

Life Is Short, Art Long

The Art of Healing in Byzantium

New Perspectives

Brigitte Pitarakis *and*
Gülru Tanman, *editors*

Life Is Short, Art Long
The Art of Healing in Byzantium—New Perspectives

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Enrichment of the Medical Vocabulary in the Greek-Speaking Medieval Communities of Southern Italy: The Lexica of Plant Names

Petros Bouras-Vallianatos

Byzantine rule in southern Italy came to an end in the late eleventh century. Reggio in Calabria and Bari in Apulia, the last Byzantine strongholds in the two areas on the Italian peninsula, fell to the Normans in 1060 and 1071, respectively.¹ However, Greek culture was preserved in these areas in

I would like to thank Marjolijne Janssen and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, who read through an earlier draft of this chapter and made useful comments. I am indebted to Georgi Parpulov for his advice on the transcription of the Holkham lexicon. Special thanks go to Gerrit Bos, Io Manolessou and Rustam Shukurov for their valuable suggestions on the etymology of some lemmata, and Dimitrios Skrekas for kindly providing me with details about the provenance of Holkham gr. 112. I am also grateful to Brigitte Pitarakis for her invitation to contribute to this volume and to the Wellcome Trust for supporting the research project from which this paper derives (200372/Z/15/Z: Experiment and Exchange: Byzantine Pharmacology between East and West, ca.1150–ca. 1450). All translations from Greek are my own. Dates of manuscripts are from the most recent published catalogue in each case, unless a more accurate dating is given in a recent study, which is cited accordingly.

- 1 On Byzantine Italy, see V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari, 1978); G. Cavallo et al., ed., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982); and J.-M. Martin, “Hellénisme et présence byzantine en Italie méridionale (VIIe–XIIIe siècle),” in *Ο Ιταλιώτης Ελληνισμός από τον Ζ' στον ΙΒ' αιώνα: Μνήμη Νίκου Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 2001), 181–202. On the fall of the Byzantine provinces in Italy, see S. Lampakis, “Η Τελευταία Εκατονταετία,” in *Βυζαντινά Στρατεύματα στη Δύση (5ος–11ος Αιώνας)*, ed. V. Vlysidou et al. (Athens, 2008), 393–451.

isolation from the rest of the Greek-speaking world for many centuries. In the field of medical literature, a considerable number of Greek manuscripts are known that were copied in southern Italy beginning in the tenth century.² An important feature of the region, including Sicily, was the coexistence or contiguity of Greek-, Italo-Romance-, Hebrew-, and Arabic-speaking communities, which played a decisive role in the cross-cultural transfer of knowledge in medicine.³ This is, for example, the environment in which Ibn al-Jazzār's (fl. tenth century) famous *Provisions for the Traveller and Nourishment for the Sedentary* (*Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-ḥādir*) was translated from Arabic into Greek,⁴ and later transmitted to Byzantium proper, where it achieved widespread dissemination in the Palaiologan period.⁵ In fact, the

- 2 A. M. Ieraci Bio, "La trasmissione della letteratura medica Greca nell'Italia meridionale fra X e XV secolo," in *Contributi alla cultura greca nell'Italia meridionale*, ed. A. Garzya (Naples, 1989), 133–255, and S. Lucà, "Testi medici e tecnico-scientifici del Mezzogiorno greco," in *La produzione scritta tecnico-scientifica nel Medioevo: Libro e documento fra scuole e professioni*, ed. G. de Gregorio and M. Galante (Spoleto, 2012), 551–605.
- 3 A brief outline is sketched by A. M. Ieraci Bio, "Centri di trasmissione della letteratura medica in età tardoantica e Bizantina," in *Nel Mediterraneo medievale: La medicina*, ed. A. Leone and G. Sangermano (Salerno, 2005), 23–44, esp. 28–31, 37–44. In nearby Salerno and at Monte Cassino, the famous Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99) translated several medical works from Arabic into Latin in the late eleventh century. On Constantine, see the recent entry by D. Jacquart, "Constantinus Africanus," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Three*, ed. K. Fleet et al. (Leiden, 2011), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24414 (accessed July 11, 2017). On the presence of Greeks in Salerno, see S. Palmieri, "Mobilità etnica e mobilità sociale nel Mezzogiorno longobardo," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 3rd ser., 20 (1981): 31–104, esp. 78–82. For an example of the interaction between Greek, Latin, and Hebrew linguistic communities as evidenced in inscriptions from the Salento area, see the recent comprehensive study by L. Safran, *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia, 2014).
- 4 Latin, *Viaticum peregrinantis*, and Greek, Ἐφόδια τοῦ Αποδημούντος/Ἐφόδια τοῦ ταξιδεύοντος/Ἐφόδια τοῦ ταξιδεύοντος. The text remains unedited in Greek. Some chapters were published by C. Daremberg, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse* (Paris, 1879), 582–96. Some parts of Book 7, on fevers, were published by J. S. Bernard, *Synesius De febribus* (Amsterdam, 1749). The identity of the translator is obscure. In the manuscripts, the translation is often ascribed to a certain *prōtasēkrētis* Constantine of Reggio and once (in Parisinus gr. 2241, sixteenth century) to Constantine the Memphite; see G. Costomiris, "Études sur les écrits inédits des anciens médecins grecs," *Revue des Études Grecques* 4 (1891): 97–110, esp. 101–104. The Greek translation has not been studied sufficiently by modern scholars. For an introduction, see A. Touwaide, "Medicina Bizantina e Araba alla Corte di Palermo," in *Medicina, scienza e politica al tempo di Federico II*, ed. N. G. de Santo and G. Bellinghieri (Naples, 2008), 39–55, and M.-H. Congourdeau, "La médecine byzantine à la croisée de l'Orient et de l'Occident," in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. A. Speer and P. Steinkrüger (Berlin, 2012), 223–31, esp. 226–30.
- 5 There are at least twenty-five manuscripts dated between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. For a list, see Costomiris, "Études sur les écrits inédits," 105. For an updated list, see under Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grec, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/13334/> (accessed July 11, 2017).

earliest surviving Greek manuscript of this work seems to have been commissioned by Philip Xeros, a Greek physician from Reggio, in the first half of the twelfth century.⁶

The anonymous Greek medical lexicon of synonymous words in Holkham gr. 112 (*olim* 289) is edited and examined for the first time in this paper. For readers' convenience, it is accompanied by a detailed commentary on certain items of interest. The main thesis is that this lexicon attests a unique enrichment of the medieval Greek medical vocabulary with new terms, sometimes of Latin or Arabic origin, the product of a south Italian environment.

The manuscript in question belongs to the Holkham collection of Greek manuscripts at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and has not hitherto received significant scholarly attention.⁷ The Bodleian purchased Holkham gr. 112

- 6 The most recent scholarly view on Vaticanus gr. 300, which takes into consideration all previous studies, is the substantial study by S. Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'Rinascita' del sec. XII," *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993): 1–91, esp. 36–63, who has identified four scribes (A–D), most probably working in the Sicilian city of Messina around 1130/40, a date which also comprises a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the Greek translation. Lucà, "I Normanni," 50–53 and note 204, argues that one of the four hands (a–d) of the marginal annotations, i.e., hand *d*, most probably should be identified with the commissioner of the codex himself, i.e., the physician Philip Xeros from Reggio, who often addressed his son, Nicholas Xeros (presumably also a physician), in commenting on various points of medical interest. On the medical activity of members of the Xeroi family, see A. M. Ieraci Bio, "La medicina greca dello Stretto (Filippo Xeros ed Eufemio Siculo)," in *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale Bizantina*, ed. F. Burgarella and A. M. Ieraci Bio (Soveria Mannelli, 2006), 109–23. For preliminary notes on the relationship between Vaticanus gr. 300 and other manuscripts, see J. Duffy, *Ioannis Alexandrini in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI commentarii fragmenta* (Berlin, 1997), 15, notes 1–3.
- 7 For a brief introduction to the collection, see R. Barbour, "Greek Manuscripts from Holkham," *Bodleian Library Record* 5 (1954): 61–63. The manuscripts have been briefly described twice: S. de Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall: Abstracted from the Catalogues of William Roscoe and Frederic Madden* (Oxford, 1932), and R. Barbour, "Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall," *Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1960): 591–613. The collection is currently being catalogued by Dimitrios Skrekas, who pointed out to me some manuscripts of medical interest; see D. Skrekas, "The Prestige of Manuscripts: From Venetian Crete to Holkham Hall and Beyond. A Descriptive Online Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts from Holkham Hall Now in the Bodleian Library," in *Cataloguing Greek Manuscripts: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. P. Degni, P. Eleuteri, and M. Maniaci (forthcoming). Consequently, I was also able to consult Holkham gr. 108, which contains the first eight books of Aetios of Amida's *Tetrabiblos*. See *Aetii Amidani libri medicinales*, ed. A. Olivieri, 2 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1935–50). This codex is the first volume of a single set, and the second volume is actually Wellcome MS.MSL.109, which preserves the remaining eight books of Aetios' work, i.e., books 9–16; on MS.MSL.109, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos, "Greek Manuscripts at the Wellcome Library: A Descriptive

from the library of the Earls of Leicester at Holkham Hall in Norfolk in 1954.⁸ The codex is written on parchment in two columns of circa thirty-three lines each and consists of 236 folia.⁹ The greater part of the codex preserves the v-recension of the lexicon attributed to St. Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁰ Also included are other minor lexica, Easter tables, Theodosios the Grammarian's commentary on hymnographic works,¹¹ and brief opuscles, such as a metrological work entitled *On Measures and Weights*.¹² The manuscript is written in the so-called Reggio script and has been convincingly dated by Mark Naoumides to between 1100 and 1123. Naoumides also proposed the area of Reggio di Calabria as its place of origin.¹³

The medical lexicon in the Holkham manuscript belongs to the category of works that preserve synonymous words for *materia medica*, mainly plants.¹⁴ The provision of synonyms for vegetal ingredients goes back to

Catalogue,” *Medical History* 59 (2015): 275–326, esp. 305–307. Thus, the scribe of both volumes should be identified with Nicholas (Νικόλαος), most probably active in Venice and Padua in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century; see E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, 3 vols. in 9 pts. (Vienna, 1981–97), 1:330 and 2:447.

- 8 Dimitrios Skrekas informed me that Holkham gr. 112 had previously been purchased by Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester (1697–1759) in 1718 from the library of A. E. Seidel of Berlin.
- 9 For the contents, see Barbour, “Summary Description,” 612–13; A. B. Drachman, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars* (Copenhagen, 1936), 54–55, and M. Naoumides, “The v-Recension of St. Cyril’s Lexicon,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 4 (1979): 94–135, esp. 97–98.
- 10 The lexicon was most probably compiled in the fifth/sixth century and exists in various recensions; see Naoumides, “St. Cyril’s Lexicon,” and R. Tosi, “Kyrrilos [6],” in *Der Neue Pauly*, ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, vol. 6 (Stuttgart, 1999), 1009–10.
- 11 On Theodosios the Grammarian (eighth/ninth century) and his commentary, see A. Kominis, *Γρηγόριος Πάριδος, Μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου, και τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (Rome–Athens, 1960), 100–103.
- 12 This work is on folios 174r–176v: “Περὶ μέτρων και σταθμ(ῶν) ἀττικῶν και ημει(ῶν),” incipit “Ἐπειδήπερ ἡ τῶν μέτρων (και) σταθμῶν (και) σημειῶν ἄγνοια [...] ὁ ξέστης ὁ Ἰταλικός,” desinit “λίτραν μίαν· (και) Γο Γο Η’.” It was correctly cited by H. Diels in his monumental catalogue, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1906), esp. 36, and Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung*, 54. Alain Touwaide, *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts: From Byzantium to the Renaissance* (London, 2016), 89–90, was recently unable to confirm its existence.
- 13 Naoumides, “St. Cyril’s Lexicon,” 98, and idem, “The Date, Scribe and Provenience of Cod. Holkham gr. 112 (*olim* 298),” *Scriptorium* 28 (1974): 65–68. Naoumides’ conclusion on date and origin have been reconfirmed by S. Lucà, “Il lessico dello ps.-Cirillo (redazione V1): Da Rossano a Messina,” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoeellenici* 31 (1994): 45–80, esp. 56–61, who proposed that the manuscript could have been copied in a scriptorium in the city of Rossano. Cf. M. Re, “I manoscritti in stile di Reggio vent’anni dopo,” in *Ο Ιταλιώτης Ελληνισμός από τον Ζ’ στον ΙΒ’ αιώνα: Μνήμη Νίκου Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 2001), 99–124, esp. 102–103, 106.
- 14 On Byzantine medical lexicography, see J. Stannard, “Byzantine Botanical Lexicography,” *Episteme* 5 (1971): 168–87, and idem, “Aspects of Byzantine Materia Medica,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 205–11, esp. 207–208. On medical

antiquity.¹⁵ For example, Dioscorides and Galen often included different names for certain plants in their works.¹⁶ Later on, early Byzantine medical authors, including Oribasios, Aetios of Amida, and Paul of Aegina, also followed this trend. Brief plant lexica became widespread in the Byzantine period, since they could be easily consulted and were sometimes attributed to well-known medical authorities of the past, such as Galen, although in most cases they are anonymous.¹⁷ These lexica were often supplemented with vernacular terms, while from the eleventh/twelfth century onward, the introduction of Arabic and Persian terms is attested in the effort to incorporate the newly introduced oriental *materia medica*.¹⁸ This development—in combination with the multicultural environment that emerged in the former territories of the Byzantine Empire, as a result of territorial losses from the eleventh century to its fragmentation in 1204—prompted the need for the composition of bilingual and even trilingual medical lexica with Greek words accompanied by synonymous terms in Greek, Italian, Arabic, and even Ottoman Turkish in transliteration.¹⁹ A similar lexicographical

lexica of synonymous words, in particular, and their various kinds of lemmata, see Stannard, “Botanical,” 172–81.

- 15 For a recent discussion on the topic, see G. Hardy and L. Totelin, *Ancient Botany* (Abingdon, 2016), 101–104.
- 16 For example, in Galen’s *On the Capacities of Simple Drugs*, some chapters start by providing various terms for the same pharmacological ingredient. E.g., *Claudii Galeni*, ed. K. G. Kühn (Leipzig, 1821–33), 12:15.4–5: “Καυκαλις. ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο δαῦκον ἄγριον ὀνομάζουσιν [...]” Galen is also considered the author of *Glossary of Hippocratic Terms*, which includes mentions of plant names and terms. See ed. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni*, 19:62–157. A critical edition of this work has just been published by L. Perilli, *Galenii vocum Hippocratis Glossarium* (Berlin, 2017). Headings with two or more names are also common in Dioscorides. See, for example, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, ed. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1907–14), 2:138.5, 140.12–3: “σατύριον· οἱ δὲ τρίφυλλον καλοῦσιν [...]” “ἄνοσμα· οἱ δὲ ὄσμαδα, οἱ δὲ φρονίτιν, οἱ δὲ ὄνωνιν καλοῦσι [...]” Pamphilus the Grammarian, a famous lexicographer of the first century, may himself have collected a substantial list of synonyms for plants in Greek and other languages; on this see, M. Wellmann, “Pamphilos,” *Hermes* 51 (1916): 1–64.
- 17 For example, many such lexica have been edited by A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2 vols. (Liège–Paris, 1927–39), 2:318–77. The one attributed to Galen is in Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2:385–93.
- 18 On the introduction of Arabic and Persian pharmacological lore to Byzantium, see E. Varela, “Orientalische Elemente in der byzantinischen Heilkunde,” *Medicina nei Secoli* 7 (1995): 29–40; A. Touwaide, “Arabic Materia Medica in Byzantium during the 11th Century A.D. and the Problems of Transfer of Knowledge in Medieval Science,” in *Science and Technology in the Islamic World*, ed. S. M. Razaullah Ansari (Turnhout, 2002), 223–46; and P. Bouras-Vallianatos, “Contextualizing the Art of Healing by Byzantine Physicians,” in *Life Is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. B. Pitarakis (Istanbul, 2015), 104–122, esp. 112–21. I am currently preparing a long article on the introduction of oriental, sugar-based potions, such as juleps and syrups, to Byzantium.
- 19 See, for example, the following: V. Lundström, “Ett ‘persiskt’-grekiskt medico-botaniskt lexikonfragment,” *Eranos* 12 (1912): 170–74, esp. 171–72; A. Delatte, “Le

tendency is also attested in the contemporary Western European medical tradition with the composition of long medical lexica.²⁰ A notable example is that of Simon of Genoa's medical lexicon, an extensive work composed in the early thirteenth century in which each lemma is often quite extensive, including, for example, the use of ingredients for healing and long etymological references.²¹ It is noteworthy that no such long, specialist lexicographical work on medicine has been preserved from Byzantium. This is the context in which the Holkham lexicon should be placed.

Turning to the work itself,²² the Holkham lexicon contains 174 entries and shares extensive similarities with the lexica previously edited by Christian Gruner (173 entries),²³ Johann Tittman (141 entries)²⁴ and Ar-

lexique de botanique du Parisinus graecus 2419," in *Serta Leodiensia* (Liège–Paris, 1930), 59–101, esp. 62–91; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2:418–27; M. H. Thomson, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes* (Paris, 1955), 145–68; B. Mondrain, "Un lexique botanico-médical 'bilingue' dans le Parisinus gr. 2510," in *Lexiques bilingues dans les domaines philosophique et scientifique: Moyen Âge, Renaissance*, ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout, 2001), 123–60, esp. 133–34; and N. Serikoff, "'Syriac' Plant Names in a Fifteenth Century Greek Glossary (From the Wellcome Library Books and Manuscripts)," in *Medical Books in the Byzantine World*, ed. B. Zipser (Bologna, 2013), 97–121, esp. 102–104.

- 20 On medieval Latin botanical glossaries, see A. García González, *Alphita* (Florence, 2007), 8–21. On Arabic and Latin lists of synonyms, see C. Burnett, "The *Synonyma* Literature in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Globalization of Knowledge in the Post-Antique Mediterranean, 700–1500*, ed. S. Brentjes and J. Renn (London, 2016), 131–39.
- 21 On Simon of Genoa's pharmacological entries, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos, "Simon of Genoa's *Clavis Sanationis*: A Study of Thirteenth-Century Latin Pharmacological Lexicography," in *Simon of Genoa's Medical Lexicon*, ed. B. Zipser (Berlin, 2013), 31–48. An online edition of the dictionary under the directorship of Barbara Zipser, including commentary and English translation for a large number of entries, is available at Simon Online, <http://www.simonofgenoa.org/index.php?title=Edition> (accessed July 11, 2017).
- 22 This lexicon is neither mentioned by A. Touwaide, "Lexica medico-botanica byzantina: Prolégomènes à une étude," in *Tês filiês tade dôra: Miscelânea léxica en memoria de Conchita Serrano*, ed. L. Pérez Castro, F. Adrados, and L. de Cuenca (Madrid, 1999), 211–28, nor is it listed at Pinakes: Textes et manuscrit grec, <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/809/> (accessed July 11, 2017). None of these lists is, however, complete. Touwaide, *Greek Medical Manuscripts*, 89, refers to it in his entry on Holkham gr. 112, but the reference to the folio number, "ff. 163v et seq.," is erroneous.
- 23 C. Gruner, *Ordinis Medici in Universitate Litterarum Ienensi . . . Friderici Guilielmi Caroli Succow* (Jena, 1795), 8–15. This lexicon is similar to the one in the Holkham codex. Entries 116 and 117 of the Holkham lexicon are merged under one entry in Gruner's edition. The editor refers to a parchment manuscript that belonged to Jacques Philippe D'Orville (1696–1751), whose manuscripts arrived almost intact at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1804. I have not yet managed to locate the manuscript of this lexicon. I would like to thank Klaus-Dietrich Fischer for his help with my enquiries on Gruner's edition.
- 24 J. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1808), cxvii–cxxxii. This is based solely on Monacensis gr. 510, fols. 353r–354v (fourteenth century). I would

like to thank Kerstin Hajdú for consulting the codex and confirming the relevant folio numbers.

mand Delatte (148 entries),²⁵ or partly edited by Immanuel Bekker²⁶ and Wilhelm Lundström,²⁷ who was also the first to stress the connections between different manuscripts, without, however, referring to the Holkham codex. Furthermore, it bears a few similarities with the lexicon edited by Luigi Tartaglia.²⁸ The Holkham lexicon is one of the earliest surviving and longest Byzantine plant lexica of this group, which makes it an excellent opportunity for a case study.²⁹ Among the 174 lemmata, roughly 122 deal

- like to thank Kerstin Hajdú for consulting the codex and confirming the relevant folio numbers.
- 25 Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2:381–85. The edition is based on Coislinus gr. 346 (thirteenth century), fols. 293r–294r, and Parisinus suppl. gr. 659, fols. 119v–121v (thirteenth century). According to Delatte, the same version is also preserved in Coislinus gr. 335 (fifteenth century), fols. 6v–7v, and Parisinus gr. 2510 (fourteenth century), fols. 42r–44v.
- 26 I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (Berlin, 1821), 3:1096–97. This is based on Vaticanus gr. 2130, fols. 212r[?]-217v[?] (early twelfth century).
- 27 V. Lundström, "Botaniska lexika från den gekiska medeltiden," *Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift 16 (1910)*: 42–52, esp. 43–46. He is aware of Vaticanus gr. 2130, Barberinus gr. 39 (fols. 85v–87r, AD 1294–95), Laurentianus Plut. 57.42 (fol. 150r, circa AD 1123), Monacensis gr. 510, Coislinus gr. 335, Coislinus gr. 346, and Parisinus gr. 2510 and considers the first four manuscripts for a preliminary critical edition of just fifteen entries.
- 28 L. Tartaglia, "Il lessico medico del codice Lond. Med. Soc. 60," in *I testi medici greci: Tradizione e ecdotica*, ed. A. Garzya and J. Jouanna (Naples, 1999), 547–57, esp. 552–57. The lexicon is on folios 49r–50v of Wellcome MS.MSL.60 (circa 1450–1500). Tartaglia omitted in his edition all the entries on folio 50v: "ὠκμοειδές, χαμελέων μέγας: ὠνια, ἐν τοῖς ὕδριοι ζῶα: ὠνια, τὰ εἰς ἀγορὰν προστιθέμε(εν)α καὶ ἐπιπρασκόμ(εν)α: ὠχρός, χλωρός, ἢ πράσινος: ὠλέναις, ἀγγόναις ἀγγάλαις: ὠτειλή, τραῦμα: ὠμόβορος, ὁ τὰ ὠμά ἐσθίων, καὶ αἰμοβορος ὁ τὰ αἵματα, ὠταλγία, ὠτῶν πόνοος: τέλος τῶν λέξεων."
- 29 I hope to be able to provide a thorough study of all surviving witnesses of this group in the future. The vast majority of plant lexica surviving in Byzantine manuscripts date to the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest two manuscripts listed in Touwaide, "Lexica medico-botanica," date to the twelfth century. The same lexicon, but in a shorter version, closer to the one printed in Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2:381–85, also survives in Vallicellianus E 37, fol. 87r–v (fourteenth century). I have located one more manuscript of this lexicon, Grottaferrata Z.a.30 (gr.60), fols. 95r[?]-96v[?]. The codex was dated by Naoumides, "St. Cyril's Lexicon," 95–89, to the early twelfth century. He also proposed that Grottaferrata Z.a.30 (gr.60), Vaticanus gr. 2130, and Laurentianus Plut. 75.42, together with Holkham gr. 112, belong to a group of manuscripts of southern Italian origin; see also M. Naoumides, "Σύμμεικτα παλαιογραφικά," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 39–40 (1972–73): 373–85, esp. 373–76. The medical lexicon in Grottaferrata Z.a.30 is also mentioned in the list of Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung*, 54–55, and the catalogue of A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses* (Tusculum, 1883), 459, but I have not managed to consult it yet. It is noteworthy that Lucà, "Il lessico," 61–3, has proposed a new date, the first quarter of the eleventh century, for Grottaferrata Z.a.30 and argues that Vaticanus gr. 2130, Holkham gr. 112, and Laurentianus Plut. 57.42 are directly dependent on Grottaferrata Z.a.30 in connection with the v1-recension of the pseudo-Cyrillic lexicon. He has also reconfirmed the southern Italian origin of these codices. Cf. Re, "I manoscritti," 102, note 17.

with plant names (70%). A considerable number (19 of them) focus on terms for symptoms, diseases, and related material, e.g., (53) “δρακόντια νόσος ὅπου ρουσαιίνει ἡ σὰρξ (καὶ) ἔσωθεν τρώγεται” (*drakontia*, [that is a] disease which makes the flesh red and putrefied from within).³⁰ Nine relate to mineral substances and eight to animal substances, e.g., (70) “θάριν· ὁ ἰός τοῦ χαλκ<ο>ῦ” (*tharin*, [that is the name for] copper rust).³¹ Sixteen more entries concentrate on various subjects, including medical instruments, such as the clyster tube, e.g., (55) “διακλυστήρ· τὸ ἐργαλίον” (*diaklystēr*, [that is a medical] instrument),³² utensils, and so on.

The entries are usually very short, including just two synonymous terms for one plant, e.g., (43) “ἄρκευθον· ῥάμνος” (juniper, [that is also called] *rhamnos*), while sometimes the origin of a particular synonym may be provided, e.g., (10) “ἀλυπιάδος σπέρμα· κατὰ γὰρ λατίνους λαυρίλλα” (seed of *alypias*, [that is called] *laurilla* by Latins).³³ The entries may occasionally be longer providing some descriptive data, e.g., (57) “ἐλατήριος· ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀγρίου ἀγγουρίου χυλό(ς)” (*elatērios*, [that is] the juice within the wild cucumber) and (162) “τερεβυνθίνη· ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ἡμέρου σχοίνου πρασινίζων τὸ μέγεθος ἴσον ἐλαίας” (turpentine, [that is also the name for] the fruit of the cultivated mastic, which is green and has the same size as an olive). In another noteworthy case, the reader is provided with two distinct uses of the same term, i.e., for a plant and for a medicament made of animal substances, (169) “ὑσωπον· ἢ βοτάνη (καὶ) ἢ ῥύπος τῶν ἐρίων τῶν προβάτων” (*hyssōpon*, [that is the term] for the [homonymous] plant [i.e. hyssop] and the grease on the sheep’s fleece).³⁴

Due to the laconic, often monolectic form of the lemmata, it is otiose to attempt an exhaustive identification of sources for the majority of them. It is worth noting that in a couple of instances the terms are identical or very close to the Latin synonyms in Greek transcription found in pseudo-Dioscorides, e.g., (46) “ῥάπας” (turnip) and (99) “σάλβια” (sage).³⁵ These terms are

30 This disease is most probably what is today called dracunculiasis or Guinea worm disease. See P. B. Adamson, “Dracontiasis in Antiquity,” *Medical History* 32 (1988): 204–209.

31 On this mineral substance, see J. Scarborough, “Early Byzantine Pharmacology,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), 213–32, esp. 227–28.

32 On clyster tubes, see L. Bliquez, “Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984): 187–204, passim, and idem, *The Tools of Asclepius: Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (Leiden, 2015), 208–17.

33 On specific plant and animal substances, see A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World, from A to Z* (London, 2003), who provides brief entries with references to further bibliography.

34 The term is actually applied to the medicament made of lanolin (grease on a sheep’s wool). On this drug, see, for example, Aetios of Amida, ed. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni*, 1:195.26–196.25.

35 These synonyms are part of the relevant list, which is generally considered spurious, and is preserved in the alphabetical recension of Dioscorides. See I. C. Popa,

neither attested in contemporary edited Greek documents from southern Italy and Sicily nor were they retained in the dialect of Italiot Greek, i.e., Griko. They may have been added to an ancestor of this lexicon in the early Byzantine period. Furthermore, there are very rare words that have not been included in the current dictionaries of the Greek language, e.g., (129) “πεπερωνία” and (158) “σαγύρνη.”

The most interesting group of words, however, is one that points to a southern Italian origin. Apart from the striking fact that the four earliest surviving manuscripts of this lexicon, dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in fact originated in southern Italy,³⁶ there are a considerable number of words that have been retained in the vocabulary of Griko, as lemmatized by Gerhard Rohlfs and Anastasios Karanastasis in the twentieth century.³⁷ It is worth noting that Greek speakers remained isolated from the rest of the Greek-speaking world for several centuries, after the loss of the area by the Byzantines in the late eleventh century. Thus, one can see terms of clearly Greek origin, such as (5) “ἀγριοσπάθουλας” (agave [?],

“The Lists of Plant Synonyms in *De materia medica* of Dioscorides,” *Global Journal of Science Frontier Research* 10, no. 3 (2010): 46–49, who provides a valuable critical summary of the various views on this list. See also the recent study on the alphabetical recension of Dioscorides by M. Cronier, “L’Herbier alphabétique grec de Dioscoride: Quelques remarques sur sa genèse et ses sources textuelles,” in *Fito-zooterapia antigua y altomedieval: Textos y doctrinas*, ed. A. Ferraces Rodríguez (A Coruña, 2009), 33–60. Cf. H. Stadler, “Lateinische Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides,” *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 8 (1898): 83–115. The earlier surviving manuscript of this recension is Vindobonensis med. gr. 1 (circa AD 512).

36 These are Grottaferrata Z.a.30, Holkham gr. 112, Vaticanus gr. 2130, and Laurentianus Plut. 57.42. On the date and origin of these four codices, see note 28.

37 G. Rohlfs, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae inferioris* (Tübingen, 1964), and A. Karanastasis, *Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῶν Νεοελληνικῶν Ἰδιωμάτων τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας*, 5 vols. (Athens, 1984–92). Both Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci: Calabria, Salento* (Munich, 1977), 211–21, and Karanastasis, *Γραμματικὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἰδιωμάτων τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας* (Athens, 1997), 165–72, based on evidence collected in the twentieth century, convincingly argue that Griko did not originate in the Byzantine period, but rather goes back to the Greek colonists of the eighth century BC, because it retains Doric Greek elements that do not exist in Byzantine Greek or in any other Greek dialect or in Standard Modern Greek. Griko was also influenced by Latin and to a lesser degree by Arabic. See also G. Rohlfs, “Greek Remnants in Southern Italy,” *Classical Journal* 62 (1967): 164–69, and idem, *Nuovi scavi linguistici nella antica Magna Grecia* (Palermo, 1972), 8ff. It is remarkable that villages of Griko speakers, in particular, in the southern part of Calabria in the Aspromonte, such as Gallicianò, Roccaforte, and Roghudi, remained virtually inaccessible until the mid-twentieth century. Griko is still spoken among a very small group of aged residents in the regions of Calabria (Reggio Calabria) and Apulia (Grecia Salentina). Karanastasis, an indefatigable Greek linguist who studied the Griko dialect for several years, referred to the ongoing extinction of Griko in the epilogue of *Γραμματικὴ*, 173, stating, “Ἡ ὠραία γλώσσα δυστυχῶς εἶναι καταδικασμένη, ὁμως πεθαίνει ὀρθία!” (“This beautiful language is condemned to death, but it is dying on its feet!”).

yellow flag [?]), (45) “μυγαρούδια” (little flies), and (62) “ρίζοτάς” (root of hellebore), and others that originated in Latin or might have been formed under the influence of the relevant Latin term, such as (6) “σαβούκος” (elder) and (147) “φλούστρα” (peel), that were retained in Griko.³⁸ Although some of these terms may have been retained in other Greek dialects,³⁹ the Griko term is usually the closest to the one in the Holkham lexicon. Similarly, one should also note that the term sometimes retains the use of double or geminate consonants, e.g., (68) “μαρούλλην” (lettuce), (69) “λουπινάρ(ιν)” (lupine), and (139) “σταφύλλιον” (grapes), which is in line with the relevant word in Griko, although the use of double consonants is a common characteristic of other Greek dialects, most notably in Cyprus and the Dodecanese islands.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, there are three terms, i.e., (18, 82, 103, 106) “παπαρίνα” (poppy), (40) “πλούπος” (poplar), and (110) “βρίκα” (tamarisk) which were derived from contact with Latin or medieval Italo-Romance languages and were retained in Griko, but which also appear with the same meaning in eleventh/twelfth-century documents or medical treatises from southern Italy or Sicily. Lastly, there are two words of clearly Arabic origin, i.e., (172) “χάρβελ” (wild rue) and (173) “χανδάλην” (bitter gourd).⁴¹ Although they do not appear in Griko, they were included in medical works produced in southern Italy, such as the earliest surviving version of the Greek translation of Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-hādir* and a collection of recipes, both associated with the above mentioned southern Italian Greek physician of the early twelfth century, Philip Xeros from Reggio.⁴² Unfortunately, it cannot be confirmed whether these Arabic terms were adopted in the medieval Greek vernacular of southern Italy, as in the case of “παπαρίνα,” “πλούπ[π]ος,” and “βρίκα,” but it seems that local practitioners were aware of them, showing the gradual diffusion of Arabic pharmacological lore in the area.

38 See also the commentary below on (41) “ἀζενάρου,” “καρίζωνας,” and (104) “μαρούβιος,” although these terms are not retained in Griko.

39 See, for example, the commentary below on (6) “σαβούκος.”

40 On geminate consonants in Modern Greek dialects, see the recent study by I. Manolessou and C. Basea-Bezantakou, “Τα διπλά σύμφωνα στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους: Συγχρονική και διαχρονική προσέγγιση,” in *Selected Papers of the 10th International Conference of Greek Linguistics*, ed. Z. Gavriilidou et al. (Komotini, 2012), 950–59.

41 See also the commentary below on (168) “τζίππα.”

42 See the commentary below on (172) “χάρβελ” and (173) “χανδάλην.” The collection of recipes is attributed to Philip Xeros and an otherwise unknown physician, Euphemios of Sicily, and is preserved in the fifteenth-century Parisinus gr. 2194, fols. 454r–464v. The title reads as follows: “Βιβλίον περιέχον συνθέσεις συναχθέν (καί) πειραθ(έν) παρά Εὐφημίου Σικελοῦ τοῦ θαυμασιωτ(ά)τ(ου)· καὶ Φιλίππου Ξηροῦ τοῦ Ριγινού, τῶν θαυμασι(ων) ἰατρῶν.” For some preliminary comments on this collection, see Ieraci Bio, “La medicina greca,” 116–23.

In conclusion, the Holkham lexicon is an important witness to the development of the medical vocabulary, mostly of plant names, of Greek-speaking Byzantine and post-Byzantine populations in southern Italy. This kind of lexicon was mainly used in order to facilitate contemporary practical needs, primarily for the identification of pharmacological substances. Although it cannot be confirmed to what extent the Holkham lexicon is based on earlier, no longer extant lexica, and no evaluation can be made of the several stages in its development, the manuscript was copied in the first quarter of the twelfth century, which is a *terminus ante quem* for the written form of this lexicon. A considerable number of terms are clearly the product of the intense interaction and coexistence of Greek with Latin and Italo-Romance languages. The Hellenized versions of the Latin/Italian terms were presumably more familiar to Greek speakers, as reflected in particular in their being attested in medieval documents from the same region.⁴³ The occurrence of words derived from Arabic, either due to the recent translation of medical works into Greek, or even due to direct contact between the two ethno-religious groups,⁴⁴ confirms the area’s role as a significant gateway for the influx of Arabic medical knowledge into Byzantine

43 See, for example, a noteworthy case in a Greek dedicatory inscription concerning the construction of a hospital in Adrano, in Apulia, in 1372/3. The inscription gives the southern Italian term *spitali* (from the Latin *hospitale*) in Greek transcription as well as a vernacular version for the usual Byzantine Greek term, ξενών: “ξενώνας ἰτη σηπτάλη.” On this, see Safran, *Medieval Salento*, 50–51, 244–45. The inscription was originally published by A. Jacob, “Une fondation d’hôpital à Adrano en Terre d’Otrante (inscription byzantine du Musée provincial de Lecce),” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge–Temps Modernes* 93, no. 2 (1981): 683–93, esp. 685–86.

44 From the tenth through the twelfth century, Arabs in southern Italy were restricted to a small, temporary presence in Calabria and Basilicata, perhaps also including some merchants in port cities, in contrast to the long-standing established Arab communities of Sicily. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the occasional Arab incursions into southern Italy sometimes led to short-lived conquests, such as in Cosenza in 1009. See V. von Falkenhausen, “Between Two Empires: Southern Italy in the Reign of Basil II,” in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden, 2003), 135–59, and A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), 44–159. On Arabo-Greek interactions in the field of medicine as evidenced in surviving manuscripts from southern Italy and Sicily, see the following studies: P. Porrmann, “The Parisinus Graecus 2293 as a Document of Scientific Activity in Swabian Sicily,” *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 13 (2003): 137–61; B. Zipser, “Griechische Schrift, arabische Sprache und graeco-arabische Medizin: Ein neues Fragment aus dem mittelalterlichen Sizilien,” *Mediterranean Language Review* 15 (2003/4): 154–66; and M. Mavroudi, “Arabic Words in Greek Letters: The Violet Fragment and More,” in *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l’arabe à travers l’histoire*, ed. J. Lentin and J. Grand’Henry (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008), 321–54, esp. 329–41. See also, P. Géhin, “Un manuscrit bilingue grec-arabe, BnF, Supplément grec 911 (année 1043),” in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. F. Déroche and F. Richard (Paris, 1997), 161–75, who discusses the case of the bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript of the Gospel of St. Luke (Parisinus suppl. gr. 911) copied in 1043 by the cleric Euphemios.

medical theory and practice in subsequent centuries.⁴⁵ This phenomenon in turn helps in reconsidering the vital contribution of Greek communities outside Byzantium proper in the development of certain fields of Byzantine culture, including medicine.

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Text

The text of Holkham gr. 112 is presented in diplomatic transcription retaining the spelling and punctuation of the codex. The numbers in parenthesis preceding each lemma have been added for convenience in referencing. They do not appear in the manuscript.

Holkham gr. 112

[165v]

(Title) Λέξις ἰατρικοῦ βιβλίου ἐρμηγία βοτανῶν·

- (1) ἄκανθα αἰγυπτία· ἀγριόκαρδος+
- (2) ἄκανθα λευκή· ὁ λεγόμενος πορδακάνο(ς)+
- (3) ἄπεπτος· ἀχώνευτος<ος>+
- (4) ἄλς· ἄλας+
- (5) ἀκόρου ρίζα· τῆς ἀγριοσπάθουλας ὁ ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ βάλτα+
- (6) ἀκτέας χυλός· κουφοζυλέας τίς (καὶ) σάβουκος λεγομένη ὁ ζομός+
- (7) ἀλέξανδρα· σβύρνα+
- (8) <ἀ>λθέα· δένδρομόλοχ(ον)+
- (9) ἀλικάκαβον· ἠλιοτρόπην+
- (10) ἀλυπιάδος σπέρμα· κατὰ γὰρ λατίνους λαυρίλλα+
- (11) ἄλυφος· τὸ λεπτόν τῆς κρίθης ἄλευρον+
- (12) ἀμόργη· ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου τρυγία+
- (13) ἄμη· κύμινος αἰθιοπικός+
- (14) ἄμεως· ὁ λέγεται λαγοκύμινος+
- (15) ἄμυλος· ἀμυλλία ἐστὶν ἄλευρος καθαρὸς λεπτὸς ζυμωθείς ὕδατι· (καὶ) κατὰ πρῶτῃ (καὶ) ἐσπέρας ἀλασσόμενος ὅπερ ἔχει ὕδωρ (καὶ) ἄλλω τιθέμενον ἐπι

45 I have already referred to the Greek translation of Ibn al-Jazzār's *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-hāfir*, (*Ἐφόδια τοῦ Ἀποδημοῦντος*), which seems to have been made in southern Italy, and its widespread circulation in the Palaiologan period; see above, note 5. The late Byzantine practicing physician and medical author John Zacharias Aktouarios makes extensive use of the *Ἐφόδια* in the pharmacological part of his widely disseminated *Medical Epitome*, i.e., books 5 and 6. On this, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos, "Medical Theory and Practice in Late Byzantium: The Case of John Zacharias Aktouarios (ca.1275–ca. 1330)" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2015), 226–34, 249–50. On the introduction of Arabic medical knowledge to late Byzantium, see the recent chapter by A. Touwaide, "Agents and Agencies? The Many Facets of Translation in Byzantine Medicine," in *Medieval Textual Cultures*, ed. F. Wallis and R. Wisnovsky (Berlin, 2016), 13–38.

- (ἡμέρας)⁴⁶ (καὶ) ἐπι λινουῦ ψιλοῦ σακιζόμενος+
- (16) ἀτραφάξ· τοῦ χρυσωλαχάνου ὁ καρπός+
- (17) ἀνδραφάξ· τὸ χρυσολάχανον+
- (18) ἀνεμόνη· παπαρίνα ἥτις ἀνθή ῥώδα λευκά+
[166r]
- (19) αἰμῶσα· αἰμωπτωϊκό(ς)+
- (20) ἀπόπατος· ἡ κόπρος ἢ ἡμετέρα ἢ ἀγεννηθῆναι+
- (21) ἀπόβρεγμα· καριόφυλλον+
- (22) ἀγριελαίας πύρινος· τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ ὄστουν+
- (23) ἀπόστεμμα· τὸ ἀθρυζόμενον τοῦ ὑγροῦ τοὔτέστιν ἀποσυναγόμενον+
- (24) ἀγγίος ἐξύπνου· τὸ ἀπο φούρνου+
- (25) ἀβρότονος· ἡ μελιτινή+
- (26) ἀποσμά· φθειρουρεΐ+
- (27) αἶμα κόρεως· τῆς κόριδος+
- (28) ἄδεν· τὰ μαστάρια+
- (29) ἀγριοσταφίδα· θέσιν ἔχουσα τὸ φύλλον αὐτῆς ὡσπερ λύκου ποῦς+
- (30) ἀρκεῦ· ἡ ῥάμνος+
- (31) ἀρνόγλωσσον· βοτάνη ὁμοία πενταευρίου+
- (32) ἄρου ρίζα· τὸ μικρό(ν) δρακόντιον+
- (33) ἀστράκου· ὄστρακο κακάβου θαλασσίου+
- (34) ἀθερεῶν· ὁ τοῦ τραχήλου κόμβος τὸ λεγόμενον καρύδην+
- (35) ἀντιβάλανος· τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀφεδρῶνος εἰσερχόμενον τοῦ σφύξαι τὴν κοιλίαν+
- (36) ἄστρεφνος· ἀσίλληπτ<ος>+
- (37) ἀλὸς ἄχνη· τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφροῦ τῆς θαλάσσης γινόμενον εἰς τὰς ἄκρας τῆς λίμνας ἄλ(ας)+
- (38) ἀλφίτης· ἀπὸ ἄρτου κριθῆς ψύχης+
- (39) ἀγριοσύκιον· ἀγρανγγούρην, σύκιον δὲ τὸ ἀγγραγγούρην καλεῖται(αι)+
- (40) αἶγειρος· πλούπος+
- (41) ἀμαίος· ἀζενάρου σπορὸς λαχάνων καριζώνας+
- (42) ἄρκεσθον· σπάρτον+
- (43) ἄρκευθον· ῥάμνος+
- (44) βαλαύστια· τὰ μικρὰ ῥωΐδια ὅτε ἀνθοῦσι+
- (45) βδέλλιον· τὸ τῶν θηλακίων τῆς πτωλέας τὰ ἔσωθεν ἐξεληθόντα μυγαρούδια+
- (46) βουνιάδος· ὁμοία τῆς ῥάπας+
- (47) βράθυος· ἡ φεύγουσα οἶμαι τὸ ἄφθαστον+
- (48) γλαυκίνη· ὁμοία κρίνου+
- (49) γλεῦκος· τὸ ἀπόσταγμα τῆς σταφυλῆς+
- (50) γλοῖος βαλανίου· ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ λουτροῦ+
[166v]

46 See Plate 1, right column, line 25. The scribe uses an abbreviation for the plural of the noun *ἡμέρα* consisting of two characters side by side, each of them resembling the number six (6 6). The same abbreviation is also printed in Tittman's edition, *Io-hannnis Zonarae Lexicon*, cxvii. On deciphering this abbreviation, see C. du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 2 vols. (Lyons, 1688), vol. 2, notarium characteres, notae astronomicae, 6. Cf. Gruner's edition, *Ordinis Medici*, 9: ὄ ὀ.

- (51) γλυκισίδη· ή παιωνία+
 (52) δυσεντερία· ή συχνῶς πράττουσα γαστήρ (καί) ἔσχατος αἷμα+
 (53) δρακόντια· νόσος ὅπου ρουσιαίνει ή σὰρξ (καί) ἔσωθεν τρώγεται+
 (54) δακρύδη· σκαμονέας ὀπός+
 (55) διακλυστήρ· τὸ ἐργαλίον+
 (56) ἔδνα· ὁ ἀφεδρών+
 (57) ἐλατήριος· ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀγρίου ἀγγουρίου χυλό(ς)+
 (58) ἔσχαροτοικοῖς· τὰ σχίζοντα τὴν σάρκα+
 (59) ἐρίοις· εἰς ὑπήροις μαλλία ἀπλυτα+
 (60) ἐπὶ τὸν κτένα· ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπογάστριον+
 (61) ἐλέβορος μέλας· τὸ ρήζομα+
 (62) ἐλέβορος· τὸ ρήζομα ὃ ἔστιν ῥιζοτάς+
 (63) ἤρεος ἠλίρηκίς· κάλαμος κρίνου+
 (64) ἠρίγερον· βοτάνη ἔστι γινομένη εἰς τὰ καταλύματα ἐπάνω τῶν κεραμίων ὡσπερ κίτρινον ἔχων τὸ ἄνθος+
 (65) ἠριγγίου ῥίζεις· τῆς πυπερίας+
 (66) θάμνος· ξύλον ἀκανθόδες ὃ λέγεται βάτος+
 (67) θρύμβος· θρόμος+
 (68) θρύδαξ· μαρούλλην+
 (69) θέρμιον· λουπινάρ(ιν)+
 (70) θάριν· ὁ ἴος τοῦ χαλκ<ο>ῦ+
 (71) ἰλέους· στρόφους ἐντέρων τοὺς κορδαψούς+
 (72) ἰχθύας τοὺς εὐσάρκους· τοὺς οὔτε ποιούς οὔτε σαχρούς+
 (73) κόνιζα· τὸ ψίλιθρ(ον)+
 (74) καρόου· τὸ καρναβάδη+
 (75) κολύανδρος· κοριανδρος+
 (76) κύτινος ῥύας· τὰ μικρὰ ρόδια ὅτε ἀνθοῦσι+
 (77) κύστη· ή φυσάλα+
 (78) κροκύδη· τὸ τοῦ μαλλίου+
 (79) κνήκος· ὁ ἄγριος κρόκο(ς)+
 (80) κάνθειον· ή θριξ τοῦ βλεφάρου+
 (81) κόνιον· κηκοῦτα+
 (82) κοδύες· τὸ ἔνδυμα τῶν παπαρίνων+
 (83) κολοφωνία· πίσσα ή καθαρά ή τρυβομένη+
 (84) κιτισσός· κισσός+
 [167r]
 (85) κύμιнос αἰθιοπική· μελάνθην+
 (86) κάρια ποντικά· λεπτοκάρια+
 (87) βούβουνες· πανοῦκλ(ες)+
 (88) δροφόβος· ή λύσσα+
 (89) ζηζάνια· ή ἔρα+
 (90) ἠπατόριον· τὸ σαρκοκόλλην+
 (91) θάσια· τὰ ἀμύγδαλ<α>+
 (92) ἰσχνότης· λεπτότ(ης)+
 (93) λοπάδη· ή χύτρα+

- (94) λυχνόδος· κατάστυγνος+
 (95) λευκόιον· βίολα λευκή+
 (96) λιβανότης· τὸ δενδρολίβανον+
 (97) λιμνήτης· πηλός+
 (98) λιβάνου μάννα· λιβάνου χούς+
 (99) λελίσκαφον· σάλβια+
 (100) λευκόμυρον· σπάθουλ+
 (101) μεμύκυλος· ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ καμάρου+
 (102) μάννα μάννης· λίος χούς κονιορτός+
 (103) μελένης μήκονος· μαύρης παπαρίνας·
 (104) μαρούβιος· ή ὄζηλίδα+
 (105) μέσπηλα· καρπὸς δέ(ν)δρου ὁμοιον κνιδιον+
 (106) μελίκρατον κόδνας· τὸ ἀφέψημα· τοῦτἔστιν τῆς παπαρίνας μετὰ μέλιτος+
 (107) μέλι ἀττικόν· τὸ ἀπιφρισμένον+
 (108) μύες καταμήδιοι· οἱ ποντικοί+
 (109) μύλην· ή τοῦ ἀγριολαπάτου ῥίζα+
 (110) μυρίκη· ή βρίκα+
 (111) μυρίνη· τὸ ξύλον τοῦ μύρτου ή μυρσίνη+
 (112) νυκταλόπας· τοὺς τῆ νυκτί μὴ βλέποντ(ας)+
 (113) νάρδου κελτικά· κατὰ λατίνους σαλλιουλα+
 (114) οἶδιμα· φύσιμα· λέγονται δὲ (καί) ὑπόποια+
 (115) ὀλύνθοι ἄγριοι· ἀγριόσκα+
 (116) ὀξύκρατον· ὁ μετὰ ὕδατος χλιαροῦ ἄκρατος οἶνος ἀκρίτως+
 (117) οἶνανθίνου γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ νεοστή φυτευθέντος τῆς ἀμπέλου· ἔστιν δὲ (καί) ή βοτάνη+
 (118) ὄκιμον· βασιλικ(όν)+
 (119) ὄρμιнос· κύμιнос+
 (120) πιτυίνης· ή λιχίνα+
 (121) πάλμος· πηδά+
 (122) παρθενοῦδη· ή μερκουρέλλα ὁ λινοζόστης+
 [167v]
 (123) περὶ τὸ ἦτρον· τὸ πρόκυλον+
 (124) πεφθειή· τὸ χονευθειή+
 (125) πυροῦ ἀφέψημα· σίτος ὀζόμενος+
 (126) πίτυν· ἀγριοστροβηλαίαν+
 (127) πράσσιον· ὀζελίδα+
 (128) πολύγονον· πολύκομβον+
 (129) περιστερέωνος· πεπερωνία ή (καί) κιναιίδιος+
 (130) ῥωσμάρινον· τὸ δενδρολίβανον+
 (131) ῥοῖα ὀξέαι· (καί) γλυκείαι· τὰ ῥώδια+
 (132) ῥάμνος· λέγεται δὲ ὁ χρυσόκανθος+
 (133) ῥέον ποντικόν· τὸ ὄρεον βάρβαρον+
 (134) συκομοραίαν· τὸ συκαμινόν+
 (135) σπεκλάριος· ὃ λέγεται καθρύπτης+
 (136) σιτία στριφνά· βρώματα σφικτά+
 (137) σκληρώματα· σκληρωθὲν ή λιθοθὲν+

- (138) σίρεως· ἐψιμένος· μούστος+
- (139) σταφυλή· ἀγρία· ἀγριοσταφύλλην+
- (140) σταφυλοκαυστή· σταφύλλιον· κεκαυμέν(ον)+
- (141) σφέρια· κόκκοι· κυπαρίσσου+
- (142) συνόπιδος· συναπόσπορον+
- (143) στιπίον· τὸ σιρίμ+
- (144) σμύρνιον· τὰ σμύρνα+
- (145) σανδαράχην· ἀρσενίκ+
- (146) σισύμβιον· βάλσαμ(ον)+
- (147) σίδια· φλούστρα· ῥωϊδίων+
- (148) στυπτηρία· στύψις+
- (149) στρεφνώδη (καὶ) ἄστρεφνα· συλλιπτικά (καὶ) ἀσίλληπτα+
- (150) σαρκόκολλα· τὸ δάκρυον τῆς περσικί(ας)+
- (151) σπύθηρα· τῶν αἰγιδίων ἢ κόπρος· στρογγυλῶν+
- (152) σήμφιον· τιάφην ἢ σκορδολάσαρον+
- (153) σιδιάρια· ροϊδόφυλλ<α>+
- (154) σμήλαξ· ἀκάνθην ὡς ἄνθη· ῥόδα· λευκά+
- (155) σμήλακα· σμηλήν+
- (156) σκορπίουρον· ἠλιοτρόπην+
- (157) σισέλαιον· πλατοκύμινον+
- (158) σαγύρνης· πετροσέλ+
- (159) ταρχευτά· κρέοι (καὶ) ἰχθύες+
- [168r]
- (160) τρόξιμον· τὸ ἀγριομαρούλλην+
- (161) τελλίνωνων· πατέλλ+
- (162) τερεβυνθίνη· ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ἡμέρου· σχοίνου· πρασινίζων· τὸ μέγεθος ἴσον ἐλαίας+
- (163) τιτάβην· ἀσβέστην· ἄβροχον+
- (164) τὸ ἀκόνην· πλησίον τῆς κλήθρας· γίνεται· χόρτον+
- (165) τιθύμαλλος· κάβμαρο(ς)+
- (166) ὑλίσας· συρώσας+
- (167) ὑποχόνδριος· ὁ κοπροδόχος τοῦ ἐντέρου+
- (168) ὕμιν· ἢ τζίππα τοῦ μυελοῦ+
- (169) ὕσωπον· ἢ βοτάνη (καὶ) ἢ ῥύπος τῶν ἐρίων τῶν προβάτων+
- (170) φοῦ· ψευδομάρτυρ(ας)+
- (171) χαμολεύκη· στρογγυλή· ἄκανθα· ἥτις κολλᾶται ταῖς τρύχαις τοῦ ἵππου+
- (172) χάρβελ· τοῦ ἀγριοπηγάνου· ὁ καρπός+
- (173) χανδάλην· ἀγριοκολοκύνθην+
- κα
- (174) χαλκάνθην· καλακάνθ<ην>+

Commentary

The list of variants is not exhaustive and it is mainly given for those entries in which there is considerable variation in the surviving witnesses of the lexicon. For readers' convenience, I use Lundström's and Delatte's sigla revised accordingly.

b = Barberinus gr. 39, AD 1294–95 (legit Lundström)

C = Coislinus 346, thirteenth century (legit Delatte)

C² = Coislinus 346, correxit alia manu (legit Delatte)

L = Laurentianus Plut. 57.42, circa AD 1123 (legit Lundström)

m = Monacensis gr. 510, fourteenth century (legit Tittmann)

S = Parisinus suppl. gr. 659, thirteenth century (legit Delatte)

V = Vaticanus gr. 2130, early twelfth century (legerunt Bekker et Lundström)

V^l = Vaticanus gr. 2130 (legit Lundström)

V^b = Vaticanus gr. 2130 (legit Bekker)

Grun = editio C. Gruner (Jena, 1795)

sc. = scilicet

scr. = scripsit

André = J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris, 1985)
 Battaglia = S. Battaglia, ed., *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, 21 vols. (Torino, 1975–2009)

Boerio = G. Boerio, *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano*, 3rd ed. (Venice, 1967)

Del = A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensi*, 2.381–385

Dimitrakos = D. Dimitrakos, ed., *Μέγα Λεξικὸν Ὁλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 9 vols. (Athens, 1936–51)

du Cange = C. du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 2 vols. (Lyons, 1688)

HL = *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς*, 6 vols. (Athens 1933–2016)

Karanastasis = A. Karanastasis, *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῶν Νεοελληνικῶν Ἰδιωμάτων τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας*, 5 vols. (Athens, 1984–92)

Kriaras = E. Kriaras, ed., *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας*, 19 vols. (Thessalonike, 1968–2014)

Kühn = K. G. Kühn, ed., *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, 20 vols. in 22 (Leipzig, 1821–33)

LBG = *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. Trapp, 7 vols. (Vienna, 1994–2011)

LSJ = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1996)

OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2012)

Rohlf s = G. Rohlf s, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris* (Tübingen, 1964)

TLIO = *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*, ed. L. Leonardi (latest update 11.01.2017), <http://tlio.ovl.cnr.it/TLIO/> (accessed July 11, 2017)

Wellmann = M. Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1906–14)

(Title) Λέξις CSV^L, Grun: Λέξις b: Λέξεις mV^b, scr. Del | ἘΡΜΗΝΙΑ Grun: ἔρμηνεία V^L: ἔρμηνῆα b: ἔρμηνεία mCS

(1) ἀγριόκαρδος S, Grun: ἀγριόκαρδον V: ἀγριοκάρδαμος mCT

Ἀγριοκάρδον(/ς) is perhaps a variant or a corrupted version of ἀγριοκάρδαμον(/ς).

(2) πορδακάν^o Grun: πορδακανός V^b: πορδάκανος V^L: πορδόκανος mCS

Πορδακάνο(ς) is a variant or a corrupted version of πορδάκανθος {LBG, s.v. πορδόκανος}.

(5) ἀγριοσπάθουλας mV^L, Grun: ἀγριοσπαθούλας CSV^b {cf. Dimitrakos, LBG, s.v. ἀγριοσπαθούλα (ή)} | ὄ mCSV, Grun: ἦ scr. Del

It is worth noting the existence of the word *spatūḍa* (cf. 100) in the Griko dialect with reference to agave, a spiny, cactus-like plant {Rohlf s, s.v. σπάθουλλα: spātuḍa}.⁴⁷

(6) ἀκτέας CSV, Grun: ἀκταίας m | κουφοζυλέας τις V^b, Grun: κουφοξυλέας τῆς V^L: κουφοζυλαίας τῆς CS | ὄζομός Grun: ὄζομός V^L: ὄζομένος m: ὄζυμός V^b: ὄζυμός CS

Σαβούκος, consistent throughout the manuscripts of the lexicon {mCSV} {also σαβούκου Del (2:419.11), and σάμβωκος Del (2:340.10)}, is derived from Latin {OLD, s.v. sabucus, sambucus; André, s.v. sambucus}, and a Greek transcription of the Latin term was already attested in pseudo-Dioscorides {σαμβούκου Wellmann (2:322.13)}. The medieval Greek vernacular versions {Dimitrakos, s.v. ζαμπούκος, σαμβούκος; σαμπούκο(ς) Landos;⁴⁸ and σαμπούκο Del (2:397.6)} probably derive directly from medieval Italo-Romance languages {Boerio, s.v. sambùgo; Battaglia, s.v. sambuco}.⁴⁹ The Griko version is the closest to the one in the Holkham lexicon {Rohlf s, s.v. σάβουκος: sávuko, sávukko; Karanastasis, s.v. σάβουκο}.⁵⁰

(7) sc. σμύρνα

(8) ἀλθέα Grun: ἀνθέα mCS: ἀλθαία scr. Del

(10) Λαυρίλλα {also λαυρέλλα Del (2:321.2)} originates in Latin {OLD, André, s.v. laureola}, and a Greek transcription of the Latin term already existed in pseudo-Dioscorides {λαυρίωλαμ Wellmann (2:289.19)}.⁵¹

47 Here *ḍ* is used to denote the pre-velar double λ.

48 A. Landos, *Γεωπονικόν* (Venice, 1643), 198.16.

49 Cf. N. Andriotis, *Ετυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1967), s.v. ζαμπούκος, and G. Babiniotis, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, 2nd ed., 2nd imprint (Athens, 2005), s.v. σαμπούκος.

50 See also Rohlf s, *Nuovi scavi linguistici*, 120, and Karanastasis, *Γραμματική*, 170.

51 On its synonymy with ἀλυπιάδος σπέρμα, cf. the thirteenth-century medical Latin dictionary of Simon of Genoa, s.v. alipiados, at <http://www.simonofgenoa.org/index.php?title=Alipiados> (accessed July 11, 2017).

(11) ἄλφυτος Grun: ἄλφίτος CS: ἄλφιτον m, scr. Del

(15) ἀμόλλια m, Grun: ἀμόλιά CS | ἀλασσόμενος Grun: ἀλασσόμενος m: ἀλασσόμενον CS: ἀλλάσσεται scr. Del | ἄλλω τιθέμενον Grun: ἄλλο τιθέμενον mCS: ἄλλο τίθεται scr. Del | σακιζόμενος Grun: σακιζόμενον mC: σακκίζεται scr. Del

(16) χρυσολάχανον CS: χρυσολαχάνου Grun: χρυσολάχανου m {cf. 17}

(18) ἀνεμόνη m, Grun: ἀνεμώνη CS | ἀνθή Grun: ἀνθεῖ mCS | ῥώδα Grun: ῥόδα mCS {cf. 154}

The use of the term *παπαρίνα* {L BG, s.v. παπαρίνα}, rather than the more usual version *παπαρούνα* {Dimitrakos, Kriaras, s.v. παπαρούνα},⁵² is almost consistent throughout this {82, 103, 106} and the other manuscripts of the lexicon {mCS}. The term exists in Griko {Rohlf s, s.v. παπαρούνα: παπαρίνα; Karanastasis, s.v. παπαρίνα} and according to Karanastasis it is derived from the medieval Italo-Romance *paraverina*, a diminutive form of *paravero* {TLIO, s.v. paravero},⁵³ which in turn derives from Latin {OLD, s.v. papauer}, attested in Greek transcription as early as pseudo-Dioscorides {παπάβερ Wellmann (2:217.11; 2:218.13)}.⁵⁴ The term is used in the unedited collection of recipes attributed to Philip Xeros from Reggio di Calabria (fl. first half of the twelfth century) and Euphemios from Sicily.⁵⁵

(19) αἴμωσα Grun: αἰμώσα m: αἰμώσας CS | αἰμοπτωϊκός Grun: αἰμοπτοϊκός mCS {cf. LSJ, s.v. αἰμοπτυϊκός}

(20) ἀγεννηθῆναι Grun: ἀπό τοῦ γεννηθῆναι CS: ἐκ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι m

Ἀγεννηθῆναι is most probably the outcome of a scribal error.

(21) καριόφυλλον Grun: καρεόφυλλον mCS {cf. LSJ, s.v. καρύοφυλλον; OLD, s.v. caryophyllon}

(22) πύρινος mCS, Grun: πυρήνος scr. Del

(23) ἀθρυζόμενον Grun: ἀθροϊζόμενον mCS

(24) ἀγγίους Grun: ἀγγεῖος mCS | ἐξύπνου m: ἐξ ὕπνου Grun: ἐξ ἱπνοῦ CS

(25) ἀβροτόνος mCS, Grun: ἀβρότονον scr. Del | μελιτίνη Grun: μελιτινή CS: μιλιτηνή m

Μελιτίνη is a rare term and does not seem to appear in the edited medical literature, although it is found in lexica of synonymous words.⁵⁶ It should not be confused with *μελίτταινα*, which according to Dioscorides {Wellmann

52 See, for example, Landos, *Γεωπονικόν*, 195.16: “κόκκινης παπαρούνας.” For more variants, see Nicholas Myrepsos, *Dynameron*, Parisinus gr. 2243 (AD 1339), fol. 17v, ll. 4–5: “[...] παπάβαριν ἄσπριν [...],” and John Zacharias Aktouarios, *Medical Epitome*, Vindobonensis med. gr. 17 (fifteenth century), fol. 138v, line 19: “[...] παπαρίνην λευκ(ήν) [...],” which is closer to our lexicon.

53 Cf. Andriotis, *Ετυμολογικὸ Λεξικὸ*, s.v. παπαρούνα, and Babiniotis, *Λεξικὸ*, s.v. παπαρούνα.

54 Cf. B. Langkavel, *Botanik der spaeteren Griechen* (Berlin, 1866), 29, no. 110.1, and 31, no. 118.4.

55 See, for example, Parisinus gr. 2194 (fifteenth century), fol. 459v, line 14: “[...] και σπέρμα(α) παπαρίνας ἀνά στΓβ [...].” On this collection, see note 42.

56 See A. Bravo García, “Varia lexicographica graeca manuscripta III: Lexica botanica,” *Emerita* 47 (1979): 347–55, esp. 351.

2:115.9) is another name for *μελισσοβότανον*.⁵⁷ *Μελιτίνη* is attested referring to *ἀβρότονον* in the local dialect of the Ionian island of Cephalonia in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁸

(26) ἀποσμᾶ mCS, Grun

(28) ἀδένα Grun: ἄδενα mCS: ἀδένες scr. Del

(29) ἔχουσα mCS, Grun: ἔχει scr. Del

(30) ἄρκευ Grun: ἄρκευθος m: ἄρκευθος CS [cf. 43]

(31) πεντανευρίου mC: πεντανεύρου S: πεντα νευρίου Grun

Πεντάνευρον is the more common version in Byzantine collections of recipes [Dimitrakos, *LBG*, s.v. πεντάνευρο(v)]⁵⁹ compared to the vernacular version *πεντανεύρι*.⁶⁰

(33) ἀστράκου Grun: ὄστράκου mCS | ὄστακοκακάβου θαλασσίου Grun: κακοθαλασσίου mCS: κοχλοῦ θαλασσίου scr. Del

The term *ἄστρακον* for *ὄστρακον* does not appear in the edited medical literature [cf. Kriaras, s.v. ἀστράκιον; *LBG*, s.v. ἀστρακος(..)].

(34) ἀθερεῶν Grun: ἀνθερεῶνος mCS | καρύδην m: καρύδιν CS: καρυδῶν Grun

(35) σφύξαι Grun: σφίγξαι mCS

(36) ἀσίλληπτος Grun: ἀσύλληπτος mCS

(37) λίμνης mCS, Grun

(38) ψύχης V^b, Grun: ψίχαι S

(39) ἀγριοσύκιον V^b, Grun: ἀγριοσίκιον S | ἀγρανγούρη V^b, Grun: ἀγραγγούριν S [Kriaras, s.v. ἀγραγγουρία; cf. ἀγριαγγουρέας Bennett⁶¹]

(40) πλούτος Grun

Πλούπος is a variant or a corrupted version of *πλοῦππος*, which is already attested in southern Italian documents dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁶² and it has been retained in Griko [Rohlf, s.v. πλοῦππος; plúrpo; Karanastasis, s.v. πλοῦππο]. According to Karanastasis, it was derived

57 Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 57, no. 151.13.

58 I. Tsitselis, “Συλλογὴ Ὀνομάτων Φυτῶν ἐν Κεφαλληνίᾳ,” in *Τὰ Δημόδη Ὀνόματα τῶν Φυτῶν*, ed. S. Miliarakis, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1926), 277–94, esp. 288.

59 See, for example, *John the Physician's Therapeutics*, ed. B. Zipser (Leiden, 2009), 102.22, 215.13; M.-P. Alexoroulou, “Das Iatrosophion des sog. Meletios: Edition mit sprachlichem und sachlichem Kommentar” (PhD diss, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1998), 112.647; and A. Kousis, “Les oeuvres médicales de Nicéphoros Blémmydès selon les manuscrits existants,” *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944): 56–75, esp. 64.23.

60 Miliarakis, *Δημόδη Ὀνόματα*, 233.

61 D. Bennett, “Xenonika: Medical Texts Associated with Xenones in the Late Byzantine Period” (PhD diss, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2003), 361.8. I prefer to cite Bennett's thesis rather than his recent monograph, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals* (Abingdon, 2017), since the former provides a complete edition of some formularies.

62 K. Minas, *Ἡ Γλῶσσα τῶν Δημοσιευμένων Μεσαιωνικῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἐγγράφων τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Σικελίας* (Athens, 1994), 154; G. Caracausi, *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)* (Palermo, 1990), s.v. πλοῦππος; and *LBG = Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. Trapp, 7 vols. (Vienna, 1994–2011), s.v. πλοῦππος.

from the Vulgar Latin term for poplar, *ploppus* or *pluppus* [cf. *OLD*, s.v. *populeus*].⁶³ This is confirmed by the synonym that accompanies it in this lexicon, i.e., αἴγειρος, which is indeed the Greek term for “poplar” [LSJ, s.v. αἴγειρος].

(41) ἀζενάιρου Grun | καριζώνας Grun

Καριζώνας is a variant of *γαρζόνι* [*HL*, s.v. γαρζόνι], which most probably derived from medieval Italo-Romance languages [Boerio, s.v. garzo] and it refers to a plant of the same genus as the artichoke.⁶⁴ *Καριζόνι* is attested in the local dialect of the Ionian island of Cephalonia in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁵

Ἀζενάρον does not appear in other edited lexica and should be considered a *lexicis addendum*. The term is perhaps derived from *ἀγκινάρα* (artichoke) [Dimitrakos, *LBG*, s.v. ἀγκινάρα] upon palatalization ([g] > [dz]), from contact with medieval Italo-Romance languages.⁶⁶

(44) ῥωῖδια Grun: ροῖδια mCS [cf. 131, 147, 153]

(45) πετέας mCS, Grun | μυγαρούδια C, Grun: μυκαρούδια S: μυγαρούσια m *Μυγαρούδι(ον)* is a rare term that refers to a little fly [cf. Du Cange, s.v. μυγαρούδιον]. Of note, in the Griko dialect, one finds the verb *μυγαριδίζει* (light snow falls), derived from *μυιγάρι*, a diminutive of the noun *μυῖα* (fly).⁶⁷

(46) βουνιάδος Grun: βονιάδος mCS

The most commonly used version in the medical literature is *βουνιάδος* [LSJ, s.v. βουνιάς]. The word *ράπα* originates in Latin [*OLD*, s.v. *rapa*], and a Greek transcription of the Latin term is attested in pseudo-Dioscorides [ράπα Wellmann (1:185.16); cf. André, s.v. rapum].⁶⁸

(51) sc. γλυκυσίδη

(52) ἔσχατος Grun: ἐσχάτως mCS

(54) δακρύδην m, Grun: δακρύδιν CS | σκαμονέας m: σκαμμονέας Grun: σκαμωνέας CS

(55) ἐργάλιον Grun: ἐργαλείον mCS

(56) ἔδνα Grun: ἔδρα mCS

(58) ἐσχαρωτικοίς Grun: ἐσχαρωτικοίς mCS

(59) εἰς ὑπείροις Grun: ὑσηπήροις m: οἰσπηροίς CS

(60) ὑπὸ τὸ ὑπογάστριον Grun: ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπογάστριον mCS

(61) ἐλέβρος mS: ἐλέβορος Grun: ἐλλέβορος C | ῥήζωμα Grun: ῥίζωμα mCS

(62) ἐλέβορος V^b, Grun: ἐλλέβορος | ῥιζοτάς V^b, Grun

A close variant of *ῥιζοτάς* is retained in Griko with reference to hellebore

63 Rohlf, *Nuovi scavi linguistici*, 119, and Karanastasis, *Γραμματική*, 170.

64 Cf. Trésor de la Langue Française, s.v. cardon, at <http://atilf.atilf.fr/> (accessed July 11, 2017): “Plante potagère bisannuelle, de la famille des Composées, du même genre que l'artichaut”; and F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire latin français* [s.l.], 2016), s.v. cinara.

65 Tsitselis, “Συλλογὴ Ὀνομάτων,” 285.

66 I would like to thank Io Manolessou for this suggestion.

67 Karanastasis, *Λεξικόν*, s.v. μυγαριδίζω.

68 Cf. Karanastasis, *Λεξικόν*, s.v. ῥάπη.

root {Rohlfs, s.v. ρίζωτός; ρίζωτός, ρισωτός; Karanastasis, s.v. ριζωτός},⁶⁹ thus confirming the synonymy seen in the Holkham lexicon.

(63) ήλιρηνικς Grun: ήλικρικής CS: ήλλυρικής scr. Del

(64) ήριγέρον m, Grun: ήριγέρων CS

(65) ήριγγίου Grun: ήρυγγίου CS | ρίζα S: ρίζεις Grun: ρίζης C | πυπερίας Grun: πεπερίας CS

(66) άκανθόδες Grun: άκανθώδες mCS

(67) θρόμος Grun

Θρόμος should be considered a *lexicis addendum*.

(68) sc. θρίδαξ

Μαρούλλην [see also 160: άγριομαρούλλην], i.e., the version in the Holkham lexicon, maintains a double consonant, unlike the usual medieval and Modern Greek versions [Dimitrakos, s.v. μαρούλι(ον); LBG, s.v. μαρούλιν]. *Μαρούλλη* is used as the name of a mountain in a Southern Italian document dated to 1200.⁷⁰ The double consonant is also retained in Griko {Karanastasis, s.v. άγρομαρουδάκι, άγρομάρουδα, μαρούδα(ν)}.

(69) The existence of the double consonant in the Holkham lexicon, i.e., *λουππινάριν*, [cf. Dimitrakos, s.v. λουπινάρι; Kriaras, LBG, s.v. λουπινάριον] might suggest a Southern Italian origin. The identical form of the term is indeed found in Griko {Rohlfs, s.v. άγριολουππινό: αγρολύρρινο, λουπινάρι: luppinári; Karanastasis, s.v. άγρολουππινάρι, λουππινάρι}.

(70) ιάριν Grun

Θάριν is a variant or a corrupted version of *ιάριν* {mCS}; *γiάριν*, another variant of the term, is attested in the partially edited collection of recipes ascribed to Nikephoros Blemmydes.⁷¹

(71) κορδαψούς CS, Grun: σκορδαψούς m: χορδαψούς scr. Del

Κορδαψός is a variant for *χορδαψός*, a disease of the intestine.⁷²

(72) ποιούς Grun: πious mCS

(73) κόνιζα m, Grun: κόνυζα CS

(74) καρόου mCS, Grun: κάρων scr. Del | καρναβάδην Grun: καρναβάδιν mCS

(75) κολιανδρος mCS: κολναδρος Grun

(76) ροίας m: ροιάς CS: ρώας Grun

(77) *Φυσάλα* is a vernacular variant of *φυσαλλίς* [Dimitrakos, s.v. φυσαλλ[λ]ίς], i.e., bladder. There is at least one more appearance of the word in medical literature, where it is used in reference to a kid's bladder in the partially

69 The term is also found in twelfth-century documents of southern Italian origin without, however, referring explicitly to the hellebore root. See Karanastasis, *Λεξικόν*, s.v. ριζωτός; Caracausi, *Lessico*, s.v. ριζωτός; and LBG, s.v. ριζωτός. Cf. D. Dimitrakos, ed., *Μέγα Λεξικόν Όλης τής Έλληνικής γλώσσης*, 9 vols. (Athens, 1936–51), s.v. ριζωτός, and E. Kriaras, ed., *Λεξικό τής Μεσαιωνικής Έλληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας*, 19 vols. (Thessalonike, 1968–2014), s.v. ριζωτός, which is generally used to refer to a deep-rooted plant, but not specifically to the hellebore.

70 Caracausi, *Lessico*, s.v. Μαρούλλη.

71 Vindobonensis med. gr. 45 (fourteenth century), fol. 38v, line 22: “γiάριν· στίψιν· λίβανον [...]”

72 On this term, see M. Alexiou, “On σκορδαψός: Gut-knot or Eyesore? A Tribute to BMGS,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40 (2016): 49–54.

edited collection of recipes ascribed to Nikephoros Blemmydes.⁷³ It is worth noting that the term is retained in Griko {Rohlfs, s.v. φυσαλλίς: fisála; Karanastasis, s.v. φυσάλα}.⁷⁴

(78) κροκύδην Grun: κροκύδα mCS

(81) κόνιον m, Grun: κώνειον CS | κηκούτα m, Grun: κικούτα CS

Κι(η)κούτα [Dimitrakos, s.v. κικούτα] originates in Latin {*OLD*, André, s.v. *cicuta*}, and a Greek transcription of the Latin term can be found as early as pseudo-Dioscorides {κικούταμ Wellmann (2:239.16)}.

(82) κοδύες m, Grun: κωδύαις CS | παπαρίνων Grun: παπαρίνης CS: παρίνης m {cf. 18, 103, 106}

Κοδύες, instead of *κωδύες*, is an orthographically erroneous vernacular version of the ancient Greek nominative plural *κωδύαι*.

(83) τρυβομένη Grun: τριβομένη mCS

(84) sc. κύτισος

(86) κάρια V^b: κριαποντικά Grun: sc. κάρνα | sc. λεπτοκάρνα

(87) βούβουνες Grun: βούβωνες m: βούβωνες CS | πανούκλαι m: πανούκλε CS: πανούκλ'

The term *πανούκλα* [Dimitrakos, Kriaras, LBG, s.v. πανούκλα] is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. *panus*, *panucula*}⁷⁵ and is a synonym for *bubo*. In this sense it is also found in the *Life of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder*,⁷⁶ and a variant also appears in the sixth-century medical handbook by Alexander of Tralles.⁷⁷ The term reappears in the medical work of Metrodora,⁷⁸ which survives in one manuscript of southern Italian origin, i.e., Laurentianus Plut. 75.3, dated to the tenth/eleventh century,⁷⁹ in the medical manual by Paul of Nicaea,⁸⁰ of which the earliest witnesses date to the fourteenth century,⁸¹ and in the unedited collection of recipes by a certain Jew named

73 Kousis, “Nicéphoros Blémmydès,” 65.20: “ἐρίφου φύσαλα.”

74 Cf. G. Rohlfs, *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia* (Rome, 1933), 38, 42.

75 See Andriotis, *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό*, s.v. πανούκλα. On this term, see also the discussion by A. M. Ieraci Bio, “Interferenze occidentali nella medicina bizantina,” *Revdicanti dell'Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 67 (1997–98): 289–307, esp. 305–307.

76 Antony, the author of this text, claims to be a disciple of St. Symeon (ca. 389–459 AD). See *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites*, ed. H. Lietzmann (Leipzig, 1908), 44.1: “πανούκλας.”

77 Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutics*, ed. T. Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralles: Original-Text und Übersetzung nebst einer einleitenden Abhandlung: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medicin*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1879), 113.7: “πανικούλας.” Cf. the reference in the *Eclogae medicamentorum* ascribed to Oribasios (*Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, ed. J. Raeder, vol. 2.2 [Leipzig, 1933], 301.9), which survives in a tenth-century manuscript (Parisinus suppl. gr. 446): “πανουκλιζούσης.”

78 A. Kousis, “Metrodora's Work ‘On the Feminine Diseases of the Womb’ according to the Greek Codex 75.3 of the Laurentian Library,” *Πρακτικά τής Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 20 (1945): 46–68, esp. 62.2: “πανούκλας.”

79 Ieraci Bio, “La Trasmissione,” 190–91, and Lucà, “Testi medici,” 578, 586–88.

80 *Paolo di Nicea: Manuale medico*, ed. A. M. Ieraci Bio (Naples, 1996), 207.22–4: “πανουκλών,” “πανούκλαι.”

81 Ieraci Bio, *Paolo di Nicea*, 33–34.

Benjamin,⁸² of which the earliest surviving manuscript, i.e., Marcianus gr V.8 (coll. 1334), dates to the fourteenth century.⁸³ The term is not attested in sources connected with the Justinian plague,⁸⁴ but it is used with reference to various outbreaks of the Black Death from the fourteenth century onward in Byzantine sources to denote “plague.”⁸⁵

(88) προφόρος V^L: δροφόρας m: δρόφοβος b, Grun: ύδροφόβος CS

(89) ζηζάνια b, Grun: ζιζάνια mCSV^L | έρα bmV^L: αίρα CS

(90) σαρκοκόλλην bmV^L, Grun: σαρκοκόλλιν CS

(93) λοπάδην m, Grun: λοπάδιν CS

(94) λυχνόδος Grun: λυχνωδός mCS

(95) The term *βιολα* is derived from Latin {*OLD*, André, s.v. uiola}, and it is already attested in Greek transcription in pseudo-Dioscorides {βιολα Wellmann (2:134.13)}. Its use became widespread in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods {Dimitrakos, *LBG*, s.v. βιόλα}.

(96) λιβανωτός CS: λιβανότης Grun: λιβανωτής m: λιβανωτίς scr. Del

(99) The term *σάλβια* originates in Latin {*OLD*, s.v. salvia}, while the term *λελίσφακον* should most probably be corrected to *λελίσφακον*, a variant of *έλελίσφακον*. Both terms are found in pseudo-Dioscorides {λελίσφακον, σάλβια Wellmann 2:44.9–11}.⁸⁶

(101) μεμύκυλος Grun: μεμήκυλος mCS {cf. LSJ, s.v. μιμαίκυλον; Dimitrakos, s.v. μεμαίκυλον} | κομάρου mCS

(102) λιος Grun: λειός mCS

(103) μελένης Grun: μελαίνης mCS | μήκονος m, Grun: μήκωνος CS | παπαρίνας m, Grun: παπαρίνης CS {cf. 82, 103, 106}

(104) μαρούβιος Grun: μαρόβιος mCS: μαρούλιον scr. Del | όξηλίδα m: όξηλίδα S: όξυλίδα C: όξηλίδα Grun

I disagree with Delatte’s correction here. *Μαρούβιος* {*LBG*, s.v. μαρρουβία} is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. marrubium} or medieval Italo-Romance languages {Boerio, s.v. marùbio; *TLIO*, s.v. mar[r]obbio, marubio},⁸⁷ and

82 E. Trapp, H.-V. Beyer, and R. Walther, ed., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 12 vols., 2 add. (Vienna, 1976–94), no. 91491.

83 Marcianus gr. V.8 (fourteenth century), fol. 163r, lines 26–27: “[...] και ποιών πανούκλας.” The term also appears in a scholium on Aristophanes, *Ioannis Tzetzaze Commentarii in Aristophanem*, ed. W. J. W. Koster, vol. 4.3 (Groningen, 1963), 1062.6–7: “πανουκλῶν,” which survives in some fourteenth-century manuscripts. Cf. P. A. Hansen, ed. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 2005), 108.22: “πηνιον· πανούκλιον.”

84 Cf. D. Stathakopoulos, “Die Terminologie der Pest in byzantinischen Quellen,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998): 1–7.

85 See, for example, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περί τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. O Lampsidis (Athens, 1958), 68.9: “πανούκλα.”

86 See also Galen {βοτάνης σαλβίας, ed. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni*, 13: 1037.11}. Cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 2: 435.8; Langkavel, *Botanik*, 55, no. 151.5; Simon of Genoa, s.v. lelisfacos, <http://www.simonofgenoa.org/index.php?title=Lelisfacos> (accessed July 11, 2017): “Lelisfacos g. salvia, sed apud Dya. elisfacos scribitur”; and García González, *Alphita*, s.v. elilifagus.

87 Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 58, no. 151.23.

a Greek transcription of the Latin term is also found in pseudo-Dioscorides {μαρούβιον Wellmann 2:114.16, 116.14}.

(105) μέσπηλα Grun: μέσπιλα mCS

(106) κόδνας mS: κόδνας Grun: κωδύας C {cf. 82}

(107) άπιφρισμένον Grun: άπηφρισμένον mCS

(108) καταμήδιοι Grun: καταμοίδιοι mCS: κατοικίδιοι scr. Del

(109) άγριου λασπάτου CS: άγριολαπάθου m: άγριολαπάτου Grun: άγριου λαπάτου scr. Del

The non-fricative version (*άγριο-*)λαπάτου {*LBG*, s.v. λάπατον}, rather than the more commonly found version in the edited literature, *λάπαθον* {Kriaras, s.v. λάπαθον}, is also attested in the vernacular version of the Byzantine collection of recipes by John Archiatros,⁸⁸ the *iatrosophion* attributed to Meletios,⁸⁹ and Greek dialects like those of Pontos,⁹⁰ the island of Serphalonia,⁹¹ and Griko {Rohlf, s.v. λάπαθος; lépato; Karanastasis, s.v. λέπατο}.

(110) μυρίκα Grun

Βρίκα {also in mCS} is attested in twelfth-century legal documents from Sicily {βρικός, βρύκων, βρικές, βρίκας}⁹² and in Griko {Karanastasis, s.v. βρίκα; cf. Rohlf, s.v. μυρίκη; vrika} in reference to the plant tamarisk. According to Karanastasis, it is derived from the Greek *μυρίκη* under the influence of the Latin *myrica* as regards its ending. The variant *βρίγκα* is attested in the dialect of the Ionian Island of Corfu in the early nineteenth century.⁹³

(113) κελτικαί Grun: κελτικής mCS

Σαλλίουλα {also in mCS} originates in Latin {*OLD*, s.v. saliunca}; it does not appear in the edited Greek medical literature.⁹⁴ The Latin term appears in Greek transcription in pseudo-Dioscorides {σαλιούγκα Wellmann (1:12.23)}.

(114) οίδιμα Grun: οίδημα mCS | φύσημα mCS | ύπόπια mCS

(117) νεοστή Grun: νεωστή mCS

(118) sc. ώκιμον

(120) cf. LSJ, s.v. λειχήν

(121) πηδά Grun: πηδᾶ mCS: πήδημα scr. Del

(122) παρθενοῦδην m, Grun: παρθενοῦδιν CS Del (2:327; 2:335) | ό λινοζώστης mCS: sc. ή λινόζωστις

Μερκουρέλλα {also in mCS; and Del {μερκουριάλε 2:404.14, 424.9; μερκορέλλα 2:441.2}} is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. mercurialis} or medieval Italo-Romance languages {*TLIO*, s.v. marcorella(e)}. The Latin term

88 Zipser, *John the Physician's Therapeutics*, 203.18, 215.20.

89 Alexopoulou, “Meletios,” 166.1351.

90 A. A. Papadopoulos. *Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν τῆς Ποντιακῆς Διαλέκτου*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1958–61), s.v. λάπατον; cf. E. Kousis, “Λεξιλόγιον Φυτολογικόν Τραπεζούντος,” *Αρχεῖον Πόντου* 1 (1928): 97–120, esp. 109.

91 Tsitselis, “Συλλογή Ὀνομάτων,” 287.

92 G. Caracausi, *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1983), 412. Cf. Caracausi, *Lessico*, s.v. βρίκα, and *LBG*, s.v. βρίκα.

93 Miliarakis, *Δημώδη Ὀνόματα*, 44, 173.

94 Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 82, no. 177.1

in Greek transcription is attested in pseudo-Dioscorides {μερκουριάλις Wellmann (2:337.16, 20)}.⁹⁵

(123) προκύλ Grun: πρόκοιλον mCS

(124) πεφθει Grun: πεμφθῆ CS: πεφθῆ mC² | χονευθει Grun: χωνευθῆ mCS

(125) ἀφέψημα Grun: ἀφέψημα mCS | σίτος ὀζόμενος Grun: σίτου ζωμός mCS

(126) ἀγριοστροβηλαίαν Grun: ἀγριοστροβιλία S

(127) cf. LSJ, s.v. πράσιον; and 104.

(129) πεπερωνία Grun

Πεπερωνία should be considered a *lexicis addendum*.

(130) ῥωσμάρινον Grun: ῥοσμαρίνον mCS

The Greek term is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. *rosmarinum*} or perhaps medieval Italo-Romance languages {Battaglia, s.v. *rosmarino*}; a Greek transcription of the Latin term was also attested in pseudo-Dioscorides {ῥωσμαρίνου Wellmann (2:85.15)}. The term does not appear in any edited Byzantine collections of recipes, but it is found in post-Byzantine vernacular *iatrosophia*.⁹⁶

(131) ὄξειαι Grun: ὄξείαι mCS: ὄξειαι scr. Del | γλυκέαι mCS, Grun: γλυκείαι scr. Del | ῥωῖδα Grun: ῥωῖδια m {cf. 44, 147, 153}: ῥοῖδια CS

(133) ὄρεον βάρβαρον Grun: ὄρεον βάρβαρον V: ὠραιοβάρβαρον CS: ὠραιοβάρβαρον m

The term echoes various vernacular versions of the most commonly attested written version *ῥέον βάρβαρον* {ῥέου βαρβαρικοῦ John Zacharias Aktouarios;⁹⁷ also ῥαῖου μπαρμπάρου Nicholas Myrepsos}⁹⁸ or *ρομπάρμπαρον* {e.g., Del (2:445)},⁹⁹ a variety of the plant *ῥέον* (rhubarb), which is often mentioned by Greek and Byzantine medical authors {Kriaras, s.v. *ρομπάρμπαρον* (I)}.

(134) συκομορέα CS: συκομορέαν Grun: συκόμορον scr. Del

(135) *Σπεκλάριος* {*LBG*, s.v. *σπεκλάριος*} is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. *speculum*} or medieval Italo-Romance languages {Battaglia, s.v. *specolo*, *speculo*} and is a synonym for mirror {LSJ, du Cange, Dimitrakos, *LBG*, s.v. *σπέκλον*}.¹⁰⁰ It should not be confused with the Greek term for *lapis specularis*, a mineral ingredient in recipes {LSJ, s.v. *σπέκλον* 2; du Cange, s.v. *σπεκλάριον*; Dimitrakos, s.v. *σπέκλον* 2, *σπεκλάριον*; *LBG*, s.v. *σπεκλάριον*}.

(136) στρεφνά m, Grun: στρυφνά CS | σφικτά S, Grun: σφιγκτά mC

(137) σκληρώματα Grun: σκιρρώματα CS: σκληρώματα m | λιθωθέν mCS

(138) σίρεως Grun: σίρεος m: σίραιος CS | ἐψημένος mCS

⁹⁵ Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 15, no. 29.7.

⁹⁶ See, for example, K. Οικονομου, “Δυὸ Ἑπειρωτικά Γιατροσόφια,” *Δωδώνη* 7 (1978): 239–301, esp. 281.1.

⁹⁷ John Zacharias Aktouarios, *Medical Epitome*, Vindobonensis med. gr. 17 (fifteenth century), fol. 120v, line 26: “[...] ἀναγαλλίδος βοτάνης, οὐγγ α΄ ῥέου βαρβαρικοῦ-ναρδοστάχους [...]”

⁹⁸ Nicholas Myrepsos, *Dynameron*, Parisinus gr. 2243 (AD 1339), fol. 17v, lines 8–9: “[...] ῥαῖου μπαρμπάρου [...] ἐξάγ(ια) α΄ [...]”

⁹⁹ For more variants, see Langkavel, *Botanik*, 90, no. 189.3.

¹⁰⁰ The term *speculum* is not attested in classical and medieval authors with the modern meaning of a vaginal dilator. On this see, Bliquez, *Tools of Asclepius*, 253, note 725.

(139) ἀγριοσταφύλλην Grun: ἀγριοσταφύλιν CS: ἀγριοσταφυλή m

The lexicon in the Holkham manuscript retains a double consonant in this and the next entry, i.e., *ἀγριοσταφύλλην* and *σταφύλλον*. It is noteworthy that the double consonant is also present in Griko {Rohlf, s.v. *ἀγριοστάφυλον*: *agrostáfido*, *σταφύλιον*: *stafídi*; Karanastasis, s.v. *ἀγροστάφυδο*, *σταφύδι*}.¹⁰¹

(140) σταφύλλον Grun: σταφύλιον mCS

(141) σφέρια Grun: σφαιρία mC: σφύρια S

(142) συνόπιδος mCS, Grun: σιναπίδιον scr. Del | συναπόσπυρον m, Grun: σιναπόσπορον CS

(143) στιππιον Grun: στυπείον m: στυπείον CS | σιρικόν Grun: σηρικόν m: συρικόν CS

(145) ἀρσένικον Grun: ἀρσενίκη m: ἀρσενίκιν CS

(146) σισύμβιον Grun: σισύμβριον mCS

(147) ῥωιδίων m: ῥωῖδίων Grun: ῥοῖδίων CS {cf. 44, 131, 153}

Φλούστρα {also in mCS; du Cange, s.v. *φλοῦστρον*}¹⁰² used to refer to peel, the outer protective layer of a fruit, was perhaps derived directly from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. *frustum*} or from Greek *φλοῦς* > *φλούδι(ον)* under the influence of the Latin term. Griko retains the term with its original meaning {Rohlf, s.v. *φλοῦστρον*: *flústro*; Karanastasis, s.v. *φλοῦστρο(ν)*} rather than the word used in Standard Modern Greek, i.e., *φλούδα*.

(149) συλληπτικά Grun: συλληπικά S: συλληπτικά mC | ἀσύλληπτα mCS

(151) σπύθηρα mCS, Grun: σπύραθος scr. Del

(152) cf. σίλφιον θεῖον Del (2:329) | τιάφη Del (2:369): τιάφι Del (2:401): τιάφιν Grun: τεάφι Del (2:324): θεῖον ἢ τεάφη Del (2:334; 2:422) | σκορδολάσαρ Del (2:329): σκορδολάσαρον Grun: σκορδολάζαρον Del (2:392; 2:392): σκορδολάζαρος Del (2:354; 2:376)

(153) The term *σιδιάρια* {*LBG*, s.v. *σιδιάριον*} for pomegranate leaves is derived from *σίδιον* {LSJ, s.v. *σίδιον*; cf. 147}. A closely related variant is also retained in Griko {Karanastasis, s.v. *σίδα*}.

(154) sc. σμίλαξ | sc. ῥόδα {cf. 18}

(156) ἡλιοτρόπην Grun: cf. LSJ, s.v. *ἡλιοτρόπιον*

(157) σισέλαιον Grun: cf. *σεσέλι* Del (2:330.8–9; 2:358.26; 2:377.7) | πλατυκύμινον Grun

(158) sc. πετροσέλιον

A variant of *σαγύρνη*, a *lexicis addendum*, is found in another edited plant lexicon {*σαγείρνη* Del (2:330.16)}.

(159) κρέοι Grun: κρή mCS

(160) τρώξιμον mV, Grun: τρώξιμον CS | ἀγριομαρούλλην V^L, Grun {cf. 68}: ἀγριομαρούλλον bm: ἀγριομαρούλον CS

(161) τελλίνωνων LV^L: τελλινώνων Grun: τελλινών m: τελλινών CS | πατέλλ' Grun: πατέλλας mbCSL: πατελλων (ας superscr.) V^L: πατέλλων scr. Del *Πατέλλα* is derived from Latin {*OLD*, s.v. *patella*; cf. Dimitrakos, *LBG*, s.v. *πάτελλα*}.

¹⁰¹ See also, Rohlf, *Scavi linguistici*, 38.

¹⁰² Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 19, no. 63.1.

(162) περιβενθίνη b: τερεβενθίνη CS, Grun: τερενβενθίνη m: τερεβινθίνη V^L: τερεβινθίνη L

(163) τιτάβην L: τιταβήν Grun: οϊτάβην V^L: τίτανιν CS: τιτάνην bm

(164) άκόνην L, Grun: άκόνιν S | κλήθρας L, Grun: κλέθρας S

(165) τιθύμαλλος L, Grun: τιθύμαλος CS | κάβμαρος L: καμμαρο Grun: κάμαρος S: κόμαρος scr. Del

(166) σορεύσας m: συρώσας bLV^L, Grun: σειρώσας CS

(168) ύμιν Grun: ύμιν bLV^L: ύμην m: ύμην CS | τζύππα m: τζήππα bV^L: τζίππα L, Grun: τζίπα CS

Τζίππα is commonly used in medieval Greek to define a light coat or membrane {Dimitrakos, s.v. τσίπα}.¹⁰³ The Holkham lexicon provides perhaps the earliest known reference to the word, which is possibly derived from the corresponding Arabic term *sifāq*.¹⁰⁴ The term, retaining a double consonant, appears in southern Italian dialects {Cosenza: zírpa; Lecce: zipra; Brindisi and Taranto: zèrra}.¹⁰⁵

(169) sc. ύσωπος(/ν) | και κερυπος L: και ή ρύπος bCSV^L, Grun: και ό ρύπος m, scr. Del

(170) ψευδομάρτυρ Grun: ψευδομάρτυρας bmCSL: ψευδομάρτυρες V^L: ψευδομάρθρον scr. Del

(171) χαμολεύκη bmCSL, Grun: χαμολιεύκη V^L | τρύχαις Grun: τρίχες m: τρίχαις bCSLV^L

(172) χάρβελ V^L: χάμελ bCS, Grun: χάμελ m

Χάρβελ could be the outcome of a scribal error. Beta (β) can often be confused with mu (μ) in the minuscule (see also 7, σβύρνα for σμύρνα). *Χάμελ* {also

103 See, for example, du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. τζίππα; J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1842), 319.10: “τζίπαν,” and É Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1881), 1.7–8, 1.13: “τζίπαν,” “τζέπαν.”

104 This Arabic term also appears in the thirteenth-century medical lexicon of Simon of Genoa, s.v. *sifac*, at <http://www.simonofgenoa.org/index.php?title=Sifac> (accessed July 11, 2017): “Sifac idem quod peritoneon ut Io. Sera. ca. de hernia et ipsum tetigit ventrem extensus super eum supra in peritoneo.” Andriotis, *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό*, s.v. τσίπα, followed also by Babiniotis, *Λεξικό*, s.v. τσίπα, suggests that the Greek term might be connected with a related gloss in the lexicon of Hesychios, cited as follows: “σίφα· χόρια”. In fact, χόρια is the plural of the Greek term for the membrane that encloses the foetus (LSJ, s.v. χόριον), but both the old editions of Hysechios’s (circa the fifth century AD) lexicon, *Hysechii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, vol. 4 (Jena, 1862), 36.2, and idem, *Hysechii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt (Jena, 1867), 1357.8, and Hansen, *Hesychie Alexandrini*, 298.1, read “χωρία.” Hesychios’s lexicon survives in only one manuscript, i.e., Marcianus gr. Z. 622 (coll. 851), dated to circa 1430, while surviving Byzantine lexica in earlier manuscripts, such as the pseudo-Cyrillic, do not preserve this entry. Babiniotis admits the possibility of a Slavonic origin; see also *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* (Ίδρυμα Τριανταφυλλίδη), s.v. τσίπα, at http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/ (accessed July 11, 2017). Cf. G. Meyer, *Neugriechische Studien*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1894), 62; and K. Oikonomou, “Σημαιολογικά και ετυμολογικά,” *Δωδώνη: Φιλολογία* 17 (1988): 101–26, esp. 121–22.

105 Rohlf, *Lexicon*, s.v. τσίπα. See also A. Amati Canta, “Bridal Gifts in Medieval Bari,” in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 9, ed. R. Netherton and G. R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, 2013), 1–44, esp. 19–20.

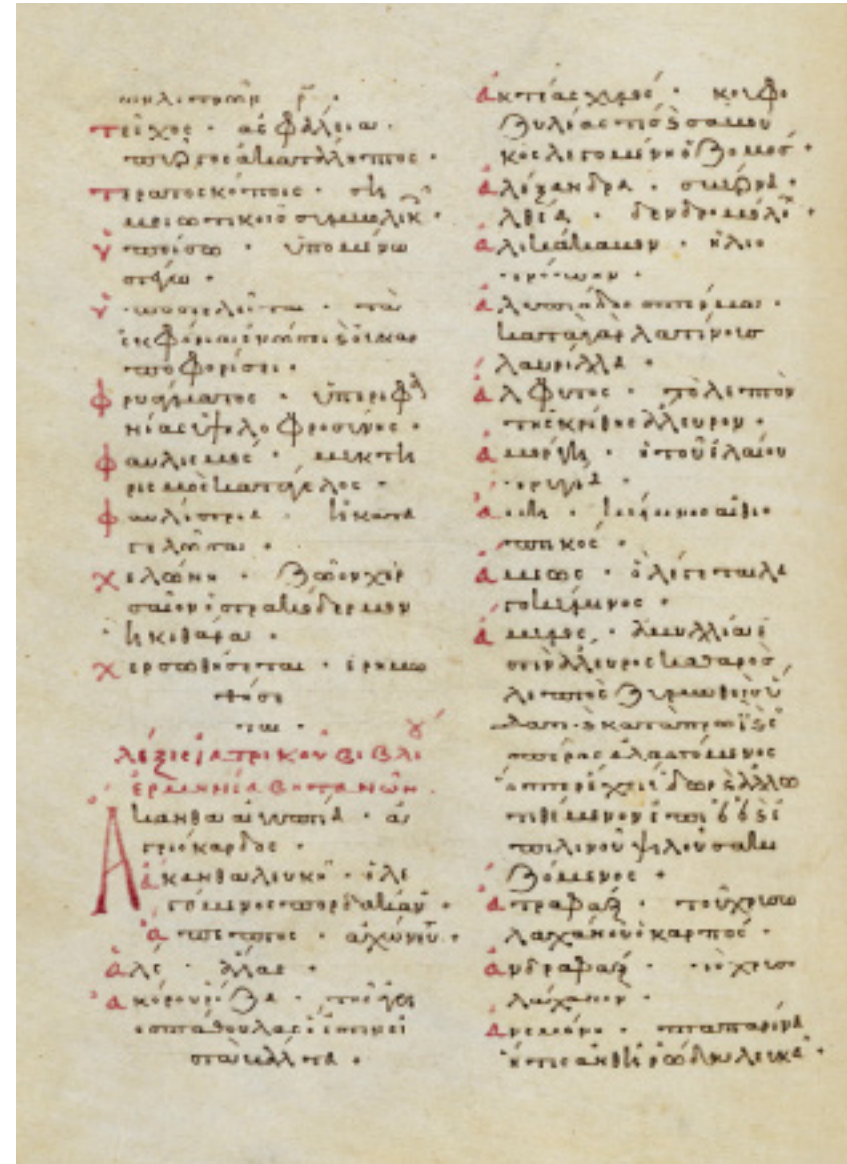


Fig. 1 Holkham gr. 112, fol. 165v (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

in Del (2:403.3)}¹⁰⁶ is the variant which is closest to the original Arabic word, i.e., *ħarmal*, referring to wild rue.¹⁰⁷ Of note, the word is found in the unedited collection of recipes attributed to Philip Xeros from Reggio di Calabria (fl. first half of the twelfth century) and Euphemios from Sicily.¹⁰⁸

(173) χανδάλην L, Grun: χαλδάλην V^b: χαρδάλην S | ἀγριοκολοκύνθην L, Grun: ἀγριοκολύνθην V^b: ἀγριοκολοκύνθιν S

Χανδάλη(v) is an already Hellenized form of the Arabic *ħanzal*, referring to bitter gourd.¹⁰⁹ The Arabic term is found in Greek transcription, i.e., *χάνδαλ*, in the Greek translation of Ibn al-Jazzār, *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-ħāḍir*, in the earliest surviving manuscript, dated to the early twelfth century.¹¹⁰

106 Also in Delatte, “Le lexique,” 89.30, and Thomson, *Textes grecs*, 167.397.

107 Cf. Langkavel, *Botanik*, 12, no. 16.2. On this term in the Arabic medieval medical literature, see E. Lev and Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean according to the Cairo Genizah* (Leiden, 2008), 505–506.

108 See, for example, Parisinus gr. 2194 (fifteenth century), fol. 455v, line 4: “[...] σπέρμα σελήνου· κ(αι) νάπυ [...] και χάρμελ· [...]” On this collection, see note 42.

109 For references in the Arabic medieval medical literature, see Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia*, 385–87.

110 See, for example, Vaticanus gr. 300 (early twelfth century), fol. 255v, line 17: “[...] χάνδαλ· ἤγουν κολοκύνθην [...]” On this work and the earliest manuscript, see notes 4–6.