

and Days. The idea of types of women formed from different animals is set out at much greater length in Semonides 7. Phocylides' four all appear there. The women who come from the *ἵππος χαιτήεσσα* and the bee are described in similar terms in both poems. Phocylides' sow- and bitch-women, however, have qualities which correspond rather to Semonides' earth-woman (22 f. οὐτε γὰρ κακὸν οὐτ' ἐσθλὸν οὐδὲν οἶδε) and sea-woman (32 ff.) respectively. Phocylides hardly succeeds, in the space he allows himself, in giving his sow-woman any specifically porcine feature. Whether he is drawing directly on Semonides or on a commonplace of popular philosophy cannot be decided with certainty.¹³

To sum up: the evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that the hexameter fragments ascribed to Phocylides come from a gnomic poem, composed in Miletus in the first half of the sixth century, in which one Phocylides was represented as giving advice to a juvenile friend on a range of topics including how to become a man of standing; how to conduct oneself in a society shot through with political tensions; the different types of women. Such a poem fits well when seen in its historical context, and no less well when seen against the general background of archaic Greek and earlier oriental wisdom poetry.

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¹³ Bergk appends to his collection of fragments a number of anonymous gnomic hexameters which may come from Phocylides. Their inclusion would not significantly affect the picture I have drawn.

The Arabic version of Galen's *De Sectis ad eos qui introducuntur*

In this study¹ we have compared an Arabic translation with a well-edited Greek text, in the preparation of which, moreover, the editors have found no evidence of any major lacunae in their MSS, and which we may suppose to correspond closely with Galen's original composition. It was, consequently, from the first improbable that we should make any very striking discoveries: nothing was to be expected at all comparable with the indubitable evidence for the inversion of a leaf in the codex from which are derived our Greek manuscripts of Galen's *An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur* (Furley and Wilkie, *CR* xxii [1972] 164–7).

For anyone interested in the Arabic translations of Galen's works there was, however, a compensatory advantage in the possibility thus presented of assessing the quality of the Arabic version. The reputation of the translator, Hunain ibn Ishāq, has, indeed, already been long established; and we were prepared to find his translation at the least respectable; it is safe to say, however, that we have found it uniformly excellent. In the three or four cases where a sentence seemed to have been misunderstood, the initial impression of error has been dissipated by a more careful reading of the Arabic (confirmed

by Dr Lyons); or by the consultation of further Arabic manuscripts, which showed faults of transcription in the manuscript from which our first transcript was made. To explain what we have found with respect to Hunain's choice of individual words, we must describe the method we adopted. One of us (J.S.W.) made a translation, as nearly as possible literal, from the Arabic into English, scrupulously avoiding any consultation of the Greek text. We then met and compared this English version with the Greek. It happened again and again that an English word was found to represent the Greek word tolerably well, but not exactly. Reference to the lexicons showed, however, that the English word chosen represented merely one of the possible meanings of the Arabic, and among the others listed was to be found the exact equivalent of the Greek.

A persistent source of scepticism as to the value of Arabic manuscripts of translations from the Greek is the belief that, however good the original translation may have been, the extant manuscripts mugreatly infected with glosses, introduced in the course of transmission, that no reliance can be placed upon the Arabic, as we now have it, as a representation of the original text of the translation.

We can say categorically that this is totally false of the extant manuscripts of the treatise here considered; and equally false of the manuscripts of the *Ars parva* with which we are now engaged (It is also false of the MSS of the *De usu pulsuum* and of the *An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur*, J.S.W.).

We have found perhaps five or six possible glosses, each consisting of only a few words. Of these it is possible that one or two represent words present in Galen's Greek, which have dropped out of the Greek MSS. It is, moreover, extremely difficult to distinguish between what is to be considered a gloss (where only a few words are concerned) and what is a legitimate explicative translation. In one case, where we have conceded a possible gloss, Dr Lyons considered that what we have is introduced simply to avoid a gross inelegance, which would result in Arabic from the adoption of a too direct rendering of the Greek syntactical form (see below on H 15.24).

We defer the identification of the Arabic MSS to the end of this paper and pass at once to our results.

(*Note on abbreviations.* H: G. Helmreich's edition in *Claudii Galeni Pergameni Scripta Minora* iii (Leipzig 1893). K: Kühn's edition, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, i (Leipzig 1821), A: J. S. Wilkie's translation of Arabic version. The Greek MSS are referred to according to Helmreich's edition, viz. L=cod. Laurentianus LXXIV 5, L¹=eius manus prima, L²=eiusdem manus altera; M=cod. Mosquensis 283; m=cod. Mosquensis 51; V=cod. Venetus bibliothecae Marcianae V 9; v=cod. Venetus eiusdem bibliothecae 282.)

H 4.22 f. [φύσεις]. K 69.10 φύσω. Marquardt φύσεως. A: 'be well acquainted with the diversity of states of the air, of waters . . .' K's φύσω is ungrammatical. The Arabic suggests the presence, in his Greek text, of a word (e.g. φύσεως or φύσεων) governing ἀέρων, ὑδάτων . . . : a double genitive would have been clumsy but might help to account for the corruption.

H 5.3 [φάρμακον]. K 69.16 stet. A: 'this drug'. The Arabic supports retention of φάρμακον.

H 7.12 ff. The Greek text suggests greater bleeding if the

¹ We must express our warmest thanks to Dr M. C. Lyons of Pembroke College Cambridge, who has been most generous in allowing us to consult him on many particular points. He takes, of course, no responsibility for any inaccuracies that may remain.

- patient is used to it. The Greek MSS and editions have no equivalent to the addition (probably a gloss) found in two of our three Arabic MSS: 'but this has now stopped'.
- H 7.18 The Arabic has 'the method of making out (or inferring) that remedy and discovering it', which provides some support for *εὐρέσεως* (edd. and other Greek MSS) against *αἰρέσεως* (L¹).
- H 8.1 and 3 *μέχρι παντός* (omitted by M at H 8.1 and by L¹—added by L²—at H 8.3). A: 'from: first to last' in both passages. The Arabic supports edd. What is surprising about this passage is that Galen should say that a bite from a mad dog is the same as other bites 'from first to last': whereas this is true, rather, of bites from dogs other than mad ones (cf. H. 18.24 ff.). We would expect—and perhaps might conjecture—*μῆ* before *λυτῶντος* in H 8.3).
- H 8.21 ff. *ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς ὥραις καὶ ταῖς χώραις ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων ἢ θεραπείας*. A: 'the treatment . . . in accordance with the ages and the seasons of the year and each of the things we have mentioned.' The Arabic omits *καὶ ταῖς χώραις* and takes 'each of the things we have mentioned' as coordinate with 'seasons of the year' (i.e. perhaps *ἐκάστοις*).
- H 8.23 *δι' ἐμπειρίας* (omitted by L). A: 'by experience'. Supports edd.
- H 9.19 f. *τὰ δ' ἔνδοξοι τῶν τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα. τῶν δὲ* (om. V) *τὰ μὲν* (om. L) LMV *τὰ δὲ τῶν μὲν* v. K 75.15 *τὰ δὲ, τῶν μὲν τοιαῦτα*. A: 'and as for the statement made by the people who concede to the Empirics that these things may be discovered by it [experience] but with the qualification that they object to it [experience] that it is not limited and takes a long time . . .' The Arabic provides some support for H (cf. *ὑπ'* at H 9.13).
- H 10.6 *τοῦ τε σώματος τὴν φύσιν*. After 'knowledge of the nature of the temperament of the body' one of the three Arabic MSS adds (what is probably a gloss: the text is in any case difficult and as Dr Lyons has suggested ditto-graphy may be suspected): '[both that] which is natural to it; and that to which it is transformed, so that it needs to be transformed when it reverts to that which is natural to it.'
- H 11.2 [*ἀδήλου φύσει πράγματος οὐδενός*] (cf. H 10.25). K 77.12 stet. Of the Greek MSS, L omits *οὐδενός*. A: 'there exists no proof whatever demonstrating something hidden.' The Arabic may suggest a text with at least *ἀδήλου οὐδενός*, unless, indeed, the Arabic tradition has added the words from the previous context, H 10.25.
- H 11.8 f. *ὃν δὴ <τῶν> φαινομένων λόγον εἶναι φασί* (*φαινόμενον* L¹Mv). K 77.17–78.1 *ὃν δὴ φαινόμενον εἶναι φασί*. A: 'the inference to perceptibles.' The Arabic supports H.
- H 12.2 *ἀνομολογίαν* (with L). *ἀνομοιολογίαν* m, *ὁμολογίαν* Mv, *ἀναλογίαν* V. K 79.1 *ἀγνωστολογίαν*. A: 'controversy'—some support for H.
- H 12.3 *φανέν* (with Mm). K 79.2 (with other MSS) *φαιμεν*—but K's Latin translation has 'apparens'. A: 'when the thing has become clear and manifest and how it is has become perceived'. Supports H.
- H 12.16 *οὐθ' ὥραν οὔτε χώραν* and H 12.18 f. [*τὰς ὥρας καὶ τὰς χώρας καὶ*] *τὰ ἔθη* (square-bracketed material omitted by V). K 79.13 and 15 f.: no square brackets. The Arabic omits *οὔτε χώραν* in the first passage (H 12.16) and has 'the consideration of countries and customs' in the second. Like H, the Arabic avoids repeating any item but has a reference to *χώρας* at H 12.19 rather than one to *χώραν* at H 12.16 (cf. 17.8).
- H 12.23 f. *πειρῶνται γ' οἱ μὲν τῶν κατὰ διαίταν νοσημάτων. τῶν γε οἱ μὲν* (Aldine edition), *νοσημάτων ἀπάντων* (vV). K 80.2 f. *πειρῶνται τῶν γε οἱ μὲν κατὰ διαίταν νοσημάτων ἀπάντων*. A: 'and some of them claim that these groups embrace the diseases of which the treatment is by regimen.' The Arabic clearly supports H.
- H 13.9–12. The Arabic translates the sentence *τὴν γὰρ φλεγμονὴν . . . πάθος ἐπιπεπλεγμένον* that Marquardt judged spurious.
- H 13.10 *νῦν*. K 80.12 (with Lv) *ἦν*, though K's Latin translation has 'quoniam non sola nunc'. A: 'when it is in a state of this kind it is not simply one.' No clear evidence of a *νῦν*, though 'now' would have been clumsy here in Arabic.
- H 13.18 f. *τῷ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐνοχλοῦντι καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπιφέροντι, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ, ἐναντιοῦσθαι*. L² has *τῷ κινδύνῳ*, LV *τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τὸ ἰσχυρότερον*. K 81.3 f. *τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν, ὡς τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ*. A: 'the resistance to the disease that afflicts him more and is more dangerous, and that is the more powerful of the two diseases, is more important than the resistance of the other.' The Arabic supports H (or LV) against L².
- H 15.23 f. There is no sign, in the Arabic, of an equivalent for *πρώτης* H 15.23 or *νῦν* H 15.24.
- H 15.24 There is no equivalent, in the Greek, for the sentence 'on the contrary, the dispute goes back to the words and to the deeds' in the Arabic, but as Dr Lyons suggests this may be a stylistic expansion for the sake of balance.
- H 16.6 *μόνον* omitted by MmVv, square-bracketed by H, read by K at 84.10. No trace of this in A. (Contrast 'by reason alone' for *μόνου* at H 16.3 and 4).
- H 16.18 *ἀργίας*. K 85.2 (with v) *ἐνεργείας*. A: 'repose'. Supports H.
- H 17.8 The Arabic order is that of Vv and K 86.1—*ὥρας . . . ἡλικίας . . . χώρας* (*χωρία* K).
- H 17.23 [*εἶναι ὁ ἀρρωστών*]. *εἶναι* omitted by LMmV, *εἶναι ὁ ἀρρωστών* deleted by Marquardt, read by K 86.14 f. A: 'in whatever country he happens to fall sick.' Gives some support for *ὁ ἀρρωστών*.
- H 18.1 [*ἐπισκοπήσαι*]. LMmV omit. K 86.17 stet. MSS and edd. have no verb in the sentence at H 18.2 *ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα μάταια . . .* A: 'Now what will they say about the parts of the body? Will not the consideration of them be superfluous . . .?' The Arabic suggests an original *ἐπισκοπήσαι* or *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (or *ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι*, cf. H. 21.1) whether in the first or in the second sentence.
- H 18.9 *ἀεί*. K 87.7 (with v) omits. A: 'constantly'—supports H.
- H 18.19 *σὺ δ'*. K 87.15 *οὐδ'*. A: 'then you will have gained an empty triumph'—supports H.
- H 19.3 There is no equivalent, in the Greek, for the Arabic: 'so that he did not discriminate the part in which the bite was', a possible—though not very likely—gloss. The evidence suggests that Hunain found this phrase in his Greek MS.
- H 19.6 There is no equivalent, in the Greek, for the Arabic: 'whose property was to draw out poison and to alleviate (or dry) it', though this may be a gloss.
- H 19.22 f. [*κατὰ πάντα*]. K 89.8 stet. A: 'and there is no difference between the two diseases in any way whatever'—some support for K.

- H 19.23 πάντοτε (with L). K 89.8 (with the other MSS) πάντη. A: 'in all ways the same'—supports K.
- H 20.4 ὑμῶν. K 89.13 (with mvV) ἡμῶν. A: 'I have seen you, not to mention others'—supports H.
- H 20.16 προσέειπε τὰς ὥρας. K 90.6 (with LMm) adds καὶ τὰς χῶρας. A: 'the times of the year'. There is no trace, in the Arabic, of καὶ τὰς χῶρας.
- H 21.4 ἐναντίον. L omits. A: 'contrary to the truth . . . contrary to what you do'. Supports edd.
- H 21.18 There is no equivalent, in the Greek, for the Arabic: 'and if he did, it would become blepharitic', which looks like a gloss. Hunain was particularly interested in disease of the eye.
- H 23.6 f., 23.15 and 24.5 has κατὰ φύσιν on each occasion. K has παρὰ φύσιν in the first two passages (K 93.14—with L²; K 94.4 with L^{2v}. Yet cf. the Latin translation of 93.14 'secundum naturam'). A has 'natural evacuations' on all three occasions.
- H 24.22 [ταχέως καὶ]. K 95.16 stet. H notes 'καὶ ante ταχέως add. LMm'. A: 'they promise to teach us this art quickly in six months'—supports K.
- H 25.22 (with L²MmV) θεραπείας. K 97.3 (with L¹) θεωρίας. A: 'each of them requires a particular treatment'—supports H.
- H 26.6 [πάλαι] (omitted by Lm, also K 97.11). A: 'Hippocrates already epitomized all those things . . .'. This gives some slight support for a temporal adverb, although the *qad* (here translated 'already') may have been added, as is sometimes the case, merely for euphony.
- H 26.8 f. τὸν σκληρὸν καὶ ἀντίτυπον (also K 97.12 f.). A: 'a distention that offers resistance to the hand.' The Arabic appears to omit σκληρὸν καὶ (cf., however, H 27.4, where two of the three Arabic MSS have 'induration' for σκληρός).
- H 28.5. There is no equivalent, in the Arabic, for the Greek καὶ οἶον ἀναρροιβδουμένου [πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐντός].
- H 28.21 f. μηδ' αὐτὸ τὸ περιέχον σῶμα τετρημένον ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἤ. A: 'even though the body that contains it has not altered its nature.' There is no trace, in the Arabic, of an equivalent for τετρημένον. Moreover the point at issue appears to be the widening of pores, rather than the body being pierced or perforated. For the idea of the body being altered, cf. H 29.9 f., where the point is put thus: μηδὲν αὐτῶν τῶν σωματῶν παρὰ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλοιότερον ἐχόντων.
- H 28.25 There is no equivalent, in the Arabic, for the Greek ἀκριβῶς.
- H 29.26 f. The order in the Arabic is χεῖρι πήχει βραχίονι ποδὶ κνήμη μηρῶ, i.e. first hand/arm and its parts, then foot/leg and its parts.
- H 30.13 There is no trace, in the Arabic, of ἀγγείων (in LM, but omitted by H and K 103.8).
- H 30.22 τὸ λεπτότερον (with Lm). K 103.16 (with v) λεπτομερές. A: 'the most tenuous of what is in them'—some support for H.

Note on the Arabic manuscripts

For the Arabic, we have worked from two microfilms representing, respectively, the content of the *Manuscript*

Arabe 2860 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and MS 1075 of the Garret Collection of the Library of the University of Princeton.² As is frequently the case, each number (2860 and 1075) is appended, not to a MS of a single treatise, but to a small collection or set of treatises which have something in common, and which are collectively referred to in the catalogues as 'a manuscript'.

The Parisian set (2860) consists of translations of four works by Galen (or, strictly speaking, of five; since a first and a second 'to Glaukon' are distinguished), transcribed by the same scribe in the year 676 of the Hijra (A.D. 1277). Of this set, the first is the translation of the *De sectis*.

The Princeton set (1075) is said in the catalogue (Hitti *et al.*) to consist of translations of nine of Galen's works, of which one (*Ars parva*) was transcribed in A.H. 1138 (A.D. 1726); and the remaining eight, in A.H. 572 (A.D. 1176/7). In the catalogue, the translation of the *De sectis* is the sixth of the set of nine. There is, however, in Hitti's catalogue a mistake of considerable importance for us; since what was written in A.D. 1726 was not, as stated, 'the introduction [to the set of nine treatises] and *The Book of the Minor Art*', but the *De sectis* followed by the *Ars parva*. In other words, the translation of the *De sectis*, which lacks both title and colophon, was mistaken for an introductory essay composed by the scribe of A.D. 1726.

Consequently, our two microfilms provide us with three transcripts of the Arabic of the *De sectis*; one of Paris, and two of Princeton.

Of the three transcripts, those in Princeton are superior to that in Paris, in so far as the Parisian transcript has important omissions. Some of these, but not all, are made good by being written lengthwise in the margin; so that, had we not the Greek before us, they might be taken for glosses. Each probably represents at least one line of the original Arabic text of the translation.

As far, however, as transcriptions of single words are concerned, it would be difficult to say that errors are more frequent in one of the transcripts than in the others; but a curious feature of the two treatises (Princeton) transcribed in A.D. 1726 is that two words, one in the *De sectis*, and the other in the *Ars parva*, are correctly given only by this late scribe; a fact which suggests that he may have copied from very old manuscripts. Since one of the words concerned is a transliteration of a Greek word *Καδμεία* [νίκη], and the other, a word meaning 'the colour indigo', is formed from the Persian *Īlanj* (the Indigo plant), it seems more probable that the scribe's success with both is to be attributed to the excellence of the MSS he copied, than to his own learning.

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² See M. le Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits) Paris 1883–95; Philip K. Hitti, Nabih Amin Faris, Butrus 'Abd-al-Malik, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garret Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton Oriental Texts v) Princeton 1938.