκυδίδου = *a Thucidite* Lat.^{Gr.}: *nomen proprium* Ma^{s.l.};

v. alternate readings, either noted above the line in the same manuscript (a) or appearing as variants among manuscripts (b), e.g.

(a) supralinear notes:

p. 204, 19 (VII 47, 1 K)

ἐνεργείας = *ab energie* Lat.^{Gr.}: *al. ab actione* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 206, 13 (VII 48, 1 K)

συντέλειαν = *perfectitudinem* Lat.^{Gr.}: *al. perfectionem* Wc^{s.l.}Ma^{s.l.}

p. 224, 12 (VII 60, 7 K)

παραφροσύνη = *desipientia* Lat.^{Gr.}: *al. alienatio* Ma^{s.l.}

p. 250, 15 (VII 78, 18 K)

βραγχώδεις = *brancosas* Lat.^{Gr.}: *al. raucosas* Wc^{s.l.}

p. 254, 11 (VII 81, 13 K)

ἔργων = *operis* Lat.^{Gr.}: *al. operationibus* Wc^{s.l.};

(b) manuscript variants:

p. 206, 1 (VII 47, 4 K)

λόγους = *rationes* ErVa: *sermones* WcMa

p. 218, 14 (VII 56, 13 K)

παρακούσεις = *obaudiciones* ErVa: *preter audiciones* WcMa

p. 244, 20 (VII 74, 17 K)

μορίων = *particularum* Er: *partium* WcVaMa

p. 252, 4 (VII 79, 16 K)

τρῶσις = *vulneratio* WcMaEr: *ulceratio* Va

including some Latin equivalents for transliterated or latinized Greek terms, e.g.

p. 204, 17 (VII 46, 17 K)

ἐνέργειαν = *energiam* Er: *actum* WcVa: *energiam idest actum* Ma

p. 208, 21 (VII 49, 12 K)

προηγουμένην = *proyguamenam* Er: *antecedentem* WcMaVa

p. 216, 17 (VII 55, 9 K)

ἐνεργειῶν = *energiarum* MaErVa: *operationum* Wc

p. 218, 13 (VII 56, 11 K)

ἀμβλυωπία = *ambliopie* ErVa^{a.m.}(in ras.): *obtusi visus* Wc Ma^{a.m.}Va (ante ras.)

p. 218, 13 (VII 56, 12 K)

παροράσεις = *parorases* Er: *preter visiones* WcMaVa

p. 242, 9 (VII 72, 17 K)

δυσπεψία = *di(s)pesia* ErVa: *disdigestio* WcMa.

These examples include all three categories of glosses Bossier has identified: the choice of variants for one Greek term; explanatory notes clarifying the point of reference where the reader might have difficulty understanding; and grammatical clarifications. Furthermore, as we have seen, there is a series of Graeco-Latin glosses, a feature which Urso has highlighted as typical for Burgundio's style,

and which are particularly frequent in *Loc. Aff.*⁴¹ That in the case of *Sympt. Diff.* only some of these glosses are preserved in the extant manuscripts may be due to the accidents of its complex transmission. As noted above, a revision took place in z, the common source of our extant Latin manuscripts, based on readings drawn from a lost Greek manuscript (δ), the ancestor of A and S, which differ from those of the original source of the translation. But since the extent of the revision undergone by z cannot be determined, it is impossible to ascertain which of the variants and explanations found in any of these manuscripts originate with the revisor, and which go back to the original translator⁴². The evidence of Burgundio's translation practice, however, strongly suggests that many of the variants and explanations derive from the original translator⁴³.

As to the identity of the z-revisor, Durling in his edition of *De complexionibus* finds it "tempting to suggest Niccolò"⁴⁴. In fact, *Sympt. Diff.* does occasionally seem to reflect Niccolò's style in the choice of certain Latin equivalents, notably in the use of *submemoratio* for ὑπόμνημα in place of the Burgundian *monumentum* (which however is used in *Sympt. Caus.* I and II⁴⁵), and the occasional employment of *denique* as an equivalent for δὴ or μὲν οὖν⁴⁶. However, just as in the case of *Temp.* studied by Durling, the evidence of *Sympt. Diff.* is inconclusive.

Conclusion

To sum up, despite occasional differences between *Sympt. Diff.* and the translations attributed to Burgundio, *Sympt. Diff.* shows more affinities to Burgundio than to any other medieval translator. Furthermore the treatment both of the particle combinations μὲν γὰρ, μὲν οὖν and καὶ ... δέ and of ἐνέργεια / ἐνεργεῖν suggests that Burgundio translated *Sympt. Diff.* after *Temp.*, or more precisely after *De fide orthodoxa*, and before *Loc. Aff.*

Appendix

The evidence presented above from *Sympt. Diff.* is both supported and put into perspective by the following brief survey of the translation technique of the other treatises on diseases and symptoms (*Morb. Diff.*, *Morb. Caus.* and *Sympt. Caus.* I-III)⁴⁷. The following three examples may suffice.

1. καὶ ... δέ, μὲν γάρ and μὲν οὖν

In agreement with Burgundio's later translation practice and more consistently than in *Sympt. Diff.*, the particle combinations καὶ ... δέ, μὲν γάρ and μὲν οὖν are rendered predominately with *Sed et*, *Nam ... quidem* and *Igitur ... quidem* respectively in *Morb. Diff.* (1/1; 9/10; 5/7) and *Morb. Caus.* (2/2; 10/13; 7/11)⁴⁸. In the three books of *Sympt. Caus.*, on the other hand, the practice is less clear. Thus, *Sed et* does not seem to occur as an equivalent of καὶ ... δέ, which in *Sympt. Caus.* III is rendered with *et ... autem* (2), the equivalent found most frequently in Burgundio's earlier translations, while *et* (1 in each of *Sympt. Caus.* I and III)⁴⁹ and *vero* (1 in *Sympt. Caus.* II)⁵⁰ leave one particle untranslated. Furthermore, in *Sympt. Caus.* I *Nam ... quidem* and *Igitur ... quidem* translate more than half of the occurrences of μὲν γάρ and μὲν οὖν (13/20; 19/32), but these equivalents are used less frequently in *Sympt. Caus.* II (5/20; 4/25) and III (7/22; 10/28). Instead, of the equivalents used by Burgundio in his earlier translation career – viz. the combinations *quidem enim* and *quidem igitur* that do not occur in *Morb. Caus.* and in only some witnesses in *Morb. Diff.* and *Sympt. Diff.*⁵¹ – *quidem enim* occurs once and *quidem igitur* twice in each of the four testimonies in *Sympt. Caus.* II and III, while in the remaining cases at least one manuscript omits *quidem* or, more rarely, *enim* or *igitur*. The equivalents *enim*, *igitur* and *quidem* alone are found more frequently, especially in *Sympt. Caus.* II and III, some of the occurrences probably being due to the fact that the untranslated particle was omitted in the Greek

original or the revisor's copy⁵². *Autem* and *denique* are rare translation alternatives for both μὲν οὖν and μὲν γάρ. See Table II, p. 25.

2. ἐνέργεια

In *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.* the sole translation for ἐνέργεια is *actus* (43 and 4). In *Sympt. Diff.* Burgundio changes to *energia* (32) in the first part of the treatise and then reverts to *actus* (21) and *operatio* (1) in the second part. The rendering *actus* (15) continues into *Sympt. Caus.* I (VII 85, 8-113, 13 K); between VII 114, 9 and 128, 12 K, however, a change takes place to *energia* (2) and then back to *actus* (1)⁵³, while from VII 131, 4 K to the end of *Sympt. Caus.* I and into *Sympt. Caus.* II (VII 150, 9 K) the translation is again *energia* (7 + 4), with *actus* as a variant at VII 144, 13; 16 and 17 K⁵⁴. After a further oscillation between these two renderings (VII 152, 5 K *actus*; 153, 15 and 154, 5 K *energia*), *actus* (12 + 17) is taken up again for the remainder of *Sympt. Caus.* II (VII 156, 10-200, 13 K) and the first half of *Sympt. Caus.* III (VII 205, 3-237, 5 K), with one occurrence each of *operatio* (VII 166, 8 K)⁵⁵ and *energia* (VII 221, 10 K). Finally, in the last part of *Sympt. Caus.* III (VII 248, 10 -271, 16 K) the translation reverts to *energia* (13), except for two subsequent occurrences of *actus* (VII 259, 11 and 260, 2 K).

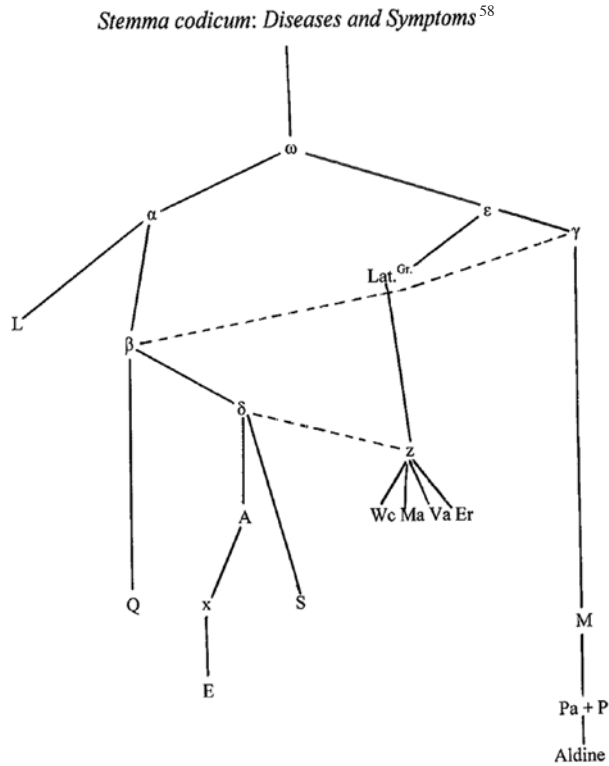
3. μηδ' / οὐδ' ὅλως

The treatment of μηδ' / οὐδ' ὅλως follows a similar pattern. In *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.* the expression is rendered primarily with *nequaquam* (1 + 3), Burgundio's preferred translation in *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.*, while in *Sympt. Diff.* a change takes place to *non omnino* (9), which continues into *Sympt. Caus.* I (5) (VII 86, 14 -106, 17 K), but is then followed by a return to *nequaquam* at VII 112, 6 K for the remainder of this book (4) and the first two occurrences in *Sympt. Caus.* II. At VII 165, 5 K, *non omnino* is taken up again, serving as equivalent for three more occurrences of the expression

in *Sympt. Caus.* II (including *neque omnino* at VII 174, 17 K) and ten occurrences in the first part of *Sympt. Caus.* III (VII 206, 3-225, 3 K), although with the occasional variant of *nequaquam*⁵⁶ and the re-introduction of *nequaquam* at VII 206, 18 K (WcEr: *non universaliter* MaVa) and VII 220, 13 K; *nequaquam* then becomes the main equivalent (6) for the second part of the treatise (VII 239, 13-265, 5 K)⁵⁷, with a return to *non omnino* for the last two occurrences (VII 265, 6 and as a variant for *nequaquam* at 266, 14 K). Of the other two equivalents, *nullatenus* (*Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 239, 13 K) occurs twice in *Loc. Aff.*; for *non universaliter* (*Morb. Caus.*: VII 25, 8 K and as a variant reading at *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 206, 18 K) compare *neque universaliter* in *Loc. Aff.* (1).

In these three cases one can discern the translator's renewed attempts to arrive at a more satisfactory equivalent, after a consistent decision for one particular rendering had persisted through the first two or three treatises of the group, leading to frequent changes among the various alternatives in the remaining books. This oscillation is also reflected in occasional divergences among the readings given by the extant manuscripts and the presence of supralinear variants and glosses such as have been illustrated above, pp. 899-902.

The Graeco-Latin translation of Galen, De symptomatum differentiis



- L = *Laurentianus* Gr. 74,16, s. XII/XIII
 A = *Ambrosianus* Gr. 659 (Q 3 Sup.), s. XIV/XV
 Q = *Parisinus* Gr. 2157, s. XV
 S = *Scorialensis* 85 (Σ. II. 5), s. XV
 E = *Mutinensis* Gr. 237, s. XVI
 M = *Marcianus* Gr. 275 (893), s. XV
 Pa = *Parisinus* Gr. 2167, s. XVI
 P = *Parisinus* Gr. 2165, s. XVI

- Wc = *Wellcomensis* 286, s. XIV
 Ma = *Matritensis* 1978, s. XIV
 Va = *Vaticanus Barberinus* Lat.179, s. XIV
 Er = *Amplonianus* F 278, s. XIV

Table I⁵⁹

	<i>Morb. Diff.</i>	<i>Morb. Caus.</i>	<i>Sympt. Diff.</i>
αὐθις	<i>rursus</i> 2	<i>rursus</i> 4	<i>rursus</i> 6
αὐ	<i>rursus</i> 2+1* om. 1*	<i>rursus</i> 2	om. 2
γε	<i>demum</i> 3+7* om. 6+7*	<i>demum</i> 3+5* <i>utique</i> 2 <i>denique</i> 1+1* om. 6+6*	<i>demum</i> 3+5* <i>utique</i> 1 ⁶⁰ om. 19+5*
γ'οὔν	<i>utique</i> 1	–	–
μὴ ... γε	–	<i>nedum</i> 2	–
γοὔν ⁶¹	<i>denique</i> 3 <i>autem</i> 1* <i>igitur utique</i> 1*	<i>denique</i> 4	<i>denique</i> 1+1* <i>demum</i> 1* <i>tamen</i> 1
δὴ ⁶²	<i>utique</i> 14+14* <i>autem</i> 2+1* <i>itaque</i> 1+2* <i>igitur</i> 1+1* <i>denique</i> 1 om. 14+12*	<i>utique</i> 16+2* <i>itaque</i> 1 <i>igitur</i> 1* <i>autem</i> 1* om. 6+4*	<i>utique</i> 6+11* <i>denique</i> 3 + 1* <i>autem</i> 1+1* <i>itaque</i> 1 + 1* <i>quidem</i> 1 om. 9+10*
καὶ δὴ καί	<i>et quidem (et)</i> 1* <i>et utique ... quidem</i> 1*	–	<i>et quippe (et)</i> 1* <i>et</i> 1*
δῆπου	<i>utique</i> 1* om. 1*	om. 1	<i>utique</i> 1
δῆλον	<i>manifestum (est)</i> 12	<i>manifestum (est)</i> 5	<i>manifestum (est)</i> 6
πρόδηλον	<i>manifestum (est)</i> 2	<i>manifestum (est)</i> 4	–
δηλονότι	<i>manifestum (est)</i> <i>quoniam</i> 2+1* <i>videtur</i> 1*	<i>manifestum quod</i> 1 <i>palam</i> 1	<i>manifestum quod</i> 1 <i>videlicet</i> 1
ἐπεὶ	<i>quia</i> 2	<i>quia</i> 1	–
ἐπειδάν	<i>cum</i> 3+2* <i>cum utique</i> 2*	<i>donec</i> 3 <i>cum utique</i> 1* <i>cum namque</i> 1*	<i>cum</i> 2 <i>postquam</i> 1
ἐπειδή	<i>quia</i> 5 <i>quoniam</i> 1	<i>quia</i> 1+1* <i>quoniam</i> 1 om. 1*	<i>quia</i> 3 <i>quoniam</i> 2

The Graeco-Latin translation of Galen, De symptomatum differentiis

ἔτι ⁶³	<i>adhuc</i> 2 <i>quidem</i> 1	<i>adhuc</i> 6 om. 2	<i>adhuc</i> 7+1* om. 1+1*
προσέτι	–	<i>adhuc</i> 1	<i>adhuc</i> 2
καθάπερ	<i>quemadmodum</i> 7 <i>sicut</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 8 <i>sicut</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 8
καὶ ... δέ	<i>Sed et</i> 1	<i>Sed et</i> 2	<i>Sed et</i> 1
μὲν γάρ ⁶⁴	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 6+2* <i>Nam</i> 2* <i>enim</i> 1* <i>quidem</i> 1* om. 2*	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 6+3* <i>Nam</i> 2* <i>Nam quidem</i> 1* <i>enim</i> 1+1* <i>denique</i> 1 <i>autem</i> 1*	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 4 <i>enim</i> 4 + 6* <i>quidem enim</i> 3* <i>quidem</i> 1 + 1* <i>autem</i> 2* <i>vero</i> 1*
εἰ μὲν γάρ	<i>Nam siquidem</i> 1* <i>Nam si</i> 1*	<i>Nam siquidem</i> 1	<i>siquidem namque</i> 1* <i>si namque</i> 1* <i>siquidem autem</i> 1*
μὲν οὖν ⁶⁵	<i>Igitur quidem</i> 3+1* <i>quidem igitur</i> 1* <i>Igitur</i> 1* ... <i>igitur</i> 1*	<i>Igitur ... quidem</i> 5+2* <i>Igitur quidem</i> 2* <i>Igitur</i> 1 <i>quidem</i> 1 <i>autem</i> 1	<i>Igitur ... quidem</i> 5+1* <i>quidem</i> 4 + 2* <i>quidem igitur</i> 2* <i>Igitur</i> 1* ... <i>igitur</i> 1* <i>denique</i> 1 <i>quidem demum / quidem</i> <i>autem / autem</i> 1*
εἰ μὲν οὖν	<i>Igitur siquidem</i> 1	–	–
οἷον ⁶⁶	<i>velut</i> 10 <i>puta</i> 2 <i>quale</i> 1	<i>velut(i)</i> 4 <i>puta</i> 1 om. 2	<i>velut</i> 21 <i>puta</i> 4 <i>quasi</i> 4 <i>quod</i> 1
ὁπότεν	–	–	<i>quando</i> 1
ὅταν	<i>cum</i> 8 <i>quando</i> 2	<i>cum</i> 2 <i>quando</i> 2	<i>quando</i> 6 <i>quandoque</i> 1 <i>cum</i> 1
ὅτι	<i>quoniam</i> 6 <i>quia</i> 1	<i>quoniam</i> 6	<i>quoniam</i> 8
διότι	<i>quia</i> 1	<i>quia</i> 1	<i>quia</i> 1
καθότι	–	–	<i>quoniam</i> 1
μὴ ὅτι	–	–	<i>nedum non</i> 1

Beate Gundert

οὐν ⁶⁷	<i>igitur</i> 12+1* [vero 1] om. 1+1*	<i>igitur</i> 7+3* <i>autem</i> 2* om. 2+1*	<i>igitur</i> 14+1* <i>enim</i> 1* <i>demum</i> 1* om. 2 + 1*
ἀρ' οὖν	<i>quapropter</i> 1	<i>quapropter</i> 1	–
ἀτὰρ οὖν	–	<i>quo circa</i> 1	–
γὰρ οὖν	<i>enim</i> 1	<i>enim</i> 5	<i>enim</i> 1
γὰρ οὖν δὲ ⁶⁸		<i>autem utique</i> 1* <i>enim</i> 1* <i>denique</i> 1* <i>denique utique</i> 1*	<i>denique</i> 1
οὐκ οὖν	<i>nequaquam igitur</i> 1	<i>non igitur</i> 1* <i>non enim</i> 1*	<i>nequaquam igitur</i> 1
οὕτως	<i>ita</i> 18+6* <i>itaque</i> 2* om. 4*	<i>ita</i> 27 + 1* <i>itaque</i> 1*	<i>ita</i> 30+1* om. 1*
πάλιν	<i>rursus</i> 1+1* om. 1+1*	<i>rursus</i> 4	<i>rursus</i> 2+1* <i>iterum</i> 1* <i>rursus iterum</i> 1*
τοιούτους ⁶⁹	<i>talis</i> 26 <i>hic</i> 1 <i>hic talis</i> 7 + 1* <i>talis hic</i> 1* <i>qui talis</i> 1	<i>talis</i> 17+2* <i>hic</i> 1+3* <i>hic talis</i> 1+3* <i>talis hic</i> 2* om. 1 + 1*	<i>talis</i> 17 <i>hic</i> 6 <i>huiusmodi</i> 2 <i>hic talis</i> 1+1* <i>qui talis</i> 1* <i>predictus</i> 1 ⁷⁰ om. 1
ὥς ⁷¹	<i>ut</i> 20+1* <i>quod</i> 15+2* <i>quoniam</i> 2* <i>quia</i> 1+2* om. 1*	<i>quod</i> 12+2* <i>ut</i> 8+6* <i>et</i> 4* <i>quia</i> 1 <i>quidem</i> 1* <i>sicut</i> 1 om. 4*	<i>ut</i> 24 <i>quod</i> 11 <i>quoniam</i> 3 <i>sicut</i> 1 <i>quasi</i> 1 <i>quemadmodum</i> 1
ὥς εἰ καί	–	–	<i>ac si et</i> 1
ὥσπερ ⁷²	<i>quemadmodum</i> 5 <i>sicut</i> 2 <i>quasi</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 3 <i>sicut</i> 3+1* <i>ut</i> 2 <i>sic</i> 1* <i>quasi</i> 1	<i>quemadmodum</i> 10 <i>sicut</i> 1
ὥστε	<i>ut</i> 4 <i>quare</i> 2 <i>itaque</i> 1 <i>idcirco</i> 1	<i>itaque</i> 2+1* <i>ita</i> 1*	<i>ut</i> 4 <i>itaque</i> 3 <i>quocirca</i> 1 <i>quare</i> 1

Table II⁷³

	<i>Morb. Diff.</i> <i>Sed et 1</i>	<i>Morb. Caus.</i> <i>Sed et 2</i>	<i>Sympt. Diff.</i> <i>Sed et 1</i>	<i>Sympt. Caus. I</i> <i>Et 1</i>	<i>Sympt. Caus. II</i> <i>vero 1</i>	<i>Sympt. Caus. III</i> <i>Et ... autem 1+1*</i> <i>Et 1</i> <i>autem 1*</i>
καὶ ... δέ	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 6+3* <i>Nam 3*</i> <i>enim 1*</i> <i>quidem 1*</i> om. 2*	<i>Nam ... qui-</i> <i>dem 7+3*</i> <i>Nam 2*</i> <i>Nam quidem 1*</i> <i>enim 1+1*</i> <i>denique 1</i> <i>autem 1*</i>	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 4 <i>enim 4 + 6*</i> <i>quidem enim 3*</i> <i>quidem 1 + 1*</i> <i>autem 2*</i> <i>vero 1*</i> (st) <i>quidem</i> <i>namque / (st)</i> <i>namque /</i> (st) <i>quidem</i> <i>autem 1*</i>	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 11+2* <i>enim 3+4*</i> <i>Nam 2*</i> <i>quidem enim 1*</i> <i>enim quidem 1*</i> <i>vero 1*</i> om. 1*	<i>Nam ... qui-</i> <i>dem 1+4*</i> <i>Nam 1+4*</i> <i>enim 7+5*</i> <i>quidem enim</i> <i>1+3*</i> <i>autem 1+2*</i> <i>quidem 1</i> om. 1*	<i>Nam ... quidem</i> 6+1* <i>enim 7+5*</i> <i>Nam 1*</i> <i>quidem enim 1+3*</i> <i>Sed 1</i> <i>autem 3*</i> <i>enim quidem 1*</i> <i>quidem 1*</i> <i>vero 1*</i> om. 1
(εἰ) μὲν οὖν ⁷⁵	<i>Igitur ... quidem</i> 4+1* <i>quidem igitur 1*</i> <i>Igitur 1*</i> ... <i>igitur 1*</i>	<i>Igitur ... qui-</i> <i>dem 5+2*</i> <i>Igitur quidem</i> 2* <i>Igitur 1</i> <i>quidem 1+1*</i> <i>autem 1</i> om. 1*	<i>Igitur ... qui-</i> <i>dem 5+1*</i> <i>quidem 4 + 2*</i> <i>quidem igitur 2*</i> <i>Igitur 1*</i> ... <i>igitur 1*</i> <i>denique 1</i> <i>quidem denum</i> <i>/ quidem autem</i> <i>/ autem 1*</i>	<i>Igitur ... qui-</i> <i>dem 16 + 3*</i> <i>Igitur 2+1*</i> <i>quidem 1 + 1*</i> <i>quidem igitur 7*</i> ... <i>igitur 5*</i> <i>Igitur quidem 2*</i> <i>autem 2*</i> <i>Sed quidem 1*</i> <i>quidem vero 1*</i> <i>denique 1*</i> om. 2*	... <i>igitur 6+5*</i> <i>quidem 6+1*</i> <i>Igitur ... qui-</i> <i>dem 4</i> <i>quidem igitur</i> <i>2+5*</i> <i>autem 1+2*</i> <i>denique 1</i> <i>Sed ... quidem</i> <i>1*</i>	<i>Igitur ... quidem</i> 7+3* <i>quidem igitur 2+9*</i> ... <i>igitur 3+9*</i> <i>Igitur 3*</i> <i>quidem 1+2*</i> <i>Sed ... quidem 1</i> <i>autem 1</i> om. 1

ἐνέργεια	actus 43+1 ⁷⁶	actus 4	energia 32 actus 21 operatio 1	actus 15+4* energia 6+3*77 om. 4*	actus 13 energia 6 operatio 1	actus 20 energia 14 om. 1
οὐδ' / μηδ' ὄλωσ ⁷⁸	nequaquam 1	nequaquam 3 non universaliter 1	non omnino 9	non omnino 5 nequaquam 4	non omnino 2 neque omnino 1 nequaquam 2	non omnino 7+5* nequaquam 5+6* no 2* non universaliter 1* nullatenus 1 non 1*
τέλειος	finaliter 5	finaliter 4	finaliter 1	finaliter 2	finaliter 3 perfecte 2	finaliter 1
ὑπόμνημα		liber 1 submemoratio 1	submemoratio 1	monumentum 1	liber 1 monumentum 1	

Chronology of Burgundio's translations
(after Bossier 1997, pp. 94f.⁷⁹)

Aristotle	<i>Ethica vetus</i> <i>De generatione et corruptione</i> <i>Ethica nova</i>	Early Translation Phase
Galen	<i>Ars medica</i> (catalogue) ⁸⁰	
Galen	<i>De temperamentis</i>	Middle
John Chrysostom	<i>Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew</i> (1151)	Translation Phase
John of Damascus	<i>De fide orthodoxa</i> (1153/4)	
Nemesius	<i>De natura hominis</i> (1164/5)	
Galen	<i>De locis affectis</i>	Late
Galen	<i>Comm. Hipp. Acut.</i> ⁸¹	Translation
John Chrysostom	<i>Commentary on the Gospel of St. John</i> (1174)	Phase
Galen	<i>De sanitate tuenda</i> (1178/9)	
Galen	<i>De sectis</i> (1184/5)	

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

1. *De morborum differentiis* VI 836-880 K; *De morborum causis* VII 1-41 K; *De symptomatum differentiis* VII 42-84 K = CMG V 5, 1, pp. 198-258; *De symptomatum causis* I-III VII 85-272 K. References to *Sympt. Diff.* are by page and line number of the CMG edition with the corresponding page and line number of the edition by Kühn 1824 in brackets.
2. GARCÍA-BALLESTER L., SALMÓN F., SANCHEZ-SALOR E., *Tradición manuscrita y autoría: sobre la posible autenticidad del comentario de Arnau de Vilanova al De morbo et accidenti de Galeno*. *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 1995; 14: 31-74, at p. 33.
3. See the online catalogue of the Latin translations of Galen, edited by FORTUNA S., MARCHIARO M.; GUNDERT B., *Galen, Über die Verschiedenheit der*

- Symptome. CMG V 5, 1, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2009, p. 148 and n. 4; FORTUNA S., RAI A. M., *Corrigenda and addenda to Diel's Galenica by Richard J. Durling*, III. *Manuscripts and editions*. *Traditio* 2006; 61: 1-30, at p. 14.
4. GUNDE RT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 186-188.
 5. SIRAI SI N. G., *Taddeo Alderotti and his pupils. Two generations of Italian medical learning*. Princeton, University Press, 1981, pp. 100-103.
 6. GUNDE RT, op. cit. note 3, p. 152, n. 1; FORTUNA S., *Galeno latino, 1490-1533*. *Medicina nei Secoli* 2005; 17: 469-505.
 7. *Amplonianus* F 278: *Morb. Diff.*, fol. 55^{vb}-58^{vb}; *Morb. Caus.*, fol. 58^{vb}-61^{vb}; *Sympt. Diff.*, fol. 61^{vb}-64^{vb}; *Sympt. Caus. I*, fol. 64^{vb}-69^{va}; *Sympt. Caus. II*, fol. 69^{va}-74^{vb}; *Sympt. Caus. III*, fol. 74^{vb}-78^{vb}; see SCHUM W., *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887 [Hildesheim, Olms, 2010], pp. 187 f.; GUNDE RT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 90-91.
 8. *Vaticanus Barberinus Lat. 179*: *Morb. Diff.*, fol. 61^{ra}-65^{rb}; *Morb. Caus.*, fol. 65^{va}-69^{vb}; *Sympt. Diff.*, fol. 69^{vb}-74^{ra}; *Sympt. Caus. I*, fol. 74^{ra}-80^{va}; *Sympt. Caus. II*, fol. 80^{va}-85^{vb}; *Sympt. Caus. III*, fol. 86^{ra}-92^{vb}; see SILVERSTEIN TH., *Medieval Latin scientific writings in the Barberini collection. A provisional catalogue*. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957, pp. 52-56; GUNDE RT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 91-93.
 9. *Wellcomensis* 286: *Morb. Diff.*, fol. 133^{va}-136^{va}; *Morb. Caus.*, fol. 136^{va}-139^{va}; *Sympt. Diff.*, fol. 139^{va}-142^{rb}; *Sympt. Caus. I*, fol. 142^{va}-147^{rb}; *Sympt. Caus. II*, fol. 147^{rb}-151^{vb}; *Sympt. Caus. III*, fol. 151^{vb}-156^{vb}; see MOORAT S. A. J., *Catalogue of western manuscripts on medicine and science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library. I: Mss. written before 1650 A.D.*, London, The Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1962, pp. 180-183; GUNDE RT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 93-94.
 10. *Matritensis* 1978: *Morb. Diff.*, fol. 119^{ra}-121^{vb}; *Morb. Caus.*, fol. 121^{vb}-124^{va}; *Sympt. Diff.*, fol. 124^{va}-124^{vb} (*capita*), fol. 124^{vb}-127^{va} (text); *Sympt. Caus. I*, fol. 127^{va}-130^{vb} (VII 127, 2 K *vasis*) and fol. 133^{ra} (VII 127, 2 K *sed*)-134^{va}; *Sympt. Caus. II*, fol. 134^{va}-136^{vb} (VII 177, 13 K *omnes*) and fol. 75^{ra} (VII 177, 13 K *distendentes*)-76^{va}; *Sympt. Caus. III*, fol. 76^{vb}-80^{vb}; see *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*. Vol. V (1599 a 2099), Madrid, Ministerio de educación nacional, 1959, pp. 394-397; BEAUJOUAN G., *Manuscrits médicaux du moyen âge conservés en Espagne*. *Mélanges de la casa de Velázquez* 1972; 8: 161-221, at p. 181. That this manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid also contains the Graeco-Latin translation I ascertained only recently.

11. *Morb. Diff.* Incipit: *Primo quidem dicere oportet*; Explicit: *debeat quis in eis quam plurimum exercitari*; *Morb. Caus.* Incipit: *Quot quidem sunt et que universe egritudines*; Explicit: *de differentia symthomatum deinceps pertransire*; *Sympt. Diff.* Incipit: *Que quidem sunt et quot universe egritudines*; Explicit: *facile assequatur dubitatorum iudicationem*; *Sympt. Caus. I* Incipit: *Causas symptomatum in hoc libro scrutemur*; Explicit: *De omnibus hiis igitur dicitur secundum deinceps sermonem*; *Sympt. Caus. II* Incipit: *Spasmus autem et tremor et palmus et rigor*; Explicit: *quemadmodum in egritudine ventosa et ypocondriaca nuncupata*; *Sympt. Caus. III* Incipit: *Quecumque quidem secundum naturales actus virtutes efficiuntur*; Explicit: *Hic igitur et hunc terminemus sermonem*.
12. GUNDERT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 98-101; and see also the stemma below, p. 907.
13. For the dominance of Arabo-Latin translations as compared to Graeco-Latin translations see DURLING R. J., *Burgundio of Pisa and medical humanists of the twelfth century*. Studi Classici e Orientali 1993; 43: 95-99; MCVAUGH M. R., *Niccolò da Reggio's translations of Galen and their reception in France*. Early Science and Medicine 2006; 11: 275-301.
14. Cracow, Bibliotheca Jagellonica 781, fol. 134th, see GARCÍA-BALLESTER L., *The new Galen: a challenge to Latin Galenism in thirteenth-century Montpellier*. In: FISCHER K.-D., NICKEL D., POTTER P. (eds.), *Text and tradition. Studies in ancient medicine and its transmission presented to Jutta Kollesch*. Studies in ancient medicine 18, Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill 1998, p. 74. References to a commentary on *De morbo et accidenti* in other works by Arnald of Villanova suggest that it was written c. 1290 in Montpellier (*ibid.* pp. 73, 75 and n. 132). On the question whether this is indeed the commentary transmitted in the Jagellonian manuscript, see *ibid.* p. 74, n. 127 and p. 75, n. 131. See also MCVAUGH M. R., *Arnaldi de Villanova, Opera medica omnia XVI. Translatio libri Galieni De rigore et tremore et iectigatione et spasma*. Barcelona, Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1981, p. 34, n. 62.
15. MCVAUGH M. R., *Guigonis de Caulhiaco (Guy of Chauliac), Inventarium sive Chirurgia magna*. Vol. I: *Text*, Vol. II: *Commentary*, Studies in ancient medicine 14, I/II, Leiden, New York, Köln, Brill, 1997; ID., *Niccolò da Reggio's translations*, cit. note 13, p. 283.
16. *Galenii omnia quae extant opera ... quarta editione*, Venice 1565, vol. IV, fol. 4 G, note to *Morb. Diff.* 8: VI 864, 11 K; fol. 18 G, note to *Sympt. Caus.* I 7: VII 139, 4 K.

17. *Hippocratis Coi et Claudii Galeni Pergameni ... Opera*, ed. R. Chartier, Paris 1649, vol. VII, p. 875, note 19 to *Diff. Morb.*; p. 876, notes 13 and 18 to *Sympt. Caus. I.*; see GUNDEBT B., *Chartier's method in the Galenic treatises on diseases and symptoms*. In: BOUDON-MILLOT V., COBOLET G., JOUANNA J. (eds.), *René Chartier (1572-1654) éditeur et traducteur d'Hippocrate et Galien*. Actes du Colloque international de Paris (7 et 8 octobre 2010). Paris, De Boccard, 2012, p. 219.
18. MCVAUGH, *Niccolò da Reggio's translations*, cit. note 13, p. 283.
19. FORTUNA S., URSO A. M., *Burgundio da Pisa traduttore di Galeno: nuovi contributi e prospettive*, con un'appendice di P. Annese. In: GAROFALO I., LAMI A., ROSELLI A. (eds.), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci*. Atti del II Seminario internazionale di Siena (Certosa di Pontignano, 19-20 settembre 2008). Pisa, F. Serra, 2009, pp. 147 f.; cf. FORTUNA S., URSO A. M., *Tradizione latina dell'Ars medica di Galeno: la translatio antiqua e il completamento di Burgundio*. In: GAROFALO I., FORTUNA S., LAMI A., ROSELLI A. (eds.), *Sulla tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci: le traduzioni*. Atti del III Seminario internazionale di Siena (Certosa di Pontignano, 18-19 settembre 2009). Pisa, F. Serra, 2010, p. 138.
20. FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 144-147; DEGNI P., *I manoscritti dello scriptorium di Gioannicio*. Segno e Testo 2008; 6: 179-248.
21. SIRAISSI, op. cit. note 5, pp. 101 f.
22. GUNDEBT, op. cit. note 3, p. 89, n. 2; DURLING R. J., *Burgundio of Pisa's translation of Galen's Περί χράσεων*, *De complexionibus*. Galenus Latinus I, Berlin, New York, W. de Gruyter, 1976, pp. XXV-XXX; ID., *Burgundio of Pisa's translation of Galen's Περί πεπονθότων τόπων*, *De interioribus*. Galenus Latinus II, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag, 1992, vol. I, pp. 36-48; BOSSIER F., *L'élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique chez Burgundio de Pise*. In: HAMESSE J. (ed.), *Aux origines du lexique philosophique européen. L'influence de la latinitas*. Actes du Colloque international (Rome, 23-25 mai 1996). Textes et études du Moyen-âge 8, Louvain-La-Neuve, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1997, pp. 81-116; FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 149-171; see also FORTUNA S., *Galeno e le traduzioni medievali: il De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*. *Medicina nei Secoli* 2010; 22: 297-341, at pp. 315 ff. My study is based primarily on *De symptomatum differentiis*, the only treatise among the books on diseases and symptoms available in a critical edition; where I cite evidence from other books in the group, I have examined

- all four Latin manuscripts but only selected witnesses of the Greek tradition. I am grateful to Stefania Fortuna who made her collation of Wc available to me for my study of a series of particles in *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.*
23. Using the method developed by L. Minio-Paluello for the study of medieval Graeco-Latin Aristotle translations (see esp. MINIO-PALUELLO L., *Iacobus Veneticus Grecus. Canonist and translator of Aristotle*. Traditio 1952; 8: 265-304 = *Opuscula. The Latin Aristotle*. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1972, pp. 189-228; cf. DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation*, 1976, cit. note 22, p. XXV), Durling also established Burgundio's authorship of the Graeco-Latin translation of *De elementis* and of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* and *Ethica Nicomachea* (= *Ethica vetus* for book II-III and *Ethica nova*, including the *Ethica Hofneriana* and *Borghesiana*, for the remaining books; see BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 82 f.); DURLING R. J. in DE LACY PH., *Galen, On the elements according to Hippocrates. Edition, translation and commentary*. CMG V 1, 2, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1996, pp. 27 f.; ID., *Burgundio of Pisa*, cit. note 13, pp. 98 f.; ID., *The anonymous translation of Aristotle's De generatione et corruptione* (Translatio vetus). Traditio 1994; 49: 320-330; FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 141 f. For a discussion of the method employed to identify anonymous translations, see FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 149-153.
 24. See p. 913 below.
 25. The evidence for other Burgundio translations is based on FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 154-158, see also n. 63 on pp. 153 f.; BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22; DURLING, *The anonymous translation*, cit. note 23, and the indices in DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1976), cit. note 22; ID., *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1992), cit. note 22. I use the following abbreviations for Burgundio's translations: *De gen. et corr.* = Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione*; *Ethica vetus* and *Ethica nova* = Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* (see n. 23 above); *Temp.* = Galen, *De temperamentis*; *Loc. Aff.* = Galen, *De locis affectis*; *in Hipp. Acut.* = Galen, *In Hippocratis De victus ratione in morbis acutis commentaria*; *De san. tuenda* = Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*; *Nat. hom.* = Nemesius, *De natura hominis*.
 26. The occurrences given in the following discussion include passages where a particle is transmitted in only one of the manuscripts. For a list of Latin equivalents for Greek particles in *Morb. Diff.*, *Morb. Caus.* and *Sympt. Diff.* see Table I, pp. 908-910 below.
 27. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 218, 1 (VII 55, 15 K) *rursus* MaVa: *iterum* Er: *rursus iterum* Wc. Urso in FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 159, n.

- 64, reports two occurrences of *iterum* in the same sentence in *in Hipp. Acut.* (p. 297, 11 f. in the Junta edition of 1522), the first of these translating πάλιν ... αὐτίς and the second one having no correspondence in the Greek.
28. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 220, 17; 230, 2; 242, 10 (VII 58, 1; 63, 13; 72, 18 K), and 212, 16 (VII 52, 14 K) where the Latin transmission is split between *denique* WcEr and *utique* VaMa. For a possible further example in *Sympt. Diff.* and examples in *Morb. Diff.* and *Morb. Caus.* see pp. 908 and 910, Table I, s.v. δῆ and γὰρ οὖν δῆ with note 68. See FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 160.
 29. For further equivalents for δῆ see Table I, p. 908 below; for the possible influence of the Greek transmission on the handling of δῆ in Lat.^{Gr.} see below p. 922, note 62.
 30. See FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 159.
 31. DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1992), cit. note 22, p. 41; BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 95 f.
 32. The apparent overlaps with Burgundio's earlier practice in the occurrence of *quidem enim* (3) and *quidem igitur* (2) are probably due to uncertainties of the Latin transmission. Thus *quidem enim* is transmitted once by Ma and Er, once by Ma and Wc and once by only Er, while in each case the remaining manuscripts omit *quidem*; *quidem igitur* is transmitted once by Ma alone, and once by Ma, Wc and Va with the other manuscripts omitting *igitur* or *quidem*. It seems, then, that in these 5 cases there were ambiguities in the common source (z), either because a revisor had added the lacking particle or because the translator himself had oscillated between *quidem* and *enim* on the one hand, and *quidem* and *igitur* on the other. Furthermore, in all four manuscripts μὲν γὰρ is translated four times by *enim* and once by *quidem* alone, while the particle cluster μὲν οὖν is rendered four times by *quidem* alone; the translation *denique* for μὲν οὖν (p. 236, 16 = VII 68, 16 K) does not seem to have a counterpart in Burgundio but is found in Nicolò, see FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 158; see also below Table I, p. 909.
 33. See FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 154-158; FORTUNA, *Galeno e le traduzioni medievali*, cit. note 22, pp. 328-331; FORTUNA S., *Stefano da Messina traduttore del De purgantium medicamentorum facultate di Galeno*. In: URSO A. M. (ed.), *Il bilinguismo medico fra tardoantico e medioevo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Messina (14-15 ottobre 2010). Lessico & cultura 8, Messina, E.D.A.S., 2012, pp. 188 f.; MINIO-PALUELLO, art. cit. note 23, pp. 288 f. = *Opuscula*, pp. 212 f.

34. FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 162 f., 165; see also BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 90 f. *Perfecte*, the second most frequent choice in *Temp.* after *finaliter*, does occur twice in *Sympt. Caus.* II besides *finaliter* (3), which is the sole rendering in *Morb. Diff.* (5), *Morb. Caus.* (4), *Sympt. Caus.* I (2) and *Sympt. Caus.* III (1): see Table II, p. 912 below.
35. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 228, 10 (VII 63, 1 K) *atrofie* WcVaEr: *idest innutric(i)ones* Wc^{s.l.}Va^{s.l.}, ut vid., Er in marg.: *innutriciones* Ma.
36. DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1992), cit. note 22, pp. 42-46. Durling's collection of rare words used by Burgundio (pp. 46 f.) includes *eruptuatio*.
37. DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1992), cit. note 22, p. 45. See also Burgundio's translation of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*. Nicolas Alfano, on the other hand, who translated this work in the 11th c., does not distinguish between the different Greek words of change, translating them indiscriminately with *permutatio* and *permutare* (VERBEKE G., MONCHO J. R., *Némésius d'Émèse, De natura hominis, Traduction de Burgundio de Pise. Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum, Suppl. 1, Leiden, Brill, 1975, p. LXXXVII*).
38. FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 163 f.; BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, p. 94.
39. BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 106 f.; FORTUNA, URSO, *Tradizione latina dell'Ars medica*, cit. note 19, p. 140.
40. BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 84-89.
41. FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 167 f.; DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1992), cit. note 22, p. 41.
42. See GUNDERT, op. cit. note 3, pp. 99-101. Examples of variant readings and glosses probably due to the revisor are:
Sympt. Diff.: p. 222, 16 (VII 59, 9 K) *κακοφωνίαν* LA = *malam vocalitatem* Ma: *δυσφωνίαν* MQS = *disvocalitatem* ErVaWcMa^{s.l.}
Sympt. Diff.: p. 250, 13 (VII 78, 16 K) *τραχειάν ἀρτηρίαν* A: *ἀρτηρίαν* MLQS = *arteriam* Lat.^{Gr.}, *idest traceam* Wc^{s.l.}
43. Durling in his editions of *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.* attributes most of the variants found in Va and Wc, both of which transmit the text of these two treatises (C and D in DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation*, 1976, cit. note 22; ID., *Burgundio of Pisa's translation*, 1992, cit. note 22), to the activity of a revisor, while conceding that some of the synonyms and glosses in *Loc. Aff.* "may go back to Burgundio himself" (DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation*, 1992, cit. note 22, p. 27; cf. ID., *Burgundio of Pisa's translation*, 1976, cit.

note 22, pp. XXX f. and n. 22). BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, pp. 86-89, more confidently assigns the glosses that he examined in Burgundio's philosophical and theological translations to Burgundio himself; see also FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, pp. 153 f., n. 63 and p. 159, n. 68. For Burgundio's practice of offering several translation choices for one Greek term, see the prologue to Burgundio's translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, quoted by CLASSEN P., *Burgundio von Pisa, Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer*. Heidelberg, C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1974, p. 95, ll. 183-185, and BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, p. 84, n. 10: *verbum ex verbo statui transferendum, deficienciam quidem dictionum intervenientem duabus vel etiam tribus dictionibus adiectis replens*.

44. DURLING, *Burgundio of Pisa's translation* (1976), cit. note 22, p. XXX. Similarly, Vivian Nutton in his contribution during the conference raised the question whether Niccolò might not be identified as the revisor of *Sympt. Diff.*; see his article in this volume.
45. See Table II, p. 912 below, and FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 163; *submemoratio*, however, is used by Burgundio as an equivalent for ὑπόμνησις in John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospels of St. Matthew*, see FLECCHIA M., *La traduzione di Burgundio Pisano delle Omelie di S. Giovanni Crisostomo sopra Matteo*. Aevum 1952; 26: 113-130, at p. 129.
46. For *submemoratio* in Niccolò see *De motibus dubiis*, e.g. iv.1; 32; 36; vi.11 = NUTTON V., BOS G., *Galen, On problematical movements*. Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011, pp. 136, 2; 142, 20; 29; 150, 11. For *denique* as an equivalent for δὴ see *De consuetudinibus* 4, SCHMUTTE J. M., *Galen De consuetudinibus*. CMG, Suppl. III, Leipzig, Berlin, Teubner, 1941, p. 24, 27 (translating δὴ on p. 25, 25); p. 27, 21; 23 (translating δὴ on p. 26, 22; 24), and as an equivalent for μὲν οὖν see *De morb. temp.* 1, quoted in FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 158. See also above, p. 894 and p. 918, note 32. For further similarities with Niccolò see below pp. 922 and 924, notes 61 and 69.
47. See notes 1 and 22, p. 913 and 916 above.
48. *Igitur* (and *Nam*) alone at the beginning of a sentence suggest that the loss of *quidem* from the combination *Igitur (Nam) ... quidem* is due to a scribal error, whereas *igitur* in the second or a later position and *enim* suggest the omission of *quidem* is an intentional choice by the translator, or the particle's absence in the translator's or revisor's Greek source.

49. At *Sympt. Caus.* I: VII 100, 6 K the omission of *autem* might be due to the omission of δὲ in the Greek source (δὲ om. A).
50. BOSSIER, art. cit. note 22, p. 98, signals one occurrence of *vero* in Nemesius' *Nat. hom.*
51. See p. 918, n. 32, and below p. 909, Table I with notes 64 and 65.
52. In the case of *enim*, e.g. *Sympt. Caus.* I: VII 96, 17 K μέν om. MLQSA; 115, 15 K μέν om. MLQS; 138, 9 K μέν om. LSA; *Sympt. Caus.* II: VII 173, 14 K μέν om. MS; *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 234, 6 K μέν om. QS. In the case of *igitur*, e.g. *Sympt. Caus.* I: VII 123, 11 K μέν om. LQS. In the case of *quidem*, e.g. *Sympt. Caus.* II: VII 202, 11 K γάρ om. MLQS and 165,12 K οὖν om. S; 169,15 K οὖν om. LA; 179, 1 K οὖν om. LQSA. At *Sympt. Caus.* II 150, 11 K (μὲν MLQS: μὲν οὖν A) the variants *quidem* Wc and *igitur* MaVaEr may reflect an adjustment in z to δ, the source of A.
53. At VII 113,13 and 114, 9 K *actus / energia* the supralinear explanation (*idest operatio*) is given in Wc and Va respectively.
54. *Sympt. Caus.* I: VII 144,13; 16; 17 K *energiis* ErMa: *actibus* Wc: om. Va. The oscillation between the two alternatives is further evidenced by the following supralinear notes to *energia*: *Sympt.Caus.* I: VII 131, 4 K (*al.*) *actus* Wc et Va s.l.; 141, 17 K *al. actibus et operationibus* Va^{s.l.}, and *Sympt. Caus.* II: VII 150, 6 *actus* Va^{s.l.}.
55. See also VII 165, 1 K *actus: operationis* Va^{s.l.}. The term *actio* is given s.l. as a variant to *actus* in Wc at *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 229, 6 K.
56. The Latin transmission is split between the two readings at VII 206, 9 K *non omnino* VaMa: *nequaquam* WcEr; VII 215, 6 K *non omnino* WcMa: *nequaquam* Va; VII 221, 11 K *non omnino* WcMa: *nequaquam* Er: *nequaquam omnino* Va; VII 225, 3 K *non omnino* WcMa: *nequaquam* ErVa.
57. Exceptions are *nullatenus* for the first occurrence of οὐδ' ὄλως at VII 239, 13 K, *nequaquam omnino* (WcMa) at VII 248, 9 K and *non* (Va) at VII 265, 5 K.
58. This selective *stemma codicum* is based on *Sympt. Diff.*, see GUNDERT, op. cit. note 3, p. 102.
59. A star (*) signifies that a particular reading is preserved in only some of the Latin manuscripts, the others either omitting the word or offering a different equivalent. See also note 22, p. 916 above.
60. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 224, 13 (VII 60, 8 K) Lat.^{Gr.} *utique* seems to translate δῆ, as transmitted by QAS (γἔ ML), and is thus recorded s.v. δῆ.
61. The equivalent *denique* is Burgundio's preferred choice from *De fide orthodoxa* on. The reading *autem* (WcErVa at *Morb. Diff.*: VI 875, 2 K) also occurs as a rare translation alternative for γοῦν in *Loc. Aff.*; the variant *igitur utique*

- (Ma) may be due to textual uncertainties in the Greek transmission (γοῦν LQS: δὴ E: δὴ οὖν M). The translation *tamen* (*Sympt. Diff.*: p. 232, 7 = VII 65, 14 K) occurs once each in *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.* The variant reading *demum* (Va at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 204, 13 = VII 46, 12 K) is unusual for Burgundio; *demum* for γοῦν is found once in Niccolò's translation of *De temporibus morborum* (see FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 161 and n. 71).
62. The reading δὴ at *Morb. Diff.*: VI 849, 1 K is not included here, since Lat.^{Gr.} *igitur ... quidem* seems to follow a Greek tradition different from Kühn: μὲν... οὖν SM: δὴ LQ edd. The equivalent *autem* occurs as a rare translation alternative in *De gen. et corr.* and may in some instances be due to a confusion between δὴ and δέ, as at *Morb. Diff.*: VI 862, 12 K (δὴ M: δέ LQS: *autem* ErVaMa: om. Wc) and *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 228, 3 = VII 62, 10 K (δέ L: δὴ cett.: *autem* WcVaMa: om. Er). The translation alternative *itaque* is unusual for Burgundio, occurring only once as a variant reading in *Temp.*, but it is found in Stefano da Messina and William of Moerbeke (see FORTUNA, *Galeno e le traduzioni medievali*, cit. note 22, Table II, p. 329). At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 13, 5 K it may represent a misreading of *utique*, as is suggested by *Morb. Diff.*: VI 864, 11 K *utique* WcMa: *itaque* ErVa and 842, 11 K *utique* Wc: *itaque* ErVa: *itaque al. utique* Ma; see also *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 212, 19 (VII 52, 17 K) *utique* WcMa: *itaque* Va: *ita* Er. The rare translation alternative *igitur* is also found in *De gen. et corr.* and once as a variant reading in *Temp.* For *denique* see above p. 893 with n. 28 and Table I, p. 910 s.v. γὰρ οὖν δὴ with note 68. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 230, 25 (VII 65, 6 K) Ma offers a series of translation alternatives for δὴ (MS: δέ LQA) which may have all been present in z: *igitur, itaque, nimirum*. Some of the omissions in *Sympt. Diff.* may reflect the omission of δὴ in either the translator's or the revisor's Greek source, e.g. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 200, 10 (VII 44, 2 K): δὴ om. S; p. 220, 4 (VII 57, 4 K): δὴ om. QAS; p. 224, 11 (VII 60, 5 K): δὴ om. A; p. 228, 4 (VII 60, 12 K): δὴ om. L; p. 270, 17 (VII 72, 3 K): δὴ om. A.
63. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 248, 16 = VII 77, 6 K (γ' ἔτι Q: γέ τι LAS: γε M) is not included here since Lat.^{Gr.} *utique* seems to be following the γ-branch of the Greek transmission as represented by M.
64. The variant reading *Nam quidem* at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 38, 2 K is due to the omission of the intervening word in Va. For *enim* and *quidem* as equivalents for μὲν γὰρ see above p. 918, note 32. In the following cases the choice among these equivalents may reflect the omission of μὲν or γὰρ in part of the Greek transmission: *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 230, 7 (VII 64, 1 K) μὲν om. L; p.

- 256, 13 (VII 83, 7 K) μέν om. Q; *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 248, 13 (VII 77, 3 K) γάο om. A; p. 252, 2 (VII 79, 13 K) γάο om. L. For *quidem enim* as variant for *enim* (ErMa at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 224, 16 = VII 60, 11 K; WcMa at p. 242, 4 = VII 72, 12 K; ErMa at p. 250, 12 = VII 78, 15 K) see above p. 918, n. 32. Other variants for *enim* are *autem* (VaEr at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 29, 18 K; Wc at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 244, 8 = VII 74, 2 K; Ma at p. 256, 13 = VII 83, 7 K), *vero* and *quidem* (WcMa and Er respectively at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 248, 13 = VII 77, 3 K). At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 28, 1 K (*denique*) the translator's Greek source may have read μέντοι with L (μέν γε MQ S: μέν γάο E edd.), which is occasionally rendered with *denique* in *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.* See also above pp. 920-921 and notes 48 and 52.
65. *Morb. Diff.*: VI 849, 1 K is added to the count since *Igitur ... quidem* ErVaMa: *Igitur* Wc seem to follow μέν ... οὖν ME against μέν δή LQ edd. *Morb. Diff.*: VI 848, 9 K and *Morb. Caus.*: VII 34, 5 K are omitted from the count since Lat.^{Gr.} *quidem* seems to follow μέν MLQE (S deest) against μέν ... οὖν Pa edd. in the first case, and μέν MLQS against μέν ... οὖν E edd. in the second case. In three of the four occurrences in *Sympt. Diff.* the equivalent *quidem* may be due to the revisor's adjustment of the translation to the Greek text transmitted by δ, which does not exhibit οὖν (p. 214, 4 = VII 53, 18 K: οὖν om. QAS; p. 236, 6 = VII 68, 4 K: οὖν om. A; p. 244, 20 = VII 74, 17 K: οὖν om. LA). At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 21, 12 and 35, 4 K *Igitur quidem* as a variant reading for *Igitur ... quidem* results from the transposition of the intervening word in Va, Wc and Ma. For the combination *quidem igitur* see above p. 918, n. 32. At *Morb. Diff.*: VI 855, 10 K (*quidem igitur* Ma: *igitur* ErVaWc), *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 220, 6 = VII 57, 7 K (*quidem igitur* MaVa^{s.1.}: *igitur* Er: *quidem* WcVa) and p. 244, 18 = VII 74, 15 K (*quidem igitur* WcMaVa: *quidem* Er) the compound translation may have originated with the individual Latin manuscripts by the insertion of *quidem* or *igitur*, which was present as an alternative somewhere in its source z. The unusual variants at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 198, 12 = VII 43, 4 K (*autem* Er: *quidem autem* Va: *quidem demum* WcMa) may reflect uncertainties of the Greek transmission (μέν οὖν MQAS: μήν L).
66. Including οιοεῖ which is rendered as *velut* at *Morb. Diff.*: VI 836, 6 K and as *veluti* at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 30, 4 K. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 224, 1 (VII 59, 12 K) *puta* is the translation of οἶον εἰ τύχοι.
67. For the combinations ἄρ' οὖν, ἀτὰρ οὖν, γὰρ οὖν, γοῦν, μὲν οὖν, οὐκ οὖν see above and below. At *Morb. Diff.*: VI 841, 10 K Lat.^{Gr.} *denique* seems to be translating γοῦν as transmitted by LQE (οὖν M, S deest), and is thus recorded s.v. γοῦν. At *Morb. Diff.*: VI 859, 2 K Lat.^{Gr.} *vero* seems to be translating δὲ

as transmitted by MQE (οὖν Pa edd.: om. L ut vid., S deest). The equivalents *autem* (Va at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 4, 5; 17, 12 K), *enim* (Er at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 256, 3 = VII 82, 13 K) and *demum* (ErWcMa: om. Va at *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 248, 1 = VII 76, 9 K) seem to be unusual for Burgundio. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 206, 15 (VII 48, 3 K) the omission of οὖν may reflect the translator's or revisor's Greek source (om. MQS, A deest).

68. At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 23, 6 K the particle δή is transmitted in MLQSE (om. οὖν), but deleted in Pa and omitted in the printed Greek editions. At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 5, 3 K and *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 198, 7 (VII 42, 8 K) δή is transmitted in only part of the Greek tradition (LS and MQ respectively). The variants *autem utique* WcMa: *enim* ErVa (*Morb. Caus.*: VII 23, 6 K) and *denique* WcVaEr: *denique utique* Ma (*Morb. Caus.*: VII 5, 3 K) point to the presence of alternatives in z which may reflect the uncertainties of the Greek transmission.
69. The combinations *hic talis* (with the variant *talis hic*) and *qui talis* are equivalents for τοιοῦτος accompanied by the definite article, while *talis* alone translates τοιοῦτος with or without an article, a practice also found in Niccolò's translation of *De temporibus morborum*, see FORTUNA, URSO, *Burgundio da Pisa*, cit. note 19, p. 159, n. 66.
70. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 252, 17 (VII 80, 14 K) *predictis* for τοῖς τοιοῦτοις seems to represent the intrusion into the text of a gloss, possibly by the original translator; see above p. 903. Another gloss intrusion seems possible at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 30, 10 K where Va replaces *talibus* with *flegmatibus*. At *Morb. Caus.*: VII 26, 5 K, on the other hand, Va offers *talium* instead of *predictorum* (ErWcMa) for τῶν προειρημένων, apparently rejecting *predictorum* as a gloss.
71. *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 228, 16 (VII 63, 9 K) is included here since Lat.^{Gr.} *ut* seems to translate ὡς as transmitted in QAS (ὡσπερ LM). The equivalents for ὡς employed in *Morb. Diff.*, *Morb. Caus.* and *Sympt. Diff.* correspond to Burgundio's practice in *Temp.* and *Loc. Aff.*, where however the prevalence of *ut* over *quod* is more clearly pronounced, and the variety of choices is greater. The variants *et* for *ut* at *Morb. Caus.*: VII 13, 14 (Wc); 15, 7; 16, 8 ; 28, 11 K (Er) and *quidem* for *quod* at VII 3, 10 K (Er) may represent scribal errors.
72. At *Sympt. Diff.*: p. 220, 16 (VII 57, 19 K) Lat.^{Gr.} *qui* renders ἦπερ (L Qcorr.: ὡσπερ MAS).
73. For the notes to *Morb. Diff.*, *Morb. Caus.* and *Sympt. Diff.* see also Table I, pp. 908-910 above.
74. At *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 242, 3 K Lat.^{Gr.} offers *Nam ... quidem* where μέν is transmitted in MLQAS. For *Nam* see above p. 920, n. 48. For *enim* and

quidem as equivalents for μέν γάρ see above p. 912 and note 32. In some cases the translation *enim* and *quidem* may reflect the omission of μέν or γάρ from the translator's or revisor's Greek source, see above p. 921, n. 52. Most of the occurrences of *quidem enim*, *enim quidem*, *vero* and *autem* are translation variants for *enim*.

75. At *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 243, 13 K Lat.^{Gr.} *Igitur... quidem* seems to be at variance with μέν δή transmitted by MLQAS and is not included in the count. For *Igitur* see above p. 920, n. 48. The equivalents *igitur* and *quidem* may in some cases reflect the omission of μέν or οὖν from the translator's or revisor's source, see above pp. 905 and 921, n. 52. Some occurrences of *quidem igitur* are translation variants for *igitur* and *quidem*.
76. Lat.^{Gr.} *ipsius actus* for αὐτῆς (sc. ἐνεργείας) at *Morb. Diff.*: VI 855, 11 K may owe its origin to a gloss on *ipsius*.
77. A variant for *actus*.
78. At *Sympt. Caus.* III: VII 256, 10 K the reading *neque hoc* VaErWc (om. *hoc*): om. Ma (cum pluribus verbis) may be due to the revisor introducing the δ reading μηδὲ οὕτως A (μηδὲ οὕτως LQ [μηδ']]: μηδ' ὅλως M) and is not included in the count.
79. See also FORTUNA, URSO, *Tradizione latina dell'Ars medica*, cit. note 19, pp. 138 f.
80. IBI, p. 140.
81. IBI, p. 168.

Correspondence should be addressed to:

Beate Gundert
592 Maitland St. - London, Ontario
N6B 2Z7 - Canada
bgundert@uwo.ca

