The Arabic Translation of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* and Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*. Prolegomena to Two Editions

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1 Introduction[1]

A few years ago, Rüdiger Arnzen edited Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's (d. 873 CE) Arabic translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and published it on HUNAYNNET.[2] This edition aimed to replace the old edition of John Tytler (1832), which is considered inadequate by modern standards. Arnzen's edition is based on fifteen manuscripts containing only the *Aphorisms*, seven manuscripts containing Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, including the Hippocratic text, (i.e. the lemmas), and Tytler's edition, which is based on two manuscripts. One can find this information by clicking on the 'Information' button above the Arabic text on HUNAYNNET. However, no further information, such as details on the manuscript relationships, can be found there. Rüdiger Arnzen has now kindly made his unpublished introduction to the edition available to us. He titled it "Hippokrates' Aphorismen, Übersetzung von Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. Notizen zur Editio minor (anstelle einer systematischen Einleitung)". Having read them, both I and Raphaela Veit, the Arabist in our team, realised that these "Notizen" contain many important insights that are not only of great significance for our project, but which should also be made known to the readership of the HUNAYNNET edition of the *Aphorisms*. As Rüdiger Arnzen did not intend to publish them and it is unlikely that anyone else will make an edition of the Arabic *Aphorisms* in the near future, we have agreed that I will publish them on his behalf.

The authorship of this article is as follows: I wrote chapters 1–4 and all the footnotes, as well as the bibliography, while Rüdiger Arnzen wrote the text of chapters 5–10. (Please note that the word 'I (= Ich)' in chapters 5–10 refers to Rüdiger Arnzen.) Since chapters 5–10 form the methodological basis for Arnzen's edition of the Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*, I have refrained from integrating them into my text.[3] However, for reasons of usability and

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all information regarding the readings of the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary was provided by the following people: Gregor Vetterlein (Book III), Sara von Seggern (Books IV.1–30), Maria Börno (Book IV.31–83 and Book VII) and Giulia Ecca (Book V). The examples from Book VII mentioned in chapter 3.1.2 were the result of a reading group consisting of Guendalina Rovelli, Maria Börno, Sara von Seggern and myself. Slavomir Čéplö was responsible for the transliteration of the Syriac words. For the abbreviations of the Greek manuscripts, please refer to the digital edition at <goha.bbaw.de>. References to the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary refer to the edition produced in Manchester by Taro Mimura et al. (but cf. footnote 80). As this edition has been published in various online formats, page numbers have not been included.

[2] Accessible online at https://hunaynnet.oeaw.ac.at/aphorisms.html#aph_ara, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[3] To ensure clarity, Arnzen's contribution will remain in the original German. It will be translated into English at a later date.

comprehensibility, I have added some explanatory notes. Any criticism of Arnzen's discussion in the footnotes is due entirely to my access to information on the Greek manuscripts that did not yet exist when he wrote his text.

My part of this article also focuses on the Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. However, as we shall see, the *Aphorisms* were drawn from the lemmas of Galen's Commentary, meaning that the study ultimately concerns the whole text of Galen's Commentary on the *Aphorisms*. I will combine some important aspects of Arzen's "Notizen" with my own observations. Chapter 2 deals with the textual witnesses currently known for the Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. Chapter 3 focuses on the source texts used by both Ḥunayn and later copyists. In doing so, the topic of contamination will come into focus. Chapter 4 deals with the textual tradition: On which Arabic source texts are the textual witnesses available to us based? It will become apparent that it was not Ḥunayn's translation of Galen's Commentary that shaped the reception of the *Aphorisms* and the Commentary in later tradition, but rather (numerous) abridged versions of his translation.

Please note that the following remarks are a work in progress. This article reflects the state of research at the beginning of our project. The edition of books III–IV and, hopefully, I–II will certainly lead to some aspects being assessed differently or corrected over time.

2 Textual Witnesses for the Arabic *Aphorisms*

Rüdiger Arnzen's edition is an important step towards a definitive edition of the Arabic translation of the *Aphorisms*. He expressly states that he has only considered a small amount of the total relevant Arabic textual evidence (see chapter 5). However, a few more textual witnesses still need to be taken into account:

- With the help of our colleague Hamed Arezaei in Teheran, we located another textual witness for the Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*: Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstāni Quds-i Raḍawī, 26293, dated 1099 H. (= 1687 CE). According to Raphaela Veit, this is an independent textual witness that shares a common source with New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, Arabic Suppl. 87 (cf. chapter 6.2).[4]
- We have found an Arabic abridgement (*muḫtaṣar*) of Galen's Commentary, preserved in several Iranian and Indian manuscripts. The author and the date of composition are unknown. The abridgement only covers the first four books of Galen's Commentary. It contains lemmas and commentary originating from both Galen and unknown sources. Appended to this abridgement are the lemmas from books V–VII, which are not accompanied by commentary.[5]
- Furthermore, the value of the Hebrew translation of the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary, produced by Nathan ha-Me'ati in Rome in 1283, for an edition of the Arabic *Aphorisms* remains to be clarified. This translation has survived in several manuscripts, but has not yet been edited.[6] It should be noted that, as his source text

[4] Further information on this manuscript can be found in Veit (2026).

[5] For reasons of practicality, the entire text will be referred to as 'abridgment' in what follows. It should be noted that the Baghdad-based physician Ibn al-Tilmīḏ (d. 1165 CE) wrote a summary of Galen's Commentary; see Savage-Smith, Swain & Gelder (2020), 691.9 (arab.); 756.7–8 (eng.).

[6] On Nathan Ben Eliezer ha-Me'ati's Hebrew translation, see Bos (2016), 10. Single Hebrew words from the lemmas are documented in Bos (2016).

was flawed and contaminated, Nathan ha-Me'ati's Hebrew translation played only a minor role in the edition of the Arabic lemmas taken from Galen's *Commentary on De aere aquis locis*.[7]

- Finally, mention should be made of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Syriac translation of the *Aphorisms*, which is mainly preserved in Paris, BnF, Ar. 6734 (K).[8] A version of the edition of Pognon (1903), slightly corrected by Yury Arzhanov, is available on HUNAYNNET.[9] However, the text of the Syriac translation available to us requires thorough examination. Firstly, it is necessary to establish whether it is based on the lemmas of Galen's Commentary or Ḥunayn's separate version of the Hippocratic text (see chapter 4.3). Secondly, we must establish whether the Syriac translation formed the basis for the Arabic version, or if the latter was directly based on a Greek manuscript. It is important to note in this regard that Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's group of translators had different language skills, resulting in a division of labour. For example, while Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq produced all the Greek-Syriac translations, ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā translated exclusively from Syriac into Arabic. In his Arabic version of *De humoribus*, traces of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Syriac source can still be seen in places.[10] However, it is unclear how the work process would have looked if Ḥunayn was responsible for both the Syriac and Arabic versions.[11]
- Conversely, Constantinus Africanus' Latin translation of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Arabic version of Galen's Commentary, created at the end of the 11th century, is irrelevant for an edition of the Arabic *Aphorisms*. Constantinus' translation only covered the commentary itself. The Latin lemmas, which have been preserved in numerous manuscripts since the thirteenth century alongside his translation of the commentary, were translated from Greek by someone else around the same time.[12]

3 Contamination

When editing the *Aphorisms* or Galen's Commentary on the *Aphorisms*, it is impossible to avoid addressing the issue of contamination. (In this context, contamination refers to the mixing of different textual sources.) Galen did not rely on a single manuscript when compiling the *Aphorisms* in his commentary, but drew on several sources.[13] In the later Greek tradition, copyists often altered the lemmas in Galen's Commentary with the help of Hippocratic

[7] Strohmaier (2024), LXXIV–LXVII; C–CII.

[8] For Ḥunayn as the translator of the Syriac translation, see Overwien (2015). Mimura (2017a) and Barry (2018) express scepticism regarding Ḥunayn's authorship. While they rightly point out some linguistic and, in some cases, content-related differences between the Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Aphorisms*, they completely overlook the numerous similarities that I have highlighted. Given their number, these similarities can hardly be explained by chance. Furthermore, I address these differences in my article. They do not prove that the translators must have been different people. Such a conclusion does not do justice to the working methods, intentions, or genesis of the translations within Ḥunayn's group.

[9] Accessible online at https://hunaynnet.oeaw.ac.at/aphorisms.html#aph_syr, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[10] Overwien (2014a), 51–52. On ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā, see also Strohmaier (1970), 23–32.

[11] While Strohmaier (1994) 2009, for example, assumes that the Arabic version of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* is based on a Greek manuscript, Barry (2018) esp. 173, postulates a Syriac one.

[12] Magdelaine (1994), 317–327, and Savino (2020), 66–67. The currently known manuscripts of the Latin translation can be found at https://www.galenolatino.com/traduzioni.php?id=24, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[13] Ecca (2019); cf. also Overwien (2014a), 148.

codices.[14] This phenomenon, whereby both the author (chapter 3.1) and the work's copyists (chapter 3.2) used several sources, can also be observed in the Arabic tradition:

3.1 Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and Contamination

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq used different textual sources and mixed them together. Knowing these sources is paramount for editing both the *Aphorisms* and the *Commentary on the Aphorisms*.

3.1.1 Textual Witnesses for Galen's Commentary

In his *Epistle* (*Risāla*) about the Syriac and Arabic translations of Galenic treatises known to him, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq writes that for some of Galen's Commentaries, he had access only to a single Greek manuscript. However, this does not seem to have been the case for the *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, which is hardly surprising given the text's widespread circulation and popularity.[15] If Ḥunayn had access to multiple manuscripts, then, as he writes in the *Risāla*, he first created a single Greek text by selecting one manuscript and correcting it using the others as a reference, provided they contained superior readings.[16] Unfortunately, Ḥunayn does not mention his criteria for selecting the "correct" readings.

3.1.2 Further Textual Witnesses for the Lemmas in the Commentary

The situation with regard to the lemmas is further complicated by two additional factors. Firstly, Ḥunayn sometimes translated terms from the lemmas in the same way as Galen interpreted them. In his Commentaries on the Hippocratic texts, these interpretations are sometimes found immediately after the lemmas in Galen's explanations. However, they can also be found in Galen's other writings. These illustrate how well versed Ḥunayn and his fellow translators were in Galenic medicine. Discovering them requires the editor to have the same comprehensive knowledge. Researchers have observed this particular form of contamination on several occasions.[17] Interestingly, Ḥunayn provides evidence of this procedure in a personal note to his translation of Aphorism VII.71: "I have translated the aforementioned aphorism (sc. IV.47) as I have seen Galen comment on it" (إنّي قد كنت ترجمت هذا الفصل فيما تقدّم على نحو ما رأيت جالينوس يفسّره).[18]

Another factor that led to contamination of the lemmas is that Ḥunayn also used Hippocratic codices to help with his translation of the lemmas. This was indeed his usual approach, as evidenced by his explicit note in the *Risāla* that he could not find any Hippocratic

[14] Magdelaine (1994), 249–252. The same was observed for the lemmas in Galen's *Commentary on De diaeta in morbis acutis*; see Jouanna (1976) esp. 6–16.

[15] Strohmaier (1994), 2005. However, the reliability of his statements in the *Risāla* is not always guaranteed. For instance, although Ḥunayn asserts that he only had access to one manuscript of Galen's *Commentary on De dieta in morbis acutis*, a note in his Arabic translation of the text indicates that he actually had two manuscripts available to him; see Isḥāq (1925), 41.4 (arab.), Isḥāq (2016), 99.2, and Degen (1989), 187–188.

[16] Strohmaier (1994), 2005.

[17] Overwien (2012), 157–161, Overwien (2015), 174–178, and Cooper (2016), 10–12.

[18] In a personal note, Ḥunayn refers to the parallel IV.47 mentioned in the commentary on VII.71. In this parallel, a negation precedes τῶν συμφερόντων ἐκκρίνηται (Kühn XVIIIA, 188.10). According to Galen's commentary on IV.47, this negation refers to τῶν συμφερόντων (Kühn XVIIB, 727.5–10). Interestingly Ḥunayn disagrees with Galen, as he wants the negation to refer to the predicate ἐκκρίνηται. However, he does not present this correct version in his translation of the lemma, but only in a second version of the aphorism at the end of the Commentary. Such is the authority of Galen for him! See on this also Mimura (2017b).

manuscripts for his translation of Galen's *Commentary on De capitis vulneribus*.[19] He used the Hippocratic codices, for example, in his translation of those treatises in which Galen did not quote the text of Hippocrates in its entirety. Ḥunayn supplemented the text with the help of the Hippocratic codices and published this contaminated version in the lemma. In the case of the *Prognosticon*, this approach is clearly evident.[20] This procedure is also documented or can be assumed for *Epidemiae II* and *De aere aquis locis*.[21] However, Ḥunayn did not compile an Arabic version of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* that was separate from the Commentary. At least in his *Risāla*, he only mentions that he produced a Syriac version of Hippocrates' text.[22] Nevertheless, this Syriac version also shows evidence of the practice of expanding the text of the lemmas with the help of Hippocratic codices (see below chapter 4.3).

However, it is striking that in Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* (Ar.), the lemmas in many places show readings that correspond to those in the Greek Hippocratic codices (C´MVa), but not to those in the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary (PUSVM). To give a few examples from Book VII:

- VII.30 (XVIIIA, 128.7 Kühn): φλέγμα PUSVM, Hipp. (C´): *om.* Hipp. (codd. cett.), Ar.[23] Galen himself mentions φλέγμα in the commentary (XVIII, 129.8 Kühn). It is conceivable that φλέγμα was added to the archetype of the Greek Galen manuscripts, particularly given that the term would have been expected at this point in terms of content.[24]
- VII.44 (XVIIIA, 149.4 Kühn): ὕφαιμον PUSVM: *om.* Hipp., Ar.[25] It is possible that the translator was influenced by the fact that Galen refers to this passage again at the end of his Commentary but omits ὕφαιμον (XVIII, 150.2 Kühn). However, it should be noted that Galen does not always quote the entire passage in his commentary, only the terms that interest him.
- VII.51 (XVIIIA, 157.6 Kühn): ὑπερχεῖται γάρ PUSV (γάρ *om.* M): ὑπερχεῖται οὖν Hipp., Ar. (*fa-nḥadara*).[26]
- VII.75 (XVIIIA, 190.10 Kühn): τουτέων PUVM (*om.* S): τουτέων τῶν σημείων Hipp., Ar. In this case, it seems that the Arabic translator took the expression τῶν σημείων from the Hippocratic codices, in which it is transmitted unanimously. This is consistent with the absence of this expression in the Arabic translation of the almost identical Aphorism IV.49, which is probably because it does not appear in the Hippocratic codices containing that aphorism.[27]
- VII.80 (XVIIIA, 193.5 Kühn): φθόη ... φθόῃ PUSVM, Hipp. (M): φθορὴ ... φθορῇ Hipp. (codd. cett.), Ar. Galen writes in his commentary that the reading φθορὴ ... φθορῇ is found in most codices, whereas φθόη ... φθόῃ is found in only a few. If the Arabic translator offers the reading φθορὴ ... φθορῇ, he was either influenced by Galen's remark or, more likely, adopted this sequence of terms from the Hippocratic manuscripts.[28]

[19] Isḥāq (1925), 41.16 (arab.), Isḥāq (2016), 101.3; cf. also Strohmaier (1980), 245.
[20] Jouanna (2013), CLXV–CLXVII. For a comparison, please refer to the German translation of the Arabic lemmas of the *Prognosticon* in Overwien & Vagelpohl (2013).
[21] Mimura (2016), 70–71, and Strohmaier (2024), XXXVI–XXXVII.
[22] Isḥāq (1925), 40.6–14 (arab.); cf. Isḥāq (2016), 95; 97.
[23] On the readings of the Hippocratic codices, see Magdelaine (1994), 464; 696.
[24] Magdelaine (1994), 696.
[25] On the readings of the Hippocratic codices, see Magdelaine (1994), 467; 703.
[26] On the readings of the Hippocratic codices, see Magdelaine (1994), 469.
[27] On the readings of the Hippocratic codices, see Magdelaine (1994), 421; 474.
[28] On the readings of the Hippocratic codices, see Magdelaine (1994), 475. The Hippocratic manuscript M is

The question is how to evaluate these examples. Do the readings in the Greek Galen manuscripts stem from errors in their archetype, or did Ḥunayn use the Hippocratic codices to not only fill gaps in the lemmas, but also to adopt better readings? A passage such as VII.75 in particular strongly suggests this second interpretation. This would mean that Ḥunayn's use of the Hippocratic codices, and thus the contamination, extends further than previously thought.[29] This must be taken into account when using the Arabic translation of the lemmas to edit the Greek text: If it does not correspond to the Hippocratic manuscripts, it can reasonably be used with confidence to evaluate the readings of the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary.[30] However, if it corresponds to the manuscripts of the Hippocratic text, extreme caution is required: Ḥunayn may have adapted the reading of the lemma to these manuscripts.

3.2 Copyists and Contamination

In later centuries, copyists often worked with several manuscripts. This makes it difficult, or even impossible, to trace the tradition in detail, especially with a text such as the *Aphorisms*, of which there were numerous copies due to their widespread distribution.

R. Arnzen determined that it was impossible for him to create a stemma for the 15 Arabic manuscripts containing only lemmas (see chapter 7). There are several reasons for this:

3.2.1 Contamination within the Textual Witnesses for Galen's Commentary

One reason for this may be that many copyists compiled their texts of *Aphorisms* from various sources. The copyist of the codex Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Wetzstein II 1182 (A) explicitly states at the end of the seventh book that Aph. VII.75, 78, and 81 were added in several of his sources (fol. 32r).[31] It was also common practice in medical teaching to combine different versions of the texts being studied.[32] There must have been a large number of Arabic *Aphorisms* manuscripts. After all, this text was widely read in the Arabic-Islamic world. Consider, for example, the numerous Arabic commentators active in almost all parts of the Arabic-speaking world (Spain, Morocco, Egypt, Syria and Iran) for centuries (11th–15th centuries; see chapter 4.2). Even non-physicians were familiar with the most important *Aphorisms*, at least.[33] It is also worth mentioning that Moses Maimonides stated that even schoolchildren had to learn them by heart.[34]

3.2.2 Contamination of the Textual Witnesses for Galen's Commentary by Other Arabic Commentaries

Another reason may be that the coexistence of Galenic and Arabic commentaries led to the lemmas from these texts becoming intermingled. The copyist of London, BM Add. 6903 (O),

clearly influenced by a Galen codex here; see Magdelaine (1994), 253.

[29] Against this background, at least some of the passages in which readings in the Arabic translation of the *Prognosticon* do not correspond to those in the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary, but to those in the Hippocratic manuscripts, must be regarded as revisions by Ḥunayn, that is as contamination. These passages are listed in Jouanna (2013), CLXXIII–CLXXVI.

[30] Jouanna (2013), CLXX–CLXXIII.

[31] I owe this information to R. Arnzen.

[32] Strohmaier (2024), LXXXVIII.

[33] Rosenthal (1966), 229–230.

[34] Bos (2020), vol. 1, 3.

also had access to Ibn al-Quff's Commentary (see chapter 9). In such a case, it is only a small step to mix the lemmas together.

Of course, it cannot be ruled out that one or more of the 15 manuscripts containing lemmas do not originate from Galen's Commentary, but rather from one of the Arabic commentaries. However, contamination by another Arabic translation of Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* does not seem to have occurred, as such a translation was apparently never attempted.[35]

3.2.3 Contamination of the Textual Witnesses for Galen's Commentary by Other Sources

Another observation closely related to the previous point was made by R. Arnzen: some of the Arabic lemma manuscripts contain readings that do not correspond to those in the textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary and, in most cases, also do not correspond to those in the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary. However, they are otherwise attested in the Greek tradition, either in the Hippocratic manuscripts or in the lemmas of late antique (Stephanus) or Byzantine (Theophilus) commentators. Notably, in six of the ten cases, one or more manuscripts from the group A C H K are involved (see chapter 10).

- Arnzen himself suspects that, in some cases, al-Biṭrīq's translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* found its way into the tradition (see chapter 10). This translation was indeed widely circulated, particularly in the 9th and 10th centuries.[36] The *Aphorisms* commentator Ibn Abī Ṣādiq illustrates how this influence may have been exerted. He is documented as having recognised an error in Ḥunayn's Arabic translation, based on his reading of another translation, which may have been al-Biṭrīq's version.[37] It is entirely conceivable that, in other places, a commentator used this alternative translation to alter the text of the *Aphorisms*.

- Translations of single aphorisms could be another source of this type of contamination. For instance, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 912 CE) is known to have translated some aphorisms for his own writings.[38] Given the widespread nature of the *Aphorisms*, there may have been other such attempts that found their way into the tradition.[39]

- Another possible source of this kind of contamination is the Arabic translations of *Aphorism* Commentaries originating from late antique Alexandria. The *Commentary on the Aphorisms* by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī shows that at least one such version existed within the Arabic tradition.[40] Although the late antique commentators were familiar with Galen's text, they sourced the lemmas from elsewhere.[41] Whether the variants noted by Ḥunayn in his translation could also be the cause of this type of contamination remains to be seen (see chapter 10).

[35] Rosenthal (1966), 228 n. 13.
[36] Overwien (2014b), 431.
[37] Carpentieri & Mimura (2017), 187–190.
[38] Overwien (2014b), 432.
[39] Cf. also the different Arabic translations of (the first part of) Aph. I.1 in Rosenthal (1966), 227–230.
[40] I plan to say a little more about this Commentary elsewhere. On this Commentary, see also Pormann et al. (2017), 256–257.
[41] This is illustrated by Stephanus' *Commentary on the Aphorisms*; see Magdelaine (1994), 268–269.

4 Textual Tradition

To make an edition of the *Aphorisms* and Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, it is important to understand the origins of the available textual evidence.

4.1 Galen's Commentary as a Source for the *Aphorism* Manuscripts

There are essentially two possibilities for the origin of the Arabic translations of those Hippocratic treatises, which were produced by Ḥunayn's group on the basis of Galen's commentaries. Either the Hippocratic text is based on Ḥunayn's separate translation of the lemmas. This is the case with the *Prognosticon*, as mentioned above in section 2.2.1.2.[42] Alternatively, the Hippocratic text is based on excerpts that copyists later compiled from the lemmas in Galen's Commentary. This is the case with the Arabic versions of *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, *Epidemiae I*, *De aere aquis locis*, and *De humoribus*.[43] The fifteen *Aphorism* manuscripts examined by Rüdiger Arnzen, which contain only the text of Hippocrates (see chapter 6.1), also belong to this second category. There was even a specific term for this kind of excerpting. The copyist of the Escorial, Ar. 857 (E) refers to it as *ǧarrada*.[44]

4.2 Complete and Abridged Versions of Galen's Commentary on the Aphorisms

The origin of these *Aphorism* manuscripts has been known to researchers for some time.[45] However, this origin can be narrowed down somewhat further. The starting point for the following observations is that Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary provides the complete text as it is also available to us in the Greek tradition:

- The seventh book of Galen's Commentary extends to Aph. VII.81. However, Galen deemed the final 19 aphorisms (VII.63–81), excluding VII.70, 75, 78 and 81, to be spurious or duplicates. This classification is reflected in various ways in the Arabic manuscripts. Six of the fifteen *Aphorism* manuscripts end with VII.61 or VII.62, while another six (with varying degrees of completeness) continue after VII.62 with VII.68, 70, 75, 78 and 81 — that is to say, apart from VII.68, with all those that Galen did not designate as spurious or duplicates. Only one manuscript (Escorial, Ar. 857 = E) contains all the aphorisms up to VII.81 (see chapter 7.1). Similar findings emerge for the Arabic Commentaries on the *Aphorisms*. Most of them end with VII.60 (e.g. al-Nīlī, Ibn Abī Ṣādiq, al-Sinǧārī, al-Baġdādī, al-Sīwāsī, al-Manāwī, and al-Kīšī/al-Ṭabīb), while others end with VII.62 (e.g. Ibn al-Nafīs and Ibn al-Quff). After VII.62, Maimonides discusses VII.68, 70 and 81,[46] while al-Kilānī discusses VII.70, 75, 78 and 81. The Commentary by Ibn Riḍwān appears to be an exception. Although it only offers excerpts, it seems to be based on

[42] Jouanna (2013), CLXIII–CLXIV.

[43] Jouanna (1976), 2-5, Vagelpohl (2014), 22–25; 42–46, Strohmaier (2024), LXIII–LXIV, and Overwien (2014a), 51; 57. Further information in Strohmaier (1980), 244–245, and Overwien (2005). In the (later) Greek tradition, there are also such excerpt manuscripts for the *Aphorisms*; see Magdelaine (1994), 162–179.

[44] Degen (1989), 184 with n. 12a, and Strohmaier (2002), 273.

[45] See for example Strohmaier (1980), 244, with reference to earlier research; cf. also Aly (2000).

[46] While the Arabic manuscripts of Maimonides' Commentary end with VII.62, two Hebrew translations also include VII.68, 70, and 81; see Bos (2020), vol. 1, 310–313, and Bos (2020), vol. 2, 6.

a complete version of Galen's Commentary since it ends with VII.69, an aphorism that Galen considered to be spurious.[47] The Arabic summary (*muḫtaṣar*) of Galen's Commentary mentioned above in chapter 2 also ends with VII.60.

- The duplicate V.29 (= IV.1) is missing in eight of the 15 lemma manuscripts (see chapter 7). This is also the case in all Arabic Commentaries and in the summary (*muḫtaṣar*) of Galen's Commentary.
- Aphorism VI.24 is missing in eight of the 15 lemma manuscripts (see chapter 7). The same applies to most Arabic Commentaries. Only al-Baġdādī, Ibn al-Nafīs, and the summary (*muḫtaṣar*) of Galen's Commentary contain it.
- All lemma manuscripts omit Aph. V.63, which Galen described as spurious.[48] This also applies to Escorial Ar. 857 (= E), which contains none of the aforementioned omissions and is believed to have derived the Hippocratic text from Galen's Commentary (see chapter 8). The summary (*muḫtaṣar*) of Galen's Commentary and most Arabic Commentaries on the *Aphorisms* also omit this aphorism. Only the Commentaries by al-Nīlī, Ibn Abī Ṣādiq, al-Baġdādī, and Ibn al-Nafīs contain it.
- In almost all lemma manuscripts, the two thematically closely related aphorisms I.7–8 are combined (see chapter 7.2). This is also the case in the Commentaries by al-Baġdādī, Ibn al-Nafīs, Ibn al-Quff, al-Sīwāsī, al-Manāwī, and al-Kīšī / al-Ṭabīb.[49]

Further research is needed to establish whether there are any more omissions or revisions of this kind in the text. However, the examples cited above paint a clear picture: in the 9th century, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq produced an Arabic translation of the entire text of Galen's Commentary, including the lemmas.[50] Over time, discussions arose among scholars about its scope, particularly with regard to those aphorisms that Galen himself considered to be spurious or duplicates. As a result, numerous slightly abridged versions of Galen's Commentary were produced, which – in varying compositions – only reached VII.60 or VII.62, omitting V.29, V.63, and VI.24 and combining I.7-8. Considering that the exegesis of the *Aphorisms* by Stephanus and Theophilus also exhibits such tendencies towards abbreviation, it is reasonable to suspect that the influence of late antique or Byzantine commentary activity is (also) evident here.[51]

[47] Other evidence also suggests that Ibn Riḍwān had access to original writings from Ḥunayn's circle; see Strohmaier (2024), LXXII–LXIII. The Commentaries by al-Minfāḫ and Ibn Bāğğa, however, cannot be taken into account here. The former ends with VII.35, while the latter, in the form available to us, only covers I.1. On the Arabic *Aphorism* Commentaries, see Pormann & Joosse (2012), 220–246, and Pormann & Karimullah (2017), 17–30.

[48] On Galens's discussion of its authenticity, see Ecca (2020), 67–68.

[49] Al-Minfāḫ and al-Kilānī omit Aph. I.7–8.

[50] The manuscripts of Galen's Commentary available to us largely reflect this state of text. The two codices Yale University Beinecke Library, Arabic Suppl. 87 (z) and Mašhad, Kitābḫāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstāni Quds-i Raḍawī, 26293 are special cases, as their text begins in the middle of Aph. I.15 and ends in the middle of Aph. VII.69. However, both codices contain the three Aph. V.29, V.63, and VI.24. It is therefore likely that their common source contained the complete text.

[51] Stephanus' *Commentary on the Aphorisms*, which in its preserved form only covers books I–VI, omits V.29 and V.63; see Westerink (1992-1995-1998). Theophilus' *Commentary on the Aphorisms* also omits V.29 and ends with VII.60 or VII.62, depending on the manuscript; see Dietz (1834), 236–544, and Magdelaine (1994), 274–275. Otherwise, there do not seem to have been many further such versions of Galen's Commentary in the Greek tradition. M. Börno informed me that she was only aware of the excerpt manuscript Marcianus graecus V.10, which ends with VII.59.

Given that at least one late antique Commentary on the *Aphorisms* was translated into Arabic (see chapter 3.2.3), this idea does not seem far-fetched. The first abridged versions of Galen's Commentary must have been in circulation by the 11th century at the latest, i.e., before the oldest Arabic *Aphorisms* Commentaries known to us (al-Nīlī, Ibn Abī Ṣādiq) and before the oldest lemma manuscripts. Given the large number of independent lemma manuscripts in addition to the Arabic Commentaries, it is clear that the total number of these abridged versions must have been significant. Unfortunately, almost all of them have been lost. (Only Constantinus' Latin version could attest to them, since his translation only goes up to VII.60 and omits V.29.)[52] Nevertheless, they had a decisive influence on the subsequent reception of Galen's Commentary in the following centuries, serving as the basis for Arabic Commentaries, for the summary (*muḫtaṣar*) and the lemma manuscripts.

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's original Arabic version of Galen's Commentary, on the other hand, does not seem to have played a significant role in the tradition of the text. This explains why the text has been transmitted in a fairly consistent form and why, based on the current state of research, it is quite easily possible to create a stemma for the manuscripts.[53]

However, this does not necessarily mean that manuscripts containing the complete Galen Commentary offer the original wording throughout, making them preferable to abridged versions for the edition of the text. It is highly likely that the archetype of these manuscripts (Omega) has been reworked in other respects or contains errors. It should also be noted that the oldest manuscript containing the complete Commentary dates from the beginning of the 12th century (Escorial, Ar. 791 = m; see chapter 6.2), a time when abridged versions already existed. Against this background, it can be assumed that the correct reading can be found in at least some of the fifteen manuscript lemmas (see chapter 7.2). Agreement with the readings of the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary would be an important criterion for this.

4.3 The Origin of the Hebrew Translation of Galen's Commentary and the Syriac Translation of the *Aphorisms*

These observations on the Arabic genesis of Galen's Commentary also have implications for the Hebrew and Syriac translations. As mentioned above in chapter 2, Nathan Ben Eliezer ha-Me'ati translated Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's version of Galen's Commentary into Hebrew. Similarly, it would be necessary to clarify whether this translation is based on the original work of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq or an abridged version.[54]

According to his *Risāla*, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq translated Galen's complete Commentary into Syriac and produced a separate Syriac translation of the lemmas. The Syriac version of the lemmas has been preserved in the Paris, BNF, Ar. 6734 (K). Strikingly, after Aphorism VII.60, the Syriac text only offers VII.70, 75 and 78. Additionally, VII.63 and VII.2 are missing, and I.7

[52] Cf. the printed version of the Articella, Venice 1483, fol. 9a-45b; https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histmed/medica/cote?00129, retrieved on September 1 2026. Alternatively, the Greek source of the lemmas could be responsible for this abridged version, if it was taken from a late antique / Byzantine Commentary; cf. Magdelaine (1994), 327. In this case, Constantinus would have adapted the content of his Arabic version of the complete Galen Commentary to fit these lemmas.

[53] See Veit (2026), 2.

[54] G. Bos informed me that the manuscript Paris, BNF, Hebr. 1107, which he used for his study on Hebrew medical terminology (Bos (2016)), ends at Aphorism V.20.

and I.8 are combined.[55] This inevitably raises the question of the origin of the Syriac version of the *Aphorisms* in this codex: were they excerpted from an abridged version of the Syriac translation of Galen's Commentary, or are they based on Ḥunayn's independently compiled translation of the Hippocratic text? The latter seems less likely at first, since, as explained above in chapter 3.1.2, Ḥunayn compiled these translations of lemmas in order to provide a complete Hippocratic text. Conversely, it is conceivable that a complete version of the Syriac *Aphorisms* was adapted to an abridged version of the lemmas in a commentary.

Now, some passages suggest that the Syriac text as we have it was intended to provide a complete Hippocratic text. The following readings, attested in some or all of the extant Hippocratic manuscripts, may be cited as examples (see also chapter 10):

- IV.23: ܐܘ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܐܘ ܡܢ ܠܬܚܬ [āw men l^{c}el āw men ltaḥt] = ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω: These words are not part of the Greek version of Galen's Commentary, nor are they part of the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary.[56]

- The Syriac translation of IV.62 ends with the equivalent of the words ἢν μὴ συνδόσιες ὑγρῶν κατὰ τὴν κοιλίην γένωνται: ܐܢܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩܝ ܫܪܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܝܕ ܟܪܣܐ ܘܝܢ [enhu d-lā nuṣrē d-raṭībūtā b-yad karsā wayn]. These words are not found in the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary.[57] Furthermore, they are not present in the Greek version of the Commentary either.[58]

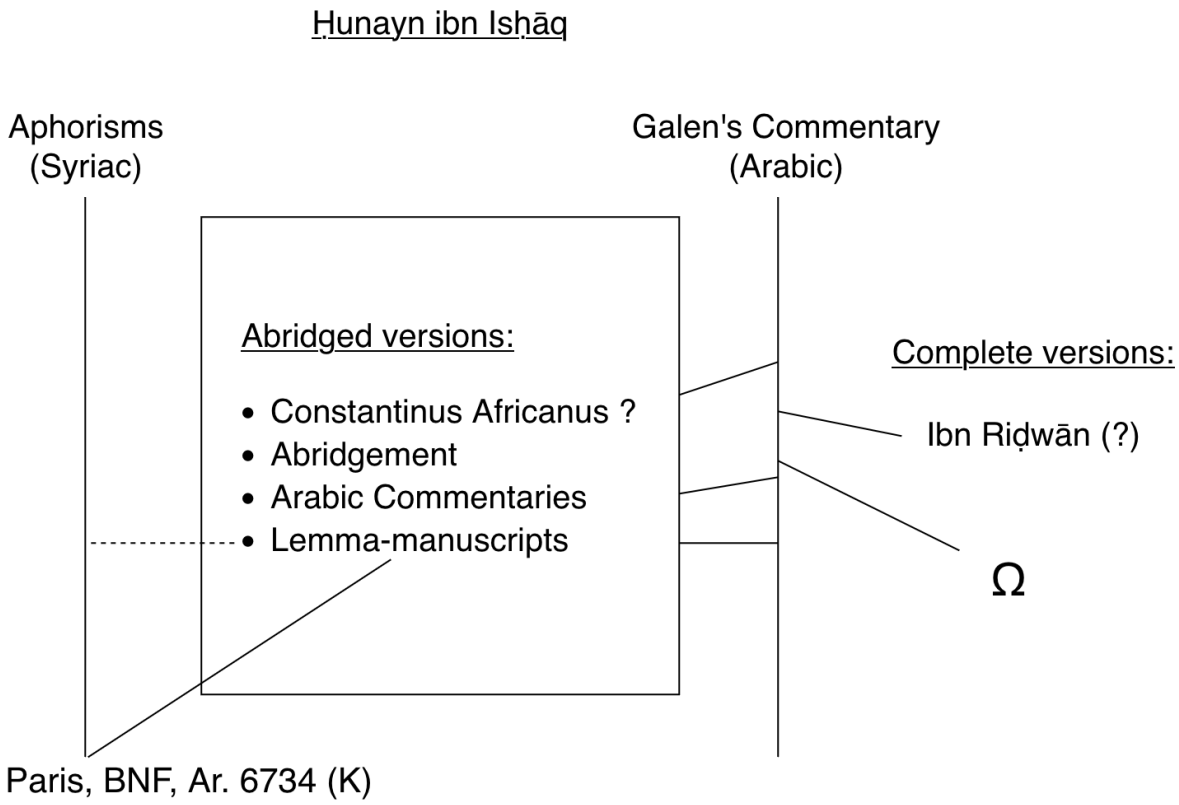
- In V.3, the Syriac translation offers the words ܐܢܗܘ ܕܡܩܝܣ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܦ̈ܘܩܬܐ [enhu d-maqīsūtā āw pūqtā], which corresponds to *tašannuğ aw-fuwāq* (= σπασμὸς ἢ λυγμός). This order of terms is attested in all Hippocratic manuscripts, whereas in the Arabic tradition of Galen's Commentary, the reverse order of words is attested throughout.

It is well known that the Syriac translation in Paris, BNF, Ar. 6734 was taken from Galen's Commentary.[59] Therefore, the aforementioned additions can only be explained by the fact that they were added by Ḥunayn based on a Hippocratic manuscript.[60]

These remarks demonstrate the complexity of the transmission of both the *Aphorisms* and Galen's *Commentary on the Aphorisms* within the Syriac and Arabic traditions. Many questions remain unanswered and further research is required. What I said at the beginning about R. Arnzen's edition also applies to my own remarks. They are certainly not the last word on the subject.

For the sake of clarity, my statements outlined above on the textual transmission of the *Aphorisms* and Galen's Commentary are summarised in the following diagram:

[55] On Aphorism I.7–8, see Paris, BNF, Ar. 6734, fol. 31v. The fact that the two aphorisms are combined in this codex is not documented in HUNAYNNET. Further traces of reworkings are mentioned in Mimura (2017a), 85.
[56] They are attested in the Hippocratic manuscript Va; see Magdelaine (1994), 414.
[57] Mimura (2017a), 89-91.
[58] They are attested in the Hippocratic manuscript M; see Magdelaine (1994), 424.
[59] Overwien (2015), 167–174.
[60] This observation is supported by the fact that codex K contains the Syriac and Arabic translations of the *Prognosticon*, which Ḥunayn also compiled from the lemmas in Galen's Commentary and supplemented with material from Hippocratic codices; see above, chapter 3.1.2 and Jouanna (2013), CLXXXVIII–CXCVI.



5 Vorbemerkung zur Edition der arabischen *Aphorismen*

Die Editio princeps von John Tytler (1832) basiert nach Angaben des Herausgebers auf zwei Handschriften aus Privatbesitz.[61] Eine dieser Abschriften hat Tytler von einem Arzt aus Patna erworben, die andere von einem Gelehrten namens Ḥakīm ʿAbd al-Maǧīd („Hukeem Abdool Mujeed“) ausgeliehen.[62] Letztgenannter ist möglicherweise identisch mit dem gleichnamigen Herausgeber von Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Harawīs *K. Baḥr al-ǧawāhir* und Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnīs *Kitāb al-Muġnī fī šarḥ al-Mūǧiz*.[63] Bei der aus Patna erworbenen Handschrift handelt es sich möglicherweise um den später katalogisierten Kodex London, BM, Add. 6903 (s.u., O) oder einen eng mit diesem verwandten Textzeugen, da Tytlers Edition häufig falsche Lesarten reproduziert, die ich nur in diesem Kodex nachweisen konnte.

[61] Tytler's edition is available online at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.cu59010720&seq=1, retrieved on 1 September 2026.
[62] This information can be found in the preface to Tytler's edition ("Advertisement").
[63] The editions of the two works were published in Calcutta in 1830 and Calcutta in 1832, respectively. On the *K. Baḥr al-ǧawāhir*, see also Ullmann (1970), 237.

Ziel der Editio minor ist es, die fehler- und lückenhafte Edition Tytlers zu ersetzen. Für eine vollständige kritische Edition müssten zunächst die stemmatischen Verhältnisse aller folgenden Textzeugen geklärt werden:

1) Arabische Handschriften, die die *Aphorismen* in der Übersetzung Ḥunayns gesondert überliefern.
2) Arabische Handschriften, die Ḥunayns Übersetzung von Galens Kommentar zu den *Aphorismen* enthalten, da die separate Überlieferung (1) auf einer Exzerpierung der Lemmata des Kommentars basiert.
3) Arabische Handschriften, die Literalkommentare arabischer Mediziner enthalten und die *Aphorismen* in der Übersetzung Ḥunayns in den Lemmata zitieren.
4) Nebenüberlieferung: Zitate ausgewählter *Aphorismen* in einer großen Zahl arabischer Kommentare und anderer medizinischer und populärwissenschaftlicher Werke.

Diese umfangreiche Arbeit kann im Rahmen unseres Forschungsprojekts HUNAYNNET nicht geleistet werden. Die folgende Edition wurde angefertigt auf der Grundlage ausgewählter Handschriften der separaten Überlieferung (1), sowie unter Berücksichtigung der Editio minor von Galens Kommentar zu den *Aphorismen*, vorgelegt von Taro Mimura unter der Leitung von Peter E. Pormann im Rahmen des ERC-Forschungsprojekts „Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic Aphorisms“.[64] Zu weiteren Textzeugen siehe oben Kap. 2.

6 Textgrundlage der Edition

Zunächst wurden 18 Handschriften mit einer separaten Überlieferung der *Aphorismen* geprüft. Von diesen 18 Textzeugen erwiesen sich die folgenden drei Handschriften als ungeeignet:

- London, Wellcome Trust Library, coll. Haddad 471, datiert 970 H. (= 1562).
- Paris, BnF, Ar. 7117, datiert 27. August 1776.
- Teheran, Maǧlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 6706, datiert 646 H. (= 1249).

Diese drei Textzeugen enthalten die *Aphorismen* in einer veränderten Abfolge, eingeteilt in 20 Kapitel. Die Reihenfolge der *Aphorismen* stimmt mit der Reihenfolge der Lemmata in dem ebenfalls in 20 Kapitel unterteilten Kommentar des Ibn Abī Ṣādiq (gest. nach 460/1068) überein, so dass geschlossen werden kann, dass diese Textzeugen auf eine Exzerpierung der Lemmata aus diesem Kommentar zurück gehen. Eine angemessene Berücksichtigung der Lemmata von Ibn Abī Ṣādiqs Kommentar (zweifellos erforderlich für eine vollständige kritische Edition der *Aphorismen*) setzt aber die *Recensio* aller erhaltenen Textzeugen des Kommentars voraus, die hier nicht geleistet werden kann.

[64] Since 2025, the texts have been available on the website “A Digital Corpus for Graeco-Arabic Studies” managed by Mark J. Schiefsky, Gregory R. Crane, and Uwe Vagelpohl at https://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/texts (→ Galen), retrieved on 1 September 2026; see also Pormann & Karimullah (2017), 14 n. 48.

6.1 Die Aphorismen-Handschriften

Die übrigen 15 Handschriften bilden die Grundlage der vorliegenden Edition und wurden vollständig kollationiert:[65]

A	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Wetzstein II 1182 (Ahlwardt 6221); datiert 13. Ǧumādā II 917 (= 7.9.1511).[66]
B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Landberg 311 (Ahlwardt 6222); datiert 19. Rabīʿ II 651 (= 18.6.1253).[67]
C	Dublin, Chester Beatty 3341; undatiert (12.–13. Jh.?), bricht mitten in Buch VI ab; am Ende der Abschrift von Hippokrates, *Prognostikon*, in margine: „Abū Naṣr ibn abī [..., Rand beschnitten] ibn abī (?)l-Fahm al-Masī..." [Rand beschnitten], in der Hand des Kopisten. Möglicherweise ein Autograph von Abū Naṣr Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Ḫayr al-Masīḥī, einem von Ibn abī Uṣaibiʿa erwähnten Bagdader Arzt (gest. 608/1211).
E	Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 857; undatiert; nicht 907 H., wie Sezgin (1970), 29, schreibt, sondern vermutl. 12.–13. Jh.
G	Erfurt, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Orient. A 2023; undatiert (13. Jh.?).[68]
H	Teheran, Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 6885; datiert 1. Muḥarram 683 (= 20.3.1284).
I	Alexandria, Maktabat al-Mağlis al-Baladī 3470ج, undatiert, enthält Ibn Abī Ṣādiqs Einleitung zu seinem Kommentar, strukturiert die *Aphorismen* aber nicht in der von Ibn Abī Ṣādiq angelegten, veränderten Reihenfolge.
L	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 1269; undatiert, vermutlich 12.-13. Jh.; nicht 1293 H., wie Sezgin (1970), 29, schreibt (1293 ist eine alte Registrierungsnummer); unvollständig, bricht mit fol. 18v (= Aph. V 40) ab.[69]
K	Paris, BnF, Ar. 6734, datiert 602 H. (= 1205).[70]
O	London, BM, Add. 6903 (olim 983); undatiert, vermutlich 16.–17. Jh.[71]
P	Paris, BnF, Ar. 2836; undatiert (13. Jh.?).[72]
S	Paris, BnF 2835, fol. 5ff.; undatiert (13.–14. Jh.?), enthält auch den Kommentar zu Hippokrates' *Prognostikon* von Muhaḏḏib al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAlī al-Daḫwār (gest. 628/1230); Verlust eines Bifoliums zw. fol. 9 und 10 (entspr. Aph. II.47, Mitte — III.20, Mitte).[73]

[65] Further manuscripts are listed in Diels (1905), 16–17, Ullmann (1970), 28, and Sezgin (1970), 29.

[66] Accessible online at https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE1Book_manuscript_00057834, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[67] Accessible online at https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN771933193&PHYSID=PHYS_0003, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[68] Accessible online at https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00023865/Ms-orient-A-02023_000055b.tif, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[69] Accessible online at https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1562703#page/1/mode/1up, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[70] Accessible online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503104j/f1.item.r=Syriaque.zoom, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[71] Accessible online at https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100000006416.0x000001, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[72] Accessible online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001885t.r=arabe%202836?rk=21459;2, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[73] Accessible online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11002183m?rk=21459;2, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

S²	Paris, BnF 2835, fol. 1-4 (= Aph. I.1 — I.9, Mitte), späte Ergänzung (18. Jh.?) zu S wegen Verlust der ersten Seiten.[74]
V	London, BM, Or. 9452; datiert 3. Ramaḍān 690 (= 30.8.1291).
T	Teheran, Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 6534; datiert Rabīʿ I 742 (= August-September 1341).
Y	Princeton, University Library, Garrett 3559 Yahuda; datiert Ṣafar 686 (= März-April 1287), unvollständig, beginnt mit Aph. I 12; Verlust eines Foliums nach fol. 10; dies entspricht Aph. II.47, Anfang — III.5, Mitte.[75]

6.2 Galens Kommentar zu den *Aphorismen*

Neben diesen 15 Handschriften mit gesonderter Überlieferung der *Aphorismen* habe ich sieben Handschriften berücksichtigt, die Ḥunayns Übersetzung von Galens Kommentar zu den *Aphorismen* enthalten und den hippokratischen Text in Form von Lemmata zitieren (Weiteres oben in Kap. 2):[76]

f	Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 789; undatiert, zusammengesetzt aus zwei Teilen; Hand 1: Aph. I.1–III.18, vermutl. 15. Jh., Hand 2: Aph. III.23–Ende, vermutl. 13. Jh.
j	Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 790; datiert 605 H. (= 1209).
m	Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 791; Aph. I.1–II.1 fehlt, datiert 494 H. (= 1101).
q	Paris, BnF, Ar. 2837; datiert 624 H. (= 1227).[77]
r	Vat. ebr. 426; unvollständig, bricht mit Aph. VI 5 ab; undatiert, vermutl. 14. Jh.[78]
w	Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 818; unvollständig, enthält Aph. III.3–IV.39, datiert 605 H. (= 1209).
z	New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, Arabic Suppl. 87; datiert 22. Muḥ. 1163 (= 1.1.1750).[79]

Die ersten sechs Handschriften aus dieser Liste hat T. Mimura für seine Edition von Galens Kommentar zu den *Aphorismen* herangezogen. Die Lesarten dieser Handschriften habe ich der Textedition bzw. dem kritischen Apparat Mimuras entnommen und (mit Ausnahme weniger Fälle) nicht anhand der Handschriften überprüft.[80] Kodex z (Yale Ar. Suppl. 87), von T. Mimura offenbar nur sporadisch eingesehen, habe ich hingegen vollständig kollationiert.

[74] Accessible online at https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023514891.0x000001, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[75] Accessible online at https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9954332173506421#view, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[76] Further information on the seven manuscripts can be found at https://www.fihrist.org.uk/ (→ Arabic Commentaries on the Hippocratic Aphorisms project), retrieved on 1 September 2026. Detailed descriptions will soon be available in Raphaela Veit's edition of Books III–IV of Galen's Commentary.

[77] Accessible online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001840x/f2.item.r=arabe%202837, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[78] Accessible online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ebr.426, retrieved on 1 September 2026. This is a Judeo-Arabic manuscript in which the Arabic text is presented in Hebrew letters.

[79] Accessible online at https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/11793110, retrieved on 1 September 2026.

[80] R. Arnzen informs us explicitly that he has not re-examined the textual variants because the Manchester edition contains numerous misprints, as well as readings that must be considered incorrect in light of the Arabic tradition and the Greek original. Unfortunately, R. Veit discovered during her research that Arnzen's assess-

7 Kontamination in den *Aphorismen*-Handschriften

Leider ist es mir nicht gelungen, die stemmatischen Verhältnisse der Handschriften zu klären (vgl. oben Kap. 3.2). Einige eindeutige, nicht polygenetische Fehler, bei denen es sich auf den ersten Blick um Bindefehler handeln könnte, erweisen sich nicht als solche, da die Zusammensetzung der fehlerhaften Handschriftengruppen ständig variiert und die betroffenen Handschriften an anderen Stellen völlig andere „Gemeinschaften" bilden. Beispiele für eindeutige Fehler, gefolgt von den betreffenden Textzeugen:

II.19 *post* al-ṭiqati *add.* lā ʿalā l-mawti wa-lā ʿalā l-ṣiḥḥati ABPY
II.50 yanbaġī an lā EHL: yanbaġī an *codd. cett.*
III.1 iḏā kāna fī ABCGHIKP: wa-fī *codd. cett.*
III.12 ǧanūbiyyan maṭīran *om.* ILV
III.23 wa-l-suʿāl *om.* CEGPT
III.28 *post* taṭūla *add.* wa-tabqā maʿa l-insāni mā yabqā EGIL K (*al. man. in margine*)
IV.36 al-ṭalāṭīna ABEGIKLSTV: al-ḥādī wa-l-ṭalāṭīna *codd. cett.*
IV.36 aw ʿalā nuksihī *om.* CEHIKOPSV
IV.59 al-ḫāliṣatu *om.* BCEKPYV
IV.69 sarīʿan *om.* AGILOPS
IV.70 fī l-hummā *om.* AEIKLOPSV
V.4 *om.* CEK
V.29 *om.* ACGHKOPT
V.37 aḥadu ṭadyayhā ABGSY: ṭadyāhā *codd. cett.*
V.48 al-ǧānibi *om.* ACEHV
V.52 wa-aqwā *om.* CHKPTV
V.64 mizāǧihī BITY: birāzihī *codd. cett.*
V.65 *post* V 66 *transp.* HKT
VI.4 mina l-šaʿri *om.* BCEIGKPVY
VI.24 *om.* AHIKPSTV
VI.38 sarīʿan *om.* EHIKVY
VII.3 *om.* HP
VII.4 *om.* EI
VII.28 *om.* GKP
VII.41 al-tašannuǧ *aut* tašannuǧ IGHOT: bi-l-šayḫ *codd. cett.*
VII.45 šayʾun *om.* IKPVY
VII.46 *om.* HKY
VII.56 al-qušaʿrīratu AGHKPT: al-iqšiʿrāru *codd. cett.*

Diese kurze Liste eindeutiger Fehler weist keine auffälligen wiederkehrenden Handschriftengruppen oder -zweige aus. Dieses Ergebnis wird durch hunderte von Abweichungen bestätigt, die in ständig variierenden Konstellationen bzw. „Fehlergemeinschaften" von Handschriften auftreten, jedoch nirgends in einer der oben aufgelisteten Konstellationen.

ment was correct. Another significant issue with this edition is the lack of a preface, meaning no information is provided on the relationships between the manuscripts or the editorial methodology.

7.1 Gekürzte Versionen der *Aphorismen*-Handschriften

Auf den ersten Blick scheint die unvollständige Überlieferung der Aphorismen VII.63–87 ein gewisses Kriterium zur Unterscheidung bestimmter Handschriftengruppen zu bieten. Galen klassifiziert viele dieser Aphorismen als Dubletten vorangehender Aphorismen oder als Pseudepigrapha, weshalb viele Handschriften mit VII.62 enden. Die Handschiften lassen sich wie folgt klassifizieren:

- Gruppe 1 bricht mit Aph. VII.61 oder VII.62 ab: **G I O S V Y**.
- Gruppe 2 überliefert (in variierender Vollständigkeit) auch die Aphorismen VII.68, 70, 75, 78 und 81, an deren Echtheit Galen keine oder nur geringe Zweifel äußert: **A B H K P T**.
- Gruppe 3 überliefert die Aphorismen VII 63–81 vollständig: **E** (s.u., **L** endet wegen Verlust mehrerer Folien mit Aph. V.40).

Dasselbe Phänomen tritt in der arabischen Kommentarliteratur auf. Im *Aphorismen*-Kommentar des Maimonides (gest. 1204 CE) werden nach Aph. VII.62 noch die *Aphorismen* VII.68, 70 und 81 zitiert und besprochen. Der Kommentar des Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Kilānī (8./14. Jh.) enthält die Aphorismen VII.70, 75, 78 und 81 (vgl. Gruppe 2). Alle übrigen *Aphorismen*-Kommentare aus dem 11.-15. Jh. enden, soweit mir bekannt, mit Aph. VII.60 oder VII.62 (vgl. Gruppe 1). Nichtsdestotrotz lässt sich hieraus nicht schließen, dass G I O S V Y eine Handschriftenfamilie bilden, und A B H K P T eine andere. Vielmehr weist jede Handschrift der einen Gruppe gemeinsame Fehler mit dieser oder jenen Handschrift der anderen Gruppe auf. Wir müssen also davon ausgehen, dass die Überlieferung bereits vor unseren ältesten Textzeugen (12./13. Jh.) und vor der Entscheidung der Kommentarautoren, den Kommentar mit Aph. VII.60 oder VII.62 abzuschließen oder danach weitere *Aphorismen* zu kommentieren, kontaminiert gewesen ist. Weiteres hierzu oben in Kap. 4.2.

7.2 Verteilung der richtigen Lesarten auf einzelne Handschriften

Dieser Befund korreliert mit dem Umstand, dass in wenigen Fällen der korrekte Text in nur je einer der 15 Handschriften bewahrt ist, ohne dass sich diese „singuläre“ Handschrift auch in anderen Textabschnitten als unabhängiger Textzeuge erwiese, z.B.:

Aph. I.8 ist einzig in **H** als separater Aphorismus („faṣl“) überliefert. Die anderen 14 Handschriften enthalten den Text des Aphorismus als Teil des vorangehenden Aph. I.7.

Aph. I.11: Einzig **K** überliefert die korrekte Übersetzung von ἐν … τοῖσι παροξυσμοῖσιν = في وقت نوبة الحمّى, alle anderen Handschriften lesen في منتهى المرض, eine Entlehnung aus dem Kommentar Galens.[81]

Aph. V.38: Einzig **L** gibt die Pluralform δίδυμα korrekt wieder (*taw'amayn*), alle anderen Handschriften lesen *taw'aman*.

[81] It is also conceivable that the copyist himself changed the text or adapted it to the end of the lemma, where the beginning of the aphorism recurs almost word for word, but the expression ἐν … τοῖσι παροξυσμοῖσιν was translated as *fī awqāt nawā'ib al-ḥummā*.

Aph. VI.10: Eine vollständige Übersetzung von κατὰ τὰς ῥῖνας ἢ κατὰ τὰ ὦτα ἢ κατὰ τὸ στόμα = من منخريه أو من أذنيه أو فيه ist nur in **B** überliefert, alle anderen Handschriften lassen أو فيه (= ἢ κατὰ τὸ στόμα) aus.[82]

Ähnliche singulär korrekte Lesarten treten in den Handschriften **E** und **P** auf. Aber keine dieser sechs Handschriften konstituiert oder repräsentiert einen eigenen, unabhängigen Überlieferungszweig.

7.3 Vereinzelte Gruppenbildung in den Aphorismen-Handschriften

Es sind lediglich kleine Überlieferungsgemeinschaften in den *Aphorismen*-Handschriften erkennbar:

BY(S?): Die Handschriften B und Y (beide 2. Hälfte des 13. Jh.) sind eng verwandt und zeichnen sich durch eine Reihe von Sonderfehlern aus, z.B.:

I.22 في أكثر الأمر *post* المرض *transp.*
II.35 *post* أيضاً *add.* ذلك
II.38 ومن الشراب BY: والشراب *cett. codd.*
III.5 *post* والصدر *add.* ولدغاً في العين
IV.7 البدن واللحم BY: اللحم *cett. codd.*
IV.30 *post* غد *add.* ذلك اليوم
IV.31 *post* اللحيين *add.* والأذنين
IV.52 *post* إرادة *add.* المريض
V.20 *post* ويسوّد *add.* الجلد
V.69 والقدمين BY: والفخذين *cett. codd.*

B kann nicht als alleinige Vorlage von Y gedient haben und aus chronologischen Gründen keine Kopie von Y sein. Eine gewisse Nähe zu dem gemeinsamen Vorfahren von BY weist die Handschrift S auf, die freilich nachweislich aus mehreren Quellen geschöpft hat.

IV(O?): Ebenfalls eng verwandt sind die Kodizes I und V. Neben einer Vielzahl gemeinsamer Sonderfehler weisen sie übereinstimmend die folgende Neuordnung einiger Aphorismen des ersten Buchs auf:

I.17, I.12, I.15, I.19, I.16, I.18, I.2, I.23, I.22, I.21, I.20

Keine der beiden Handschriften kann als Vorlage der anderen gedient haben. Eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit I und V weist der jüngere Kodex O auf. Neben einigen gemeinsamen Sonderfehlern ist hier insbesondere die Auslassung des Aphorismus I.25 in IOV zu nennen. Eine

[82] The phrase ἢ κατὰ τὸ στόμα is found in almost all Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary. However, the editor Ch. Savino removed it from the text, citing the absence of the phrase from all manuscripts of the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary; see Savino (2020), 100; 204–205. Magdelaine (1994), 249, suspects that the expression entered the Greek lemmas of Galen's Commentary through contamination by the Hippocratic manuscripts. If this is true, then Codex B must have been influenced by a Hippocratic manuscript, in which case this passage would have to be cited below in chapter 8.

direkte Abhängigkeit der Handschrift O von I oder V kann (nicht zuletzt wegen der erwähnten Umstellung der Aphorismen I.15-23) ausgeschlossen werden.

EL: E und L sind die beiden einzigen Handschriften maghrebinischer Herkunft, so dass eine gewisse Nähe nicht verwundert. Ihre Verwandtschaft wird durch einige gemeinsame Sonderfehler und nur in EL belegte zweifelhafte Lesarten erwiesen, z.B.:

I.3 القوّة واحتمال EL: احتمال *cett. codd.*
I.4 *om.* عسر مذموم
I.4 *post* محالة *add.* خطر
I.11 *post* وينبغي *add.* الزيادة
II.19 *post* في *add.* أي
III.16 *post* ورمد *add.* حارّ
IV.38 *om.* أو
IV.64 من عرض له EL: متى عرض *cett. codd.*
V.22 الماء الحارّ EL: الحارّ *cett. codd.*
V.22 من أنّه ينضج المدّة وذلك أنّه يليّن EL: ويليّن *cett. codd.*

Auch hier kann ausgeschlossen werden, dass eine der beiden Handschriften als Vorlage der anderen gedient hat.

8 Aphorismus V.63

Die Überlieferung von Aph. V.63 stellt möglicherweise einen Scheidepunkt der arabischen Überlieferung von Galens Kommentar dar. (Weiteres dazu oben in Kap. 4.2). Er wird dort nicht wie andere Lemmata mit „qāla Abuqrāṭ“, sondern als pseudepigraphischer Aphorismus mit den Worten „qāla ṣāḥibu hāḏā l-faṣli l-muftaʿal“ eingeleitet. In den oben genannten Textzeugen von Galens Kommentar ist der Aphorismus samt Kommentar enthalten. Er fehlt jedoch in allen 15 untersuchten Handschriften der gesonderten Überlieferung, und dies, obwohl die Handschriften H und E eindeutig direkt aus dem Kommentar Galens exzerpiert wurden (s.u.) und der Kopist von Kodex E auch die zweifelhaften und pseudepigraphischen Aphorismen am Ende von Buch VII in seine Abschrift einschließt. Dies legt eine frühe Aufspaltung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Ḥunayns Übersetzung des Kommentars Galens in zwei Stränge nahe, Zweig 1 mit Aph. V.63 + Kommentar, Zweig 2 ohne diesen Aphorismus. Alle hier herangezogenen Handschriften der gesonderten Überlieferung gehören zu Zweig 2. Vorrangige Aufgabe einer zukünftigen kritischen Textedition müsste daher die Eruierung und Evaluierung weiterer Gemeinsamkeiten der Überlieferungszweige 1 und 2 sein.

9 Nennenswerte Besonderheiten

Einige der benutzten 15 Handschriften weisen erwähnenswerte Besonderheiten auf.

Bei **K** handelt es sich um die berühmte bilinguale Handschrift, die Hippokrates' *Aphorismen* und *Prognostikon* in parallelen Kolumnen in syrischer und arabischer Übersetzung enthält (siehe auch oben Kap. 4.3). Es spricht einiges dafür, dass der arabische Text nach der Kopie der syrischen Version eingetragen wurde. Da beide Versionen exakt gegenüber liegend erscheinen, ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die arabische Vorlage von K einen vollständigeren Text als K enthielt, den der Kopist überall dort, wo die syrische Version Lücken aufweist, gekürzt

hat (bis hin zur Auslassung ganzer Aphorismen), um beide Versionen in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Entsprechendes gilt für Fälle einer veränderten Reihenfolge der Aphorismen.[83]

E ist die einzige Handschrift der separaten Überlieferung der *Aphorismen*, die die Aphorismen VII.62–81 vollständig enthält (ob dies auch in der verwandten Handschrift L der Fall war, lässt sich heute nicht mehr eruieren, da L am Ende unvollständig ist). Der Kopist von E erklärt mehrfach, die *Aphorismen* aus dem Kommentar Galens exzerpiert zu haben. Ansonsten ist E ein relativ unzuverlässiger Textzeuge.

P enthält die *Aphorismen* in einer veränderten Reihenfolge, eingeteilt in 12 Funūn. Eine solche Bucheinteilung ist weder aus der griechischen noch aus der arabischen Kommentarliteratur bekannt. Am Ende der Abschrift steht: آخر كتاب ابقراط ممّا ألّفه ورتّبه ابوبيلوس رحمه ألله. Der Name des für die Neuordnung verantwortlichen Arrangeurs soll möglicherweise einen griechischen Ursprung suggerieren. Hierzu passt der Umstand, dass der Titel nicht in der üblichen Form („al-Fuṣūl“), sondern als Transliteration aus dem Griechischen (*Kitāb Afūrismūs* / كتاب افورسموس) angegeben wird. Zitiert wird jedoch der Wortlaut der Übersetzung Ḥunayns, so dass kein Zweifel über den „arabischen“ Ursprung der Schrift bestehen kann. Vielleicht handelt es sich um die von Sezgin (1970), 32 erwähnte Neuordnung der *Aphorismen* von Aḥmad ibn Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabīb (8./14. Jh.). Hingegen kann die ebenfalls dort von Sezgin erwähnte Bearbeitung al-Šanǧarīs ausgeschlossen werden, da es sich hierbei um eine Verlesung/Verschreibung des Namens handelt und die angegebenen Handschriften die in 20 Kapitel eingeteilte Version al-Siǧzīs enthalten. P ist insgesamt recht zuverlässig und bietet stellenweise interessante singuläre Lesarten.

H ist hinsichtlich der medizinischen und anatomischen Terminologie die zuverlässigste der 15 herangezogenen Handschriften. Angefertigt wurde sie von einem gewissen Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Abī l-Fawāris. Aus zahlreichen Randnotizen von der Hand des Kopisten wird deutlich, dass seine Abschrift direkt aus dem Kommentar Galens exzerpiert ist. Allerdings hat Abū l-Faḍl sich die Freiheit genommen, hier und dort Formulierungen des hippokratischen Texts durch die entsprechenden Paraphrasen oder *termini technici* des Kommentars von Galen zu ersetzen.

Der Kopist von **O** hatte offenbar Zugang zu Ibn al-Quffs Kommentar. Einige Worte aus dessen Kommentar zu V.64 werden nahezu wörtlich am Ende der Abschrift dieses Aphorismus' zitiert, jedoch nicht als Zusatz markiert.

10 Griechische Textvarianten in den arabischen Handschriften

Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der *Aphorismen* enthält gewisse Hinweise darauf, dass die arabische Übersetzung auf verschiedene griechische Handschriften zurückgeht. Neben den Lesarten, die eindeutig erst in der arabischen Überlieferung entstanden sind, gibt es nämlich solche *variae lectiones*, die unterschiedliche Lesarten der griechischen Tradition reflektieren. Beispiele:[84]

[83] See on this also Mimura (2017a), 85; 90.

[84] The Greek text and information on the textual witnesses are taken from Magdelaine (1994). The three Greek Hippocratic manuscripts, M, Va and C', are all based on a common source. The names Stephanus and Theophilus refer to two *Commentaries on the Aphorisms* from late antiquity and the Byzantine period, respectively. I (O.O.) have placed those examples that I consider to be insignificant in brackets.

Aph. I.17: δοτέον δέ τι καὶ τῇ ὥρῃ, καὶ τῇ χώρῃ (καὶ τῇ χώρῃ C´M, comm. Gal. (M): *om.* Va, comm. Gal. (PSV)), καὶ τῷ ἔθει, καὶ τῇ ἡλικίῃ

وينبغي أيضاً أن يُعطى الوقت الحاضر من أوقات السنة حظّه من هذا والعادة والبلد والسنّ

wa-l-balad (= καὶ τῇ χώρῃ) S *in margine*: *om.* codd. cett.; cf. *wa-l-bilād* transl. al-Biṭrīq[85]

Aph. III.29: τὰ προειρημένα C´M, comm. Gal., comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.: τὰ εἰρημένα V^{a} ما ذكرنا من قبل L (= τὰ προειρημένα): ما ذكرنا codd. cett. (= τὰ εἰρημένα)[86]

Aph. IV.23: ἢ ὀκοῖον αἷμα μέλαν ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω (ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω V^{a}, transl. lat.: *om.* C´M, comm. Gal.) ὑπέλθῃ
خرجت ... بمنزلة الدم الأسود من فوق أو من أسفل ABCKPSTY (= *add.* ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω): خرجت ... بمنزلة الدم الأسود EGHILOV (= *om.* ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω)[87]

Aph. IV.62: κακὸν C´V^{a}, comm. Gal., comm. Steph.: *add.* ἢν μὴ συνδόσιες ὑγρῶν κατὰ τὴν κοιλίην γένωνται M, comm. Gal. (MJK)
(*sic leg. pro* البدن) ردیئة إلّا أن تنبعث الرطوبات من البطن T (= *add.* ἢν μὴ ... γένωνται): ردیئة codd. cett. (= κακὸν)[88]

Aph. IV.64: τῇ ἑνάτῃ MV^{a}, comm. Gal., transl. lat.: *add.* ἢ τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ C´, comm. Gal. (PPalU), comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.
في التاسع أو في الحادى عشر C *in margine* (= *add.* ἢ τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ): في التاسع codd. cett. (= τῇ ἑνάτῃ)[89]

(Aph. IV.75): ἢ πῦον M, comm. Gal.: καὶ πῦον C´V^{a}, comm. Gal., comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.

[85] See the edition in Houtsma (1883), 108.11. All textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary omit this expression. The fact that it was not part of the Greek text of Galen's Commentary is shown by the agreement between the two main manuscripts, P and S. The Galen codex M is therefore likely to have been contaminated by the Hippocratic tradition; see Magdelaine (1994), 250.

[86] While all main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary read τὰ προειρημένα, all textual witnesses for the Arabic translation, as well as the Syriac translation, have τὰ εἰρημένα. Accordingly, Ḥunayn read τὰ εἰρημένα in his Greek source(s). In light of this, adopting the reading of L in the Arabic text of the *Aphorisms* in HUNAYNNET is incorrect.

[87] All Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary omit ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω. As only two manuscripts that attest to the Arabic translation of the Commentary (r and w) contain this phrase, it is unlikely that it was part of Galen's original text. It is possible that these two manuscripts were themselves subject to contamination. The sporadic occurrence of this phrase in Greek Hippocratic manuscripts probably explains why it is comparatively often attested in Arabic lemma manuscripts.

[88] Neither the textual witnesses for the Arabic translation nor the main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary contain the phrase ἢν μὴ συνδόσιες ὑγρῶν κατὰ τὴν κοιλίην γένωνται. Only three related codices (M, J and K), located further down the stemma, contain these words, likely due to contamination by a Hippocratic manuscript.

[89] All textual witnesses for the Arabic translation omit ἢ τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ, as do almost all Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary. Only P, Pal, and U offer it. At least for P, contamination by Hippocratic manuscripts is documented; see Magdelaine (1994), 249–250; 614. In this respect, the expression probably does not belong to the text of Galen's Commentary.

أو قيحاً ACKOV: وقيحاً *codd. cett.*[90]

Aph. V.3: σπασμὸς ἢ λυγμός C´V^{a} (σπασμὸς ἢ λοιμός M), comm. Gal., comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.: λυγμὸς ἢ σπασμός comm. Gal. (PN)
تشنّج أو فواق H (= σπασμὸς ἢ λυγμός): *inv. ord.* codd. cett. (= λυγμὸς ἢ σπασμός)[91]

Aph. V.25: νάρκη γάρ C´, comm. Gal., comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.: νάρκη δέ MV^{a}, comm. Gal. (MJV)
لأنّ الخدَر ELP (= γάρ): والخدَر AGHIKSTV (= δέ): والخدَر أيضاً codd. cett.[92]

(Aph. VI.23): καὶ δυσθυμίη V^{a}, comm. Gal., comm. Steph., comm. Theoph.: ἢ δυσθυμίη C´M, lat. transl.
أو خبث K (= ἢ): وخبث cett. codd. (= καὶ)[93]

Aph. VI.41: ἢ (ἢ comm. Theoph.: *om.* C´MV^{a}, comm. Gal.) διὰ παχύτητα τοῦ πύου
إمّا من قبل غلظ المدّة HP (= ἢ): من قبل غلظ المدّة codd. cett. (= *om.* ἢ)[94]

Aph. VI.58: ἀνάγκη ἀποσαπῆναι C´MV^{a}, comm. Gal.: *add.* καὶ ἀποπεσεῖν comm. Theoph.
فهو لا محالة يعفن ويسقط A (= *add.* καὶ ἀποπεσεῖν): فهو لا محالة يعفن codd. cett. (= *om.* καὶ ἀποπεσεῖν)[95]

Aph. VII.44: καίονται ἢ τέμνονται comm. Gal., comm. Theoph.: τέμνονται ἢ καίονται C´: καίονται MV^{a}, comm. Gal.

[90] While only q reads the connector *aw* (= ἢ) among the textual witnesses of the Arabic translation of Galen's Commentary, the main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary present an inconsistent picture: καί S M J: ἢ P V K: *post* ἢ *add.* καὶ Pal U. However, the question remains as to how to weigh the above findings in the Arabic manuscripts. After all, أو and و are easy to confuse, especially as دماً precedes them.

[91] The main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary are divided into two branches with regard to the readings. P and N read λυγμὸς ἢ σπασμός, while all the other manuscripts read σπασμὸς ἢ λυγμός. As all textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary and almost all Arabic lemma manuscripts offer *fuwāq aw-tašannuǧ* (= λυγμὸς ἢ σπασμός), the word order σπασμὸς ἢ λυγμός / *tašannuǧ aw-fuwāq* in H is probably the result of contamination. In light of this, the text *tašannuǧ aw-fuwāq* in HUNAYNNET has to be changed.

[92] All main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary read γάρ (P N S Pal U). Only three related codices (V M J, corr. in γάρ V^{2}), which are to be found further down in the stemma, read δέ, which is probably due to contamination by a Hippocratic manuscript. The Syriac translation and the textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary, on the other hand, all seem to have read δέ (*wa-* or *wa- … ayḍan*).

[93] All Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary that have the word δυσθυμίη after the connector read: καὶ δυσθυμίη; see Savino (2020), 118. The same applies to all textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary. In this case, too, the question arises as to whether we are not dealing here with a simple misreading in K (*aw* instead of *wa-*).

[94] All main Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary omit ἢ; see Savino (2020), 152. The same applies to all textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary. However, the question arises as to whether this is a case of polygenesis: did both Theophilus and the Arabic codices H and P independently establish a correspondence with the following ἢ τοῦ τόπου = *aw al-mawḍiʿi* by adding ἢ and *immā*, respectively? It should be noted that on HUNAYNNET, the Greek text at the end of the lemma is incorrect. Instead of διὰ παχύτητα τοῦ τόπου οὐ διασημαίνει, it should read: διὰ παχύτητα τοῦ πύου ἢ τοῦ τόπου οὐκ ἀποσημαίνει.

[95] All main manuscripts of Galen's Commentary omit καὶ ἀποπεσεῖν; see Savino (2020), 186. The same applies to all textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary.

كُوِيَ أو بُطَّ AIKOST (= καίονται ἢ τέμνονται): كُوِيَ codd. cett. (= καίονται)[96]

Angesichts der Vielzahl der Beispiele kann es sich kaum um Zufälle handeln. Auffällig ist, dass sich die konkurrierenden Lesarten nicht stets auf dieselben (Gruppen von) griechischen Textzeugen verteilen, sondern einmal im Kommentar Galens gegen alle anderen Handschriften, einmal im Kommentar des Theophilus, an wieder anderen Stellen in unterschiedlichen Handschriften der direkten Überlieferung der *Aphorismen* belegt sind. Auf arabischer Seite ist die alternative Lesart meist nur durch einen einzigen Textzeugen erhalten, in manchen Fällen aber auch durch mehrere Handschriften, die ihrerseits aber keine eigenständige Handschriftenfamilie bilden. Dies, wie auch die völlig unregelmäßige Verteilung der alternativen Lesarten auf die arabischen Textzeugen, lässt in jedem Falle darauf schließen, dass bereits in einem sehr frühen Stadium der Überlieferung von Ḥunayns Übersetzung von Galens Kommentar Varianten der Übersetzung notiert waren, die Varianten der griechischen Texttradition entsprachen. Diese alternativen Übersetzungen wurden dann wegen der früh einsetzenden Kontamination in unterschiedlichen Weisen in einzelnen Textzeugen tradiert. Ob diese alternativen Übersetzungen der *Aphorismen*-Übersetzung al-Biṭrīqs entnommen sind (wie Beispiel 1 nahelegt) oder auf von Ḥunayn selbst notierte marginale Varianten zurückgehen, kann hier nicht entschieden werden. Wir wissen jedoch, dass Ḥunayn nach Möglichkeit für seine Übersetzungen mehrere griechischen Handschriften kollationiert und Unstimmigkeiten oder Varianten mit arabischer Entsprechung in seinen Übersetzungen vermerkt hat, wodurch die zweite Option als die näherliegende erscheint. Schließlich kann auch eine Überarbeitung der Übersetzung Ḥunayns anhand einer oder mehrerer griechischer (syrischer?) Handschriften durch einen anderen Übersetzer nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Weiteres siehe oben Kap. 3.2.3.

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[96] All textual witnesses for the Arabic translation of the Commentary omit ἢ τέμνονται. The Alpha branch of the Greek manuscripts of Galen's Commentary (P) reads ἢ τέμνονται, while the Beta branch (SVM) omits the expression. It is likely that we are once again dealing with contamination in P; see Magdelaine (1994), 249. There are substantial reasons for including ἢ τέμνονται, which may explain why the corresponding Arabic expression appears in several Arabic lemma manuscripts; cf. Magdelaine (1994), 703.

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