

Grelot and *The Compendium aureum*

Not far from the beginning of his account of his visit to Constantinople¹ Guillaume-Joseph Grelot², after describing his experiences in the Troad *en route*³, apparently makes reference to a lost Greek text:

Si le voyageur estoit assai heureux pour trouver dans quelqu'un des tombeaux qu'il rencontrera sur son chemin, ou parmy les ruines de cette grande Ville, un livre manuscrit Grec qui porte pour titre Ἐπιτομὴ χρυσέη [*sic*], ἢ τὸ βιβλίον ἀρχαίων Κικανιδῶν, Compendium aureum seu volumen antiquorum⁴ Kicanidorum [*sic*], il seroit plaisir à la Republique des belles lettres de s'en charger pour luy en faire part, s'il ne vouloit pas le luy offrir comme un present digne d'elle. Un ancien Auteur assure que ce livre a esté enfermé dans un tombeau de la Ville de Troye avec les os de son premier Roy Kicanis [*sic*]. Pour moy qui ne l'y ay pas trouvé, j'en ay laissé la recherche à quelqu'autre voyageur plus heureux que je ne l'ay esté.

¹ G. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople enrichie de plans leveez par l'auteur sur les lieux et des figures de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans cette ville*, Paris 1680, 8. For the page references in later editions see Delatte (note 6) 209 n. 2. An English translation was published in 1683: *A late voyage to Constantinople containing an exact description of the Propontis and Hellepont, with the Dardanelles [...] as also the city of Constantinople [...] likewise an account of the ancient and present state of the Greek church: with the religion and manner of worship of the Turks [...] Illustrated with curious and exact draughts [...] in fourteen copper plates*. Pubd. by command of the French king, by Monsieur William Joseph Grelot. Made English by J. Philips, London 1683.

² On Grelot see *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* XVI 1157f. He had earlier accompanied the famous traveller and merchant Sir John Chardin (*DNB* IV 63f.) to Persia.

³ On Grelot as a traveller and draughtsman in the Troad see J.M. Cook, *The Troad: An Archaeological and Topographical Study*, Oxford 1973, 18. Cook surmises (p. 157) that the «ruins of Troy» described by him are to be found at Eski Stanbul. Grelot incidentally offers (p. 2) sage advice to the traveller contemplating a similar journey: «on doit se pourvoir d'un bon capot, d'un strapontin ou petit matelas, d'une couverture, d'un tapis, d'une canevette de vin et d'eau de vie pour ceux qui l'aiment, avoir un biscuit, de la viande fraische et salée, des fruits secs & frais, & d'autres provisions de bouche ...».

⁴ The word *antiquorum* is ostensibly a mistranslation of ἀρχαίων. The latter is tacitly corrected to τῶν ἀρχαίων by Fabricius (see the text note), but, as we shall see, it is the Greek title that is a translation from the Latin.

Fabricius⁵, who seemingly had read the above in a somewhat careless manner, took it to be testimony for the existence of a lost Greek Hermetic text, a text which, since 1888, it is clear would have been the original of the Latin botanico-astrological work, the *Tractatus de septem herbis septem planetis attributis*⁶. Two of the manuscripts which transmit this work have *explicit* that call it the *Compendium aureum* and Louis Delatte in his critical edition rightly considers this to be the proper title of the work⁷. In his introduction to the text, Delatte points out that Grelot is not claiming to have *found* or even to have *seen* a hitherto lost text. He is stating that he has *failed* to *find* the original of the *Compendium aureum*. It is clear from the words «un livre manuscrit Grec qui porte pour titre Ἐπιτομή χρυσέη, ἢ τὸ βιβλίον ἀρχαίων Κυρανιδῶν» that he knew more of the work than just its title. The Hermetic medico-magical text known as the *Cyranides*⁸ is mentioned three times in the *Compendium*, twice in the preface (see below) and once at the end⁹. Whether or not Grelot had read the whole *Compendium* is a matter for conjecture, but he certainly knew more of it than just its title or an *explicit* or putative *incipit*. This is proved not just by the mention of the *Cyranides* (on the misspelling in Grelot, see below).

⁵ Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* I 73. He may have been deceived by Grelot's sense of humour, but his words do not necessarily mean that he erred so grossly as to suppose that Grelot was describing an actual discovery: «quod rectius forte diiudicare [*scil.* the possibility that the Latin *Cyranides* may not truly reflect the Κυρανίδες βιβλοὶ] possit, si quis incidat in Ms.tum codicem Grelotio laudatum [mysteriously here Harles adds a footnote referring to «Fabricius XII 575ss.» which leads nowhere] hoc titulo Ἐπιτομή χρυσέη ἢ τὸ βιβλίον τῶν ἀρχαίων Κυρανιδῶν». Ruelle, the first editor of the *Cyranides* (see note 8), clearly had not looked very closely at Grelot's work when he claimed that he could not find the reference to the χρυσέη ἐπιτομή in it (p. XIII n. 2: he has followed by R. Ganszynieć, *Kyraniden*, in *RE* XII/1, 1924, 127).

⁶ The first critical edition of this work was produced by Louis Delatte (*Textes Latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides*, Liège-Paris 1942, 213-233). On the various traditions which transmit texts describing seven planetary plants see F. Pfister, *Pflanzenaberglaube*, in *RE* XIX/2 (1938) 1446-1455, 1453f. and Haupt (note 13).

⁷ *explicit libellus qui vocatur compendium aureum S : explicit compendium aureum V*.

⁸ The *editio princeps* of *Cyranides* was published as late as 1898 in de Mely's edition of the Greek lapidaries (F. de Mely, *Les lapidaires grecs*, Paris 1898). The editor was C.-F. Ruelle. Till the work was known only through the medium of the Latin translation, the first critical edition of which is to be found in Delatte (note 6) 11-206. A fuller edition of the Greek text is now provided by D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, Meisenheim a. G. 1976, but it is still far from complete – Kaimakis ignored the Latin version which contained material that was as yet not available in a Greek source – and additional material has come to light subsequent to its publication. For a brief description of the textual history and character of the work see D. Bain, 'Treading Birds': *An Unnoticed Use of πατέω* (*Cyranides*, I. 10. 27, I. 19. 9) in *Owls to Athens*. «Essays on Classical subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover», ed. E.M. Craik, Oxford 1990, 295-304, 295-299 and my forthcoming *RAC* article *s.v.* *Koiraniden*.

⁹ The final sentence runs *serva igitur hoc munus excellentissimum a Deo divinitus datum de secretis Kyranidarum voluminum in quo studebis et proficies inveniundo finem laudabilem* (*Comp. aur.* 233,3-5).

Grelot's reference to the discovery of the book in the tomb of the first king of Troy («Un ancien Auteurs assure que ce livre a esté enfermé dans un tombeau de la Ville de Troye avec les os de son premier Roy Kicanis») makes it absolutely clear that he has read something corresponding to the preface of the *Compendium* as we have it in Delatte:

*Flaccus Africus discipulus Belbenis Claudio Atheniensi epilogistico¹⁰ studium continuare et finem <invenire> cum laude. post antiquarum Kyranidarum volumina tibi nota et Arpocrati consodali tuo relata¹¹, inveni in civitate Troiana in monumento reclusum [inclusum **H**] praesentem libellum cum ossibus primi regis Kyrani qui Compendium aureum intitulatur, eo quod per distinctionem factam a maiore Kyranidarum volumine cum diligentia compilatum est.*

(*Compendium aureum* 213,4-11)

As Delatte says, it is also clear that Grelot knew nothing of the Greek work; what he has done is translate into Greek (not entirely successfully) the form of the Latin title he had encountered¹². Thus Grelot provides no independent evidence that would confirm that the Latin version ultimately derived from a Greek text. I shall return to this question in a moment, but first I wish to point out something that does not seem to have been stated before, although it may be that Delatte and Festugière tacitly assumed what I am about to say.

Grelot is joking. His tone is ironical. He has mischievously misrepresented and deliberately misreported what he must have read in his «ancien Auteurs». Having learned of the discovery of the ἐπιτομή χρυσή at Troy in the tomb of a king, who would go to Troy seriously expecting to find a second copy of the text or else the original, reverently replaced in the king's tomb? Grelot suppresses the existence of the translation of the text. He records the report that the text and bones were buried at Troy, but not that of their discovery. As an educated man who frequently quotes ancient writers, Grelot would have been perfectly well aware that Kyranus (or his Kykanis) was not Troy's «premier Roy». To exemplify his learning we may refer to his citations of Lucan. *Bell. civ.* IX 996 (p. 7), Verg. *Aen.* II 23 (p. 9), Colum. X 357f. (p. 22), 'another poet' (*Dardanius merces dividit carius emptas*, p. 23), Mart. VII 98,1 (p. 25), the proverb *Abydum ne temere subnaviges* (p. 31)¹³, Ov. *Met.* II 137 (p. 33), another unnamed poet (*quae magna Perinthus / ante fuit, priscum*

¹⁰ *epilogistico* Delatte : *epilogitico* **S** : *epylogitico* **E** : *epilogoitico* **H** : *epilogico* **M**.

¹¹ *relata* Delatte : *relationem* **HM** : *revolutionem* **ES**.

¹² So Delatte 210. Aside from the confusion over the translation of *antiquorum*, χρυσή is a most unlikely form in a text of this nature. Either the contract or the open form would have been possible, but in later Greek the open form would certainly have been χρυσέα.

¹³ See Erasmus, *Adagia* I 7,16 in *Desiderii Erasmi Opera omnia*, II/2: *Adagiorum Chilias prima*, edd. M.L. Poll-van der Lidenk-M. Cyrowska, Amstelodami 1998.

mutavit Heraclea nomen, p. 54)¹⁴, Hor. *Od.* III 9,20 (p. 88), Hor. *Ars* 180f. (p. 126), Hes. *Op.* 753f. (p. 235), Iuv. 2,152 (p. 236), Ov. *Ars* III 640 (p. 236), Mart. XII 70,2 (p. 236), and Iuv. 2,93ff. (p. 237).

Grelot is mocking the well-known literary *topos* of the discovery of the sacred book in a tomb¹⁵: he continues in a way that confirms his satirical intent, discrediting the story by pointing out that Troy (or at any rate what he takes to be Troy) is a site without monuments:

«Je n'ay jamais veu les ruines de Troye, à quatre differens voyages que j'y ay faits, qu'avec un chagrin extrême de n'y pouvoir remarquer aucune inscription ou autre monument de l'antiquité qui me pust apprendre quelque particularité de sa prise, ou de son ancienne splendeur, & je m'en suis toujours retiré avec cette exclamation d'un Poëte Grec :

φεῦ, φεῦ τὸ κλεινὸν ἔρεισμα τῆς πρὶν ὀλβίας Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς¹⁶
 Heu, heu gloriosum fundamentum prius ditissimae Asiaticae terrae».

To return to the question of the existence of a lost Greek version, of which H. Haupt was in little doubt¹⁷. The possibility has to be considered that, like several

¹⁴ The *terminus post quem* for this quotation is around A. D. 275: see *RE* XIX/1 (1937) 810 (and now the literary testimonia 112-114 in Mustafa Hamdi Sayar, *Perinthos-Herakleia [Marmara Ereğlisi] und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, Wien 1998, 123). I am grateful to Professor Winfried Bühler for his efforts in investigating the origins of this mysterious reference. The same words are to be found in notes by Paul Bauldri on Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 45. This commentary appeared not long after Grelot's work (P. Bauldri, *Lucii Firmiani Lactantii de mortibus persecutorum* [...] editio secunda [sic: see J. Moreau, *Lactance de la mort des persécuteurs*, Paris 1954, 139: «Le texte a été procuré par Baluze, ce qui justifie l'appellation "deuxième édition"»] [...] recensuit, suis [animadversionibus] auxit, cum versionibus contulit, Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692). Professor Bühler also draws attention to the false quantity of the first syllable of *Heraclea*.

¹⁵ For this ubiquitous theme in antiquity compare e.g. Liv. XL 29 (the bones of Numa found along with Pythagorean books), Plut. *Gen. Socr.* 577f, Dict. Cret. 1,1-10 Eis., and see in general F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis: Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, 7; J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926, ch. IV; A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I, Paris 1950², 323 n. 1, and above all W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, Göttingen 1970, 43ff. It is essentially akin to the story pattern of the discovery of the book in the temple. See on this point R. Ganszyniec, *Der Ursprung der Zehngebote tafeln*, «ARW» XXII (1923/1924) 53.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Professor James Diggle for confirming my suspicion that this unmetrical quotation is Grelot's invention. He points out that it is a Euripidean patchwork, based on Eur. *Andr.* 1 Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, 164 τῶν πρὶν ὀλβίων φρονημάτων, *Hec.* 16 γῆς ... ἐρείσματα, *Troa.* 25 τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον.

¹⁷ H. Haupt, *Zu den Kyraniden des Hermes Trismegistos*, «Philologus» XLVIII (1889) 371-

other Latin translations of works of this genre, this one was not taken directly from the Greek, but from an Arabic intermediary¹⁸. At first sight the words *discipulus Belbenis* in the first line of the prologue might suggest that this was the case with the *Compendium*. As Festugière¹⁹ pointed out, the genitive *Belbenis* conceals from *Belenus*, the Latin equivalent of the Arabic name for Apollonius of Tyana, *Balinas*²⁰. Closer inspection of the text, however, fails to reveal any of the obvious syntactic Arabisms one would have expected to find in a Latin translation from the Arabic. In this there is a strong contrast between the *Compendium* and the work that follows it in the collection of Delatte, the *Liber Hermetis de quindecim stellis quindecim lapidibus quindecim herbis et quindecim imaginibus*²¹. It seems then best to assume that *discipulus Belbenis* is an interpolation on the part of the Latin translator intended to give his work the authority of a legendary name²².

There are various pointers towards the existence of a Greek original. As well as referring three times to the *Cyranides*²³ the treatise, although it never directly overlaps with the *Cyranides*²⁴, contains material which strongly resembles much that is

374, 372f.: «dass die mittelalterlich-lateinische Fassung des Traktates, wie sie in den Handschriften der Marcianus und Amploniana vorliegt, auf ein griechisches Original zurückgeht, ist in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich».

¹⁸ For example the *Tabula Smaragdina* and the *Turba Philosophorum*. Compare also the *Liber Hermetis de quindecim stellis* referred to below.

¹⁹ Festugière (note 15).

²⁰ See M. Steinschneider, *Apollonius von Tyana (oder Balinas) bei den Arabern*, «ZDMG» XLV (1891) 439-446 and *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Graz 1956, 144 (cf. also J. Hempel, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung von Apollonios von Tyana*, Stockholm 1912, 6-12 [*nondum vidi*]). In his later work Steinschneider (II 17) cites a further example of the treatise in a manuscript not used or mentioned by Delatte (Corp. Chr. Oxford 185, item 14c), whose *explicit* contains the same corruption of the name: *Librunculus de 7 herbis, 7 planctis apparatis* («ob apparentibus», Steinschneider) *Placii Africani discipuli Belbenis*. The correct *Beleni* is found in BM Sloane 131-132 75ff.: see D.W. Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland*, III, Brussels 1931, Appendix K 3. An English version of the preface produces an even grosser corruption (Singer 773): «Alexandrinus Africus, the disciple of Berkbers founden in the cite of Troy in the grave of the first king Kyranid» (BM Sloane 73ff. 4-7^v).

²¹ I am grateful to Dr. Isabel Toral of Tübingen University, who is engaged in the production of an edition of the Arabic *Κυρανίδες*, for making these points and dissuading me from my original notion that the mention of «Belbenis» showed that the translator was dealing with an Arabic intermediary. Delatte regards the treatise *de quindecim stellis, quindecim lapidibus, quindecim herbis et quindecim imaginibus* in a different light from our text, which precedes it in his edition: «encore devons nous considérer cet opusculé plutôt comme un résumé de l'original grec que comme une traduction» (p. 237).

²² See above, pp. 345s.

²³ I owe this suggestion to Dr. Toral.

²⁴ The work is not what the preface says it is (cf. also the ending of the work quoted above

found in the *Cyranides*²⁵. A great deal of the *Compendium* is taken up with recipes combining the plant in question with other ingredients such as animal parts in the manner of the *Cyranides*²⁶. As with the *Cyranides* not all the recipes have therapeutic purposes. Two related recipes enable the user to perform magical tricks, *παίγνια*, by which he becomes invisible²⁷ or capable of flying from one country to another in a trice²⁸. Another recipe will ensure prophetic dreams and, as well as revealing treasure to the dreamer²⁹, will drive off demons³⁰. There is a recipe for achieving a «wondrous erection» and enabling the user to have intercourse many times³¹. An-

in note 9), a summary of the *Cyranides*. Two of the plants which figure in the first book of the *Cyranides* are to be found among the seven plants of the *Compendium*, the peony, which is found under a pseudonym, *γλυκυσίδη*, in *Cyr.* (*Cyr.* I 3) and the *satyrion* (*Cyr.* I 18). Haupt noted the lack of correspondence between the two works in respect of these plants (note 6, 372), but it remains possible that the treatise might include otherwise unknown 'Cyranidean' material since the *Cyranides*-book which featured plants (the existence of such a work is implied, but not explicitly stated in the epilogue of the work, *Cyr.* IV 78,6ff.). Kaimakis is not entitled to call his *Περὶ βοτανῶν* the fifth book of the *Cyranides*, since the epilogue makes it quite clear that what once followed our book four was a book *Περὶ μετὰλλων*: see D. Bain, *Some Textual and Lexical Notes on Cyranides "Books Five and Six"*, «C&M» XLVII (1996) 151-167, part. 151f. and 152 n. 7. Nevertheless, M. Wellmann, *Marcellus von Side als Arzt und die Koiraniden des Hermes Trismegistos*, Leipzig 1934, 19 denies any connection between the *Tractatus de septem herbis* and the *Cyranides*.

²⁵ It is less of an astrological work than the *Liber Hermetis de quindecim stellis quindecim lapidibus quindecim herbis et quindecim imaginibus*.

²⁶ See, for example, the recipes quoted in notes 28, 30, 31 and 33.

²⁷ For recipes which induce invisibility in the *Cyranides* see *Cyr.* I 15,33ff. and I 15,37.

²⁸ *Dosis eius u. semis cum sanguine turturis, accipitris, catuli et coturnicis ana u. I eadem hora exhibita disponit potantem ut inter homines invisibilis conversetur et audiat quae voluerit consilia et si sanguinem apposueris ranae fluvialis cum sanguine canis et upupae, portabitur in aere de loco ad locum in momento, ab uno climate ad aliud clima, ita quod possit uno die ire Romam et ultra mare et sic per singula loca discurrere sine laesione* (232,5-233,10). On *παίγνια* see D. Bain, *Salpe's παίγνια: Athenaeus 322A and Plin. H.N. 28. 38*, «CQ» XLVIII (1998) 262-268 and M.W. Dickie, *Varia Magica*, «Tyche» XIV (1999) 57-76, part. 70ff.

²⁹ For this well known goal of magic compare Luc. *Alex.* 5. Surprisingly it is absent from the *Cyranides*.

³⁰ *Item dosis eius u. VI eadem hora exhibita cum sanguine apri et cum sanguine aquilae masculi statim facit dormire et videre futura in somniis et revelare thesauros et rerum eventus et omnem malignum spiritum effugat, Comp. aur. 223,15-224,4* (for driving off δαίμονες see *Cyr.* I 4,62; 7,3 and 111f.; 17,8f. and 16f.; II 23,5; IV 67,3ff.; II 41,32ff.; III 9,42ff.; I 24,50f.; IV 1,7; 13,3; 26,2; 55,4; 67,13; 72,3).

³¹ *Item dosis eius u. I cum castoreo u. semis et cum sanguine passerum u. II mirabilem erectionem facit et coitum multiplicat*, 226,2f.: cf. γενήσεται <δὲ> ἔντασις μεγάλη, *Cyr.* I 18 and especially ἔντασιν ἔξει μεγίστην καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον εἰς γυναικας καὶ φοβερὰν, *Cyr.* II 38,22. Recipes for sexual potency (πρὸς πολλὰ βινεῖν) are found in the so called *Παίγνια Δημοκρίτου* (PGM VII 167-186 = 68 F 300 D.-K.) and in *P. Yale* II 134 = *Supplementum Magicum* II 76.

other recipe ensures that a woman will follow a man if the man who drinks its product gives her a gentle bite³². Like the *Cyranides* the *Compendium* contains a recipe which will make a woman fart nonstop for a considerable time³³.

An allusive reference should also be taken into account. This is found in a description taken from the writer's personal experience³⁴ of witnessing the cure of someone affected by apoplexy. The incident took place in a mysterious *Melantida regio*. The writer recounts his experience of seeing a cure effected in *Melantida regione*³⁵. As I have demonstrated elsewhere³⁶ we should read *in melanitida* (vel *melanitidi*?) *regione* and bring the phrase into line with an expression which occurs four times in the *Cyranides*, once reportedly in the Ἀρχαϊκή³⁷ and nowhere else³⁸, μελανίτις γῆ, which is an esoteric term for Egypt. The adjective μελανίτης, which is as yet unnoticed by LSJ, is confined to Cyranidean contexts and to this particular collocation³⁹. Harpocration, the alleged author of the original Κυρανίς and of the Ἀρχαϊκή figures twice in the *Compendium*, in the prologue as quoted above and also in the body of the text of the *Compendium: hoc neminem docere Arpocratio*

³² 216,4f. has a decidedly Cyranidean ring to it: *item si de eadem confectione eadem hora collueris os tuum et postea momorderis leviter mulierem, illico sequetur te.*

³³ *Item dosis eius u. I cum ovis formicarum mulieribus exhibita facit eas pedere per tres dies, Comp. aur. 218,2f.; cf. Cyr. II 31,25* (this material can hardly be Arabic in origin: possibly it derives from a lost book of the *Cyranides* dealing with plants).

³⁴ A personal anecdote concerning a cure is found in the *Cyranides*, the cure in this case being affected by the writer: ἐγὼ οὖν ποτε ὑδεριώση γυναικὶ περιῆψα τὸν λίθον καὶ ἀλυπότατα περιεγεγόμενῃ (περιεγένετο Βαίν) τοῦ πάθος. παύρῳ γοῦν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτῆς ἐμέτρον καὶ παρὰ τέσσαρας δακτύλους <μειούμενον> ἀεὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας εὕρισκον καὶ εἰς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὄγκον τῆς γαστρὸς τὴν γυναικῆ ἔστησα. εἶτα ἀφειλόμην τὸν λίθον (Cyr. IV 65,17ff.).

³⁵ *Et nota quod vidi apoplecticum trium dierum cui potio per violentiam iniecta fuit, statim surrexisse et curatum fuisse in Melantida regione, Comp. aur. 216,10ff.*

³⁶ *Μελανίτις γῆ: An Unnoticed Greek Name for Egypt. New Evidence for the Origins and Etymology of Alchemy?*, in *The World of Ancient Magic*. «Proceedings of the First International Eitrem Seminar (Norwegian Institute, Athens, 4-8 May, 1997)», edd. D.R. Jordan, H.J.C. Montgomery, E. Thomassen, Bergen 1999, 205-226.

³⁷ The Ἀρχαϊκή is an earlier work of the alleged author of the Κυρανίς, Harpocration, who refers to it three times in the *Cyranides*: prologue, 13ff., prologue, 69ff., and I 7,53. The only other references to it are to be found in the work that survives in two astrological manuscripts and is known as *Περὶ παιωνίας* (see CCAG VIII/1 187-193 and VIII/2 166-171; the text is a fuller version of what is found on that plant in Cyr. I 3) and in the alchemical writer, Olympiodorus, who quotes from it (see note 37), Barthelot-Ruelle 101,17. See K. Alpers, *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus und den Kyraniden*, «Vestigia Bibliae» VI (1984) 13-87, part. 18ff.

³⁸ See Cyr. I 14,17, 15,16, 16,6, II 37,2, the Ἀρχαϊκή *ap.* Olympiodorus, Barthelot-Ruelle 102,2 (for the text see Alpers [previous note] 19).

³⁹ See G. Panayolou, *Paralipomena Lexicographica Cyranidea*, «ICS» XV (1990) 295-338, part. 323.

praecepit (*Comp. aur.* 215,13-216,1)⁴⁰. Significant also is the gloss on a Greek word *ad panselinum, id est ad lunam plenam*, *Comp. aur.* 217,8. It is just possible, I suppose, that an Arab writer familiar with the genre slipped all these items into a free composition based on Greek material, but that does not seem at all likely.

To return to Grelot. From where does he derive the misspellings *Kicanidorum* and *Kicanidis*? He has presumably either seen a manuscript in which *Kyranidarum* and *Kyrani* had been corrupted⁴¹, or else he has misread one in such a way as to produce this corruption. Where he had encountered a manuscript containing the text of the *Tractatus* headed *Compendium aureum* or containing an *explicit* to that effect must at the moment remain a mystery. Neither of the two manuscripts offering an *explicit* referring to the *Compendium aureum* emanates from a French library⁴². The Latin title offered by Grelot «*Compendium aureum seu volumen antiquorum Kicanidorum*», if it is not misremembered or confected from his reading of the preface in something like the form in which we have it in Delatte, suggests the existence of another manuscript containing the *Compendium* lurking in a French library and awaiting discovery.

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⁴⁰ For this motif in the *Cyranides* see *Cyr.* I 1,40 and 48, 15,33(C), 21,109f. and 135, II 6,9, 28,11f., 38,9f. and compare also *PGM* I 130, 192, IV 256, 475, 851, 1872, 2511, 2519, XII 94, 322, *CCAG* VIII/1, 191, *CH* XII 22, 'Thessalus' 2. epil. (Friederich 1968, 263), Firmicus Maternus VIII 33. See in general Speyer (note 13) 65f.

⁴¹ The words in question are frequently corrupted in the manuscripts used by Delatte (as they are in the manuscripts of the Latin translation of the *Cyranides*: see Delatte's apparatus at 13,3, 8,14, 15; 14,9, 10; 17,12; 18,13; 97,17; 98,2, 6, 8; 179 add.; 180,1; 206 add.), but there are no examples of *r > c* in any of them. Grelot's *-is* ending for the name of the king is paralleled by the genitive in the manuscript **E** (*kyrannis*). The *-orum* ending for the name of the books is paralleled by the reading of **H** (this manuscript repeats the error at the end, 233,4).

⁴² Of the six manuscripts used by Delatte, two are to be found in German libraries, **E** (Erfurdt, *Amplonianus* 4^o, 217) and **B** (Berlin 900), one, **M** (*Marcianus* gr. IV 57), in the Biblioteca Marciana and one, **V** (Vienna 5289), in Vienna.