

terrible, and Herakles, small by comparison, flees jerkily along with Hermes. Although there is no hint of mockery in the picture on the Gallatin lekythos, the sudden and short-lived appearance of the theme of Herakles sacrificing on archaic Attic vases suggests a common source, a new version of the legend, such as might be produced in a play.²⁸

The Sappho Painter may not have intentionally selected this subject for a funerary gift: it is however intriguing that he should choose that one of Herakles' labors which made him such a popular symbol of immortality.

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²⁸ A list of vases with representations of Herakles sacrificing at an altar is given by F. Brommer (n. 1) 176–7. The representations seem to fall in two series: a late sixth-century one, which includes Brommer's nos 1–7 (A) and 1 (B); and a later and unconnected classical one, which shows the sacrifice at the sanctuary of Chryse. See E. M. Hooker, 'The Sanctuary and Altar of Chryse . . .', *JHS* lxx (1950) 35–41.

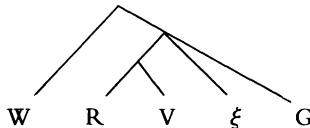
Five Dispensable Manuscripts of Achilles Tatius

Four manuscripts of Achilles Tatius break off at *ι* 10.3 *τοῖς ῥήμασιν*, and a fifth originally did so. All five begin with Longus, where they descend from Vat. gr. 1348.¹ This manuscript too has Achilles Tatius after Longus, but complete, so that they may seem unlikely to descend from it in Achilles Tatius. According to the latest editor, E. Vilborg (Gothenburg 1955), they do not descend from it: they avoid three of its errors (p. lxii, lxvi). Expectation and evidence coincide, then, and that should be that.

Every fragmentary manuscript, however, goes back eventually to a complete one, and whether three errors will bear the weight of a stemma depends on others. To test Vilborg's conclusion it suffices to examine the behaviour of five manuscripts:

- ξ the hypothetical source of the five fragmentary manuscripts²
- R Vat. gr. 1348 (*s.* xvi¹/₄)
- V Vat. gr. 114 (*s.* xiii²)
- G Ven. Marc. gr. 607 (*s.* xv)
- W Vat. gr. 1349 (*s.* xii).

Vilborg cites two errors common to ξRVG (p. xlvi) and two common to RV (p. lxvi). On these he erects the following stemma (p. lxxii):



That ξ might equally well have been put in three other places matters less than that just as many errors or more unite other groups of manuscripts.³

- Rξ: p. 2.16 *πρὸς* for *περὶ*, p. 3.14–15 *ἡρέμα τῶν στέρνων* for *τῶν στέρνων ἡρέμα*

¹ H. van Thiel, *RhM* civ (1961) 356–62; see also my full stemma in *JHS* xcix (1979) 165–7, hereafter 'Reeve'.

² I regard this as extant in one of them, Paris. gr. 2903 (cf. Reeve), but for the present purpose nothing turns on whether I am right.

³ As I am attacking Vilborg with his own weapons, I take his word for it that these readings are all errors. In fact I largely agree.

- Wξ: p. 5.6 *προμελετώμενον* for *μελετώμενον*, p. 6.9 *μοι* for *με*, p. 8.21 *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτὸ*, p. 9.6 *ἀποκτείνεις* for *ἀποκτενείς*

- VRG: p. 3.13 *ἐφαίνετο* for *ὑπεφαίνετο*, 18 *ἡ* om., 5.26 *μέσω* for *μέσοις*, 27 *ἐπέτεινα* for *ἐνέτεινα*, 8.12 *ὡς* add., 23 *αἶι* om., 10.22 *καί* om. ante *θεοῖς*, 23 *μιᾶ* om., 24 *τηρήσ-* for *ζητήσ-*, 11.1 *οὖν* om., 10 *σε* om., 12.3 *μᾶλλον* om.

Indeed, if numbers are anything to go by, much the most obvious group is VRG.

Plainly such a conflict of loyalties points to contamination. Where? 'R', says Vilborg, 'is collated with a MS from the *α*-group, the variants of which are introduced in the margin by another hand (probably Orsini's⁴). This *α* MS is undoubtedly W' (p. lxii). A descendant of R + R² might therefore be expected to have the truth in numerous places where R¹ or W is corrupt but to share a few errors now with R, now with W. That is precisely what ξ does. Without collating R I cannot prove that ξ descends from R, because Vilborg seldom reports R²; but I take leave not to doubt it.

I have touched before on a historical problem connected with one descendant of ξ, Paris. gr. 2895, which appears in a list of Greek manuscripts brought to Paris from Italy by Girolamo Fondulo of Cremona.⁵ The date that accompanies the list (Paris. gr. 3064 f. 69v) was read by Boivin as 1529,⁶ and 1529 it had remained for everyone who discussed either Paris. gr. 2895 or Francis I's acquisition of Greek manuscripts; but after seeing it I expressed doubt whether it was not rather 1539.⁷ I can now go further.

On 18th September 1538 Francis I wrote to the Duke of Ferrara requesting every assistance for the learned Fondulo in his task of collecting Greek and Latin manuscripts.⁸ In a letter of 1st September, 1540 the French ambassador to Venice, Guillaume Pellicier, wrote of an encounter with a Corfiote who had previously offered Fondulo a number of Greek manuscripts;⁹ the Corfiote, Antonios Eparchos, migrated to Venice late in 1537.¹⁰ Already on 10th July, 1540 the same Pellicier had told another correspondent about a visit from an agent of Fondulo's immediately after Fondulo's departure from Venice:¹¹ Pellicier arrived in Venice towards the end of June 1539,¹² and the visit took place after Fondulo's death in Paris on 12th March, 1540,¹³ which the agent had heard of. These three

⁴ Certainly not Orsini's (cf. Reeve).

⁵ Published by H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris 1889) 371–2.

⁶ Cited by L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* i (Paris 1868) 152.

⁷ Reeve 166 n. 6.

⁸ A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France* (Paris 1893) 153–4, cited in the fullest treatment of Fondulo to be found, P. S. and H. M. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* vi (Oxford 1926) 376. I owe to Carlotta Griffiths both this reference and the encouragement to consider the problem soluble. On Fondulo see also J. Zeller, *La diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Paris 1881) 97–9.

⁹ Delisle (n. 6) 156–7 = *Correspondance politique de Guillaume Pellicier*, ed. A. Tausserat-Radel (Paris 1899) i 78–9.

¹⁰ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* i (Paris 1885) ccxiii.

¹¹ Omont, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Ch.* xlvi (1885) 613 = *Tausserat-Radel* (n. 9) i 14.

¹² Tausserat-Radel (n. 9) i xxxii.

¹³ Delisle (n. 6) 152.

letters, above all the last, show that Fondulo visited Venice in 1539.

If the doubtful digit looked quite unlike 3, Fondulo might still be supposed to have paid an earlier visit to Italy in 1529;¹⁴ but there is a very simple proof that the manuscripts in the list left Italy not before 1539. Two of them, Paris. gr. 1830 and 2376, were written in 1539 by Valeriano Albini, the latter ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου Ἐνετίαι.¹⁵

The new date closes an awkward gap of over a decade between Francis I's earliest purchase of Greek manuscripts and his implely attested purchases in the 1540s.

Pellicier's letters confirm what might have been expected, that anyone commissioned to buy quantities of Greek manuscripts would descend on Venice. Evidence that Fondulo visited Rome on the same business has yet to be produced.¹⁶ Other things too suggest a Venetian origin for Paris. gr. 2895. Besides Longus and Achilles Tattius, it contains Eustathius Macrembolita, where its closest relative, Vat. Reg. gr. 165 (s. xv/xvi), was written at Venice.¹⁷ Moreover, its exemplar in Longus and Achilles Tattius, Tübingen Mb 16,¹⁸ has a watermark that recurs in a manuscript written at Venice in 1535 by Ange Vergèce.¹⁹ The scribe of the Tubingensis, Johannes Honorius, is well known for his work in Rome, where he wrote amongst other things its grandson Vat. gr. 1350 and its great-grandson Vat. gr. 2367; but no one knows where he was before his appointment as *librorum Graecorum instaurator* at the Vatican on July 2nd 1535.²⁰ Perhaps he brought the Tubingensis or the lost intermediary to Rome with him from Venice.

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¹⁴ So Omont (n. 5) iv–v; Tausserat-Radel (n. 9) i 14 n. 2.

¹⁵ Omont (n. 5) 371–2 nos 10, 13 + 43, and *Rev. des Bibl.* ii (1892) 154. On Albini, librarian of S. Antonio di Castello, see S. Bernardinello, *Autografi greci e greco-latini in occidente* (Padua 1979) 30, 71 no. 81; on the importance of the library at the time, Zeller (n. 8) 116–19, with or without the modifications of G. Mercati, *Studi e Testi* lxxv (1938) 26–34.

¹⁶ In Reeve 166 I lazily followed Vilborg, p. xxi, lxxv, who followed Dörrie, p. 11.

¹⁷ See the edition of I. Hilberg (Vienna 1876) xlii.

¹⁸ Reeve 166 and before me F. Romero, *Emerita* xlvi (1978) 131–5.

¹⁹ Reeve 166 n. 8 on the authority of D. Harlfinger.

²⁰ R. De Maio, *Studi e Testi* ccxix (1962) 299 n. 1. His earliest dated manuscripts, Vat. gr. 205 and 324, were both written in 1536 'ad huius bibliothecae Palatinae usum'; cf. Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 181–4, and K. A. de Meyier, *Scriptorium* xviii (1964) 261–2. Omont (n. 5) 371 no. 12, 17 no. 44, identifies a manuscript partly written by him, Cambridge Kk V 26, with one of Fondulo's purchases, Ἀριστείδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περὶ μουσικῆς—strangely, because it contains Aristoxenus and no other writer on music. The manuscript in question is surely Paris. gr. 2456, which contains Aristides and ten other writers on music. Omont 129–30 no. 380 gives no provenance for it and attributes it to Valeriano Albini, on whom see above. Later, in his *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* i (Paris 1898), he attributes it in one place to Albini (p. xxxiii), in another to Michael Damascenos (p. 264)—not the only discrepancy of the kind (cf. Vogel–Gardthausen 371 n. 6).

The Arabic version of Galen's *Ars Parva*

Following our study of unpublished manuscripts of Hunain's translation of Galen's *De Sectis ad eos qui*

introducuntur, a report of which appeared in *JHS* xcvi (1978) 167–9, we turned our attention to Hunain's translation of Galen's *Ars Parva*. Once again we have been impressed by the generally excellent quality of the Arabic version and we record a number of passages relevant to the problem of establishing the original Greek text. Perhaps our most important result is to confirm the existence, in Hunain's version of the Greek text, of an extensive preface including explanations of the terms 'analysis' and 'synthesis' which are missing from the printed text of Kühn.

We begin by giving the Incipit in full. It is important to note that, as Temkin has correctly observed, *Galenism* (Cornell 1973) 109 n. 39, both our MSS begin their text with Qāla Jālīnūs: 'Galen said'.

INCIPIT

Galen said:

In all disciplines which proceed in an orderly manner, the methods are of three kinds: one of them is the method of reversion and resolution; and that is that you consider the thing that you intend [i.e. have in view] and seek the cognition of it, in your understanding, in its ultimate perfection; considering the next and the next of the things without which that thing cannot be established or perfected, until you arrive at the first of them: and the second is by the method of composition, and does the opposite of the first method; and that is that you begin with the thing which you ended up with, by the method of resolution and reversion; then you return to those things [sc. the proximates], and so you pass from one of them to another till you reach the last of them: and the third is by the method of resolution of the definition, and that is the method we shall employ in this book. And you may call this discipline, instead of the resolution of the definition, the elucidation of the definition, as some call it; or the reduction of the definition and its partition, as others call it; and its exposition and its interpretation, as still others call it. And certain of the followers of Herophilus have wished to follow this very way of investigation. Herophilus is also known as Erithros.¹ And the followers of Herophilus have also desired to follow composition; and some of the followers of Erasistratus, and Athenaeus called Attalos; and not one of those we have mentioned has in any of his books employed the form of investigation which has its beginning from the projection of thought to the limit [sc. ultimate perfection] of the thing sought, although this is the method which opens up all the arts, by way of reason.²

Abbreviations: K = Kühn's edition, Vol. i of *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* (Leipzig 1821). H = Hunain's Arabic version.

K 307.6 f. The Arabic version omits οὐ διαφέρει δὲ οὐδ' εἰ νοσερῶν τις εἴποι. This may possibly be a gloss in the Greek text, though νοσερῶν is used at K 309.5 f. (Compare the careful distinction between νοσῶδες and νοσοῦν at K 318.4 and 376.15 f.).

K 309.9 K prints ὁμοίωv. The correct text is clearly

¹ The Arabic here appears to take Erythraios as an alternative name for Herophilus. Heraclides is omitted.

² The Latin printed by Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford 1953) 78, clearly does contain a good deal of commentary, but leaves open the distinction between Galenic text and Haleic commentary. Following Crombie, it seems that Haly left out the extremely Galenic list of various ways of naming the third method.