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## The German Translations of Lanfranc of Milan's *Chirurgia parva*: from Latin to Vernacular or from One Vernacular to the Other?\*

**Abstract:** Lanfranc of Milan is considered as one of the most influential surgeons of the late Middle Ages and his Latin works – the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna* – have informed surgical practice until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The importance of his works (1293/1294 and 1296) is witnessed by the large number of vernacular translations produced after their original compilation. Overall, three High German translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* have come down to us: 1. the significantly shortened version transmitted in Vatican City, MS Pal. Lat., 1117; 2. the integral version preserved in Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376 and in Erlangen, University Library, MS B 3; and 3. the early modern printed translation by Otto Brunfels. Even though the Latin source of these translations has never been identified precisely, it has been traditionally taken for granted that they were based on a Latin model. Nevertheless, a series of correspondences between the two manuscript versions and the French translation transmitted in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS A 85.2 seem to indicate that a vernacular source is also possible. In this study, the two German manuscript translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* will be taken into consideration with respect to the problems connected with the identification of their source(s), trying to ascertain whether they are really based on a Latin model, or, as suggested by Claude De Tovar, they are rather connected with the French vernacularization of the text witnessed by the Bern manuscript.

### 1. Lanfranc of Milan's *Chirurgia parva*

From the fourteenth century onward, the “sudden emergence of a vernacularized medical literature”<sup>1</sup> led to a remarkable production of vernacular translations of Latin surgical works, which made accessible medical and surgical teachings to the surgeons of that period, i.e., to not-university-trained practitioners, such as “on-the job trained surgeons, barber-surgeons”<sup>2</sup> who wanted to read the texts of their craft but could not read them in Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Among these, the late-thirteenth-century surgical works of Lanfranc of Milan,<sup>4</sup> the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna*,<sup>5</sup> were translated into many vernacular languages, thus contributing to the development and dissemination of Lanfranc's rational surgery<sup>6</sup> in many European countries. His first work, the *Chirurgia parva*,<sup>7</sup> particularly enjoyed great popularity.

Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* is a short version of his major work<sup>8</sup> and owes its great fortune to its brevity, which makes it ideal for a quick and easy reference.<sup>9</sup> The text

consists, in fact, of a brief introduction to surgery including all the traditional surgical topics, the treatment of fractures and dislocations, as well as a detailed description of the different kinds of abscess that is strongly indebted to the humoral theories of the time.<sup>10</sup> The surgical compendium is traditionally divided into sixteen chapters,<sup>11</sup> dealing with:

- I. The surgeon's skills (*De intentione cyrurgici*)
- II. The wounds caused by sharp weapons (e.g. swords) (*De vlnere facto cum puncta alicuius instrumenti, ut gladio vel sagitta*)
- III. Stab or knife wounds (*De vlnere facto cu(m) ense, vel alia re incidente*)
- IV. Wounds in nerves (i.e., injured nerves) (*De incisione nerui*)
- V. Haemorrhages (*De fluxu sanguis ex vena vel arteria*)
- VI. Wounds with fracture (*De vlnere in carne cum osse*)
- VII. Head injuries with skull fracture (*De vlnere capitis cum fractura cranei*)
- VIII. Head injuries without skull fracture (*De omni uulnere sine fractura cranei*)
- IX. Bites by rabid dogs (*De morsu canis rabidi*)
- X. Abscesses (*De apostematibus*)
- XI. The treatment of abscesses (*De curis apostematum omnium*)
- XII. Ulcers (*De vlceribus differentia*)
- XIII. The treatment of dislocations (*De algebra siue restauratione*)
- XIV. Fractures (*De fractura ossis*)
- XV. Eye diseases (*De egritudinibus oculi*)
- XVI. Pharmacopoeia (*De antidotis*).

The last section, which includes medical remedies divided into nine categories according to their different effect (repercussives, resolutive, maturative, mundificative, regenerative, consolidative, corrosive, cauterie and mollificative), is generally considered the most original part of the whole work.<sup>12</sup>

The good fortune of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* is witnessed not only by the extant manuscripts transmitting the Latin original text,<sup>13</sup> but also by the large number of vernacular translations and adaptations which have come down to us. Vernacular versions of the text are, in fact, preserved in Italian (Venetian and Tuscan),<sup>14</sup> Catalan, Castilian, Occitan, French, Hebrew, Dutch, English and (High and Low) German.<sup>15</sup>

As for the High German language area, none of the extant versions is the first, original vernacular translation; moreover, even if it has been traditionally taken for granted that they were based on a Latin model, their sources are still unidentified. Particularly interesting is, in this respect, the thesis of Claude De Tovar, who in 1982–83 pointed out various correspondences between the French and the German versions of the text and suggested a possible genetic relationship between them.

In this study, we will present both the French and the German traditions of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* and then we will investigate the main correspondences between these two vernacular renderings in order to ascertain the validity of De Tovar's theory, and consequently whether the German versions really depend on an earlier French translation, or they are rather based on a Latin source.

## 2. The French Translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*

On the whole five manuscript witnesses transmit three different French translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*, none of which has ever been edited.

The first translation is transmitted in two manuscripts, Bern, Burgerbibliothek ms. A 95 (*B*),<sup>16</sup> fol. 1–38, dated in the early thirteenth century (about 1314), and in a fifteenth-century codex, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 1037 (*SG*), fol. 1–20v.<sup>17</sup> *B* is almost contemporary to Lanfranc's original writing, but unfortunately it is fragmentary because of a loss of folios: in fact, the translation begins in the middle of chapter VII (*De vulnere capitis* 'On head injuries') and breaks off after the second paragraph of the final pharmacopoeia; even chapter XI (*De curis apostematum omnium* 'On the treatment of all kinds of abscesses') is not complete.<sup>18</sup> Yet, the French text is an almost faithful translation of the Latin original, even if sometimes it includes some explanatory glosses, probably inserted in order to make the text more accessible to practitioners and surgeons who had not mastered medical science.<sup>19</sup> *SG* probably transmits the most reliable translation.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless the text is not complete: chapters V, VI and VII are completely omitted,<sup>21</sup> even if the manuscript shows no sign of a loss of folios. Even though the text does not include any glosses or additions, it is strictly connected to the version transmitted in *B*.<sup>22</sup>

The second translation is witnessed in a fifteenth-century codex preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2029 (*BN*), fol. 53–79v.<sup>23</sup> Even in this case, the text is not complete, and a chapter of the final pharmacopoeia is now lost. Moreover, the antidotary is not completely translated into French, as, in the recipes, the names of the ingredients are Latin.<sup>24</sup>

The third translation is transmitted in two manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. fr. 19994 (*a*), fol. 58–95, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 11649 (*b*), fol. 12–41.<sup>25</sup> Both manuscripts are dated in the fifteenth century and are strictly connected to each other,<sup>26</sup> even if in *b* some parts are omitted, e.g. the end of the surgical part and the beginning of the antidotary.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, medical remedies are usually untranslated in both *a* and *b*.

Even though all these five witnesses show discordances, Claude De Tovar suggests that they could be all copies of a now lost (or still unknown) original version, i.e. they could depend on the same first French rendering of Lanfranc's work, which was probably made in North Eastern France soon after the composition of the Latin original. Moreover, the study of the French tradition made clear that during the fourteenth century there was a wide dissemination of vernacular surgical texts especially in the Lower Rhine and Flanders areas.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, De Tovar claims that this first French translation could have been the model of other vernacular translations, namely one or even more High German renderings.

### 3. The German Versions of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*

As for the German language area, the vernacular rendering of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* is transmitted in three manuscripts. Even in this case, none of these extant versions is original and they are all copies of previous exemplars.<sup>29</sup>

#### 3.1. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat 1117

A first translation is transmitted in the manuscript now preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1117 (*V*).<sup>30</sup> The codex is a paper manuscript of 261 folios written by one hand<sup>31</sup> in *littera cursiva gotica* and set up in Prague between 1446 and 1448.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript contains a collection of medical and surgical texts written both in Latin and in German (i.e. East Middle German) and includes<sup>33</sup>:

- fol. 1r–106v Avicenna, *Simplices medicinae libri secundi Canonis* (selection of simple remedies);
- fol. 107r–109v *Registrum simplicium* (this part is an addition to the previous text);
- fol. 111r–152v *Breviatorium de viribus herbarum*;
- fol. 153r–v *Hec sequencia sum expertus. Item habui quendam patientem in Ausk...; ... quendam habui sacerdotem in Myssen...;*
- fol. 154 r–v “*De citrino colore*” *Regula. Vrina citrina in colore*;
- fol. 154v *Item bene notandum quod quatuor sunt regiones humani corporis*;
- fol. 155r–158v *Regulae urinarum ex metro Aegidii*;
- fol. 159r–164r Guilhelmus, *De urinis*;
- fol. 164v *Contra inflammationem mammillarum et duriciem. Recipe fecis vini antiqui*;
- fol. 165r–167v recipe collection (in German);
- fol. 167v *...pro fastidio magistri Anglici...;*
- fol. 168r–v ‘*De lapidibus preciosis quibusdam*’ *Adamas est cristallo obscurior ferro non frangitur...;*
- fol. 168v aphorism (in German);
- fol. 169r mnemonic verses on Septuagesima and Easter (in German);
- fol. 169v blank;
- fol. 170r–v recipes (in German);
- fol. 171r–218v Nicolaus De Polonia, *Chirurgia* (in German);
- fol. 218v three Latin recipes;
- fol. 219r–221v recipes for narcotic and sleeping drugs (in German);
- fol. 222r–225v German *Quid pro quo*;
- fol. 226v–240r Lanfrancus, *Chirurgia parva* (in German);
- fol. 241r–249r Excerpts on medical practice taken from Avicenna, Roger, Rasis, Constantinus;
- fol. 250r blank;
- fol. 250v *Notandum quod ista metra Virgilii primo bucolicorum possunt scribi bono amico* (Buc. Ecl. 1,60–64).<sup>34</sup>

As for the German version of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*,<sup>35</sup> *V* is not a complete and *verbatim* translation of Lanfranc's work, but rather an abridged version dealing mainly with wounds and ulcers. The text was most likely translated by a practitioner, i.e. by a not-university-trained surgeon, who was not so familiar with medical theories and with "technical" terms,<sup>36</sup> and who was especially interested in surgical practice rather than in theory. Consequently, all the theoretical parts of the Latin original as well as chapters XIII, XIV dealing with fractures, the ophthalmological chapter XV and the final pharmacopoeia are completely omitted.<sup>37</sup> The German text transmitted in *V* is therefore an abridged version of the Latin work based on a selection of topics depending on the translator's social and cultural background.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, it can be inferred that the translation's expected readership was mainly constituted by surgeons who could only read the vernacular and who were interested above all in practical instructions and procedures rather than in theoretical explanations:

Diese Auslassungen kennzeichnen bereits die Orientierung unseres Übersetzers: er schreibt für einen klar umgrenzten Rezipientenkreis, und zwar für den landessprachigen Wundarzt, dessen Stand er selber angehört und dessen praktischen Können er dementsprechend sicher einschätzt.<sup>39</sup>

[These omissions are indicative of our translator's attitude: he is writing for a clearly defined readership, i.e. for vernacular surgeons, to which he belonged and whose practical skills he certainly appreciates.]

Apart from all the abridgments and omissions, *V* does not always render Lanfranc's text accurately, as it often diverges from the Latin original. These differences could depend either on a corrupted Latin (?) model, on the misunderstanding of the text, or on its misreading, i.e. on an incorrect reading of the source by the translator.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, as *V* is just a copy of a previous, unknown, exemplar, some errors depend on the scribal misunderstanding or misreading of the vernacular text.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.2. *Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, ms. 376 and Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. B 32*

A second High German translation of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* is preserved – along with the *Chirurgia magna* – in two late-fifteenth-century manuscripts: Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, Ms. 376 (*K*) and Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B 32 (*E*).<sup>42</sup>

*K* is a Central German manuscript collection of medical-alchemical texts including:

fol. 1r	A fragment of Lanfranc's preface to the <i>Chirurgia magna</i>
fol. 1r–208v	Lanfranc's <i>Chirurgia magna</i> with some additions
fol. 209v–234v	Lanfranc's <i>Chirurgia parva</i>
fol. 234v–251v	A series of additions to the <i>Chirurgia parva</i>
fol. 252r–256v	A series of recipes on the treatment of wounds, abscesses and cancer
fol. 256v–270r	The second part of Guy's de Chauliac <i>Chirurgia parva</i>
fol. 271r–285r	Parts of a German translation of Jean's de Roquetaillade <i>Liber de Consideratione Quintae Essentiae</i>
fol. 286r–311v	An anatomical text – in form of questions and answers – on human anatomy
fol. 312r–314v	The first four chapters of Konrad von Megenberg's <i>Von der Sel.</i> <sup>43</sup>

On fol. 314v the manuscript contains the name of the scribe and the date of its completion:

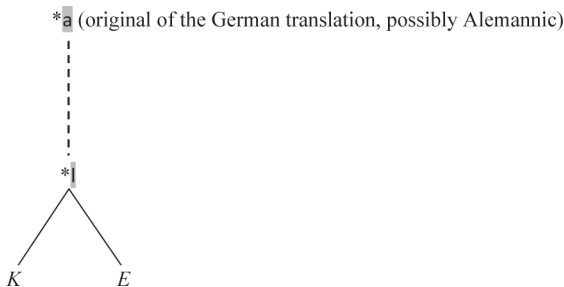
Nach Cristi geburt 1472 Jar ward dits puch vollendt am freytag vor aller heiligentag  
durch mich Conraden Schrecken vonn anschaffenburg.<sup>44</sup>

[This book was finished in the year of our Lord 1472, on the Friday before All Saints by  
me, Konrad Schreck from Anschaffenburg (probably: Aschaffenburg)]

Konrad Schreck might have been one of those professional scribes whose sociographic profile has been outlined by Karin Schneider with respect to the city of Augsburg.<sup>45</sup> We can tell for sure that he is not the German translator of Lanfranc's surgical works, and that his antigraph was unlikely the original German version of the two texts, which implies a vernacular tradition articulated in more phases that have not come down to us.<sup>46</sup>

A similar pattern of transmission can be assumed for the second manuscript including the translation of both Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna* and *Chirurgia parva*. *E* is a paper manuscript from the monastery of Heilbronn, which, apart from Lanfranc's surgical works (on fol. 1ra–193va and 193vb–251vb respectively), includes the German translation of Jean's de Roquetaillade *Liber de Consideratione Quintae Essentiae* (fol. 252ra–266va). On fol. 266va we find the date: "anno domini 1484".<sup>47</sup>

The collation of the two manuscripts has shown that *K* and *E* derive from the same antigraph. Based on this, Berg reconstructed the following stemma for the High German version of Lanfranc's works<sup>48</sup>:



This German version of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*, which is strongly dependent from its Latin source, is likely to have been produced by a surgeon addressing late medieval surgeons and surgeons-to-be who were more interested in operative technique and in pharmacology rather than in the details of the humoral pathological theory. In accordance with both the expectations of his envisaged readership and his own competence, the German translator tends to drastically shorten those theoretical passages of Lanfranc's text which presented greater difficulties and were less useful in everyday surgical practice.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. The German and the French Translations Compared

In her essay on the French translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*, Claude De Tovar highlights a series of correspondences between the French manuscripts, in particular *B*, and the German translations. On the basis of the comparison of *B* (*SG*) and *K* she suggests a possible genetic relation between the two vernacular traditions.<sup>50</sup> The first

element she underlines is that the German translation in *K* is of the same type of the French one preserved in *B*: “complete, littéraire et scrupuleusement fidèle” (complete, literal and scrupulously faithful).<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in both manuscripts Latin specialized terms are translated in the text and maintained in the antidotary. Her hypothesis is, however, mainly based on the analysis of a series of errors and passages diverging from the Latin source which are present in both vernacular translations.<sup>52</sup> In De Tovar’s vision, other similarities between the two versions of the *Chirurgia parva* transmitted in *B* and *K* can be found in the style and the vocabulary of the two texts. In the same context, De Tovar also points out an “unexpected” connection between *B* and the German version in *V*. Nevertheless, no example in support of her claim is provided in the essay.<sup>53</sup>

In the following, the two German manuscript versions of the *Chirurgia parva* will be compared with the French translation in *B* in order to test De Tovar’s hypothesis of a genetic dependence of the former from the latter. In this, particular attention will be paid to the errors and diverging lections which have been identified and notated in the critical apparatus to the editions of the German texts.

#### 4.1 *V* and *B*

As for the connection between *V* and *B*, our analysis is based on the errors as well as on the parts of the German version which differ from the Latin original which are listed in the critical apparatus in Scholz 1977. All these variants have been compared with the corresponding parts of both *B*<sup>54</sup> and the Latin original<sup>55</sup> in order to ascertain whether the relationship between these two vernacular versions is well-founded or not. As this is a preliminary study, we have just analyzed the most significant errors and the most evident omissions. Scribal errors such as haplographies or dittographies have not been considered as they are not relevant in order to identify *V*’s source.

Moreover, the examples made by Claude De Tovar in her comparison between *K* and *B* could not be taken into consideration, for the translation transmitted in *V* is an abridged version of the original text and many sections were not translated into German.

As already pointed out, *V* contains different kinds of errors, which could depend on translator’s misreading of the original text (table 1) or on scribal misunderstanding/misreading (table 2). Even the omission of some short sentences or words (table 3) depends most likely on scribal errors. Yet, none of these omissions as well as none of the most relevant errors of *V* occurs in *B*, which, on the contrary, transmits a translation which fully corresponds to the Latin original.

Table 1: *Translator’s Errors and/or Misreading*

<i>V</i> Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1117	<i>B</i> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva</i> (editio <i>princeps</i> 1498)
vnd wart das du dy <b>hertte</b> <b>materie</b> nicht an rurest (fol. 230v)	que tu ne touches la <b>dure mere</b> (fol. 1v)	ne tangas <b>duram matrem</b> (VII, fol. 161vb)
<b>reyffe</b> gerstten (fol. 232r)	<b>net</b> orge (fol. 4v)	hordei <b>mundi</b> (VIII, fol. 162ra)
<b>oppffelsafft</b> (fol. 232r)	<b>grains de pommes grenates</b> (fol. 4v)	<b>granorum granatorum</b> (VIII, 162ra)

<b>V</b> Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1117	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
durch ein gleichheit der <b>ercztey</b> (fol. 234v)	pour la semblance de la <b>matire</b> (fol. 9v)	[...] <i>propter similitudinem materie</i> [...] (X, fol. 162va)
Vnd ist ein <b>wetage</b> des lebes vnd neht sich czu dem pläuen (fol. 235v)	qua sa couleur est samblable a la <b>couleur</b> du cors (fol. 11v)	<i>et color</i> est similis colori corporis vel parum tendens ad liuorem (X, fol. 162va)
mit einer sickung kranckenn <b>matikeyt</b> (fol. 236r)	del action de faible <b>caleur</b> (fol. 12r)	per actionem debilis <b>caliditatis</b> (X, fol. 162vb)
vnd heißen denn <b>spamose</b> (fol. 237r)	<i>et</i> sont dictes <b>scaleuses</b> (fol. 15r)	<i>et tunc</i> dicuntur <b>squamose</b> (X, fol. 163ra)
vnd dar vme get <b>weißer</b> gruueß auß der swerre mit vil faullikeit, feuttikeit (fol. 238v)	Ses ulques il en i a <b>alcun</b> ven- imeus <i>et</i> a moult de venim (fol. 22v)	Est ergo in vlceribus <b>aliquod</b> virulentum cum multa putre- dine liquida (XII, fol. 163vb)
mit waßer in denn <b>aderen</b> (fol. 238v) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>in denn alaun</b>	de <b>aliu</b> resort en eue (fol. 22v)	cum aqua in qua resoluatur <b>alumen</b> (XII, fol. 163vb)
vnd <b>scheffefleysch</b> (fol. 239v)	<b>char de boef</b> (fol. 24v)	<b>carnes bouinas</b> (XII, fol. 164ra)

The table includes all the terms which were probably misunderstood by the translator, and which were thus wrongly rendered in the German version of Lanfranc's work. Nevertheless, they could depend on errors contained in the Latin copy which the translator used for his work,<sup>56</sup> or, according to Claude De Tovar's thesis, in the vernacular version which was used as model of both *V* and *B*.

The translator misread and misinterpreted *dura mater* as *dura materia* (*hertte materie*), *mundi* as *maturi* (*reyffe*), *color* as *dolor* (*wetage*), *materie* as *medicine* (*ercztey*), *calidatis* as *validatis* (*matikeyt*), *aliquod* as *album* (*weißer*). Moreover, the translator rendered *alumen* as 'blood vessel' (*aderen*) and completely changed the meaning of some words, for example *granorum granotorum* translated with *oppffelsafft* 'apple juice,' and *carnes bovinas* rendered with *scheffefleysch* 'mutton'.

The last example concerns a confusion between <q> and <p> in *squamose* 'scaly,' written as *spamose* which makes no sense: we can thus infer a misreading in the (Latin) copy used for the German rendering which was possibly interpreted as a technical term by the translator and therefore maintained in the vernacular text. Of course, it could also be a scribal misreading occurred in the copying of *V*: the first German version had the Latin word *squamose* which was wrongly copied by the scribe of the version transmitted in Pal. lat. 1117.

None of these errors occur in the French witness which offers a faithful, almost word-for-word translation of the Latin text. Therefore, the comparison between the German version preserved in *V* and the French one transmitted in *B* does not confirm De Tovar's thesis of a possible connection between the two vernacular renderings of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*.



Table 2: Scribal Errors and Misreading/Misunderstanding

V Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1117	B Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
Ist aber der siche <b>meck</b> (fol. 232r) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>iunck</b>	Se li malades... est <b>ioiennes</b> (fol. 5r)	Si autem eger <b>iuuenis</b> fuerit (VIII, fol. 162ra))
Ist aber in der wunde wer ein <b>sulches</b> (fol. 233v) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>hulches</b>	Et ch'il a en la plaie aucune <b>profondeite</b> (fol. 6v)	Item si fuerit in vulnere aliqua <b>concauitas</b> (VIII, fol. 162rb)
<vnd> das <b>sol</b> (fol. 233v) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>hol</b>	et la <b>profondeche</b> (fol. 6v)	<i>et concauitas</i> (VIII, fol. 162rb)
vnd durch ein leychtikit vnd <b>feuttikeit</b> der matieren (fol. 234v) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>feurikeit</b>	pour la legierite <i>et</i> le <b>igneite</b> de la matire (fol. 9v)	<i>propter leuitatem et igneitate</i> m materie (X, fol. 162va)
vnd nach mancherley der <b>sterbe</b> vnd kranckheÿt des gelides (fol. 237r) *In Scholz's edition amended with <b>sterke</b>	et seron la diversite de la <b>force</b> et de la foiblece du membre (fol. 15r)	<i>et secundum diuersitatem fortitudinis et debilitatis membri</i> (X, fol. 163ra)

This second table contains errors due to the scribe and not to the translator. Nevertheless, the comparison between *V*, the French version transmitted in *B* and the Latin text is not ideal in order to highlight a scribal wrong reading, because *V* is not the German original version, but a copy of one or even more previous German translation(s).<sup>57</sup>

In fact, the errors shown in the table can be better understood only if we presuppose a German text which was used by the scribe of *V* as model for his copying and which then caused the scribal misreading. For instance, the confusion between <h> and <l> in *hulches* and *hol* 'hole' written as *sulches* 'such' and *sol* 'shall'; <iu> and <m> in *iunck* 'young' rendered as *meck* (?); or even the confusion between <r> and <t> in *feurikeit* 'inflammability' copied as *feuttikeit* 'moistness' (?; see Germ. *feuchtigkeit*) and <k> and <b> in *sterke* 'strength' written as *sterbe* 'to die'.

Of course, this kind of errors does not occur in *B* and so it cannot be taken into account in order to confirm the possibility of a connection between the German and the French versions.

Table 3: Omissions

V Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1117	B Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
Vnd auf dy leczte habe große kußle von werg, dy du hast geneczte [...] in der erczteÿ (fol. 230v)	Au de estam aiez grans plumacheus de estoupes <b>baignies en ewe froide en este et en iver en ewe caude et bien esprains a les enmoistis</b> en tele medecine (fol. 1v-2r)	Ad vltimum habeas pluma-ceolos magnos seu stuppas magnas <b>madefactas in aqua frigida in estate et in hyeme in calida, et bene exprimas quas madefacias</b> in medicina (VII, fol. 161vb)

<b>V</b> Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Pal. lat. 1117	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
mug den hiren schedel < <b>bedecken</b> > (fol. 231r)	<b>couvrir</b> le test (fol. 2v)	<b>cooperire</b> craneum (VII, fol. 161vb)
oppffelsafft [...] x ader jx, sevd das durcheinander... (fol. 232r)	grains de pommes grenates. <i>et. i</i> <b>prumnes seiches .x. en nombre</b> toutes ches choses soient cuites... (fol. 4v–5r)	granorum granatorum. 3. i. <b>prunorum siccorum decem numero</b> omnia coquantur... (VIII, fol. 162ra)
so macht leucoflematicam, das < <b>ist ein waßerkeyt</b> > (fol. 235r)	leucoleraquam (?) qui <b>est une espece de une ydropesie</b> (fol. 10r)	<i>et</i> facit leucoflegmaticam, que <b>est vna species ydropisis</b> (X, fol. 162va)
Enczwar sy ist an einer stat vnd < <b>macht ein druße, dy</b> > heyst simea (fol. 235r)	ou en i leu <b>et fait empostume</b> qui est dis grans (fol. 10r)	aut in vno loco <b>et facit apostema quod dicitur zimia</b> (X, fol. 162va)
das anruest ein kellte < <b>durch der kelte</b> > willen der materien (fol. 235r)	frois torchier <b>pour la froidure</b> de la mateire (fol. 10r)	frigiditas tactus <b>propter frigid- itatem</b> materie (X, fol. 162va)
der do ist gewest < <b>meins meisters</b> > (fol. 238v)	qui fu de <b>vostre mestre</b> (fol. 21v)	qui fuit <b>magistri nostri</b> dicen- dus in fine (XI, fol. 163vb)
Vnd wirt offte aus einer harten druß, dy do geschit auß der faullen natulien meloncolien: [...] so saltu hicze plaster dar auf legen (fol. 239r)	en <i>convertent</i> de une dure apostume faite de melencolie naturel <b>neant pourie quant</b> l'emplastre o choses chaudes <i>et emflambant</i> (fol. 23v)	aut fit <i>conuertendo</i> ex aposte- mate duro facto ex melanco- lia naturali <b>non putrefacta</b> cum emplastretur <i>cum rebus</i> calidis <b>inflammantibus</b> (XII, fol. 164ra)
... heyßen fistulas wen sy [...] haben hertykeyt inwenig... (fol. 240r)	... apellent fistulle <b>n'a mie du- reice caleuse dedens</b> (fol. 25v)	... vocant fistulam, <b>non habent durtiem callosam</b> interius (XII, fol. 164ra)

This last table includes omissions of single words, groups of words or very short sentences which could be due to errors made by either the scribe of *V* or the translator of the first German version. Unfortunately, even in this case, all these differences from the Latin original work are not relevant in order to ascertain whether there is a relationship between the German translation and the French rendering of Lanfranc's work preserved in *B*, as the latter offers, on the contrary, a complete and faithful translation of the Latin text.

In light of the different kinds of errors occurring in *V* (translator's misreading, scribal misreading and omissions) and of the comparison between these and the French version transmitted in *B*, which offers a faithful and complete rendering of the Latin text, there is no textual evidence confirming Claude De Tovar's thesis of a possible relationship between these two vernacular versions of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva*.

#### 4.2 K, (E) and B

Consistently with the above-outlined manuscript tradition of the text, the East Central German version of the *Chirurgia parva* in *K* (and *E*) displays various layers of errors and variants, which came into being in the different phases of its transmission.

Chronologically the first layer of variants is represented by the modifications of the source text which occurred during the translation process. These can be ascribed either to the translator's style and technique, to his own interests and those of his expected readership (table 1), or to more contingent reasons, such as, for example, the misreading or misunderstanding of the source text (table 2). As we have seen, the German *Chirurgia parva* preserved in *K* and *E* was produced in a surgical context, possibly by a surgeon writing for colleagues and colleagues-to-be who could not read Latin. This mainly surgical focus of the text is reflected in the omission and shortening of some of the theoretical passages of Lanfranc's original. In some cases, the German translator integrates Lanfranc's diction with supplementary information and terminological explanations. As for errors, the largest part of them is caused by the misreading of the Latin text or by the misinterpretation of abbreviations.<sup>58</sup>

The second layer of variants came into being during Konrad Schreck's transcription of the German translation of the *Chirurgia parva*. These are usually caused by the misreading of the German source, or by haplography or dittography.<sup>59</sup>

Given the state of the manuscript tradition of this German *Chirurgia parva* and the absence of manuscript witnesses for the phases of transmission preceding *K* (and *E*), only errors due to the misreading of the antigraph can be attributed with certainty to the one or the other layer on the basis of the language of the exemplar: if the misread word or abbreviation is Latin, the mistake can be ascribed to the translator, if, on the other hand, it is German, we can speak of a scribal error produced by Konrad Schreck or by a predecessor of his. In case of omissions and integrations to Latin text, we cannot be sure whether they came into being during the translation of Lanfranc's text or during the later copying of this translation. Nevertheless, since, as suggested by Berg,<sup>60</sup> many of these omissions and integrations seem to be referable the specific interests of a surgeon, they are more likely to be the work of the surgeon who translated the text, rather than of the professional scribe who copied it.

In the context of this essay, which is aimed at testing Claude de Tovar's hypothesis of a possible French source for the German version of the *Chirurgia parva* in *K*, purely scribal errors (i.e., those involving the misreading of a German word, dittography, or haplography) are of no relevance and will not be taken into consideration. More significant is, on the other hand, the systematic comparison of the translator's omissions, integrations, and errors with both the French version in *B* and the Latin text (as in the 1498 *editio princeps*). In this context, we will avoid including *E* in the comparison, since, as demonstrated by Berg,<sup>61</sup> it derives from the same branch of the tradition of *K* and its analysis would be scarcely relevant for our research question.

Table 1: Translator's Omissions and Integrations into the Latin Text

K Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376	B Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
vnd die wirtt ee geheilt den die andern all, ist das es <b>kein neruum troffen hat oder kein fellein, das das bein bedeckt</b> (f. 210r)	-	<i>Et illud omnibus citius con- solidatur; quia si <b>non tetigit neruum: nec panniculum: nec chordam: nec musculum tegentem os suppositum</b></i> (II, fol. 161rb)
vnd heiß jnn halten ein streng diett, <b>bis das apostem geligt</b> (f. 210v, 15)	-	<i>Et iniunge ei dietam strictam vsque ad sedationem apos- tematis doloris et inflationis</i> (II, fol. 161rb)
des zeichen sint [...] <b>puls etcetera</b> , die da werden von der wurckenden hitz (f. 215v)	li signe sont [...] <b>pous par les undations</b> qui se font pour le caleur qui oenre en la matire (fol. 9r)	cuius signa sunt [...] <b>pulsus propter inundationes</b> : que fiunt calore agente in materia (X, fol. 162va)
Ist aber das die colera jn dem leyb herschett <b>vnd nit fault</b> (f. 215v)	Se la coule chose seignourist <b>ou elle puorist ou non</b> (fol. 9r)	Colera vero si corpori dom- inatur: <b>aut putrefit: aut non</b> (X, fol. 162va)
vnd ist <b>kein smertz</b> (f. 216r)	<b>petite douleur</b> de plaie (fol. 10r)	<b>paruum vel nullus dolor</b> (X, fol. 162va)
des zeichenn ist grosse hert- tenn von <b>trücken</b> wegennn der materia <b>vnd jre grobin vnd feinsten, die die statt vntentp- fintlich macht</b> (f. 216v)	li signes est <i>grans dureite</i> por la secheur <i>et</i> la <b>dureite et grosseur</b> de la mateire. <i>et</i> <b>sens douleur pour le defaut de la chaleur et lespoissent de la mateire qui tient tout le liu aussi comme innisible</b> (fol. 10v–11r)	cuius signum est durities propter <b>siccitatem et gros- siciem materie et sine dolore propter abstentiam caloris et compactionem materie occupantis locum quasi insensibilem</b> (X, fol. 162va)
vnd <b>nach mangerley der sterckin vnd bloden</b> dess entpfahenden glids. (fol. 218r)	<b>seront la quantite de la porpotion de chasome de ces humeurs et seron la diversite du lieu et seron la diuersite de la force et de la foiblece</b> du membre qui rechoit les (fol. 13r)	<b>secundum diuersam quantitatem illius humo- ris: et secundum diuersi- tatem loci: et secundum diuersitatem fortitudinis et debilitatis</b> membri recipienti (X, fol. 163ra)
vnd wider das giff das von gantzem geschlecht wider des menschen natur ist, also das ich sicher sag (fol. 220v)	le venim <i>contraire</i> a le hu- mainne <i>complexion</i> de toute espece <b>elle muet le vent, elle estrait le fleus</b> . Si que ie di seurement (fol. 20v)	<i>et contravenenum contrar- ium humane complexioni</i> a tota specie. <b>Inuenitur etiam mouere ventrem et stringere fluxum</b> : itaque secure dico (XI, fol. 163va)

<b>K</b> Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
Vnd die sint alle gar subtil vnd dem synn vnbegreifen- lich, wiewol man sie versten mag (fol. 224v)	<i>et tuit chil cors sont soutil et aussi quil ne puissent com- prendre par les sens d'omme mes il sont bien compris par entendement</i> (fol. 29v)	<i>et omnia illa corpora sunt subtilissima: et quasi incom- prehensibilia sensu visus: sed intellectu optime compre- henduntur</i> (XV, fol. 164va)
Man widerschlecht die kalten materia eigentlich nit, wiewol man ir etwann wert jn dem anfang mit außlerung der materia, das sie sich zu dem glid nit sammelt (fol. 228r)	Mature froide ne se reper- cutene proprement mes leu la deffent aucune fois an <i>commencement</i> o la euacua- tion de la materie <b>et o le confortation dou membre</b> que la matire ne se amoncelle (fol. 38r)	Materia frigida proprie non repercutitur: sed aliquando in principio <i>cum</i> euacuati- one materie: <b>confortatione membra prohibetur: que non fiat materie collectio.</b> (XVI, fol. 165rb)
so man mit eim finger dar greiff vnd darnach mit dem andern vnd ein etwan fern von dem andern. Vnd ist mit swerein on smertzen (fol. 216v)	se tu le palpes oste ij dois de tes ij mains en metant lun loing del autre <b>tu sentiras inundation sous ces dois si que lun doit emplir l'autre souz l'autre</b> <i>et est opois sans douleur</i> (fol. 11v)	si palpaueris illud cum duo- bus digitis duarum manuum, ponendo digitum semotum aliquantulum ab alio: <b>tu senties inundationem sub digitis, ita quod vnus digitus impellis vndam sub alio: et est cum pondere sine dolore</b> (X, fol. 162vb)
vnd ist die vnterscheid der zweyer gleich als die vnter- scheid eins steins vnd einer blasen. Vnd ist auch gleich eim iclichen wasserigen apostemm, den das die vnter- scheid ist als des wasserigen vnd wundigen apostems etcetera. (fol. 217r)	Mes qui set deuiser entre la dureche d'une pierre et la dureche d'une vessie plaine de vent <b>et sache deuiser entre dur e estendu i sara il sara bien deuiser entre ces deus enpostumes</b> car il sente resambent. Mes il i a differenche undosite qui est en l'apostume emeus e ce quil ma de undosite en l'apostume (fol. 12r-v)	Sed qui scit discernere inter <i>duritiem lapidis et duritiem vescice porci plene vento. Et si scit discernere inter du- rum et extensum: bene scit discernere inter haec duo apostemata.</i> Et similiter as- similatur apostemati aquoso: sed differentia est undositas que est in aqueo <i>et carentia undositatis: que est in aposte- mate ventoso</i> (X, fol. 162vb)

<b>K</b> Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
Item sie sint vntr scheiden vonn dem crebs vnd von der fisteln als das genus vonn dem geschlecht, wen ein iclicher offener crebs ist eyynn fisteln vnd ein geswer vnd nit herwider umb, vnd so es 2 oder 3 monat on geheilt bleibt, so heist es den nit ein wund, besunder es heist ein geswer oder fistel. (fol. 221v)	Encore elles different du chancre <i>et</i> de la fistule car tous cancre <i>et</i> toute fistele est ulques mes tous ulques n'est pas chancres ne fistele <b>et en che sera menifestee l'error. de roger et de rollant qui dient que toute plaie</b> puis que elle aura trespasse par.ij. mois ou par.iiij. <i>et</i> n'est en cures ce n'est pas ulques mes mes est chancres ou fusteles (fol. 22r)	Iterum differt a cancro <i>et</i> fistula sicut genus a specie: quia omnis cancer vlceratus <i>et</i> fistula vlcus est: sed non conuertitur: <b>et in hoc manifestabitur error Rogerij et Rolandi: qui dicunt que omne vulnus</b> post quam tranterit per duos vel tres menses incuratum iam non vulnus sed cancer vel fistula nuncupatur (XII, fol. 163vb)
Zu letzt hab gros plümaceolos, <b>das neben der bintten ligt</b> , vnd vil wercks genetzt jn kaltem wasser jn dem sommer (fol. 212v)	An de estam aiez grans plumacheus de estoupes baignies en ewe froide en este (fol. 1v–2r)	Ad vltimum habeas plumaceolos magnos seu stuppas magnas madefactas in aqua frigida in estate (VII, fol. 161vb)
Recipe pruna x, florum violarum, <b>borraginis, buglosse, ana ʒ semis</b> (fol. 227v)	Pren .x. prune en nombre de violectes seiches (fol. 36v)	Recipe pruna x. violarum siccarum (XVI, fol. 165ra)
das du die dura ( <b>das ist das grob fel, da das hirn jnnen ligt</b> ) nit berurst (fol. 212v)	que tu ne touces la dure mere (fol. 1v)	ne tangas duram matrem (VII, fol. 161vb)
<b>vnd die sint auch zweyerleÿ</b> , entweder einfeltig oder zusa-men gelegt (fol. 215r)	<i>et</i> ceste ou elle est simple ou elle est composte (fol. 8r)	<i>et hoc</i> aut simpliciter aut composite (X, fol. 162rb)

As this table clearly shows, the German text is usually more synthetic than both the Latin original and the French translation transmitted in *B*, which is generally calqued on the Latin diction. This tendency to concision is already evident in the first example analyzed, where the list of four anatomical terms appearing in Latin (*neruum*, *panniculum*, *chordam*, *musculum*) is reduced in German to *neruum* ‘nerve’ and *fellein* ‘membrane’. Similarly, the Latin pair *apostematis dolor et inflationis* of the second example has been simplified in German to the keyword *apostem* ‘tumescence’. The same technique is adopted in the German rendering of the Latin phrase *pulsus propter inundationes*, whose keyword *puls* ‘pulse’ has been maintained along with the adverb *etcetera*, while the French text in *B* is perfectly superimposable with the Latin original. In case two possibilities are contemplated by Lanfranc’s original, e.g., that the gall in someone’s body putrefies or not (*aut putrefit aut non*), or that the patient feels little or no pain (*paruum vel nullus dolor*), the German translator only mentions one of them (*nit fault* ‘does not putrefy,’ *kein smertz* ‘no pain’). In one case, this is the same method followed by the French translator who, however, chooses to render the phrase

*petite douleur* ‘little pain’. Many of the passages which have been shortened in *K* deal with humoral pathology. While the largest part of these omission simplifies the original diction without significantly modifying its message, the shortening of the criticism to Roger and Roland’s opinion on the definition of wound literally turns Lanfranc’s text upside-down. Berg interprets this translation choice as the stance of a competent person disagreeing with Lanfranc on this point.<sup>62</sup>

In a few cases the German version integrates the Latin original. These additions are either aimed at clarifying the original diction, its terminology, or at improving existing recipes integrating them with new ingredients and doses. None of these expansions finds correspondence in *B*.

Table 2: *Translator’s Errors*

<b>K</b> Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
ist das es jn der tieffen des glids ist, so heist es herpestio- menus (fol. 218r)	<i>et prennent la parfondeite du membre et tos li membres durs et est ditte tele maladie esquanchilos Se tous li membres est dit</i> espers (fol. 15v)	Si occupant profunditatem membri: <b>non tamen totum membrum dicuntur ab eo ascachilos. Si totum membrum dicitur herpes</b> (X, fol. 163ra)
also gehort den pluttigen las- sen zu vnd den colericis rein- igung der colere. (fol. 220r)	<b>L’enpostume de cole sia mestier de plus grant reper- cussion et de plus menor resolution</b> <i>et aussi comme il convient es apostumes de sanc faire sainnie ausi es apostumez de cole faire pur- gation de cole</i> (fol. 19r)	<b>Colerica autem maiori repercussione et minori resolutione:</b> <i>et sicut conuenit in sanguineis flobotomia: ita colericis conuenit purgatio colere</i> (X, fol. 163va)
Vnd jn das aug komen vnep- fintlich adern, die die gesicht tragen. (fol. 224v)	<i>et li pourfis font une com- position si noble quil i vient unes insensibles qui aportent nourrissement as ieus et ia arteres insensibles qui a leur aportent la vie</i> (fol. 29v)	<i>et ad oculum tam nobiliter compositum veniunt vene insensibles fere portantes eius nutrimentum. Et arterie fere iterum insensi- biles portantes eius vitam</i> (XV, fol. 164va)
vnd leg daruber <b>an dem tag</b> die ertzeney uberflussiglich (fol. 211v)	-	<i>et superpone de illa medicina abundanter</i> (V, fol. 161va)
so wirt das <b>erst</b> ein zeichen der grossennn blodikeitt (fol. 214r)	<i>est signes de grant foiblece de membre blechie et est mans signes</i> (fol. 5v–6r)	erit <b>prauum</b> <i>signum, scilicet signum magne debilitatis membri</i> (VIII, fol. 162ra)
wirt doch ir <b>farb</b> nit bracht in die superficies des leybes von jr sweren wegenn (fol. 216v)	<i>pour sa griete n’est mie presente sa couleur a la superfice du cors c’est antair</i> (fol. 11r)	tamen propter eius graui- tatem <i>non</i> presentatur <b>calor</b> eius ad superficiem corporis (X, fol. 162va)

<b>K</b> Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, MS 376	<b>B</b> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 95	<i>Chirurgia parva (editio princeps 1498)</i>
Die erst ist das das apostem jn dem <b>anfang</b> ist (fol. 219v)	La <i>prime</i> se le l'apostume est en <b>enfant</b> . (fol. 17r)	Prima si apostema fiat in <b>puero</b> . (XI, fol. 163rb)
an dem pein oder jn den <b>geleichen</b> ist (fol. 219v)	se elle est en <b>la geule ou sous les esseles ou es aines</b> (fol. 17r)	in <b>emunctorijs</b> (XI, fol. 163rb)
Antrax <b>ist</b> carbunculus (fol. 220r)	L'une apostume se claimne encre aus as autre maniere se claimne carboncles (fol. 19v)	Antrax <b>et</b> carbunculus (XI, fol. 163va)
Nach der sterckung des hert- zenn vnd aus lerung mit der <b>materia</b> (fol. 221r)	li cuers sera confortes <b>et</b> la <b>matere</b> sera evacue (fol. 21r)	Post confortationem cordis et euacuationem <b>materie</b> (XI, fol. 163vb)
die die <b>krancken</b> statt helt jn jren geleichen. (fol. 224r)	<i>et</i> la lie o fort liure qui tiegne le liu <b>ferme</b> en sa liure (fol. 27v)	<i>et</i> ligetur ligatura suavi tenente locum <b>firmum</b> in sua iunctura (XIII, 164rb)
vnd zergeng eins mit <b>rosen</b> wasser (fol. 226v)	Sol.i. .o. .eue de <b>rue</b> ou de fenouil (fol. 34r)	vnum ex his solue <i>cum</i> aqua <b>ruthe</b> vel feniculi (XV, 164vb)
vnd dillen oll vnd semen, malua, <b>sileris</b> (fol. 228v)	-	<i>et</i> oleum anetinum et semen eius. malua <b>siluestris</b> (XVI, fol. 165rb)
das macht die <b>melancoliam</b> vnd wasserheit (fol. 216v)	<b>moult</b> de aquosite (fol. 11v)	<b>multam</b> aquositatem (X, fol. 162vb)
die kalten sint jnn <b>allem</b> (fol. 218r)	la froide si est <i>comme</i> <b>neuz</b> (fol. 14v)	frigida sunt <b>nodi</b> (X, fol. 163ra)
So vach den an zulegenn auff die duram matrem von demm subtilsten pülüer, gemacht aus weyrauch, durch das <b>hirn</b> abgett (fol. 212v–213r)	<i>Et</i> lors commence a metre sus la dure mere de la poudre soutiue fete de anteus aseth les humeurs la quel pou- dre desten de par le <b>ceruel</b> (fol. 2r)	<i>et</i> tunc incipe ponere supra duram matrem de puluere subtilissimo facto ex thure <i>quod</i> descendit per <b>cribrum</b> (VII, fol. 161vb)
des ruckenn mit der <b>hilff</b> vnd jn allen geleichen (fol. 223v)	<i>comme</i> en la iointure du b... <b>a l'espaule</b> <i>et</i> aussi <i>comme</i> en toutes iointures (fol. 27r)	sicut in iunctura humeri <i>cum</i> <b>adiutorio</b> : <i>et</i> sicut in omnibus iuncturis (XIII, fol. 164rb)

This second table shows a wide palette of errors which can be attributed to the German translator. Some of them are the result of haplography, while others are caused by the misreading of a word of the original. The Latin preposition *de* in *de illa* ‘from that’ has been read as *die illa* and therefore rendered as *an dem tag* ‘on that day’; the adjective *prauum* ‘bad’ has been interpreted as *primum* ‘first’ and translated accordingly into German as *erst*. The similitude of the Latin terms *calor* ‘heat’ and *color* ‘colour’ has determined their confusion in both *K* and *B*. In the same way, the German translator read *iuncturis* ‘joints’ instead of *emunctoriis* ‘emunctories,’ *est* ‘is’ instead of *et* ‘and,’ *infirimum* ‘sick’ instead of *firmum* ‘firm, strong,’ *sileris* (genitive of *siler* ‘brook-willow’) instead of the adjective *siluestris* ‘wild,’ and *rosae* ‘of rose’ instead of *rutae* ‘of rue.’ Sometimes the erroneous interpretation of an abbreviation is responsible



for the diverging lection included in *K*: *mltā* = *multam* ‘many’ has been confused with *mliā* = *melancoliam* ‘melancholy’,<sup>63</sup> *pimo* = *primo* ‘first’ with *pu9o* = *puero* ‘child’,<sup>64</sup> *in ōi* = *in omni* ‘in all’ with *nodi* ‘knots’.<sup>65</sup> An analogous explanation can be given for the presence of *hirn* and *ceruel* ‘brain’ in *K* and *B* respectively as rendering of Latin *cribrum* ‘sieve’. We can, in fact, imagine an original *c9brum* being interpreted as *cerebrum* ‘brain’ rather than as *cribrum*, possibly under the influence of the chapter’s topic. In the final example, on the other hand, the German translator seems to have ignored the anatomical value of the term *adiutorium (os)* ‘humerus,’ a calque of Arabic *al-‘adud*,<sup>66</sup> and, therefore, has rendered it as *hilff* ‘help’ based on the most common meaning of the word.

Overall, only three of the errors attributable to the German translator identified in *K* find correspondence in the French version of the *Chirurgia parva* transmitted in *B*. This datum significantly relativizes Claude De Tovar’s statement according to which “les concordances [...] sont si nombreuses qu’un modèle commun, au moins au niveau di texte latin, semble s’imposer” (the correspondences [...] are so numerous that the existence of a common exemplar, at least a Latin one, can be taken for granted).<sup>67</sup> The evidential value of these alleged conjunctive errors is further reduced when three cases are taken into consideration more closely. All of them can, in fact, be ascribed to either the misreading of a single grapheme (<o> instead of <a> in the confusion *color/calor*, <a> instead of <e> in the use of the singular *materia* instead of *materie*) or to the erroneous interpretation of an abbreviation (in the confusion *cribrum/cerebrum*) in a deceptive context (i.e., in a passage where both the words *color* and *calor* were present, or in a chapter on head wounds where the word *cerebrum* is more likely to appear than *cribrum*). For this reason, the presence of only three, easy explainable errors in the two manuscripts cannot be considered indicative of a genetic relationship between *K* and *B*, since the two translators could have made the same mistakes independently.

Without incontrovertible textual evidence all other arguments adduced in support of De Tovar’s thesis lose importance. The comparison of the two vernacular translations in *K* and *B* has, in fact, shown that the German version is not as faithful to the Latin original as the French one, since it is usually more synthetic. Moreover, the correspondences in the use of Latin adapted loanwords in the vernacular (*termes calqués*)<sup>68</sup> are scarcely indicative, since both translators had to render highly specialized medical terms into a language fundamentally lacking a vernacular medical tradition and both had Latin terminology as reference and model. Equally irrelevant is the fact that both vernacular versions maintain Latin specialized terms in the antidotary, as this feature is connected to the dynamics of communication between surgeon and pharmacist,<sup>69</sup> and can therefore be found in other vernacular translations of Lanfranc’s works, such as the Middle English version of the *Chirurgia magna*.

### Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the two German manuscript versions of Lanfranc of Milan’s *Chirurgia parva* in order to test the hypothesis put forward by Claude De Tovar of a vernacular (French) rather than Latin source for these translations.

As for the first, strongly abridged translation preserved in *V*, the systematic comparison of all the diverging lections that can be ascribed to the German translator with the corresponding passages in both the Latin 1498 *editio princeps* and the French version in *B* has shown that no textual evidence whatsoever hints at a genetic connection between *V* and *B*.

The same kind of comparative analysis has also been applied to all translator's errors in *K* and has revealed the existence of three parallels with *B*. Nevertheless, these correspondences are the results of the misreading of single graphemes or of the misinterpretation of an abbreviation, possibly under the influence of the context and do not necessarily imply a genetic relationship between the two manuscripts.

For these reasons, even though the possibility of a – still unidentified – common Latin exemplar for the French and the German translations of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* cannot be disregarded *a priori*, the thesis of a vernacular source for the German versions of the text in *V* and *K*, however suggestive, does not find any support in the philological analysis of the manuscripts and can be categorically excluded.

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### Endnotes

- \* Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 3.1, 4.1 have been written by Marialuisa Caparrini, whereas Chiara Benati is the author of paragraphs 3.2, 4, 4.2. The conclusions are the result of the collaboration and discussion between the two authors who would like to thank warmly Sonia Maura Barillari (Università di Genova) and Daniele Speziari (Università di Ferrara) for patiently checking the transcription of the Bern manuscript and for their precious suggestions.
- 1 Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages*. Micrologus' Library, 15. Florence: SISMELE/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006, 241.
- 2 Rossell Hope Robbins, "Medical Manuscripts in Middle English," *Speculum*, XLV.3 (1970): 393–415; here 394.
- 3 McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 1), 241–42. On this, see also Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza, "Chirurgia magna di Lanfranco da Milano nell'Inghilterra tardo medievale," *Teoria e pratica della traduzione nel medioevo germanico*, ed. Maria Vittoria Molinari, Marcello Meli, Fulvio Ferrari, and Paola Mura. Padua: UNIPRESS, 1994, 107–38; here 113.
- 4 We do not know much about Lanfranc of Milan's biography, but at least a little information on his life can be drawn from his own works. He was probably born in Milan in the mid-thirteenth century (ca. 1245), and he trained surgery in Bologna with William of Saliceto (1210–1277). About 1270, he moved again to Milan, where he practiced surgery and became Master Surgeon, until he was banned, in 1290, from the city by Matteo Visconti, probably for political reasons. He then moved to France and reached Lyon, where he compiled a brief introduction to surgery, the *Chirurgia parva*. After about five years, in 1295, he arrived in Paris, where he was accepted into the *Confrérie de Saint-Côme et de Saint-Damien*, the first French surgical association, and where he practiced surgery, and, at the same time, taught both surgical theory

- and practice. During his stay in Paris, Lanfranc wrote his major text on surgery, the *Chirurgia magna* (1296), dedicating it to his friend Bernard, and to Philip the Fair, king of France (1285–1314). He probably died between 1306 and 1315. On this, see E. Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie und ihrer Ausübung. Volkschirurgie – Alterthum – Mittelalter – Renaissance*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Verlag von August Hirschwald, 1898, 765; Mario Tabanelli, *Chirurgia italiana nell'alto medioevo*. Biblioteca della "Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali", 15. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1965, 803–10; Roman Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva di Lanfranco da Milano nel manoscritto Ital. quart. 67 della collezione berlinese, conservato nella Biblioteca Jagellonica di Cracovia*. Collectio Fibulae, 8. Kraków: Faculty of Philology, Jagellonian University of Kraków, 2014, 9–10.
- 5 Both the original Latin works by Lanfranc have never been edited. On this, see Francesco Crifò, "Per la bona noticia de la sciencia e longa pratcha," *Capitoli di storia linguistica della medicina*, ed. Rosa Piro and Raffaella Scarpa. Milan and Udine: Mimesis, 2019, 165–80; here 166. As for the *Chirurgia parva*, a preliminary study to the edition of the text – almost impossible to find – was published in Heinz-Ulrich Röhl, "Textkristische Vorstudien zur 'Chirurgia parva' Lanfranks," Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn, 1976. In this study, Röhl indicated Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1165, fol. 131va–137vb (fourteenth century) as possible copy text of a future edition. The *editio princeps* of both Lanfranc's works was first printed at the end of the fifteenth century (*Cyrurgia Guidonis de cauliaco. Et Cyrurgia Brunii. Theodorici. Rogerij. Rolandi. Bertapalie. Lanfranci*", Venice; Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 1498).
  - 6 Lanfranc clearly elaborated his idea of a rational surgery in his major surgical work, the *Chirurgia magna*. According to him, surgery was a rational science, which could be taught and which could not be practiced without a thorough understanding of the basic medical theories. On this, see McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 1), 40–41. Of course, Lanfranc was well aware that surgery was not medicine and that it was above all a practical activity, yet, it should "obey" the guidance of medical theory. In this way, he was pointing out the importance of learning. On this, see also McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 1), 59.
  - 7 The *Chirurgia magna* is Lanfranc's major surgical work. The text is divided into five main books (or treatises), which, in turn, are divided into *doctrinae* and chapters, concerning surgical deontology; anatomy; wounds in general and wounds of specific parts of the human body and their treatment; diseases that can be treated with surgery; fractures and dislocations. The last treatise deals with medicines (*antidotarium*). For a more detailed description of the contents of the *Chirurgia magna*, see Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 4), 766–90, Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 11. Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna*, seems to have been less popular, since only five manuscripts and five incunabula transmit the original Latin text, nevertheless, it "at once became the source-book for all of Europe" (Leonard D. Rosenman, *The Surgery of Lanfranchi of Milan. A Modern English Translation. From "Lanfranks Science of Surgery" A Treatise Written in 1295 A.D. and Translated from Latin in Two Middle-English Manuscripts of 1380 and soon after*. Collated and ed. by Robert von Fleischhacker. Early English Text Society. Original Series 102, London 1894. Philadelphia, PA: XLibris Corporation, 2003, 15). On the fortune of the *Chirurgia magna*, see Gundolf Keil, "Lanfrank von Mailand," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 5: Kochberger, Johannes – >Marien-ABC<, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985, 560–72; here 563.
  - 8 "Preambulum ad majorem" (Claude De Tovar, "Les versions françaises de la *Chirurgia Parva* de Lanfranc de Milan. Étude de la tradition manuscrite," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12–13 (1982–1983): 195–262; here 196).
  - 9 On this, see De Tovar, "Les versions françaises" (see note 8), 198 and Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 16.

- 10 On this, see Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 18; De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 198.
- 11 The division of the text into sixteen chapters first appeared in the printed version of Lanfranc’s works in 1498, but, as Heinz-Ulrich Röhl and Gundolf Keil, “Tradition und Intention. Gliederungsprobleme bei der ‘Kleinen Chirurgie’ Lanfranks,” *Acta congressus internationalis XXIV historiae artis medicinae: 25–31 Augusti 1974, Budapestini II*, ed. József Antall, Géza Buzinkay, and Ferenc Némethy. Budapest: Museum, Bibliotheca et Archivum Historiae Artis Medicinae de I. Ph. Semmelweis Nominata, 1976, 1373–92 have pointed out, it is not original. See also Keil, “Lanfrank von Mailand” (see note 7), 562.
- 12 See also Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 18.
- 13 The Latin text of Lanfranc’s *Chirurgia parva* is preserved in thirty-eight manuscripts and six incunabula. On this, see Keil “Lanfrank von Mailand” (see note 7), 563; Crifò, “Per la bona noticia” (see note 5), 166. Röhl and Keil, “Tradition und Intention” (see note 11), 1387–88, list only thirty-one manuscripts.
- 14 On this, see Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4) and Crifò, “Per la bona noticia” (see note 5).
- 15 For the vernacular translations of Lanfranc’s *Chirurgia parva*, see Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 26–33. On the Low German fragment of the text, which is edited in Chiara Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung des Feldtbuchs der Wundarzney in Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4o: Edition und Kommentar*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 787. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2017, see also Chiara Benati, “Preventing Miscommunication: Early Modern German Surgeons as Specialized Translators,” *Communication, Translation and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 26. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022, 393–413.
- 16 The abbreviations used in this paper are the same of De Tovar’s study. For a description of *B*, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 200–03.
- 17 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 203–09.
- 18 See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 200.
- 19 See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 201. On this, see also Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 27.
- 20 See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 252. On this, see also Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 4), 28–29. The text was translated by Phelippe de Milli (“Cy fine le *petit Lenfranc* fait par Maistre Lenfranc de Milan a Lion sur le Rosne, translat [*sic*] par Phelippe de Milli soudoyer au castiel de Lisle en Flandres”). Apart from his name, we do not know anything about the translator of the version of *SG*. On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 204, note 2.
- 21 See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), note 1.
- 22 Both witnesses transmit, for example, the same mistake in the rendering of the name of William of Saliceto, translated as “Guillaume de Galicet”. See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 208.
- 23 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 209–11.
- 24 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 211, note 1.
- 25 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 213–27.
- 26 For the correspondences between *a* and *b*, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 218, note 2.
- 27 See De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 218, note 2.
- 28 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 253.
- 29 On this, see Detlef Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’ in einer Prager Überlieferung des Spätmittelalters. Altdeutsche Lanfrank Übersetzungen IV,” Ph.D. diss., University of

- Würzburg, 1977, 17 and Armin Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’ in der Abschrift Konrad Schrecks von Anschaffenburg. Altdeutsche Lanfrank-Übersetzungen, III,” Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1975, 19–20.
- 30 The manuscript was formerly preserved in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek.
- 31 A second, younger hand wrote fol. 169r. See Ludwig Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*. Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981, 66.
- 32 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 10; Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften* (see note 31), 66.
- 33 On this, see Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften* (see note 31), 67.
- 34 On this, see Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften* (see note 31), 67–68.
- 35 The text was edited by Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29).
- 36 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 14. In this regard, see, for example, *infra* Table 1 and the wrong translation of Latin *dura mater* which is always rendered with *hertte materie* ‘hard matter’ or some explanatory notes added by the translator to the text. On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 14, note 57 and 15, note 64.
- 37 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 14–15. For a complete list of all theoretical omissions, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 14, note 58.
- 38 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 15–16.
- 39 Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 15.
- 40 See Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 16–17.
- 41 For this kind of error, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 17–18.
- 42 This version is edited, on the basis of the Kalocsa witness, in Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29).
- 43 András Vizkelety, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der altdeutschen Handschriften in ungarischen Bibliotheken*, vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973, 211–14.
- 44 Gerhard Eis, *Medizinische Fachprosa des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982, 275.
- 45 Karin Schneider, “Berufs- und Amateurschreiber. Zum Latein-Schreibbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg,” *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp. *Studia Augustana*, 7. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995, 8–26. It cannot be excluded that he can be identified with the Conradus Schreck from Nuremberg, city pharmacist in Regensburg, who is mentioned in local sources from 1473 onward. On this, see also Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 115.
- 46 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 19–20.
- 47 Otto Pültz, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973, 44.
- 48 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 115–16.
- 49 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 22–23.
- 50 De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8).
- 51 De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 255.
- 52 On this, see De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 255.
- 53 “En outre, j’ai pu vérifier que la rédaction allemande, copiée a Prague en 1446 et qui, elle, remanie et altère profondément le texte de la *Chirurgia parva* (suppression des chapitres d’ophtalmologie, des passages théoriques, des recettes dans l’antidotaire), présente avec *B* des coïncidences ponctuelles surprenantes” (De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” [see note 8], 258).
- 54 As already pointed out, *B* has never been edited. Therefore, we use here the digitalization of the text which can be found at the following link: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/bbb/A0095-02/>.

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- 55 We use here the *editio princeps* printed in 1498 (see *supra* note 5).
- 56 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 17.
- 57 On this, see Scholz, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 17.
- 58 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 22–27.
- 59 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 19–21.
- 60 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 23.
- 61 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 115–17.
- 62 Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 24.
- 63 See also Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 86.
- 64 See also Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviatarum. Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1973, XXVI and 276a; Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 88.
- 65 See also Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviatarum* (see note 65), 248b.
- 66 On this, see also Emanuele Ventura, *La “Chirurgia Magna” di Bruno da Longobucco in volgare*. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020, 512.
- 67 De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 255.
- 68 De Tovar, “Les versions françaises” (see note 8), 256.
- 69 On this, see also Berg, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 29), 12.