

## A. Introduction

The subject of the following work is the edition of the medical-pharmaceutical text which has been passed on under the title the *Dynameron* of Nikolaos Myrepsos. The text and also the author have been traceable since the first half of the 14th century, in the Paris. Codex gr. 2243.

The *Dynameron* found immense popularity through the Latin translation and publication of Leonhard Fuchs, medical professor, botanist and chancellor of the University of Tübingen. It was published in the year 1549 under the title “Medicamentorum Opus, Nicolai Myrepsi Alexandrini”, and the codex used by Fuchs was very close to the Paris Codex. gr. 2243.

The following edition is based on eight manuscripts containing the text as well as Leonard Fuch’s Latin translation.

The aim was to publish the work for the first time after 8 centuries and to give the field of research access. The *Dynameron*, although very well known, was not yet published in its original Greek language.

Many questions arose during the analysis of the text. First of all, it was examined whether different versions of the text exist in the manuscript transmission, and if so, whether these could provide any hint as to the origin of the text in terms of language or content. The next step was to examine the question of the age and author of the text to see whether the *Dynameron* had or could have had any relation to other texts which were also passed on under the name of Myrepsos. The Latin translation tells us that the text enjoyed a large amount of respect, and that it influenced the later pharmaceutical compendia of the towns of the Occident, namely Western Europe, which defined the recipes from the *Dynameron* as the pharmaceutical norm<sup>1</sup>. Finally, it must be emphasized that Myrepsos’ *Dynameron* must be the subject of further research, as the people, words in the Greek language, ingredients and illnesses themselves provide for very interesting information.

## The manuscripts

When initially studying the text, there was, however, a complete breakdown of all available manuscripts which mentioned the name Myrepsos, as well as a drawn up list of all manuscripts, resulting in the following table:

1	Paris	BnF	gr. 2237	7–162 <sup>v</sup>	13 /14
2	Vatican	BAV	Palat. gr. 279	219–266	14
3	Paris	BnF	gr. 2243	2 <sup>v</sup> –551 <sup>v</sup>	14 (1339)
4	Venice	BNM	gr. app. V 8 (coll. 1334)	156–157 <sup>v</sup>	14

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<sup>1</sup> Cordo (1546), Enchiridion (1564), Dispensatorium (1565)

5	Vienna	ÖNB	med. gr. 30	440–445 <sup>v</sup>	14
6	Hagion Oros	Megiste Lavra	E 192	1 <sup>r</sup> –209 <sup>v</sup>	15
7	Oxford	Bodl. Libr.	Barocci 171	1–180	15
8	Berlin	SPK	Phillipps (180)	1583 1–42	15
9	Paris	BnF	gr. 2238	1–539	15
10	London	Wellcome Library	60	20–45	15
11	Paris	BnF	gr. 2315	276–277	15
12	London	British Library	Ms10058	7–73 <sup>r</sup>	15
13	Paris	BnF	gr. 2153	413 <sup>v</sup> –424 <sup>r</sup>	15
14	Escorial	Real Biblioteca	Σ-II-03 (Revilla 083)	12–300	16
15	Paris	BnF	gr. 2149	102–146	16
16	Vienna	ÖNB	med. gr. 20	460–66	14, 16
17	Elassona	Mone Olympiotissas	81	187–238	16
18	Athens	Byzantino kai Christia- niko Museio	Loberdu 129	120–121 <sup>v</sup>	16
19	Vatican	BAV	gr. 1424	1 <sup>r</sup> –690 <sup>v</sup>	16
20	Munich	BSB	gr. 392	1 <sup>r</sup> –15 <sup>r</sup>	16
21	Athens	EBE	1478	1–179	17

These can be divided into four groups according to content:

The first group comprises codices which contain the complete text of Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron*:

1	Paris	BnF	gr. 2237	7 <sup>r</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>	13 /14
2	Paris	BnF	gr. 2243	2 <sup>v</sup> –551 <sup>v</sup>	14 (1339)
3	Hagion Oros	Megiste Laura	E 192	1 <sup>r</sup> –209 <sup>v</sup>	15
4	Oxford	Bodl. Libr.	Barocci 171	1–180	15
5	Paris	BnF	gr. 2238	1–539	15
6	Escorial	Real Biblioteca	Σ-II-03 (Revilla083)	12–300	16
7	Vatican	BAV	gr. 1424	1 <sup>r</sup> –690 <sup>v</sup>	16
8	Athens	EBE	1478	1–179	17

The second group comprises codices which exhibit several recipes of the *Dynameron*:

- Paris Codex. grec. 2149, 102<sup>r</sup>–146<sup>v</sup>. This only contains the pinax and the first ten recipes of the chapter *περι Αντιδότηων*. The complete codex is a copy of codex S.
- Codex Monac. gr. 392, 1<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>. This codex only contains a few chapters and recipes of the *Dynameron*. Strangely, these are noted in reverse, from section *Στοιχείων Ὠμέγα* to section *Στοιχείων Ἐψιλον*.

- Codex Olymp. 81, 187<sup>r</sup>-236<sup>v</sup>. Although entitled *Ἱατροσόφιον ἐκλεγμένον. Διαθήκη πολλῶν ἱατρῶν Ἰπποκράτους, καὶ γαληνοῦ καὶ Παύλου τοῦ Γενήτου (=Αἰγινήτου) καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Τραλλιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν δοκιμώτατον πολλῶν ἱατρῶν καὶ Νικολάου τον σοφόν*, it contains excerpts from the *Dynameron* and more specifically, from the Antidotes chapter.

The third group comprises codices which mention the name Nikolaos Myrepsos, but only contain two or three recipes from the *Dynameron*. These are:

- Venice, BNM gr. V 8 (coll.1334), 156-157<sup>v</sup>
- Athens, Byzantino kai Christianiko Museo, Loberdu 129, 120<sup>r</sup>-121<sup>v</sup>

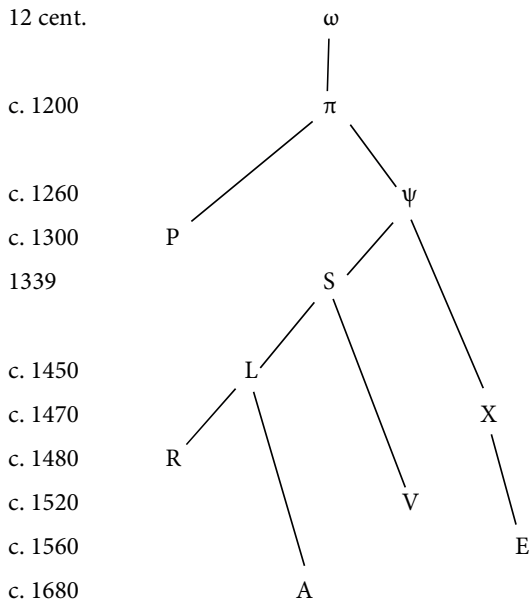
Codices which represent a shortened draft of the text with few recipes although the titles of the recipes are identical to those of Myrepsos make up the fourth group. These are:

- ÖNB, Vindob. med.gr. 20, ff. 440-445
- ÖNB, Vindob. med.gr. 30, ff. 460-466
- London, Wellcome Library, MSL 060, f. 20-45<sup>v</sup>
- London, British Library, MS.10058, f. 7<sup>r</sup>-73<sup>v</sup>
- Vatican, BSA, Vat. gr. 279
- Berlin, SPK, Berol. gr. 180 (Phill. 1583)
- Paris, Par. gr. 2153

The text of the *Dynameron* uses Italian words, the units *σκρόπουλον* and *μανίπουλον*, in addition to sporadic glosses with Italian explanations for the Greek (...*παρ'Ἰτάλοις* or *Ἰταλία γλώσση*). This implies that there was an exchange of words or recipes between Italy and the Greek-speaking areas or that even recipes written in Greek were translated into Latin or Italian and then retranslated and transferred back into Greek. Very few recipes use Arabic words (*σαρακηνιστί*), which shows, after all, that Arabic recipes were also added to the text of the *Dynameron*. Whether or not these influences stem from Arabic texts or whether these Arabic words only appear due to a scribe's knowledge of the Arabic language and these recipes were then adopted by all subsequent scribes cannot be said here.

## Stemma

After close examination of the eight codices which contain the whole text of the *Dynameron*, and after completion of the critical edition, it was possible to establish the following stemma for Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron*:



- |      |  |
|------|--|
| ω    | Archetype                                  |
| P    | Par. grec. 2237                            |
| S    | Par. grec. 2243                            |
| L    | Lavra E 192                                |
| X    | Oxford Bar. 171                            |
| R    | Par. gr. 2238 (apographon of L)            |
| V    | Vat. gr. 1424 (apographon of S)            |
| A    | Athens. 1478 (apographon of L)             |
| E    | Escorial Σ-II-03 (apographon of X)         |
| π, ψ | lost hyparchetypes of the <i>Dynameron</i> |

It must be mentioned here that there were further codices no longer preserved today. Fuchs<sup>2</sup> had such a codex in front of him. The codex that Fuchs used was very close to S<sup>3</sup>. The codices **P**, **ψ**, **S**, **R** and **X** were in the possession of Antonios Eparchos<sup>4</sup>.

Codex **L** is identical to **S** in terms of content. This can be seen by the fact that the scribe very often writes the word *εἶχε* at the edge of the text. As **R** is a copy of **L** and **R** was copied at the end of the 15th cent., it can be assumed that the scribe for **L** copied **S** in the middle of the 15th cent., possibly around 1450. One has to be aware, however, that **R** contains all sorts of Greek orthographic errors although the quite accurate codex **L** was used as a basis. The only explanation is that the text was perhaps dictated to the scribe.

As mentioned, **P**, **ψ**, **S**, **R** and **X** were in the possession of Antonios Eparchos<sup>5</sup> and so **L** or **R** could have been copied by a family member. It can also be assumed that the family or at least one family member had connections in some way to the Lavra on Athos mountain, as **L** was always in the possession of this monastery, even if it is not known exactly when. **L** might have been a gift or a codex brought along when entering the monastery, whereby it suggests a connection to Antonios Eparchos.

The dependence of codex **L** on **S** can be seen in many places, in particular because there are no noteworthy deviations between both of the codices. The word *εἶχε*, found in marginal notes at the edge of many folios in **L**, is of special importance. Here it is mentioned that there were errors in the original which match those in **S**. The only cause for concern is one place in **L** which does not match with **S** and could imply that there was another, missing codex which served as a basis for **S** and **L** or between **ψ** and **L**. This place can be found in section *Στοιχείον Κάππα*, in chapter *περὶ Κοκκίων*, in recipe *κε' [25]*, where **S** reads ... *πλύνας μεθ' ὕδατος ὀμβρίου...* and in **L** about the word *πλύνας*, where the words *τρίψας καὶ* are added. As these two words are in **P** but not in **X**, this deviation can only be explained as a logical order of the preparation when creating the recipe: first, ingredients have to be scrubbed and then washed. It can therefore be

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<sup>2</sup> Fuchs (1549)

<sup>3</sup> Fuchs (1549) often mentions in his comments what he reads in the codex: e.g. in chapter I, recipe XXXIIX he writes: *μπὲ ἄλμπε· ροῦμπιε τὰ ἐπιλεγόμενα· οἶμαι ἀρμολάκτυλα μακρά·* which can only be proven in **S**, as in **P** the words *μπὲ ἄλμπε· ροῦμπιε τὰ ἐπιλεγόμενα· οἶμαι* are missing and in **X** in place of *ἐπιλεγόμενα· οἶμαι* one reads the word *λεγόμενα*. Such places can be found again and again in the Fuchs edition and prove that his codex was very close to that of **S**.

<sup>4</sup> Antonios Eparchos (1491–1571) came from an aristocratic family who lived in Corfu at the time of the fall of the Byzantine Empire. His father, Georgios Eparchos, was a doctor and related to Janos Lascaris (1445–1535), who helped him in his search for Greek manuscripts for the Laurentian Library in Florence. His mother was the daughter of Ioannes Moschos (1445–1495), an academic, writer and teacher whose family came from Mystras. He had two further sons: Demetrios Moschos, who had taught Greek since the 1470s in Venice, Ferrara and Mantua, and Georgios Moschos (~1470–1550), who copied codex **X** around the year 1470 from the codex **ψ** no longer around today. Years later, Antonios Eparchos gave King Francis I of France codex **S** as a present, as noted on f. ii<sup>v</sup>. Codices **P** (between the years 1542–1545) and **R** (around 1700) were also in the possession of the French National Library in Paris. See also Dorez (1893), Mondrain (1999), Kramer-Scheidt (1999), Mondrain (2000) and Manzano (2016).

<sup>5</sup> Manzano (2016), p. 256, Kramer-Scheidt (1999), p. 111, Mondrain (1999), p. 411-3

assumed that the scribe for **L** had **S** in front of him and that there was no other codex between  $\psi$  and **S**.

Likewise, there are phrases which **L** changed compared to **S** as the text was incomprehensible in these places. This and the fact that **L** barely has any orthographic errors lead to the assumption that the scribe for **L** was a scholar and an expert in Greek and its orthography and grammar. He corrected all orthographic errors in **S**, but also those which appear in **P** and a few times in **X**, whereby some orthographies in **X** match those of **L**. Orthographic similarities can often be recognised in **P** and **S** and sometimes in **X** and **L**, which deviate from the logic of the stemma, but can be explained with the orthographic correction of both the codices.

As previously mentioned, as codex **S** is incomprehensible in some places, the question arises as to whether perhaps **L** had  $\psi$  instead of **S** in front of him. However, this can only be denied based on the revised places in the recipes and their formulations. Likewise, **L** moved the chapter *περὶ Ζομηγμαίων* from the section *Στοιχείων Ζήτα* to section *Στοιχείων Σίγμα*. This, however, is not the case for **P**, **S** and **X**, as it is not for  $\pi$  and  $\psi$  either.

### The Codices $\pi$ and $\psi$

Codex **P**<sup>6</sup> is not only the oldest of all textual witnesses of the *Dynameron* but it contains places which show that it was copied from another codex, referred to here as  $\pi$ . These places are the deviations found in **P** between the pinax and content.

$\psi$  is the codex which both **X** and **S** depend on. When **X** and **S** are compared, the question arises as to why they differ so greatly from one another. The answer is simple when both codices are considered in detail: the recipes and ingredients are identical and both had the same codex as a model. This becomes very clear in recipes in which **X** does not change the recipes but merely passes them on as they can be found in the original, as for example, *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων*, ρλθ' [139] and ρμ' [140].

Likewise, the following places prove beyond doubt that **S** and **X** had  $\psi$  as a basis:

- *περὶ Ἀντιδότων*, recipe *νε'* [405] ε' φύλλου **P** ▶ ε' φύλλου **S** ▶ φύλλου **X** ▶ πενταφύλλου **L**
- *περὶ Ξηρίων*, recipe *οζ'* [77] ὑλουρικῶ **P** ▶ ἥ ἐν λουργικόν **S** ▶ ἥ ἐν λουργικῶ **X L**
- *περὶ Ξηρίων*, recipe *οθ'* [99], ἀλιχάνης **P** ▶ ἐλίχνης **S** ▶ ἐλύχνης **X L**
- *περὶ Τροχίσκων*, recipe *μα'* [41] Τροχίσκος, ὁ διὰ **θαψίας**· ἡμικρανικός· ἔχει: Χυλὸν **ἀψίνθου**, **S**  
 Τροχίσκος, ὁ διὰ **θαψίας**· ἡμικρανικός· ἔχει: **Θαψίας** χυλοῦ **X**  
 Τροχίσκος, ὁ διὰ <sup>ἀψίνθου</sup><sub>θαψίας</sub> ἡμικρανικός· ἔχει: Χυλὸν **ἀψινθίου** **L**
- *περὶ Τροχίσκων*, recipe *ο'* [70] post βέρβερικ, ἦτοι ὀξνάκανθα **P** ▶ βέρβερικ **S** ▶ μπέρμπερι **X**

<sup>6</sup> It was in Antonios Eparchos' possession, who sold it to Gian Francesco d'Asola. Its library was acquired by Francis I of France through his ambassador in Venice, Guillaume Pélacier, and although some letters indicate it could have been a present, there was most probably a compromise by way of an unknown price. The books must have arrived in the Fontainebleau Royal Library in France between the years 1542 and 1545.

- *περὶ Τροχίσκων*, recipe ρθ' [99] ...Χάρτου κεκαυμένου, ὀλκάς ζ' καὶ τέταρτον... **P** ►  
...Χάρτου κεκαυμένου, ὀλκάς ζ' καὶ ἥμισυ· ἀσβέστου, ὀλκάς ς' καὶ τέταρτον... **X S L**

Codex **X** originates from  $\psi$  that Antonios Eparchos' uncle, Georgios Moschos, copied<sup>7</sup>. The scribe Emmanuel Glynzounios<sup>8</sup>, in turn, copied **E** from **X**. This took place in the 1560s, as Emmanuel was born around the year 1540 and the codex was in Antonios Eparchos' possession until he died in 1571. Codex **E** later found its way into the Escorial monastery, where it has remained until today.

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<sup>7</sup> Mondrain (1999), p. 413, Manzano (2016), p. 264-5

<sup>8</sup> Sicherl (1956), p. 34-54, Manzano (2016), p. 264

## The Codices

Codex **P**, a copy of the unpreserved hyparchetype  $\pi$ , is the oldest manuscript and contains the earliest version of the *Dynameron*.

The hyparchetype  $\psi$  which followed is special in that the scribe changed and rearranged the text. These changes and rearrangements can be divided into two large categories:

- the summary of the 66 chapters of **P** to the 48 of all other manuscripts can be read without changing the other sections, and
- the recipes which were added or left out.

A number of recipes were added to **X** and **S** which did not yet occur in **P** or  $\pi$  respectively. This leads to the assumption that the text of the *Dynameron* was initially divided into chapters, which, however, did not contain any fixed number of recipes, allowing any number of new recipes to be added. This is also proved by the empty lines and pages at **P** and **S** at the end of every chapter. Recipes were added from scribe to scribe which were either generally known, based on the scribe's own preference, or were added by another scribe.

It is then certain that the text passed on as the *Dynameron* of Nikolaos Myrepsos originates from the scribe of codex  $\psi$ , which, in turn, codices **X** and **S** refer back to.

As a result, there is a close connection between **X**, **S** and  $\psi$ . It has already been mentioned that **P** and **S** display the same orthographic errors throughout the work. For one, this proves the existence of the hyparchetype  $\pi$ , and also, as observed earlier, that it was changed into the new form by one reviser.

Likewise, codex  $\psi$  provided the scribe of manuscript **X**, Georgios Moschos, with a model for his transcript. The use of any earlier manuscript of the text for a critical edition would have been favourable, but **X** proves too unsuitable due to interventions and changes to the text by the scribe. These changes to **X** are as follows:

- the order of the ingredients for the recipes are according to weight and amount and not according to the – unsystematic – order of **P**, **S** and **L**, and
- definitions<sup>9</sup> and adjectives were left out as they were apparently deemed unnecessary by the scribe; e.g. the *τὸ ὄστουν τῆς ρίνος τῆς καρδίας* is always written in **X** as *ὄστουν ρίνος καρδίας* or ...*καὶ οὕτως διδόναι τὸ φάρμακον*· is left out in **X** as well as the ...*καὶ μαλάξας καλῶς· δίδου*. For *μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ* we normally only read *μέλιτος*.

These changes can also be found in codex **E**, an apograph of **X**, as can be established at the beginning of the text. Here are two examples:

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<sup>9</sup> Section Ἐψιλόν, chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων*, recipe ιC' [16] in codex **S**: ...*ἐφ' ᾧν πάντα ἢ τὸ νικεν καὶ ἐπιμέσον ποιεῖ ἐνδιαθέτων, σπληνικῶν· ἡπατικῶν· ὑδρωπικῶν· ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσεων, ὁμοτέρων, ἀπέπτων· περιωδυνῶν ἢ γὰρ διαφορεῖ ἢ πεπαίνει ἢ στομοῖ· ποιεῖ...* becomes *καὶ εἰς πολλὰ ἄλλα* in **X**



- the title *Νικολάου ἰατροῦ τοῦ καὶ μυρεψοῦ [λεγομένου] Ἰατρικὸν βιβλίον* is identical, the word *λεγομένου* that was later added to **X** is present in **E**.
- in recipe *ρη'* [98] of the chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in the section *Στοιχεῖον ἄλφα* exactly one line from **X** is missing in codex **E**. Such cases occur often.

All in all, the following can be said:

The archetype for the whole transmission, the manuscript **ω** has not been saved. Copies of this are codices **P** and **π**, of which the last has been lost; it can, however, be reconstructed. **ψ** depends on **π**, **X** and **S** depend on **ψ**, and in turn, **L** and **V** on **S**. Codices **R** and **A** have been copied directly from **L**, but **E** from **X**.

Also notable is that codex **S** contains six recipes written by a second, later hand:

- in the chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* after the pinax and before the start of the chapter there is a recipe without a number;
- in the chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* recipe *φδ'* [504] and *φε'* [505];
- in the chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* recipe *ρκα'* [121];
- in the chapter *περὶ Κοκκίων* recipe *ρλζ'* [137] and *ρλη'* [138].

None of these appear in codex **P**, whereas *φδ'*, *ρκα'*, *ρλζ'* and *ρλη'* can be found in codex **X** and all of them in codices **L** and **V**. This indicates that **S** as well as **ψ** were in the possession of the Eparchos family until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as **X** copied the recipes from **ψ**, as is generally known. The six recipes entered after the year 1339 were also adopted in codex **ψ**, and only because of this could the scribe for **X**, Georgios Moschos, the uncle of Antonios Eparchos, take this into consideration in his copy.

## P Paris. gr. 2237

13th–14<sup>th</sup> cent. parchment ff. I, 319, I' 340 × 235 mm

### *Content*

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| f. 1 <sup>r</sup> –6 <sup>v</sup>     | Oribasii, <i>Collectiones medicae</i> (lib. 9, cap. 52 ut lib. 10, cap. 36)                 |
| f. 7 <sup>v</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>   | Nicolai Myrepsi, <i>De compositione medicamentorum</i> , 13 ex. – 14 in. Libri 24, alphabet |
| f. 165 <sup>v</sup> –315 <sup>v</sup> | Aetius Amidenus, <i>Libri medicinales</i> , 13 ex.–14 in., Libri IV–X                       |
| f. 315 <sup>v</sup> –319 <sup>v</sup> | Hippocrates medicus, <i>Aphorismi</i>   |

Codex **P** was written at the beginning of the 14th century, possibly around 1300<sup>10</sup>. It consists of 319 folios. Myrepsos' work is written in f. 7<sup>r</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>. The pinax with the titles of all recipes and all sections from *Στοιχεῖον Ἄλφα* to *Στοιχεῖον Ὠμέγα* can be found between f. 7<sup>r</sup> and 22<sup>r</sup>. After that, two recipes follow in f. 22<sup>r</sup> about *Ἀντίδοτα: Ἀντίδοτος ἢ πολυειδὲς* and *Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ καλαμίνθη*, as well as a recipe from the section *Στοιχεῖον Δέλτα* and the recipe of the

<sup>10</sup> Omont (1888), p. 219, Palau (1998), p. 627-9

chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* entitled *Δροσάτον πρὸς παντοῖας θερμότητος τοῦ ἥπατος*. Folio 22<sup>v</sup> is empty.

The recipes are on ff. 23<sup>r</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>. Although the work has no title, and the name of the author of the hand that wrote it is not given, it is notable that f. 23<sup>r</sup> is embellished at the top with a decorative chain above which reads: *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῶν Ἀντιδότων ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου βιβλίου Ἀετίου*. Beneath, at the start, in capital letters: *ΑΡΧΗ ΣΥΝ Θ<Ε>ΩΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΤΩΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΕΟΝ*(sic!) *ΠΡΩΤΟΝ*. Just under that, on the right-hand edge in the first line, + *νικολάου τοῦ μυρεψοῦ* has been added by another hand.

The manuscript has between 36 and 42 lines on each page, each with 70 to 80 letters.

The recipes are numbered thematically: when several recipes go by the same name, described for example as *Ἀντίδοτος ἀθανασία* we read four recipes, as *Ἀντίδοτος ἀδριάνιος* three, as *Ἀντίδοτος κάλλιστος* three or as *Ἀντίδοτος ἥπατική* five recipes respectively, they only bear one number. If a subsequent recipe has the same application for the same illness, it is given the title *Ἄλλον* and is not given a new number. The recipes are then distinguished from one another in that they begin with a new paragraph and the first letter is capitalized.

Codex **P** contains 66 chapters divided into 24 sections. These were combined into 48 chapters by the scribe of the lost  $\psi$ . In all other manuscripts, so **X**, **S**, **L**, **R**, **V**, **E** and **A** that contain the work of Nikolaos Myrepsos, these 48 chapters can be found with the exceptions of:

- *περὶ Ἀρτηριακῶν* of the section *Στοιχεῖον Ἄλφα* and
- *περὶ Πυριῶν* of the section *Στοιχεῖον Πῖ*

as well as a number of recipes of the chapter *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος*. These have not been transferred to the codices; they can only be found in **P**.

It is also noteworthy that some plants in codex **P** bear a Greek name and not the Italian or Arabic, as:

- *ρόυ συριακοῦ* in **P**, mostly *σουμάκι* in **X**, **S**, **L**, **R**, **V**, **E**, **A**
- *ζιντζίβερι* in **P**, mostly *κικίμπρι* but also *ζιντζίβερι* in **X**, **S**, **L**, **R**, **V**, **E**, **A**
- *μήκων/κωδεία* in **P**, mostly *παπάβαρι* but also less often *μήκων/κωδεία* in **X**, **S**, **L**, **R**, **V**, **E**, **A** etc.

Recipes are missing in every chapter of **P** which are in all other codices. This leads to the assumption that they were added to the text at a later date by the scribe of  $\psi$ . It is worth mentioning that there are new plants that did not exist in Europe before the 11th century in the recipes that were entered later.

Overview of codex **P** (the pinax is in two columns in each folio):

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipe
A	<i>περὶ Ἀντιδότων</i>	7 <sup>r</sup> –8 <sup>v</sup>	23 <sup>r</sup> –54 <sup>r</sup>	269
	<i>περὶ Ἀρτηριακῶν ἐπιθεμάτων</i>	8 <sup>v</sup>	54 <sup>r</sup> –55 <sup>v</sup>	13
	<i>περὶ Ἀλατίων</i>	8 <sup>v</sup> –9 <sup>r</sup>	56 <sup>r</sup> –57 <sup>v</sup>	23
	<i>περὶ Ἀποφλεγματισμῶν</i>	9 <sup>r</sup>	57 <sup>v</sup>	5

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipe
	περί Ἀλειμμάτων	9 <sup>r</sup> -9 <sup>v</sup>	58 <sup>r</sup> -61 <sup>v</sup>	69
B	περί Βηχικῶν	9 <sup>v</sup>	62 <sup>r</sup> -62 <sup>v</sup>	34
Folio 63r; recipe 5 of Δροσάτα				
	περί Βαλάνων ἤτοι ὑπόθετων	9 <sup>v</sup>	—	21
Γ	περί Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν	9 <sup>v</sup> -10 <sup>r</sup>	—	13
Δ	περί Δροσάτων	10 <sup>r</sup>	63 <sup>v</sup> -66 <sup>v</sup>	36
	περί τῶν στοματικῶν Διαχρήστων	10 <sup>r</sup> -10 <sup>v</sup>	67 <sup>r</sup> -69 <sup>r</sup>	26
	περί Δυσεντερικῶν ἐπιρρημάτων	10 <sup>v</sup>	69 <sup>r</sup> -70 <sup>v</sup>	14
E	περί Ἐμπλάστρων	10 <sup>v</sup> -11 <sup>v</sup>	70 <sup>r</sup> -82 <sup>v</sup>	157
	περί Ἐπιθεμάτων	11 <sup>v</sup>	82 <sup>v</sup>	25
	περί Ἐδρικῶν	11 <sup>v</sup>	83 <sup>r</sup>	14
	περί Ἐλιγμάτων	12 <sup>r</sup>	83 <sup>r</sup>	7
	περί Ἐλμίνθων	12 <sup>r</sup>	83 <sup>v</sup> -84 <sup>r</sup>	1
	περί Ἐρρινων	12 <sup>r</sup>	84 <sup>r</sup>	3
	περί Ἐλαιῶν	12 <sup>r</sup>	84 <sup>v</sup> -88 <sup>v</sup>	51
	περί Ἐνεμάτων δυσεντερικῶν	12 <sup>r</sup> -12 <sup>v</sup>	88 <sup>v</sup> -89 <sup>r</sup>	6
	περί Ἐνεμάτων κωλικῶν	12 <sup>v</sup>	89 <sup>r</sup> -91 <sup>v</sup>	25
Z	περί Ζομιγμάτων	12 <sup>v</sup>	92 <sup>r</sup> -93 <sup>v</sup>	50
	περί Ζουλαπίων	13 <sup>r</sup>	94 <sup>r</sup> -95 <sup>v</sup>	26
H	περί Ἡπατικῶν σκευασιῶν	13 <sup>r</sup>	96 <sup>r</sup> -96 <sup>v</sup>	9
Θ	περί Θυμαμάτων	13 <sup>r</sup>	97 <sup>r</sup> -98 <sup>r</sup>	19
	περί Θηριακῶν ἀντιδότων	13 <sup>r</sup>	98 <sup>v</sup> -99 <sup>v</sup>	12
I	περί Ἱερῶν	13 <sup>v</sup>	100 <sup>r</sup> -102 <sup>r</sup>	20
	περί Ἴκτερικῶν	13 <sup>v</sup>	102 <sup>r</sup>	3
K	περί Κολλουρίων	13 <sup>v</sup> -14 <sup>r</sup>	103 <sup>r</sup> -106 <sup>v</sup>	82
	περί Κρανιακῶν πασμάτων	14 <sup>r</sup>	106 <sup>v</sup> -107 <sup>r</sup>	9
	περί Καθαρτικῶν	14 <sup>r</sup> -14 <sup>v</sup>	107 <sup>v</sup> -112 <sup>r</sup>	100
	περί Κοκκίων	15 <sup>r</sup> -15 <sup>v</sup>	112 <sup>r</sup> -118 <sup>r</sup>	119
	περί Κηρωτῶν σκευασιῶν	15 <sup>v</sup>	118 <sup>r</sup> -118 <sup>v</sup>	9
	περί Κωλικῶν	16 <sup>r</sup>	118 <sup>v</sup> -119 <sup>r</sup>	7
	περί Κυφίων	16 <sup>r</sup>	119 <sup>r</sup> -119 <sup>v</sup>	4
	περί Κυδωνάτων σκευασιῶν	16 <sup>r</sup>	119 <sup>v</sup> -120 <sup>v</sup>	17
	περί Κεφαλῆς ἀλγημάτων	16 <sup>r</sup>	120 <sup>v</sup>	10
Λ	περί Ληξοπυρέτων	16 <sup>r</sup>	121 <sup>r</sup>	4
	περί Λειχίων	16 <sup>r</sup>	121 <sup>r</sup>	8
M	περί Μαλαγμάτων	16 <sup>v</sup>	122 <sup>r</sup> -122 <sup>v</sup>	17
	περί Μύρων	16 <sup>v</sup>	122 <sup>v</sup> -123 <sup>r</sup>	8
N	περί Νάρδου σκευασιῶν	16 <sup>v</sup>	123 <sup>v</sup> -124 <sup>r</sup>	5
	περί Νεφρῶν	16 <sup>v</sup>	124 <sup>r</sup> -124 <sup>v</sup>	4
	περί Νεύρων	16 <sup>v</sup>	124 <sup>v</sup> -124 <sup>v</sup>	5

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipe
Ξ	περί Ξηρίων σκευασιῶν	16 <sup>v</sup> –17 <sup>v</sup>	125 <sup>r</sup> –129 <sup>v</sup>	111
Ο	περί Ὄξυμέλιτος,	17 <sup>v</sup>	130 <sup>r</sup> –133 <sup>r</sup>	52
	περί Οἴνου σκευασιῶν		133 <sup>r</sup> –134 <sup>r</sup>	
	περί Οὐλῶν	18 <sup>r</sup>	134 <sup>r</sup> –135 <sup>r</sup>	36
	περί Ὄξυποριῶν,	18 <sup>r</sup>	135 <sup>r</sup> –136 <sup>r</sup>	18
	περί Ὀμφακομέλιτος		136 <sup>r</sup>	
Π	περί Ὄξυποριῶν ὁστῶν	18 <sup>r</sup> –18 <sup>v</sup>	136 <sup>r</sup> –136 <sup>v</sup>	23
	περί Πεσσῶν	18 <sup>v</sup>	137 <sup>r</sup> –138 <sup>v</sup>	33
	περί Προπομάτων	18 <sup>v</sup>	138 <sup>v</sup> –139 <sup>v</sup>	23
	πρὸς ἀλωπεκίαν	18 <sup>v</sup> –19 <sup>r</sup>	139 <sup>v</sup> –143 <sup>v</sup>	110
Ρ	περί Πυριῶν	19 <sup>r</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup>	143 <sup>v</sup>	5
	περί Ῥοδομέλιτος σκευασιῶν	19 <sup>v</sup>	144 <sup>r</sup> –144 <sup>v</sup>	11
Σ	περί Σατυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν	19 <sup>v</sup>	144 <sup>v</sup> –145 <sup>r</sup>	8
	περί Σαπῶνων	19 <sup>v</sup>	145 <sup>r</sup> –145 <sup>v</sup>	7
Τ	περί Τροχίσκων	19 <sup>v</sup> –20 <sup>v</sup>	146 <sup>r</sup> –152 <sup>v</sup>	150
Υ	περί Ὑπογλωττίων	20 <sup>v</sup>	153 <sup>r</sup> –153 <sup>v</sup>	17
	περί Ὑδάτων	21 <sup>r</sup>	153 <sup>v</sup> –155 <sup>v</sup>	33
	περί Ὑπνοτικῶν	21 <sup>r</sup>	155 <sup>v</sup>	6
Φ	περί Φθειρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων σκευασιῶν	21 <sup>r</sup>	156 <sup>r</sup>	20
	περί Φακῶν καὶ νεφέλων		156 <sup>r</sup> –157 <sup>r</sup>	
Χ	περί Χειλῶν κατερρόγοτων	21 <sup>r</sup>	157 <sup>r</sup> –158 <sup>r</sup>	10
Ψ	περί Ψώρας ἀλειμμάτων	21 <sup>v</sup>	158 <sup>r</sup> –158 <sup>v</sup>	9
Ω	περί Ὡτικῶν θεραπειῶν	21 <sup>v</sup>	159 <sup>r</sup> –160 <sup>v</sup>	18

Between the sections and the chapters there are always between 4 and 30 empty lines: Folios 22<sup>v</sup> and 102<sup>v</sup> are completely empty.

The chapter *περί Βαλάνων* and the section *Στοιχεῖον γάμμα* with the chapter *περί Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν* are not contained in **P** although they are mentioned in the pinax in ff. 9<sup>v</sup> and 10<sup>r</sup>, and their recipes are listed. This shows that codex **P** was not the model for **ψ** but that there was a further copy, namely codex **π**.

Likewise, the chapter *περί Ἀρτηριακῶν σκευασιῶν* and its recipes, which appear in no other codex, can be found in pinax in f. 8<sup>v</sup> and written out ff. 54<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>, and also the chapter *περί Πυριῶν* in the section *Στοιχεῖον Πι*. This indicates that **P** was not only a copy of **π** but that recipes were added there which, for reasons unknown, were not all adopted by the scribe of **ψ**.

In codex **P**, recipes were added to the following places at a later date:

- to the empty places in the following folios: f. 22<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 63<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>, 111<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>v</sup> and 160<sup>v</sup>
- as marginalia on the left: ff. 64<sup>v</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 94<sup>v</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>, 109<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>, 113<sup>v</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>, 148<sup>v</sup>, 153<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>v</sup>, 159<sup>v</sup>

- as marginalia on the right: ff. 27<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 46<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>r</sup>, 89<sup>r</sup>, 94<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>, 102<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup>, 120<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>, 138<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>r</sup>, 141<sup>r</sup>, 145<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>, 148<sup>r</sup>, 150<sup>r</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>r</sup>, 160<sup>v</sup>
- as marginalia at the bottom: ff. 26<sup>r</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>, 61<sup>r</sup>, 61<sup>v</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>, 113<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>r</sup>, 141<sup>r</sup> or
- as marginalia at the top: ff. 51<sup>v</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 148<sup>r</sup>.

It seems that the scribe left out some of these recipes by mistake, adding them to the edge at a later date when he realized. These recipes can be found in  $\psi$ , as they are in **X**, **S**, **L** and their apographa.

At the same time, **P** contains some recipes which are not according to  $\psi$  or adopted in the following codices. Such recipes are on the folios 78<sup>r</sup>, 83<sup>v</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>r</sup>, 91<sup>v</sup> and 136<sup>v</sup> of **P**. Likewise, there are recipes which were added later. These are not in **X**, **S** or **L** either and are therefore not in  $\psi$ . Such recipes can be found in the folios 27<sup>v</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 63<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 111<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>, 113<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 141<sup>r</sup>, 145<sup>r</sup>, 148<sup>r</sup>, 153<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>v</sup> and 160<sup>v</sup>.

Of particular importance is the recipe  $\rho\eta\prime$  [118] *Κοκκία άώρια καλούμενα έκ τοῦ Μεζουέ* in chapter *περί Κοκκίων*, which can be read in **P** on f. 117<sup>r</sup> and was added to the edge at a later date.

On the other hand, recipes which are on the left- or right-hand edge of **P** were adopted by the scribe of  $\psi$  as it can be proved that nearly all of them are in **X**, **S** and **L**. It cannot be proved whether these recipes were also in the parallel codex  $\pi$ , but it should be assumed so as  $\pi$  must have contained *Στοιχείον γάμμα* with the chapter *περί Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν*, the missing section in **P**, and the chapter *περί Βαλάνων* of the section *Στοιχείον Βήτα*, which exist in all other preserved codices.

The text of this codex **P**, represents an earlier version which deviates from all other codices in the number of chapters and recipes.

A large number of ends of words are abbreviated, namely -ας, -αν, -ον, -ειν, -οῦν, -ην, -αν, -εις, -ειν, -ις, and also the words *έστί(ν)*,  $\zeta\zeta$  (for *σμούρνη*<sup>11</sup>), *δέ, και, έξάγιον, ξέστιον, λίτρα, δράμι*. The measurement *ούγγια* and the plant *ζιντζίβερι* are written out. The plant *σέλινον* is written as a symbol as a half-moon and the plant *πετροσέλινον* as *πετρο-* with a half moon. There is a long line — for the adjective *μακρύς, -ά, -ύ*, in particular after plant names such as *άριστολόχια μακρά*, and for the adjective *στρογγύλος, -η, -ον* there is a circle like a large O or ©<sup>12</sup> respectively. Half a measurement is represented by the symbol C, a quarter by δ', a third by γ' and an eighth by ω. The measurement *γράμμα* is written as the symbol *Iγ*. The *δόσις* is mentioned on many occasions. Here, codices **S** and **L** are added, along with their apographa *δίδου*.

It is worth mentioning the particular way of writing some of the words in **P**: *ψμίνθιν, κικκίδος, νουσήματα, γλυκόριζαν, ζιντζίβερι, γαρεόφαλα, ράιου, τερεβυνθίνης, κωμίδιν, όθώνιον, νήστης, μωρέας, μώρρας, μώρου, έλλης, χλοῦ*.

The word *κολλύριον* is written in the following way in codex **P**:

<sup>11</sup> In recipe νθ' [59] in chapter *περί Έμπλάστρων*, it states  $\zeta\zeta$  for *σμούρνη* as well as *ζιντζίβερι*.

<sup>12</sup> The sign looks something like this

The letter *K* is followed by *ou*, above the *u* there are the two *λάμπδα*, after that, the ending -  
<sup>λλ</sup>*ριον*: *Κούριον*. This resulted in the form *Κολλούριον* although the scribe of **P** and probably also  
 that of **π** had written *Κολλύριον*. However, this spelling was used because *Κολλούριον* was not  
 a new word but one already well-known and found in the texts of Galenos.

## X Barocci gr. 171

15th cent., 1400–1410 or 1475–1535, 302 × 200 mm respectively

### *Content*

ff. 1–180 *Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24 alphabet*

### *Scribe and dating*

Codex Barocci 171 from Oxford has been dated to the first decade of the 15th century, according to the Bodleian Library<sup>13</sup>, but as the scribe, Georgios Moschos<sup>14</sup>, wasn't born until the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest<sup>15</sup>, he cannot have written the codex before the year 1475. Furthermore, an epigram can be found on f. II<sup>v</sup> that was added by another hand, namely that of Antonios Eparchos, after Janos Lascaris' - who it refers to - death:

*Ἰωάννου Λασκάρους εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τάφον  
 Λάσκαρις ἀλλοδαπῆ γαίην ἐνὶ κάτθετο γαίην  
 οὗτι λίην ξείνην ὧ ξένη μεμφόμενος.  
 εὗρατο μελιχίην, ἀλλ' ἄχθεται εἴ περ ἄχαιοῖς  
 οὐδ' ἔτι χοῦν χεύει πατρὶς ἐλευθέριον*

Janos Lascaris died in the year 1535. As the epigram was also on his gravestone and it seems it was copied from there, it can be assumed that codex **X** had not gone beyond Italy in the middle of the second half of the 16th century. The same hand, namely that of Antonios Eparchos, wrote a recipe of a so-called Florentine physician on f. 179r. This implies that the scribe wrote the codex before 1535, narrowing the date down to between 1475 and 1535. It must, however, be mentioned that the scribe Emmanuel Glynzunios<sup>16</sup> copied codex **E** from **X** in the second half of the 16th century<sup>17</sup>. **X** was still in Italy until the year he copied **E**. When **E** was made is not clear, but as Glynzunios died around the year 1596, he must have copied **E** around 1560-1570, as codex **X** as well as that of **E** have the same epigram and the same recipe of the Florentine physician of the same hand: that of Antonios Eparchos, who died in 1571.

<sup>13</sup> <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>

<sup>14</sup> Mondrain (1999), p. 413, Manzano (2016), p. 264-5

<sup>15</sup> Sathas (1868), p. 130-2

<sup>16</sup> Sicherl (1956), p. 34-54

<sup>17</sup> Kramer-Scheidt (1999), p. 111

The epigram and the recipe on f. 179r in **X** can also be found in codex **E** on f. 301.

#### Remarks

On f. 8<sup>r</sup> it says: *Νικολάου ἰατροῦ τοῦ καὶ Μυρεψοῦ [Λεγομένου], ἰατρικὸν βιβλίον κατὰ στοιχείων: ἀρχὴ τοῦ α΄ στοιχείου.*

Codex **X** is a copy of **ψ**. The scribe Georgios Moschos intervened in Myrepsos' text in that he left recipes out and also tried to follow the numbering in **ψ**. It is particularly impressive that the order of the ingredients was changed in every recipe, listed according to their measurements. For this reason, in *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in the recipe *ρλη'* [138] instead of:

*Ἀμώμου δράμῃ ββ', σχοινάνθην δράμῃ θ', πυρέθρου, κινναμώμου, ἀνὰ δράμῃς ζ' κρόκου δράμῃ λζ', κασίης δράμῃ ββ', σμύρνης, στρογλύτιδος δράμῃ ια', στύρακος πρώτου δράμῃ ββ', πετροσελίνου δράμῃ γ', δαύκον σπέρμα, δράμῃς ζ', τετράγκαθον, δράμῃ λ', χυλὸν ὑποκιστίδος δράμῃς θ', ἴρεως ἰλλυρικῆς, ἀβροτόνου ἀνὰ δράμῃς ιε', μαράθου σπέρμα δράμῃς ζ', βδέλλιον δράμῃ θ', λίβανον δράμῃ ιη', θεῖου ἀπύρου δράμῃς ιζ', ὑοσκυάμου λευκοῦ σπέρμα δράμῃς κζ', κασίης δράμῃ θ', μήκωνος σπέρμα δράμῃ λ', ναρδοστάχυν δράμῃ ββ', πήγανον, ὠκίμου σπέρμα, ἀνὰ δράμῃς γ', ῥοῦ μαγαρικοῦ, ἀσάρου, καρδαμώμου, ἀνήθου σπέρμα ἀνὰ δράμῃς ζ', ὅπιου δράμῃς κζ', εὐφορβίου δράμῃς ζ', πεπέρεως λευκοῦ δράμῃ λ', ῥόδων ξηρῶν, φύλλου ἀνὰ δράμῃ θ', ὀποβάλαμον, δράμῃς κδ', αἰθυίας γαστρός, δράμῃς ζ', ἢ λέγουσι τινὲς μέννοιαν, ἄλλοι δὲ πτηνὸν τὸ κατερχόμενον εἰς τὸν βυθὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἔστι δὲ, τὸ τοιοῦτον πτηνὸν ὀξύμητον, λαχάνου δράμῃς ββ', λυκίου ἰνδικοῦ, καρυοφύλλου ἀνὰ δράμῃς ββ', κόπρον τὸν εὐρισκόμενον ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς ἐφυίας δράμῃς γ', ῥαῖον ποντικὸν δράμῃς ββ', μαΐου ἀσθματικοῦ ἀνὰ δράμῃς ζ', γῆς Κιμωλίας, δράμῃς ββ', ἀρτεμισίας χυλὸν δράμῃς κ', σίρεος φύλλα δράμῃς θ', νάρδου κελτικῆς, δράμῃς ββ', ῥοδοδάφνης, δράμῃς ζ', καστορίου, κόστου, γεντιανῆς ἀνὰ δράμῃς ββ', ἠδυκρώου μάγματος, δράμῃς θ', ἀνίσου, δράμῃς ζ', σίνωνος, δράμῃς ιη', ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, δράμῃς ββ', κισσόφυλλα, δράμῃς ββ'...*

it reads:

*Ἀμώμου, κασίης, στύρακος, πρωτείου ναρδοστάχους, λαχά<νου>, λυκίου ἰνδικοῦ καρυοφύλλου ῥαῖου ποντικοῦ, γῆς κιμωλίας, νάρδου κελτικῆς καστορίου κόστου γεντιανῆς, ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, κισσόφυλλα, ἀνὰ δράμῃς ββ', σχοινάνθην ὑποκιστίδος βδέλλιον ῥόδων, φύλλου σίρεος, ἠδυκρώου, ἀνὰ δράμῃς θ', πυρέθρου, κινναμώμου, δαύκον σπέρμα, μαράθου σπέρμα, ῥοῦ μαγαρικοῦ, ἀσάρου, καρδαμώμου, ἀνήθου σπέρμα εὐφορβίου αἰθυίας γαστρός, μαΐου, ῥοδοδάφνης, ἀνίσου, ἀνὰ δράμῃς ζ' κρόκου δράμῃς λζ', σμύρνης, δράμῃς ια', πετροσελίνου δράμῃς γ', τετράγκαθον, πεπέρεως λευκοῦ ἀνὰ δράμῃς λ', ἴρεως, ἀβροτόνου, ἀνὰ δράμῃς ιε', λίβανον, σίνωνος, δράμῃς ιη', θεῖου ἀπύρου δράμῃς ιζ', ὑοσκυάμου λευκοῦ σπέρμα δράμῃς κζ', μήκωνος σπέρμα δράμῃς λ', πηγάνον, ὠκίμου σπέρμα, κόπρον τὸν εὐρισκόμενον ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς αἰθυίας ἀνὰ δράμῃς γ', ὀπίου δράμῃς κζ', ὀποβάλαμον, δράμῃς κδ', ἀρτεμισίας χυλὸν δράμῃς κ'...*

Codex **X** contains φα' [501] numbered recipes in the chapter *Περὶ Ἀντιδότων* of the *Στοιχείων Ἄλφα*. Upon closer examination, it can be seen that more than just four recipes are missing. On f. 23<sup>v</sup> and after recipe σ' [200] of the numbering follows the number σκα' [221] and not σα' [201]. The recipe σκα', however, is the recipe that follows σ'.

The recipes that are left out in **X** are the following:

- *περὶ Ἀντιδότων*: ριθ' [119] (also in **P**), ρο' [170] (also in **P**), ροα' [171] (also in **P**), σπγ' [283], σQζ' [297], τιθ' [319], τξα' [361], τQC' [396], τQθ' [399], υμC' [446], υμζ' [447] (also in **P**), υμη' [448] (also in **P**), υμθ' [449], υση' [478] (also in **P**), υπγ' [483] (also in **P**), υπδ' [484] (also in **P**), υπε' [485] (also in **P**) υQ' [490] (also in **P**), υQα' [491] (also in **P**), υQγ' 493 (also in **P**) and φε' [505] (also in **P**)
- *περὶ Βηχικῶν*: λζ' [37], λη' [38]
- *περὶ Βαλάνων*: γ' 3 (also in **P**), ε' [5] (also in **P**), C' [6] (also in **P**), ι' [10] (also in **P**)
- *περὶ Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν*: [12a]
- *περὶ Δροσάτων*: οζ' [77] (also in **P**), Qγ' 93 (also in **P**), ρβ' 102 (also in **P**)
- *περὶ Ἐλιγμάτων*: δ' [4]
- *περὶ Ἐδρικῶν σκευασιῶν*: ιC' [16] (also in **P**)
- *περὶ Ζεματίων*: [24a] (also in **P**)
- *περὶ Κοκκίων*: QC' [96]
- *περὶ Ξηρίων*: νε' [55], ρκ' [140]
- *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος σκευασιῶν*: [67a], Qδ' [94], QE' [95], πβ' [82]
- *περὶ Πεσῶν*: [97a]

As shown, there are a number of agreements between **P** and **X** in the missing recipes. It can therefore perhaps be assumed that codex **X** copied **ψ**, which is also copied from another codex in which the missing recipes in **P**, **ψ** and **X** can be found. However, this conclusion is not as logical as it seems: in certain recipes in all codices, the word *κεφαλαίω* is used as a reference to a similar recipe in the *Dynameron*. The word *κεφαλαίω* does not appear in codex **X**, as the scribe left out places when copying, such as:

- at *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe υζ' [407], in recipe υκδ' [424] and in recipe τυC' [346],
- at *περὶ Σατυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν* in recipe C' [6] and in recipe ιβ' [12].

However, the following can be read twice in the Antidotes chapter, namely once in the pinax on f. 6<sup>v</sup> and once in the text: ... *ζήτει τὴν θεραπείαν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ σιε'* and ... *ἐν τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ σιε'...* However, codex **X** does not include number *σιε'*, neither in the pinax nor in the numbering of the recipes because there, as already mentioned, the number *σκα'* [221] comes after the number *σ'* [200] and not *σα'* [201]. The astonishing thing is that there are no missing recipes as the recipe *σκα'* [221] *Ἀντίδοτος τρυφερὰ Σαρακήνικος* follows the recipe *σ'* [200] *Ἀντίδοτος ἄλλη πρὸς στόμαχον θερμόν*, as it is as the next recipe in all codices.

The question does, however, arise as to why the scribe “forgets” 20 numbers here. Perhaps it occurred in his attempt to maintain the numbering of the current codices **ψ**, after he had overlooked a number of recipes in the chapter *περὶ τῶν Ἀντιδότων*. In some sections and chapters, he looks for the “forgotten” recipes. When he finds them, he adds them to the place where he realises he had forgotten them. This occurred in the following places respectively:

- *περὶ Ἀλατίων*, where first there is the recipe *ιβ'* and then *ια'* (f. 45<sup>v</sup>); this error is not in the pinax of *περὶ Ἀλατίων*.



- *περὶ Ζουλαπίων σκευασιῶν*: the recipe κζ' [26] is not numbered in **X**, but the next recipe [26b], that has no number in **S**.
- *περὶ Δροσάτων*, where the numbering is ζ' [7] twice. The recipes κβ' [22], ργ' [93] and ρβ' [102] were left out by the scribe, as application and the first ingredient are identical in the following recipes, κγ' [23] and ργ' [103], too.
- in *περὶ Ἐλιγμάτων*, the recipe δ' [4] Ἐλιγμα πρὸς βηχικούς, θαυμαστὸν is missing.
- in *περὶ Ξηρίων*, the recipe ρκ' [120] Ξηρίον τὸ καλούμενον τέρπον is missing.
- in *περὶ Ὀξυπόριων*, the recipes [67a] Ὀδόντας σειομένους, στήσαι θαυμαστῶς, ρδ' [94] and ρε' [95] are missing.

Aside from the scribe's interventions already mentioned, **X** uses very few abbreviations. For this reason, it is often unclear whether the accusative or the genitive is meant for the ingredients as many endings are not written out or marked and no abbreviations can be found: *μαστίχ*, *στάχ*, *καρδαμώμ*, *κρόκ*. Even though it is hard to identify, the genitive is, however, preferred.

#### Orthography

The scribe corrects orthographical errors like *μετ' ὕδατος* to *μεθ' ὕδατος*, *χειράδος* to *χοιράδος*, etc.; he prefers the preposition *εἰς* in place of *πρὸς*, *μαγειρικοῦ* instead of *μαγαρικοῦ*, *σπόρου* instead of *σπέρμα*; *σχινάνθους* instead of *σχοίνου ἄνθος*; *τρεμεντίνη* instead of *τερμεντίνη*; *ἔψει* instead of *ἔψαι*; *ἡ σύνθεσις* instead of *ἔχει*; *μαστῶν* instead of *μασθῶν*; *ύος* instead of *ύοῦ*; *κάγχρως* instead of *κάχρως*; *σηπίας* instead of *σηπέας*; *δριμέος* instead of *δριμέως*; *ὑπόπιον* for *ὑπόπυον*, as well as *χρίε* instead of *χρίε*; *γλυκυρρίζης* instead of *γλυκόριζον*; *ζζ'* instead of *ζιντζίβερν*; *γαρούφ-* instead of *γαρόφαλα* or *καρόφαλα*; *ράιου* or *ράϊου* instead of *ρέον*; *ὀθώνιον* instead of *ὀθόνιον*; *πεπέρεως* instead of *πεπερέου* and *μωρέας*, *μῶρας*, *μῶρου* instead of *μορέας* *μόρας*, *μόρου* but *οὐλκάς* as well as in **S** and **P**. In *κολλούριον* he prefers the form with a lamda.

The scribe of **X** very often leaves out prepositions which are, in his opinion, not an important element of the recipe, as in recipe να' [51] of the chapter *περὶ Ἐλαίου*:

*Ἐλαίου νουφαρίνου, σκευασία· ἡ σύνθεσις:*

*Ἐλαίου· ροδέλαιου· ψιμίθιν, ἀνὰ οὐγγ α'· καμφορᾶς, δράμ ἡμισυ· λιθαργύρου, οὐγγ ἡμισυ· κάκαμπρι, ἄμυδον, ἀνὰ οὐγγ α'· λιβάνου· δράμ α' καὶ ἡμισυ· μαστίχην, δραμ ἡμισυ· χυλοῦ ψυλλίου καὶ πτισάνης· στέαρ ὄρνιθος· ἀμιάντου, ἀνὰ δραμ α'· τὸ ψιμίθιν ἔστω τὸ ἐκ μολύβδου· κηροῦ καθαροῦ, λευκοῦ, δραμ β'· ἀλόης· ἀτζαρούτο, ἀνὰ δραμ α'.*

In **S** and **L** it reads:

*Ἐλαίου νενουφαρίνου, σκευασία· ἔχει:*

*Ἐλαίου· ροδέλαιου· ψιμίθιν, ἀνὰ οὐγγ α'· καμφοράν, δράμ ἡμισυ· λιθάργυρον, οὐγγ ἡμισυ· κάκαμπριν, ἄμυδον, ἀνὰ οὐγγ α'· λιβάνου λευκοῦ· δράμ α' καὶ ἡμισυ· μαστίχην, δραμ ἡμισυ· χυλὸν ψυλλίου καὶ πτισάνης· οὐξύγγιν, ὄρνιθου· ἀμιάντον, ἀνὰ δραμ α'· τὸ γὰρ ψιμίθιν, χρή εἶναι· ὃν σκευάζουσι μετὰ τοῦ μολύβδου· κηροῦ καθαροῦ, λευκοῦ, δραμ β'· ἀλόην ξανθὴν· ἀτζαρούτω, ἀνὰ δραμ α'· ταῦτα πάντα σκευάσας καλῶς, χρῶ.*

In the very few recipes where prepositions can be found, the order of the ingredients corresponds to the remaining transmission, and these recipes show the source of **X**, which is the same with **S**.

These places and recipes show us that its model was codex  $\psi$ , the same with codex **S**.

## S Paris. gr. 2243

14th cent. parchment, 664 folios + 4 front and back cover papers, 26 × 18 cm

### *Content*

f. 2 <sup>v</sup> –550 <sup>v</sup>	Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24 alphabet
f. 552 <sup>r</sup> –624 <sup>v</sup>	Stephanus Magnes, Empirica
f. 626 <sup>r</sup> –629 <sup>v</sup>	Paulus Aeginita medicus, De succedaneis (Epitome med. VII, 25)
f. 631 <sup>r</sup> –637 <sup>v</sup>	Lexica, Botanica <sup>18</sup>
f. 640 <sup>r</sup> –641 <sup>r</sup>	Oribasii, Metrologica, Quaedam
f. 643 <sup>r</sup> –647 <sup>r</sup>	Rictologicum, Magica, Varia
f. 648 <sup>v</sup> –649 <sup>r</sup>	Magica, Varia
f. 650 <sup>v</sup> –654 <sup>r</sup>	Aristoteles philosophus, De Astronomia
f. 654 <sup>v</sup> –656 <sup>v</sup>	Astrologica/astronomica, Quaedam
f. 658 <sup>r</sup>	Astrologica/astronomica, Tabulae et schemata
f. 658 <sup>v</sup> –661 <sup>v</sup>	Pascha (1339–1412)
f. 663 <sup>v</sup>	Astrologica/astronomica, Quaedam
f. 664 <sup>r</sup>	Dominus scriptum

Codex **S** is the most well-known codex containing Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron*. It is made of parchment and has 664 folios, between 40 and 42 lines on each page, with between 35 and 40 letters in each line. On f. 664<sup>v</sup> it reads:

Ὅσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἡδεῖν πατρίδαν καὶ ἡ θαλατεύοντες εὐρεῖν λημένα· οὕτως καὶ ἡ γράφωντες ἰδεῖν βιβλήου τέλος· ἐπληρώθη δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἰατρικῶν βιβλίον ὑπὲρ ἐξόδου καὶ μόχθου πολοῦ καμοῦ δημητρίου ἰητροῦ ἀμαρτολοῦ τούνομα χλωμοῦ τοῦ πιβλην εχῶν χηρεὶ δὲ τοῦ γράψαντος τὸ τοιοῦτον κου κοσμὰ ἱερέως τοῦ καμήλου· καὶ ἐξάρχου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν ἐν μηνὶ ἀυγοῦστ<ου> ἰνδ. ζ' ἔτους, ςῶμζ': ἀμήν· ἀμήν· ἀμήν· γένοιτο, γένοιτο. (sic!)

Codex **S** was copied by Kosmas Kamilos for the physician Demetrios Chlomos on 7th August 1339. Not only is the title of the book named in this codex but also the name of the author on f. 11<sup>v</sup>:

Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῷ Ἁγίῳ τοῦ Δυναμεροῦ τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου τοῦ ἄλφα, ποίημα Νικολάου Μυρεψοῦ

<sup>18</sup> Delatte (1939), p. 385-393

Above this title, surrounded by a decorative band and in a frame on the left, there is the archangel Gabriel with the inscription:

Ο ΑΡΧ<ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ> ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ Ο Κ<ΥΡΙΟ>C ΜΕΤΑ ΟΥ

In the middle there is a cross, to the right of which stands the Virgin Mother with the inscription:

Μ<ΗΤΗΡ>P Θ<ΕΟ>Υ ΙΔΟΥ Η ΔΟΥΛΗ Κ<ΥΡΙΟ>Υ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΗΜΑ ΟΥ

Above the frame it reads:

Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν Ἀντιδότων, τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου τοῦ ἄλφα

signifying the beginning of the first section and the first chapter. The text of Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron* goes from f. 2<sup>v</sup> to 551<sup>v</sup>.

This codex was property of Antonios Eparchos which was given to him by King Francis I of France around the year 1540, reading on f. 1<sup>v</sup> as follows:

Κτῆμα Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Ἐπάρχου, ὃ δέδωκε τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ κραταιῷ βασιλεῖ, κείται εἰς εὐχαριστίαν σημείον.

Today, the codex is kept in the French national library in Paris.

On f. 10<sup>v</sup> there is an image of extreme artistic and historic value. The image fills the entire page, and is divided into two areas. A background is missing. The two areas contain different motives:

In the upper area, Jesus Christ is seen enthroned; to his left, the Virgin, to his right Saint John the Baptist as well as two the archangels, Michael and Gabriel.

Further up in a semi-circle there is ray of light with the Holy Spirit rising as a dove. This picture represents the cosmic character of medicine and refers to the connection between the wonder of the Holy Spirit and medical care under the protection of the Saints.

In the lower part represents a medical consultation at a pharmacy, with a doctor who is standing in front of a large, impressive throne, examining a full urine flacon with his hand. The doctor is luxuriously dressed, with a conical hat on his head, and is depicted larger than the other figures to signify his standing as a person and as a doctor. In the middle there are patients, a limping man and a woman sitting with her baby in her arms. The doctor's assistant, i.e. the apothecary, described here as *σπεστίαλος*, is on the right. He has a medication box and a book in his left hand. On the right-hand side, there is a young assistant, sitting, making medicines, preparing them in a small pot. He is sitting beneath shelves full of phials and boxes aligned in three rows. Clothes, hair and the portrayal of the figures are signs of an Italian influence. The image is priceless and unique in that it shows a pharmaceutical or medical laboratory in the late Byzantine times<sup>19</sup>.

Likewise, the historical value of this illustration was high as it could also be found in codex Pal. gr. 199 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. This codex was also written by the same scribe around the year 1300<sup>20</sup>. The beginning of the fifth book of Aetius of Amida can be found on f. 192<sup>r</sup> of this codex. On f. 191<sup>v</sup> there is an image, not coloured, but otherwise identical. This has been carefully accomplished using several artistic details. Even here, the image has been split

<sup>19</sup> Velmans (1967), p. 233-4

<sup>20</sup> Mondrain (1999), p. 412

in the middle: in the upper part, left and right of the archangels, rocks or rather the rocky slope of the mountains they are standing on can be seen clearly. In the lower part, on the left-hand side, there is a doctor sitting, not standing, and on the right-hand side, the apothecary, the producer of the medicine, on the ground floor of a four-storey house. The plants, or rather flowers, in the lower part of this illustration are growing in a field, and right at the top, there is a rolled up towel, the ends of which reach down to the patient. Every person who appears in this illustration has a description that is either very difficult to read or has become impossible to decipher over time. It must be remarked that the scribe for this codex Pal. gr. 199 is the same as that of Paris. gr. 2237 and Palat. gr. 297. Upon comparison of the two images of the codices Paris. gr. 2243 and Pal. gr. 199, there are some noteworthy indicators:

Like, for example, Kosmas Kamelos either had codex  $\psi$  in front of him, which had a similar image, or if there was no image in  $\psi$ , Kosmas must have had codex Pal. gr. 199 as well as  $\psi$ . This leads to further questions: How did this copy reach the Eparchos family? Was there some kind of relation to the physician Demetrios Chlomos or Kosmas Kamelos, as Ioannes Moschos, grandfather to Antonios Eparchos, was also a physician living in Laconia in the southern Peloponnese?

Codex S contains the whole of Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron* text from f. 2<sup>v</sup> to f. 550<sup>v</sup> <sup>21</sup>. The corresponding pinax can be found on a new folio before every chapter, after that the recipes begin, in turn, on a new folio. The following table provides an overview of the sections and chapters:

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipes <sup>22</sup>
A	περὶ Ἀντιδότων	2 <sup>v</sup> –8 <sup>v</sup>	11 <sup>v</sup> –99 <sup>v</sup>	505
	περὶ Ἀλατίων	101 <sup>v</sup>	104 <sup>r</sup> –107 <sup>r</sup>	21
	περὶ Ἀλειμμάτων	109 <sup>r</sup> –110 <sup>r</sup>	112 <sup>r</sup> –126 <sup>v</sup>	98
	περὶ Ἀπομέλιτος σκευασίων	129 <sup>r</sup>	130 <sup>r</sup> –131 <sup>r</sup>	14
B	περὶ Βηχικῶν	132 <sup>v</sup> –133 <sup>r</sup>	134 <sup>r</sup> –139 <sup>v</sup>	56
	περὶ Βαλάνων	141 <sup>r</sup>	143 <sup>r</sup> –144 <sup>v</sup>	21
Γ	περὶ Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν	145 <sup>r</sup>	146 <sup>r</sup> –147 <sup>v</sup>	20
Δ	περὶ Δροσάτων	148 <sup>v</sup> –150 <sup>r</sup>	152 <sup>r</sup> –183 <sup>r</sup>	120
	περὶ Διὰ μόρων	184 <sup>r</sup> –185 <sup>r</sup>	187 <sup>r</sup> –195 <sup>r</sup>	85
E	περὶ Ἐμπλάστων	197 <sup>v</sup> –200 <sup>r</sup>	202 <sup>r</sup> –232 <sup>v</sup>	199
	περὶ Ἐπιθεμάτων	235 <sup>r</sup>	236 <sup>r</sup> –237 <sup>r</sup>	9
	περὶ Ἐδρικῶν	239 <sup>r</sup>	240 <sup>r</sup> –242 <sup>v</sup>	27
	περὶ Ἐλιγμάτων	244 <sup>v</sup>	245 <sup>r</sup> –245 <sup>v</sup>	7

<sup>21</sup> Omont (1888), p. 220 falsely claims that the *Dynameron* of Nikolaos Myrepsos is only written from f. 11<sup>v</sup> to f. 104<sup>r</sup>. The *Anonymi collectio medica, alphabet.: Ἀλάτιον καθαρτικόν καθαίρων χολήν...* (104<sup>r</sup>) claimed by him, which stretch to f. 552<sup>r</sup>, are not from an *anonymus* scribe, but the next sections and chapters of the *Dynameron*.

<sup>22</sup> Numbered recipes

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipes <sup>22</sup>
	περὶ Ἐλμίνθων	246 <sup>v</sup>	248 <sup>r</sup> –248 <sup>v</sup>	8
	περὶ Ἐρρινων	249 <sup>v</sup>	251 <sup>r</sup> –251 <sup>v</sup>	8
	περὶ Ἐλαιῶν	253 <sup>v</sup> –254 <sup>r</sup>	255 <sup>r</sup> –264 <sup>r</sup>	51
	περὶ Ἐνεμάτων σκευασιῶν	266 <sup>v</sup> –267 <sup>r</sup>	269 <sup>r</sup> –277 <sup>v</sup>	51
Z	περὶ Ζομηγμάτων	280 <sup>r</sup> –280 <sup>v</sup>	282 <sup>r</sup> –287 <sup>r</sup>	51
	περὶ Ζουλαπίων	288 <sup>v</sup>	290 <sup>r</sup> –293 <sup>v</sup>	28
H	περὶ Ἡπατικών σκευασιῶν	294 <sup>v</sup>	296 <sup>r</sup> –297 <sup>v</sup>	24
Θ	περὶ Θυμαμάτων	299 <sup>v</sup>	301 <sup>r</sup> –304 <sup>r</sup>	10
	περὶ Θηριακῶν ἀντιδότων	306 <sup>v</sup>	308 <sup>r</sup> –312 <sup>v</sup>	12
I	περὶ Ἰερῶν σκευασιῶν	313 <sup>r</sup> –313 <sup>v</sup>	314 <sup>r</sup> –321 <sup>v</sup>	37
K	περὶ Κολλουρίων	323 <sup>v</sup> –324 <sup>v</sup>	326 <sup>r</sup> –339 <sup>v</sup>	87
	περὶ Κρανιακῶν πασμάτων	341 <sup>r</sup>	341 <sup>v</sup> –343 <sup>r</sup>	15
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν διαχρησμάτων	343 <sup>r</sup>	343 <sup>v</sup>	4
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν [ὑδραγωγῶν]	345 <sup>r</sup> –345 <sup>v</sup>	346 <sup>r</sup> –351 <sup>v</sup>	43
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν ἐλιγμάτων	353 <sup>r</sup>	353 <sup>v</sup> –355 <sup>v</sup>	21
	περὶ Καταπλασμάτων [σκευασιῶν]	357 <sup>v</sup>	359 <sup>r</sup> –360 <sup>r</sup>	11
	περὶ Κηρωτῶν σκευασιῶν	360 <sup>v</sup>	362 <sup>r</sup> –363 <sup>r</sup>	9
	περὶ Κωλικῶν καταπλασμάτων	363 <sup>v</sup>	365 <sup>r</sup> –367 <sup>v</sup>	25
	περὶ Κοκκίων σκευασιῶν	369 <sup>v</sup> –371 <sup>r</sup>	371 <sup>v</sup> –391 <sup>v</sup>	138
Λ	περὶ Ληξοπυρέτων	393 <sup>v</sup>	395 <sup>r</sup> –396 <sup>v</sup>	23
M	περὶ Μαρκιάτων σκευασιῶν	397 <sup>v</sup>	399 <sup>r</sup> –402 <sup>v</sup>	25
N	περὶ Νάρδου σκευασιῶν	404 <sup>v</sup>	406 <sup>r</sup> –408 <sup>v</sup>	14
Ξ	περὶ Ξηρίων [σκευασιῶν]	411 <sup>v</sup> –412 <sup>v</sup>	413 <sup>v</sup> –426 <sup>r</sup>	142
O	περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος	428 <sup>v</sup> –429 <sup>v</sup>	431 <sup>r</sup> –442 <sup>r</sup>	96
Π	περὶ Πεσσῶν	444 <sup>v</sup> –446 <sup>v</sup>	448 <sup>r</sup> –468 <sup>r</sup>	187
P	περὶ Ῥοδομέλιτος σκευασιῶν	468 <sup>v</sup>	470 <sup>r</sup> –471 <sup>v</sup>	10
Σ	περὶ Σατυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν	473 <sup>v</sup>	475 <sup>r</sup> –477 <sup>v</sup>	14
T	περὶ Τροχίσκων	479 <sup>v</sup> –481 <sup>v</sup>	483 <sup>r</sup> –506 <sup>v</sup>	159
Υ	περὶ Ὑπογλωττίων	508 <sup>r</sup> –508 <sup>v</sup>	510 <sup>r</sup> –515 <sup>r</sup>	36
	περὶ Ὑπνοτικῶν ἐπιθεμάτων	516 <sup>v</sup>	518 <sup>r</sup> –519 <sup>r</sup>	12
	περὶ Ὑδάτων διαφόρων	519 <sup>v</sup>	521 <sup>r</sup> –525 <sup>v</sup>	32
Φ	περὶ Φθειρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων	527 <sup>v</sup>	529 <sup>r</sup> –532 <sup>r</sup>	17
X	περὶ Χειλῶν κατερρόγοτων	533 <sup>v</sup>	536 <sup>r</sup> –538 <sup>r</sup>	16
Ψ	περὶ Ψώρας ἀλειμμάτων	539 <sup>v</sup>	541 <sup>r</sup> –542 <sup>v</sup>	14
Ω	περὶ Ὤτικῶν θεραπειῶν	545 <sup>r</sup>	545 <sup>v</sup> –550 <sup>v</sup>	23

The following folios are empty:

9<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>r</sup>, 100<sup>r</sup>–101<sup>r</sup>, 102<sup>r</sup>–103<sup>v</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>–108<sup>v</sup>, 110<sup>v</sup>–111<sup>r</sup>, 127<sup>r</sup>–128<sup>v</sup>, 131<sup>v</sup>–132<sup>r</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>, 140<sup>r</sup>–140<sup>v</sup>, 141<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>v</sup>, 145<sup>v</sup>, 148<sup>r</sup>, 150<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>v</sup>, 183<sup>v</sup>, 185<sup>v</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>, 195<sup>r</sup>–197<sup>r</sup>, 200<sup>v</sup>–201<sup>v</sup>, 232<sup>v</sup>–234<sup>v</sup>, 235<sup>v</sup>, 237<sup>v</sup>–238<sup>v</sup>, 239<sup>v</sup>, 243<sup>r</sup>–244<sup>r</sup>, 246<sup>r</sup>, 247<sup>r</sup>–247<sup>v</sup>, 249<sup>r</sup>, 250<sup>r</sup>–250<sup>v</sup>, 252<sup>r</sup>–253<sup>r</sup>, 254<sup>v</sup>, 264<sup>v</sup>–266<sup>r</sup>, 267<sup>v</sup>–268<sup>v</sup>, 278<sup>r</sup>–279<sup>v</sup>, 281<sup>r</sup>–281<sup>v</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>–288<sup>r</sup>, 289<sup>r</sup>–289<sup>v</sup>, 294<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>r</sup>–295<sup>v</sup>, 298<sup>r</sup>–299<sup>r</sup>, 300<sup>r</sup>–300<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>v</sup>–306<sup>r</sup>, 307<sup>r</sup>–307<sup>v</sup>, 322<sup>r</sup>–323<sup>r</sup>, 325<sup>r</sup>–325<sup>v</sup>, 340<sup>r</sup>–340<sup>v</sup>, 344<sup>r</sup>–344<sup>v</sup>, 352<sup>r</sup>–352<sup>v</sup>, 356<sup>r</sup>–357<sup>r</sup>, 358<sup>r</sup>–358<sup>v</sup>, 361<sup>r</sup>–361<sup>v</sup>, 364<sup>r</sup>–364<sup>v</sup>, 368<sup>r</sup>–369<sup>r</sup>, 392<sup>r</sup>–393<sup>r</sup>, 394<sup>r</sup>–394<sup>v</sup>, 397<sup>r</sup>, 398<sup>r</sup>–398<sup>v</sup>, 403<sup>r</sup>–404<sup>r</sup>, 405<sup>r</sup>–405<sup>v</sup>, 409<sup>r</sup>–410<sup>v</sup>, 413<sup>r</sup>, 426<sup>v</sup>–428<sup>r</sup>, 430<sup>r</sup>–430<sup>v</sup>, 442<sup>v</sup>–444<sup>r</sup>, 447<sup>r</sup>–447<sup>v</sup>, 469<sup>r</sup>–469<sup>v</sup>, 472<sup>r</sup>–473<sup>r</sup>, 474<sup>r</sup>–474<sup>v</sup>, 478<sup>r</sup>–479<sup>r</sup>, 482<sup>r</sup>–482<sup>v</sup>, 507<sup>r</sup>–507<sup>v</sup>, 509<sup>r</sup>–509<sup>v</sup>, 515<sup>v</sup>–516<sup>r</sup>, 517<sup>r</sup>–517<sup>v</sup>, 520<sup>r</sup>–520<sup>v</sup>, 526<sup>r</sup>–527<sup>r</sup>, 528<sup>r</sup>–528<sup>v</sup>, 532<sup>v</sup>–533<sup>r</sup>, 534<sup>r</sup>–535<sup>v</sup>, 538<sup>v</sup>–539<sup>r</sup>, 540<sup>r</sup>–540<sup>v</sup>, 543<sup>r</sup>–544<sup>v</sup>, 551<sup>r</sup>–551<sup>v</sup>.

The 24 sections, called *Στοιχεῖα* – one for every letter of the Greek alphabet – are divided into 48 chapters. Nearly all recipes are numbered, with the exception of a few places where the numbering was left out.

The pinax of the chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* is followed by a recipe for *Ἀντίδοτα* on f. 9<sup>r</sup> which remains unnumbered. This indicates that it was added to  $\psi$  by a later hand at an unknown point in time; however it is certain that this was before 1339 when **S** was copied. This recipe can be found in **L** as well as its apographa **R** and **A**.

Recipes  $\varphi\delta'$  [504] and  $\varphi\epsilon'$  [505] can be found on ff. 98<sup>r</sup>–99<sup>r</sup> in chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων*, both of which were entered by another hand. Only the first of these, as  $\varphi\alpha'$  [501], can be found in codex **X**. In the chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* on ff. 182<sup>v</sup>–183<sup>r</sup> there is a recipe without a number although it bears the number  $\rho\kappa\alpha'$  [121] in the pinax on f. 150<sup>r</sup>; the recipe, that can also be found in codex **X** under the number  $\rho\iota\zeta'$  [117], was, in turn, entered by the same second hand. Two recipes,  $\rho\lambda\zeta'$  [137] and  $\rho\lambda\eta'$  [138], can be found in chapter *περὶ Κοκκίων σκευασιῶν* on ff. 391<sup>r</sup>–391<sup>v</sup> which were entered by the second hand and can also be found in **X** as  $\rho\lambda\epsilon'$  [135] and  $\rho\lambda\varsigma'$  [136].

On ff. 99<sup>r</sup> and 99<sup>v</sup> there are two recipes written by a third hand. These cannot be found in **L** nor in its apographa **R** and **A**, which indicates that they were added in the late 16th century by another – unorthographical – writer. This third hand has not added any other recipes to the codex.

Codex **S** had codex  $\psi$  as a model, which was copied exactly. This can be seen in the following places as the numbering is the same as in codex  $\psi$ :

- at *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe  $\nu'$  [400] it reads: ... ἐν τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ σιε' [215] ... Codices **S** and **L** and their apographa **R** and **A** match, but not **X**.
- at *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe  $\nu\zeta'$  [407] it reads: ... ἐν τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ σκβ' [222] ... Codices **S** and **L** and their apographa **R** and **A** match, but not **X**.
- at *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe  $\nu\kappa\delta'$  [424] it reads: ... ἐν κεφαλαίῳ [... 6 ...] Here, the number of the recipe that it refers to should read  $\mu\alpha'$  [41]. Codices **S** and **L** and their apographa **R**, **V** and **A** match, but not **X**.

- at *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe *τμC'* [346] it reads: Ἀντιδοτος ἢ πολυετές, ἄλλη· ὠφελεῖ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας, ὡς καὶ τὸ πολυετές τὸ μέγα, τὸ καὶ προγεγραμμένον, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, [... 6 ...] Here the number of the recipe that it refers to is missing, it should read *τκε'* [325].
- at *περὶ Σατυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν* in recipe *C'* [6] it reads: Ζήτει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα σατυριακά, τὰ τε ἐγγρίσματα καὶ ἀντιδότους, ἐν τῷ α' στοιχείῳ τῷ ἄλφα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἐν αἰς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀντιδότων, γεγράφασι ταῦτα. Here, the question arises as to which recipe should be here and which is meant as even after recipe *ξδ'* [64] and up to *ζζ'* [67] in chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων*, all refer to the *σατύριος*. The answer appears in codex **P**, where, instead of a gap, it reads *κ'* [20]. Looking back at the antidotes in codex **P**, it becomes clear that the number *κ'* [20] refers to all these recipes. But which? Theoretically, the number *ξδ'* [64] could be entered here. It would, however, make more sense if all recipes were here as the phrase is in the plural and does not refer to a specific number nor does it refer to a specific recipe. This is one of the few places which prove that Myrepsos' whole text, which can be found in the codices **S**, **X**, **L** and their apographa, refers back to an earlier version, namely the forgotten hyparchetype *π*. After rewording and restructuring, which the scribes for **S** and **X** saw and read in codex *ψ*, some places remained empty and with no correction. In codex **X** the following phrase is missing: τῷ ἄλφα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἐν αἰς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀντιδότων, γεγράφασι ταῦτα.
- at *περὶ Σατυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν* in recipe *ιβ'* [12] it reads: Ζήτει καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας τῶν σαπῶνων, λεπτυντικά προσώπων καὶ λαμπρυντικά, ἐν τῷ C' στοιχείῳ τὸ ζ', ἐν κεφαλαίῳ [... 6 ...] ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα διεχαράξαμεν. Here, the question arises as to which recipe should be here as even after recipe *κε'* [25], apart from *λC'* [36], in the chapter *περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων* all refer to the *λεπτυντικά καὶ λαμπρυντικά προσώπου*. Once again, the answer appears in codex **P**, where instead of a gap, it reads: *τριακοστῷ πρώτῳ*. So here the number *λα'* [31] should describe the recipe of the chapter *περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων*. In codex **L** it reads: Ζήτει καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας τῶν σαπῶνων, τὰ λεπτυντικά προσώπων καὶ λαμπρυντικά, ἐν τῷ περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων βιβλίῳ τοῦ σ' στοιχείου, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ [... 6 ...] ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα διεχαράξαμεν. This leads to the chapter *περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων* being renamed as *Σῖγμα στοιχείον, περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων*. In codex **X** the phrase ... ἐν κεφαλαίῳ [... 6 ...] ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα διεχαράξαμεν is missing.

#### *Characteristics of the content*

**S** copied codex *ψ*, which reworded and restructured Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron*, with the greatest care. However, even in this codex, there are entries which are only found here and which cannot be verified at any other point, especially not in **X**. This is the case because Kosmas Kamelos, like every other scribe, also added personal entries to **S**, leaving his footprint on the work. These entries do not change the text as they are either at the end, for example, ... καὶ σκευάσας καλῶς δίδου, ... σκευάσας καλῶς χρῶ, ... σκευάσας χρῶ. ... τοῖς χρήζουσιν or before the ingredients, such as *δόκιμον ... πάνυ καλὸν ... θαυμαστόν ... ὡς καλὸν καὶ δόκιμον*.

*Orthography*

Codex **S** has many orthographical errors but is written in more elegant writing. The scribe, Kosmas Kamelos, was a calligrapher. It becomes clear in very few places that he wrote some words together because he did not understand them. Very often, prepositions are written separately from the nouns, as can be seen in **P**. The scribe for **S** very often uses a mix of accusative and genitive for the ingredients as he assumes that some endings can be assigned to the accusative and not to the genitive. This phenomenon can also be found in codex **P**.

The following orthographical errors occur: ἀκρέμβων, οὐλκάς, ναρδοστάχην, πεπερέου, χροία, μάραθρον, ζιτζίβεριν, ἴδη (instead of εἶδη), νήστης, εἰμικρανικός, κογχλυάριον, κογχλιῶν, τραῦματι, ρεύματι, καῦματος, ἔλκει, στρογγυλῆς, ὀλμός, ἀψίνθειον and ἀψινθεία, ψίλειον, ὡς αὐτως, κουκία.

Errors carried over from **P** also have to be added: τυκτὰ, τιτάνου, ἀριστολογχίας κνηδίου, γλουῦ, κύτρου, μετ' ὕδατος, κώμεως, πεφογμένου, ὀθωνίου, κικκίδος, ἀνίσσου, κασσίας, οὔτως (also before consonants) ἀνόδυνος ραῖου, κύτρινον, αἰμμήνων, μάλλιστα, χοινός. Special attention needs to be paid to κολλούριον (the form κολλύριον appears extremely seldom) that is written in all kinds of forms and versions: κωλλούριον, κολλοῦριον, κολουριον.

There are also a number of orthographic errors in **P**, **S** and **X**, such as: *δοθύνιας, ὕδροκοίλας, ἰτταίων, Ἰτταλίας*.

## L Lavra E192

15th cent. paper, ff. 237, 40 × 29 cm

*Content*

f. 1 <sup>r</sup> –209 <sup>v</sup>	Nicolaus Myrepsus, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24 alphabet
f. 210 <sup>r</sup> –233 <sup>r</sup>	Stephanus Magnes, Empirica
f. 233 <sup>v</sup> –235 <sup>v</sup>	Galenus, De succedaneis (Epitome med. VII, 25)
f. 235 <sup>v</sup> –237 <sup>r</sup>	Oribasii, Metrologica, Quaedam
f. 237 <sup>r</sup> –237 <sup>v</sup>	Botanica, Varia

Codex **L** was written in the 15th century, possibly in the first half. It comprises 237 folios; Myrepsus' work can be found on f. 1<sup>r</sup>–209<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript has 45 lines on every page, and every line has 78–82 letters.

Codex **L** is a copy of **S**, so it is an apographon. It was considered in the edition in the critical apparatus, as the recipes were rewritten in some places, and what had been incomprehensible for the scribe was reformulated. The text is more comprehensible even if it is not the original. Likewise, it is notable that the scribe hardly makes any orthographical errors, leading to the assumption that he had codex **ψ** as his model. However, upon comparing **L** with **P** or **X**, it becomes clear that this is not the case.



In **L** a number of recipes were later crossed out using ink and a different hand, becoming illegible. There are pages missing and therefore also recipes. However, as the apographon **R** is present, the missing text can be supplemented. In these few places, **R** is cited in place of **L** in the critical apparatus.

As in **S**, there is also a pinax before every chapter here, apart from chapter *περί τῶν Απομέλιτος σκευασιῶν* of the section *Στοιχεῖον ἄλφα*. The anticipated table is not present as the following addition of a third hand can be read here:

*βιβλίων τῶν κατεχουμένων τῆς Ἁγίας Λαύρας, τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατέρος ἡμῶν  
Ἀθανασίου καὶ τῆς ἐξιλεώσεως ταύτην, ἐκ τῆς μονῆς αὐτῆς· ἐχέτω τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν Ἁγίων  
π<ατέ>ρων καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου*

An addition by the second hand follows:

*Το παρὸν ἰατροσόφιον εὐρίσκεται εἰρημένον καὶ καταβρεγμένον ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ ταύτης  
τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Ἁγίας Λαύρας καὶ ἔλαβον ἐκ αὐτῆν ὁ μαῖστωρ ὑπὸ εὐχῶν Σεραφῆμ ὁ  
Ταλαιτινὸς καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὸ, ἐδωσέν το τὸν πατ<έρα>... ..> κατὰ τὸ „ζριζ’· αἰωνία  
του ἡ μνήμη.*

This entry shows that the damaged codex **L** was rebound in the year 1609 and the places that became illegible due to water damage were reread to some folios and rewritten.

### Orthography

Codex **L**, whose scribe was an academic, does not contain any orthographic errors, and also corrects the chapter *περί Ζσηγγάτων* of section *Ζῆτα* in section *Στοιχεῖον Σίγμα* to *περί Σμηγγάτων*. As a consequence, however, the introduction to *Στοιχεῖον Ζῆτα* is then missing completely, and section *Περί Ζουλαπίων* begins without an introduction. The chapter *περί Σμηγγάτων* is added to the section *Στοιχεῖον Σίγμα* and the introduction reworked.

Very often, there are marginalia which are introduced by the word *εἶχε* and which show that the scribe had made corrections to the text. Such marginalia can be read on many folios and are mentioned in the critical apparatus. Likewise, the entries at the edge show that its model was **S** or an apographon of it because all remarks on the edge match with the text in **S**. There are very few cases where the scribe wrote a letter, a preposition or the word before over a word, without making a remark at the edge, such as:

<i>περί Ἀλειμμάτων</i>	recipe ο’ [70] νήσσι <sup>ov</sup> ξ
<i>περί Ἀλειμμάτων</i>	recipe οδ’ [74] Χυλοῦ ἀψινθίας in margine εἶχε θαψίας
<i>περί Ἐμπλάστρων</i>	recipe λζ’ [37] σκ ὀ λ ο πα ς μ ὶ λ ω πα ς
<i>περί Ἐμπλάστρων</i>	recipe Ϟγ’ [93], λιβάν <sup>iv</sup> <sub>ov</sub>
<i>περί Κολλουρίων</i>	recipe α’ [1] ἐκ θ λ β ὄ ν τ ω ν ἐκ θ λ β ο ὑ σ η ς
<i>περί Κολλουρίων</i>	recipe ιγ’ [13] εἶ χ ε μ υ ο κ ἔ φ α λ α ἡ μ ι κ ἔ φ α λ α

<i>περὶ Κωλικῶν καταπλασμάτων</i>	recipe ια' [11]	ἔχε συν ὄπως σινήπεος
<i>περὶ Κοκκίων</i>	recipe κε' [25]	τρίψας καί πλῆνον

Likewise, it must be mentioned that codex **L** makes the following difference, consistently repeating them: *ὀμβρίμου* an neologism for *ὀμβρίου*, *ὑπόπιον* is a different disease to *ὑπόπυον*, and *χιλός* is error for *χυλός*. He prefers the genitive form for all the recipes' ingredients. He always writes *σπέρματος σελίνου*, *ρίζης μαράθρου*, *κλώνων μυρίγγου* etc. in place of *σελίνου σπέρμα*, *μαράθρου ρίζης*, *μυρίγγου κλώνων*. He corrects *μετ' ὕδατος* to *μεθ' ὕδατος*, *ὑοῦ* to *ὕος*, and *οὐλκάς* to *ὄλκάς*. He uses *ἄνθους*, *τοῦ ἀρκοῦντος* and *καὶ ποιήσας χνοῶδη* in place of *ἄνθος*, *τὸ ἀρκοῦν* and *ὡς χνοῶδες*.

Here is an overview of the pinax and the numbered recipes:

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipes
A	<i>περὶ Ἀντιδότην</i>	2 <sup>v</sup> –8 <sup>v</sup>	11 <sup>v</sup> –47 <sup>r</sup>	505
	<i>περὶ Ἀλατίων</i>	47 <sup>r</sup>	47 <sup>r</sup> –48 <sup>v</sup>	21
	<i>περὶ Ἀλειμμάτων</i>	49 <sup>r</sup> –49 <sup>v</sup>	49 <sup>v</sup> –57 <sup>r</sup>	98
	<i>περὶ Ἀπομέλιτος σκευασιῶν</i>	--	57 <sup>r</sup> –57 <sup>v</sup>	14
B	<i>περὶ Βηχικῶν</i>	58 <sup>r</sup>	58 <sup>r</sup> –61 <sup>r</sup>	56
	<i>περὶ Βαλάνων</i>	--	61 <sup>r</sup> – 61 <sup>v</sup>	21
Γ	<i>περὶ Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν</i>	62 <sup>r</sup>	62 <sup>r</sup> –62 <sup>v</sup>	20
Δ	<i>περὶ Δροσάτων</i>	63 <sup>r</sup> –63 <sup>v</sup>	63 <sup>v</sup> –79 <sup>r</sup>	120
	<i>περὶ Διὰ μόρων</i>	79 <sup>r</sup> –79 <sup>v</sup>	79 <sup>v</sup> –83 <sup>r</sup>	85
E	<i>περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων</i>	83 <sup>r</sup> –84 <sup>r</sup>	84 <sup>v</sup> –97 <sup>v</sup>	199
	<i>περὶ Ἐπιθεμάτων</i>	98 <sup>r</sup>	98 <sup>r</sup> –98 <sup>v</sup>	9
	<i>περὶ Ἐδρικῶν</i>	98 <sup>v</sup>	99 <sup>v</sup> –100 <sup>r</sup>	27
	<i>περὶ Ἐλιγμάτων</i>	100 <sup>v</sup>	100 <sup>v</sup>	7
	<i>περὶ Ἐλμίνθων</i>	101 <sup>r</sup>	101 <sup>r</sup> –101 <sup>v</sup>	8
	<i>περὶ Ἐρρινων</i>	101 <sup>v</sup>	101 <sup>v</sup>	8
	<i>περὶ Ἐλαιῶν</i>	102 <sup>r</sup>	102 <sup>r</sup> –106 <sup>v</sup>	51
	<i>περὶ Ἐνεμάτων σκευασιῶν</i>	106 <sup>v</sup>	107 <sup>r</sup> –111 <sup>r</sup>	51
Z	<i>περὶ Ζσημηγμάτων</i>	180 <sup>r</sup>	180 <sup>r</sup> –183 <sup>r</sup>	51
	<i>περὶ Ζουλαπίων</i>	111 <sup>r</sup>	111 <sup>r</sup> –113 <sup>r</sup>	28
Η	<i>περὶ Ἡπατικῶν σκευασιῶν</i>	113 <sup>r</sup>	113 <sup>r</sup> –114 <sup>r</sup>	24
Θ	<i>περὶ Θυμαμάτων</i>	114 <sup>r</sup>	114 <sup>r</sup> –116 <sup>r</sup>	10
	<i>περὶ Θηριακῶν ἀντιδότην</i>	116 <sup>r</sup>	116 <sup>r</sup> –118 <sup>r</sup>	12
I	<i>περὶ Ἰερῶν σκευασιῶν</i>	118 <sup>v</sup>	118 <sup>v</sup> –122 <sup>v</sup>	37
K	<i>περὶ Κολλουρίων</i>	122 <sup>v</sup> –123 <sup>r</sup>	123 <sup>r</sup> –130 <sup>r</sup>	87
	<i>περὶ Κρανιακῶν πασμάτων</i>	130 <sup>r</sup>	130 <sup>r</sup> –131 <sup>r</sup>	15

Section	Chapter of the manuscript	Pinax	Text	Recipes
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν διαχρησμάτων	131 <sup>r</sup>	131 <sup>r</sup> –131 <sup>v</sup>	4
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν [ὑδραγωγῶν]	131 <sup>v</sup> –132 <sup>r</sup>	132 <sup>r</sup> –134 <sup>v</sup>	43
	περὶ Καθαρτικῶν ἐλιγμάτων	134 <sup>v</sup>	135 <sup>r</sup> –136 <sup>r</sup>	21
	περὶ Καταπλασμάτων [σκευασιῶν]	136 <sup>r</sup>	136 <sup>r</sup> –136 <sup>v</sup>	11
	περὶ Κηρωτῶν σκευασιῶν	136 <sup>v</sup>	136 <sup>v</sup> –137 <sup>v</sup>	9
	περὶ Κωλικῶν καταπλασμάτων	137 <sup>v</sup>	137 <sup>v</sup> –139 <sup>r</sup>	25
	περὶ Κοκκίων σκευασιῶν	139 <sup>r</sup> –139 <sup>v</sup>	139 <sup>v</sup> –150 <sup>r</sup>	138
Λ	περὶ Ληξοπυρέτων	150 <sup>r</sup>	150 <sup>r</sup> –151 <sup>r</sup>	23
Μ	περὶ Μαρκιάτων σκευασιῶν	151 <sup>v</sup>	151 <sup>v</sup> –153 <sup>r</sup>	25
Ν	περὶ Νάρδου σκευασιῶν	153 <sup>v</sup>	153 <sup>v</sup> –155 <sup>r</sup>	14
Ξ	περὶ Ξηρίων σκευασιῶν	155 <sup>r</sup> –155 <sup>v</sup>	155 <sup>v</sup> –162 <sup>r</sup>	142
Ο	περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος	162 <sup>r</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>	162 <sup>v</sup> –168 <sup>r</sup>	96
Π	περὶ Πεσσῶν	168 <sup>r</sup> –169 <sup>r</sup>	169 <sup>r</sup> –179 <sup>r</sup>	187
Ρ	περὶ Ῥοδομέλιτος σκευασιῶν	179 <sup>r</sup>	179 <sup>r</sup> –180 <sup>r</sup>	10
Σ	περὶ Σαυριακῶν ἐντατικῶν	183 <sup>r</sup>	183 <sup>r</sup> –184 <sup>r</sup>	14
Τ	περὶ Τροχίσκων	184 <sup>v</sup> –185 <sup>r</sup>	185 <sup>r</sup> –196 <sup>v</sup>	159
Υ	περὶ Ὑπογλωττίων	197 <sup>r</sup>	197 <sup>r</sup> –199 <sup>v</sup>	36
	περὶ Ὑπνοτικῶν ἐπιθεμάτων	199 <sup>v</sup>	199 <sup>v</sup> –200 <sup>r</sup>	12
	περὶ Ὑδάτων διαφόρων	200 <sup>v</sup>	200 <sup>v</sup> –203 <sup>r</sup>	32
Φ	περὶ Φθειρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων	203 <sup>r</sup>	203 <sup>r</sup> –204 <sup>v</sup>	17
Χ	περὶ Χειλῶν κατερρόγοτων	204 <sup>v</sup>	204 <sup>v</sup> –206 <sup>r</sup>	16
Ψ	περὶ Ψώρας ἀλειμμάτων	206 <sup>r</sup>	206 <sup>r</sup> –207 <sup>r</sup>	14
Ω	περὶ Ὡτικῶν θεραπειῶν	207 <sup>r</sup>	207 <sup>r</sup> –209 <sup>v</sup>	23

### *Characteristics of the content*

Codex L contains *γλυκόριζων*; *ζιντζίβεριν* and *ζιντζίβερ*, and in the genitive case *ζιντζιβέρεος*; *πέπερι* and also in the genitive *πεπέρεος*; *καρόφαλα* for *γαρεόφαλα*; *ἔχει δὲ* instead of *ἔχει*; *ρέον* instead of *ράϊον*; *όθόνιον* instead of *όθώνιον* but he writes *μωρέας*, *μώρας*, *μώρου* and he uses both grammatical genders masculine and feminine: *ὁ, ἡ λιθαργυρος* and for the *ἔμπλαστρον*, all three *ὁ, ἡ ἔμπλαστρος, τό ἔμπλαστρον*.

There are no abbreviated endings and also the measurements *λίτρας*, *οὐγγία*, *ξέστιον* etc are almost all written out in full.

## The Apographa

Codex **L**, as already mentioned, made it as far as the Monastery of Great Lavra in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. After being damaged by water, it was rebound in the year 1609 by Serafeim Talaitinos<sup>23</sup>, and the illegible parts were written over. Although this scribe must have been very academic and had a good command of Greek grammar, it is often observed that some specific words can be found in the codex, like *χιλός* instead of *χυλός*, *μώρα*, *-ων* instead of *μόρα*, *-ων*, *ὄμβριος* to *ὀμβρίμος*.

Codex **R** is an exact copy of **L**, which can be proved in many places, especially in the following:

- the pinax of *περὶ Ἀπομέλιτος* is missing;
- the recipes of the chapter *περὶ Ἐλαίων* from *ιθ'* [19] up to and including *λα'* [31] are missing; instead there are blank pages; in **R** these are entered by a second hand;
- the chapter *περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων* was moved from the section *Στοιχείον Ζῆτα* to the section *Στοιχείον Σίγμα* and
- the last recipe of the *Dynameron* in chapter *περὶ Ὤτικῶν* ends after the words ... *ὡσαύτως, γῆς ἔντερα μετὰ γῆς ὀλίγης* ..., although the recipe continues in **P**, **S** and **X**, as the text does not end here. Likewise, the next two unnumbered recipes, 23c and 23d are missing.

In codex **R** there are many orthographical errors which can only be explained by a dictation from an orthographically accurate text. **R** was also originally owned by Antonios Eparchos<sup>24</sup>. He sold it to Jean Hurault de Boistaillé, a French aristocrat and government official. In the year 1558 Hurault was an envoy of King Henry II and ambassador of France in Constantinople and Venice. The sale of this codex must have then taken place between 1560 and 1570 as Eparchos died in 1571 and Hurault in 1572<sup>25</sup>.

An exact copy of **S** is codex **V**. Proven not only by the font character but also the structure and the detailed sample collations in many places and on many folios.

Codex **A**, which is currently in Athens, is the most recent manuscript of the *Dynameron* and an apographon created in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with **L** as its model. A scribe must have either travelled to the Monastery of Great Lavra on the Athos to produce this codex, or the codex is a copy by a monk of the monastery for a physician or pharmacist in Athens. Later, the codex found its way to the Greek National Library in Athens. **A** was rebound and so there are missing pages, e.g. after f. 25 or folios which were bound in the wrong way e.g. 67 and 68.

Codex **E** is an exact copy of **X**. The fact that **E** is copied from **X** can be seen not only in the same title *Νικολάου ἱατροῦ τοῦ καὶ μυρεψοῦ [λεγόμενου] ἱατρικὸν βιβλίον* but also in particular because of the frequent omittance of lines as seen in many folios.

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<sup>23</sup> f. 57<sup>r</sup> of **L**

<sup>24</sup> Jackson (2004), p. 248

<sup>25</sup> van Ommen (2009), p. 11

## R Paris. gr. 2238

15th cent. paper, 614 pages, 26 × 18 cm

*Content*

p. 1–538	Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24
p. 539–592	Stephanus Magnes, Empirica
p. 593–593	Oribasii, Metrologica, Quaedam
p. 594–598	Galenus, De succedaneis liber
p. 599–614	Botanica, Varia <sup>26</sup>

Codex Paris. gr. 2238 was made in the 15th century and consists of 614 pages. The work of Nikolaos Myrepsos stretches from page 1 to 538 in its 24 sections.

Codex **R** is an apographon of **L**, at least for Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron*. A later hand filled the gaps that can also be found in **L**, the supplemented text comes from codex **S**. The gaps are:

- from recipe κ' [20] Ἐλαίου ἰασμὴ up to and including λα' [31] Ἐλαίου νάρδου Κυζικηνοῦ;
- the last line of recipe ρνδ' [154] in *περὶ Τροχίσκων*;
- the recipe that follows: ρνε' [155];
- the first two lines of the next recipe ρνζ' [156], and
- the last ten lines of the chapter κγ' Ὠτικὸν ἐπίθεμα, that is also the last recipe in the *Dynameron*.

It is worth noting that on the pages following the work of Myrepsos, the same four works are copied as in codex **L**.

**R** contains a very large number of orthographical errors although it is a copy of **L**. At the same time, however, it is very valuable as it contains places no longer available or legible in **L** today, such as in chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλαστῶν* in recipe γ'; after the ingredient βέρβερις and to the middle of the recipe ιζ' there is a whole folio missing from codex **L**, namely f. 85. This place is included in codex **R**. It is therefore possible, although it is an apographon, to find in **R** all missing or illegible places from **L**, such as

- the recipe τζθ' [399] in *περὶ Ἀντιδότων*;
- the recipes ιζ' [17] and up to κ' [20] in chapter *περὶ Ἡπατικῶν σκευασιῶν* of the section *Στοιχεῖον ἦτα*;
- λβ' [32] and λγ' [33] in chapter *περὶ Ἱερῶν σκευασιῶν* or
- in chapter *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος σκευασιῶν*, of which the recipes ζδ' [94] and ζε' [95] have been erased.

These sections, however, only contain **R**, but not **A**.

<sup>26</sup> Delatte (1939), p. 385-393

## A Athen. EBE 1478

17th cent., paper, ff. 218

*Content*

ff. 1r–309v: Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24

Codex **A**, preserved in the Greek National Library in Athens, is dated back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and appears to have been written around 1680. It is the latest of all of them and does not bear a title. Likewise, it has no pinax for the first chapter *περί Ἀντιδότων*.

In codex **A** there are many recipes missing either due to missing pages or an incomplete model. It is worth mentioning here that the words *Λείπει τὰ ἐξῆς* were added before all missing pages, each by a second, later hand, the same as on ff. 25<sup>v</sup>, 31<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, 61<sup>v</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup> after the ingredient *βέρβερις*, and 67<sup>r</sup> after the word *ἀφλέγμαντος*. Likewise, there are missing pages after ff. 16, 86, 95 and 168 with no prior reference: in section *Στοιχείον ἄλφα* in the chapter *Περί Ἀντιδότων*, also in the chapter *Περί ἀλειμμαίων*, as well as the whole chapter *Περί τῶν ἀπὸ μέλιτος σκευασιῶν*. In the sections *Στοιχείον Βήτα* and *Στοιχείον Γάμμα* as well as in the chapter *Περί Διὰ μόρων*, the first recipes up to recipe ξ' [60] etc. are also missing.

**A** is a transcript of **L**. This can be seen, among other things, by the fact that there are typical words from **L** such as *κουκουνάρια* instead of *κωνάρια* or *στρόβιλα*, *ζιντζίβερ* instead of *ζιντζίβερι*. Even the marginalia are identical to those in **L**.

In the section *Στοιχείον Ἐψιλον*, chapter *περί Ἐμπλάστρων*, recipe γ' [3] after *βέρβερις* the text from **A** ends exactly like that of **L**, however, this is not the case in **R** where the recipe continues with *ἦτοι ὀξνάκανθον ...*

However, **A** does not continue like **L** until recipe ιζ' [16]. Here there is a page missing, which the scribe for **A** did not find so it is still missing today. The copy must also have been made after the year 1609 as the codex was rebound in this year, **R** on the other hand, copied the text out of codex **L** before the page went missing.

On f. 67<sup>r</sup>, **A** ends after the word *ἀφλέγμαντος* and the text is missing until recipe νθ' [59].

In the chapter *περί Ἐλαίου* from κ' [20] to λα' [31] all recipes are missing as in **L** and **R**, although a second hand later added them in **R**. Another page is missing in *περί Ἱερῶν σκευασιῶν* in recipe ια' [11] after the word *ἀψινθίας* and up to the middle of the recipe ιδ' [14]. At the end, in section *Στοιχείον Ἰμέγα* of the chapter *περί Ἰστικῶν* the recipes from ιθ' [19] to the end of the chapter are missing.

## E Σ-II-003 (Rev. 83)

~1560-1570, 301 ff., 302 × 200 mm

*Content*

ff. 1r-309v: Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24

Codex E was written on paper in the second half of the 16th century. The scribe was Emmanuel Glynzunios, who lived from 1540 to 1596. It can therefore be calculated that codex E, the copy of codex X, was copied between the years 1560 and 1570.

Glynzunios was one of the leading suppliers of Greek manuscripts for Philipp II., King of Spain. It can be assumed that he created this copy to sell to the king. Here, it should be noted that after Glynzunios' death in the year 1596 very many codices were found in his storerooms in Venice which were then bought by the Greek council and the church of the town a year later. Although it is not known exactly how many there were, it is known that many were stolen and sold by dealers. The publisher Alimbrandi bought 21500 books with 47 different titles, among which there were also 741 by Glynzunios. Whether the King of Spain received codex E before or after the death of the scribe is not clear. The entries on folios ii<sup>v</sup> and 301<sup>r</sup> of codex E, written by the same hand as those in codex X, namely that of Antonios Eparchos, indicate that both were in his possession.

Both codices X and E contain the same epigram by Janos Lascaris. Here, in codex E, it can be read on f. 7<sup>v</sup>.

Codex E and X both had the same title:

Νικολάου ἱατροῦ τοῦ καὶ μυρεψοῦ [λεγομένου] ἱατρικὸν βιβλίον.

Likewise, f. 25<sup>v</sup> in chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* on the recipe ρη' [98], the scribe skips the lines from *ὄψεως* to *σκορόπουλα*. Such omissions can be found on the following folios, which point directly to codex X. Likewise, on f. 36<sup>r</sup>, the number σκα' [221] follows the number σ' [200], exactly as in X. All orthographical errors which appear in X are also in E.

## V Vat. gr. 1424

~1520 -1540, paper, 690 ff. , 540 × 350 mm

*Content*

ff. 1r-690v: Nicolai Myrepsi, De compositione medicamentorum, Libri 24

Codex V was written on paper in the first half of the 16th century. What can be seen here, is that it was copied by two different scribes. The first copied from f. 1<sup>r</sup>, inc.: *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῶν Ἀντιδότων* to f. 436<sup>r</sup>, expl.: ... *ῥδατος χλιαροῦ τὸ ἀρκοῦν· χρῶ* and the other from f. 436<sup>v</sup>, inc.: *περὶ Κωλλουρίων* to 690<sup>v</sup>, expl.: ... *ἔψε ἕως ἀμολύντου καὶ οὕτως σκευάσας χρῶ*.

It has not been proven who the scribes were. It can be assumed that the copy was made by 1540 as in the next year, 1541, codex **S**, its model, was gifted to the King of France by Antonios Eparchos. Where the copying took place is unknown, probably in Venice or in Florence.



## The other Codices

### Paris. gr. 2149

Ioannes Katelos of Nauplion<sup>27</sup>, who copied this codex starting from f. 96<sup>r</sup>, began to copy the *Dynameron* from the Paris gr. 2243. The copy of the *Dynameron* reached from f. 102<sup>r</sup> to f. 146<sup>r</sup>, every folio has 30 lines, and every line between 36 and 46 letters. Although the impression is given here that it is the complete work of Nikolaos Myrepsos, this is not the case. The collation came to the conclusion that it is a careful copy of Par. gr. 2243.

From f. 118<sup>v</sup> up to f. 146<sup>r</sup> there are recipes which do not come from the *Dynameron* by Nikolaos Myrepsos but from the *Empeirika* by Stephanos Magnes, which are contained in Paris. gr. 2243 on ff. 586<sup>v</sup> to 624<sup>v</sup>. If there was the title *Στεφάνου Μάγνητος Ἐμπειρικά* on f. 118<sup>v</sup> or 119<sup>r</sup>, it would be very clear. However, as this title does not exist, the reader is confused by the text that follows and the impression is given that the text from f. 118<sup>v</sup> to 146<sup>r</sup> is that of Myrepsos and not of Magnes. In other words, the codex Paris. Gr. 2149 is a confusing copy of Nikolaos Myrepsos' text from codex S, setting the reader on the wrong track.

#### *Content*

Every pinax and the chapter that follows begin with the words: Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ Ἁγίῳ ..., then followed by the title of the chapter, as a supplement to the sentence. f. 102<sup>r</sup>, in turn, begins with the title: Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ Ἁγίῳ τῶν Ἀντιδότων τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου τοῦ ἄλφα, followed up to f. 111<sup>r</sup> with the pinax of the Ἀντίδοτα [=antidote]. Here, φε' [=505] recipes are listed. After that, on f. 111<sup>v</sup>–112<sup>r</sup> the recipe Ἀντίδοτος πρὸς δυσεντερικούς follows, before the actual text and not numbered. This indicates that this recipe was added at a later date, after the archetype ω. This recipe is traced back to the scribe of codex π and therefore also appears in P, S and L. The fact, however, that it is not in codex X is attributed to the distinctiveness of this codex.

f. 112<sup>v</sup> is blank. On f. 113<sup>r</sup> there is a square, lightly decorated frame in which is written: ἈΡΧΗ ΣΥΝ Θ<E>ΩΙ ἉΓΙΩΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΡΟΥ, ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΥ, ΤΟΥ Α', ΠΟΙΗΜΑ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΜΥΡΕΨΟΥ. Following that, recipes from α' [1] to ια' [11] are copied in f. 113<sup>r</sup> to f. 118<sup>v</sup>. The text on f. 102<sup>r</sup> to f.118<sup>v</sup> is a copy of codex S.

ff. 119<sup>v</sup>, 119<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup> are blank. Between these, the pinax and recipes are as follows (the recipes of the corresponding chapter follow every pinax):

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<sup>27</sup> Vogel (1909), p. 173

Chapter	Folios	Recipes
περὶ τῶν Ἀντιδότων	102 <sup>r</sup> –118 <sup>v</sup>	11
περὶ Ἡπατικῶν θεραπειῶν	120 <sup>r</sup> –121 <sup>v</sup>	7
περὶ Θανατερῶν φαρμάκων	122 <sup>r</sup> –122 <sup>v</sup>	2
περὶ Ἴσχιαδικῶν σκευασιῶν	123 <sup>r</sup> –123 <sup>v</sup>	3
περὶ Κεφαλαλιῶν θεραπειῶν	124 <sup>r</sup> –126 <sup>r</sup>	14
περὶ Λυγμῶν θεραπειῶν	127 <sup>r</sup> –127 <sup>v</sup>	7
περὶ Μαστῶν θεραπεία	128 <sup>r</sup> –129 <sup>r</sup>	6
περὶ Ναυτίας	129 <sup>r</sup> –130 <sup>r</sup>	4
περὶ Ξηρίων σκευασιῶν	130 <sup>r</sup> –131 <sup>v</sup>	6
περὶ Ὀφθαλμοπονίας	132 <sup>r</sup> –134 <sup>r</sup>	8
περὶ Παραλυτικῶν	134 <sup>r</sup> –135 <sup>v</sup>	12
περὶ Ῥινῶν αἱμορραγίας ἄλλων	136 <sup>r</sup> –137 <sup>v</sup>	7
περὶ Σπληνικῶν θεραπειῶν	138 <sup>r</sup> –139 <sup>r</sup>	5
περὶ Τραυμάτων	139 <sup>r</sup> –140 <sup>r</sup>	6
περὶ Ὑδρωπικῶν θεραπειῶν	140 <sup>v</sup> –141 <sup>v</sup>	4
περὶ Φαλαγγιοδήκτων	142 <sup>r</sup> –143 <sup>r</sup>	9
περὶ Χοιράδων σκευασιῶν	143 <sup>r</sup> –144 <sup>v</sup>	2
περὶ Ψώρας καὶ ἕτερων σκευασιῶν	144 <sup>v</sup> –145 <sup>v</sup>	4
περὶ Ὠταλικῶν	145 <sup>v</sup> –146 <sup>r</sup>	2

The scribe of Paris. gr. 2149 worked in the following way: he had codex **S** in front of him and began on f. 102<sup>r</sup> to copy Nikolaos Myrepsos' text exactly as it was written. However, he stopped abruptly on folio 118<sup>v</sup>, left two folios blank and continued on f. 120<sup>r</sup>. The text which followed from f. 120<sup>r</sup> to 146<sup>r</sup> appears in codex **S**, from f. 586<sup>v</sup> to 624<sup>v</sup>. However, this text is not from Myrepsos but from die *Empeirika* by Stephanos Magnes. The beginning of this text is on f. 552<sup>r</sup> of codex **S**, where the title of this work can also be found: *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ Ἀγίῳ περὶ ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων* with the following pinax, which aligns with λη' [38] recipes. After that, on f. 553<sup>r</sup> of codex **S** appears: *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ Ἀγίῳ περὶ ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεων· ποίημα Διοσκουρίδου κατ' ἀλφάβητον ἐκάστου νοσήματος τὴν θεραπείαν φέρων, κατὰ τάξιν τῶν κδ' στοιχείων.*

So, in the Paris. gr. 2149, Stephanos Magnes' recipes were copied from f. 120<sup>r</sup> to 146<sup>r</sup> and were not those of Nikolaos Myrepsos. It is to be assumed that the scribe realized that Myrepsos' text was too comprehensive and therefore skipped these from f. 15<sup>r</sup> up to f. 586<sup>r</sup> of **S**, copying the folios after that which did not actually include the work of Myrepsos.

### Monac. gr. 392

The owner of the codices was Emmanuel Glynzounios. He personally wrote ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>v</sup> where a number of chapters of the *Dynameron* can be read, as well as ff. 37-52 which contain Michael Psellos' text *Τὸ περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων διάλογος Τιμοθέου καὶ Θρακὸς καὶ κατὰ Μάνεντος.*

The date of the codex mentioned by the BSB (Bavarian state library) must have been dated for 20 or 30 years later, postponing it to the decade 1560, as Glynzounios was not born until 1540.

The few chapters of the *Dynameron* that can be found here are written the other way around: from *Στοιχειὸν Ὠμέγα* to *Στοιχειὸν Ἐψιλον*. Likewise, everything here is plunged into chaos; the recipes as well as the chapters. There are no pinakes. Recipes are identical to codex **X** in terms of content.

In *περὶ Ὠτικῶν* we only read three recipes; after that, the introduction and the first 25 recipes of the chapter *περὶ Πεσῶν*; then on f. 5<sup>r</sup> there are 11 recipes, followed by a gap, then 11 more and after another gap, a further three recipes. The last three recipes are written in a different order. On f. 7<sup>v</sup> we read from the chapter *περὶ Ὑπογλωττίων* the recipes κβ' [22], κε' [25], λδ' [34]. On f. 8<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup> there are 13 recipes from the chapter *περὶ Φθειρῶν*, from f. 9<sup>r</sup> to 10<sup>r</sup> we find the chapter *περὶ Χειλῶν κατερρογῶτων* with the introduction and all recipes. From f. 11<sup>r</sup> to f. 12<sup>r</sup> we read 22 recipes of the chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων* and on f. 15<sup>r</sup> there are three recipes from the chapter *περὶ Τροχίσκων*. There are empty folios in places where recipes are missing.

### Olymp. 81

From f. 189<sup>v</sup> up to f. 238<sup>v</sup> of codex 81 in Olympiotissa<sup>28</sup> we find a *Ἱατροσόφιον ἐκλεγμένον. Διαθήκη πολλῶν ἱατρῶν Ἰπποκράτους καὶ Γαληνοῦ καὶ Παύλου τοῦ Γενήτου (=Αἰγινήτου) καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Τραλλιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν δοκιμώτατον πολλῶν ἱατρῶν καὶ Νικολάον τον σοφόν*. Here, extracts from the *Dynameron* can be found, with the following recipes:

Folios	Title of the recipes
190 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ Μιθριδάτειος
191 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος ποιούσα πρὸς τὰ ἰσβόλα φάρμακα καὶ πρὸς τὰ θανάσιμα φάρμακα
192 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ὑγείας Ἀντίδοτος ἰσόθεος
193 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ πανάκεια
194 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ Φίλωνος
194 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ Θεοδώρητος
195 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ δαδίου πεπέρου Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ θείου ἀπύρου
195 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ παιωνίας
196 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ μοῦσα λεγομένη
197 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ σωτήριος

<sup>28</sup> This codex is in the Olympiotissa monastery in the town of Ellassona, Greece

198 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ σωτήριος ἢ μεγάλη
200 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ σπερμάτων
201 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ <I>σόθεος
201 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος πρὸς λιθιόντας καὶ δυσσορίας ἢ Ζινόφιλος, πρὸς νεφριτικούς Ἀντίδοτος πρὸς λιθιῶντας θαυμασίως, ἢ λιθότριβος ἢ μεγάλη
202 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ μόρου καὶ πρησμένου
203 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἀλεξιφάρμακος Ἀντίδοτος ἐτέρα καὶ αὐτή, ὅμοιος
203 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ νήσου Ἀντίδοτος τοῦ ξανθοῦ
205 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος διὰ ἴρεως τοῦ Σολομώντος
205 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος διὰ μόσχου
206 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ κινναμώμου Ἀντίδοτος δι' ἄμπαρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ
206 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος Μιθριδάτου, ἀθανασία λεγομένη
207 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ διὰ ρόδου
207 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἀρωματική
208 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἄμετρως καθαρτική
209 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ τρυφεροτέρα, Ἀντίδοτος πρὸς ψυχρότητα καὶ ἰδρότητα
209 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος Νικολάου Μυρεψοῦ
210 <sup>r</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος διὰ κοραλλίου
236 <sup>v</sup>	Ἀντίδοτος ἢ Ἰσόθεος πρὸς βηχικούς Ἀντίδοτος ἢ πανάκεια

### The Codices of the Epitome

Codex 180 of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin<sup>29</sup> is identical to codex MS 10058 of the British Library<sup>30</sup> and although these bear the title *Δυναμερόν*, they do not contain Nikolaos Myrepsos' text but a shorter version, an epitome. This version can also be found in the codices Vindob. med. gr. 20<sup>31</sup> and Vindob. med. gr. 30<sup>32</sup> of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. In terms of content, these codices were not examined any further.

<sup>29</sup> Studemund (1890), p. 78-9

<sup>30</sup> bl.uk/manuscripts

<sup>31</sup> Hunger (1969), p. 65

<sup>32</sup> Hunger (1969), p. 81

## Title and Author

Literature agrees that the *Dynameron* was composed in the late 13th or possibly the early 14th century. Nikolaos Myrepsos is named as the author who can be identified with Aktuarius Nikolaos, the personal physician of Emperor Ioannes III. Batatzes of Nikaia.

However, as the personal physician Nikolaos was already an older man in the years 1238–1241<sup>33</sup>, he can hardly have written the *Dynameron* at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as he would already have been dead. Likewise, it is to be mentioned that in recipe  $\theta'$  [9], in chapter *περὶ Ἀλατίων* the name Pope Nikolaus appears. If literature claims this to be Pope Nikolaus III., this cannot be the case as he died in 1280 and Emperor of Nikaia Ioannes' personal physician in 1260 at the latest. But even if he had written the work between 1240 and 1260, there are no indications or sources that prove that Aktuarius Nikolaos is the author of the *Dynameron*. It therefore seems that the only thing connecting these two men was a coincidental similarity of name.

The *Dynameron* therefore seems to have adopted its current form around the year 1260<sup>34</sup>, as it was rewritten by the scribe for codex  $\psi$  becoming what it is today. Where the scribe lived is questionable although we can assume he was at home either in South Italy or in the Peloponnes<sup>35</sup>.

The composer of the *Dynameron* is named Nikolaos, the doctor who mastered the science of unguents (*Νικόλαος ἰατρός ὁ καὶ μυρεψός*), or simply Nikolaos Myrepsos, as can be read in codex S. Here, Kosmas Kamelos, the scribe for S, left out the words *ἰατρός ὁ καὶ*, leading to the name Nikolaos Myrepsos, as can be found in L, V and R. The work bore the title *Ἱατρικὸν βιβλίον* as in X, however, with codex S written in the year 1339, it became known as the *Dynameron*.

Nikolaos Myrepsos is therefore a name with no person behind it. However, the question has to be asked if there was more than one composer, and if so, when did they live, when did the archetype appear and which people are being referred to? The *Dynameron* was possibly the work of many scribes or authors who added new recipes from decade to decade to the work of

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<sup>33</sup> Acropolitae (1903), p. 63 ...ὁ ἰατρός Νικόλαος, ἀνὴρ ἠκιστὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίας μετασχών, ἄκρος δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν τέχνην καὶ μάλιστα τὴν διὰ πείρας γινωσκομένην· πάννυ δὲ οὗτος ἠγαπᾶτο τῇ βασιλίδι, ἀκτουαρίου δὲ εἶχε τιμὴν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν ἀντέλεγεν οὗτος, αὐτὸς δὲ πλέον ἐστωμυλλόμην, ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῶν λεγομένων ἀπεκάλεσέ με ἡ βασιλις μωρόν· εἶτα δὴ ὡσπερ τι οὐ προσήκον ἐργασαμένη, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα στραφεῖσα «ἀπρεπῶς ἄρα εἰρήκειν» ἔφη «καλέσασα τοῦτον μωρόν». καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς «οὐ καινόν»· μεῖράκιον γὰρ ἐστίν». εἴκοσι γὰρ σὺν ἐνὶ τότε ὑπῆρχον ἐτῶν, καὶ οὐ πάμπαν ἀπάδει τοῦτου τό πρόσημα. ἀλλ' ἡ βασιλις «οὐ χρεών» φησι «τὸν φιλοσόφους λόγους προσφέροντα οὕτως γε προσαγορευθῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν...

<sup>34</sup> Kramer-Scheid (1999), p. 115

<sup>35</sup> Mondrain (1999), p. 412

a Nikolaos, and who in doing so created a version of the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century that we know as the *Dynameron* by Nikolaos Myrepsos.

Based on the view represented here, the original core of the *Dynameron* was the work of a physician named Nikolaos at the 12<sup>th</sup> century, containing recipes from physicians from ancient times up to the period in which he lived. In the years and decades that followed, different scribes added further recipes until the work took on its current form in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As it cannot be proved who the actual author was, “Nikolaos Myrepsos” became the conventional name of this medical-pharmaceutical manuscript.

The codices included clearly show that the *Dynameron* was used by physicians and pharmacists as a handbook for decades, and was supplemented and amended by scribes.

Based on codex **P**, it can be seen that there were at least two versions of the text beforehand, the archetype  $\omega$  and the codex  $\pi$ , because in codex **P** recipes were added to the edge. Likewise,  $\pi$  and **P** do not appear to have been completed books. This can be seen through the blank folios at the end of every chapter in **P** as they contain new recipes which have been added. These folios also contain recipes entered later, some of which can even be read in codices that follow.

The work did not become what we now know in codex Paris. gr. 2243 until the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as very few entries can be found after this manuscript.

In summary, it stands that the *Dynameron* was probably written around the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century by a Nikolaos with no further title or name. Over the course of time, further recipes were added, resulting in a corpus of about 3000 recipes.

## Phases and Registers

Research into the lexica and recipes has shown that the *Dynameron* for Nikolaos Myrepsos exhibits all registers of the Greek language. This is a further indication that the text was written by someone called Nikolaos, who copied recipes from earlier medical-pharmaceutical works and added personal *διὰ πείρας* recipes. All these registers can be found in the *Dynameron*. Some recipes and phrases are written in Attic, others are very close to Koine Greek. Sentences, words, phrases and declinations in Modern Greek can be found in other recipes. It is noticeable that the name Nikolaos appears in the section *Στοιχείον Ἐπιλον* in chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρον* in recipe *ρμγ'* [143] that can already be found at Aetios, at this point the direct source of Myrepsos. Whether this Nikolaos is the author of the *Dynameron* known today is questionable.

The following characteristics of the text are particularly important:

1. Details of the language: very often found: τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς = from the Italians, less common *σαρακηνιστὶ* Saracen; and also *εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς* = in our language, or *γραικιστὶ* = in Greek;
2. The name Mesue: ...ἐκ τοῦ Μεζουέ... appears in section *Στοιχείον Κάππα* in chapter *περὶ Κοκκίων* in recipe *ρηγ'* [118]. It is unclear who it refers to here as the name could mean two people: Yuhanna ibn Masawaih, Abu Zakariya (777–857)<sup>36</sup>, known as Mesue the Elder, and the later Yahyā ibn Masawaih al-Mardini<sup>37</sup>, who died in Cairo around 1015, known as Mesue the Younger. In codex **P** this recipe has been supplemented later on the edge of the paper. This could mean that it was not in archetype **ω** and was later found and supplemented by the scribe of codex **π** or codex **P**.
3. The name Pope Nikolaos appears in chapter *περὶ Ἀλατίων* in recipe *θ'* [9]. Here, literature tells us it refers to Pope Nikolaus III. However, it has to be mentioned that the name is within the text and not at the edge, the same for codex **P**, meaning that it was already in archetype **ω**. Considering there had been three popes of that name by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is not clear which one is being referred to. Popes Nikolaus II. and III. were not on the throne for long, from 1058 to 1061, and from 1277 to 1280, and little is known about those years. It is more than possible that Pope Nikolaus I. (858–867) is the one being referred to, who was well-known in east and west for the controversy with Patriarch of Constantinople Photios, during the course of which both excommunicated each other.
4. Plants can be found in the recipes that did not exist in Europe before the 11th or 12th centuries:

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<sup>36</sup> Vadet (1986), p. 872–873

<sup>37</sup> Forbes (1970), p. 41

- *μελιντζάνα*, the aubergine and *ἀγριομελιντζάνα*<sup>38</sup>, the wild aubergine. The *μελιντζάνα* is mentioned in chapter *περὶ Ἐδρικών σκευασίων* in recipe *κ'* [20], the *ἀγριομελιντζάνα* in chapter *περὶ Ἀντιδότων* in recipe *υνη'* [458], in chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* in the recipes *πθ'* [89] and *ριγ'* [113], in chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων* in recipe *ρπη'* [188];
- *λεμόνι*, the lemon, in chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* in recipe *ιη'* [18]<sup>39</sup>, in chapter *περὶ Ὑπογλωττίων* in the recipes *λβ'* [32] and *λε'* [35] and
- *νεραντζιά*, the bitter orange, in chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστρων* in recipe *ρογ'* [190], in chapter *περὶ Ὑδάτων διαφόρων* in recipe *γ'* [3];
- The pear with the term *ἀχλάδι*<sup>40</sup> in chapter *περὶ Δροσάτων* in the recipes *πε'* [85], *πζ'* [87], *πη'* [88] and *ριδ'* [114].

These recipes are not in codex **P**. As these fruits were not imported to or cultivated in Europe earlier than the late 11th century<sup>41</sup>, it can be assumed that the recipes were added afterwards, into the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, possibly in the final version of the *Dynameron* at the latest, by the scribe of the codice  $\psi$ . Therefore, it can be assumed that codex **P** represents an early version of the *Dynameron*, around the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>38</sup> Valiakos, (2015), p. 73

<sup>39</sup> This recipe is also mentioned in codex **P**. However, the place where the fruit *λεμόνι* is mentioned is missing.

<sup>40</sup> Valiakos et al., (2017), p. 247

<sup>41</sup> Morton, (1987), p. 161



## On the Edition

The basis for the current edition is codex **S**, which is the only one to contain all recipes and chapters. Codex **P** could not serve as the basis of the edition due to the fact that chapters are missing and the structure is different. Likewise, codex **S** is very close to codex  $\psi$ , the source of all manuscripts apart from **P**. When comparing the content of **S** with that of **X**, it is clear that both had the codex  $\psi$  before them. The scribe for **S** did not change the text and only intervened to a very small extent. Even the orthographical errors found in **P** were adopted. The scribe for **X** on the other hand, changed the text and the order of the ingredients for every recipe. In the edition, the syntax was not altered, as then a text close to Codex **L** would have evolved.

Although a reconstruction of codex  $\psi$  would theoretically be possible, it was not carried out as the resulting text would in the end merely remain a theoretical construct. For this reason, **S** was used as a basis and only a few places of its text left out, which were most probably added or altered by the scribe Kosmas Kamilos. These places were not considered in the text but were, however, marked in the critical apparatus.

In this edition, the following orthographical errors were corrected although they can be found in all codices: *ὀθόνιον* to *ὀθόνιον*, *ῥαῖον* to *ῥέον*, *ἐφόρβιον* to *εὐφόρβιον*, *μωρέας*, *μώρρας*, *μώρου* to *μόρου*, *-έας* or *-ου* and *οὐλκή* to *ὄλκη*.

The following words were standardized and corrected in the edition and also entered into the critical apparatus because in the codices they offer different variations in terms of spelling, expression and language, and here there are also word formations that are relevant to the development of the Greek language:

Word	P	X	S	L
ἄσαρον	ἄσσαρι	ἄσαρι ἄσαρ	ἄσάρου ἄσσαρι	ἄσαρ
ἄνισον	ἀνίσσου	ἀνίσου	ἄνισσον	
γαλαγγά	γαλαγγάν		γαλαγκᾶν γαλαγγᾶ	γαλαγκᾶν
γεντιανή	ζεντζιάνε		ζεντζιάνε γεντιανήν	τζεντζιάνε
γλυκόριζον		γλυκυρρίζης		
ἔμπλικι			ἔμπλιτζι	ἔμπλιτζη
εὐφόρβιον	ἐφόρβιον	ἐφορβίου	ἐφόρβιον	ἐφόρβιον
ζιντζίβερι	ζιντζιβέρεος	ζιντζιβερεως ζιντζίβεριν		ζιντζίβερ τζιντζίβερ

Word	P	X	S	L
Ιταλία γλώσση	παρ'Ιττάλοις		Ιτταλία	
καρυόφυλλα	γαρεόφαλα	γαρούφαλα	καρεοφύλλου	καρεοφύλλου
καρεόφαλα			γαρόφαλα	καρόφαλα
καρναβάδη		καρναβάδιν	καρναβάδην	καρναβάδιν
καρόην		καρώου	κάρου	καρών
καστόριν		καστορίου		καστόριου
κέπουλι			κίεπουλιν	κίεπουλιν
κιννάμωμον		κινάμωμον	κινναμώμην	
κοράλλιν	κοράλιν κοραλίου	κοραλίου	κουρέλιν	κουράλιν κοράλιν κοράλιον
μακεδονησίου	μακιδωνισίου		μακηδονησίου	
μαράθου		μαράθρου	μαράθου	μαράθρου
μαράθρου		μαράθου	μαράθρου	μαράθου
μεθ'			μετ'	μετά
μυρτόκοκκα			μυρτόκοκκα	
όμβρύου				όμβρίμου
όπου βαλσάμου		όποβαλσάμου		
πέπεριν			πεπεραίου πεπέρεως	πεπέρεως πεπέρεος
περίλικι	μπερίλικι	βελέρικι	περίλικι	μπερίλικι
ρέον	ράιον	ράιου	ράιον ρέον	ρέου
σένες	σέννες σένναις	σέννες σένναις	σέννες σένναις	σένναις σέννες
σέσελιν		σεσέλεως		σέσελι
σκαμωνέα	σκαμωνέα σκαμωναία	σκαμμωναία σκαμωνέα	σκαμμωναία σκαμμωνέα	σκαμμωναία σκαμωνέα
σκόρπουλα				σκόρπουλα
σπέρμα		σπόρου		
στάχος		στάχους		στάχους
σχοίνου ἄνθος		σχοινάνθης		
τὸ ὄστουν	μπλάντε	πλάντε	μπιζάντζιαμπλάντε	
τῆς ῥινός	μπιζάντια		μπιζάντια	
τῆς πορφύρας				
τουρπήτιν	τούρπετον	τούρπιτ τούρπετον	τουρπήτη τρούπητον	τρουπίτην τούρπετην τρουπήτιν

The spelling of many words in such a long text is not uniform, and even within every individual manuscript there are different forms: *σέννες, σένας, σένναις; γλυκύρριζον, γλυκόρριζον, γλυκυρρίζης; καρέοφαλα, καρούφαλα, γαρούφαλα, καρυοφυλλα; σκαμμωναία, σκαμμωναία, σκαμμωνέα, σκαμμωνέα; γαλάγγαν, γαλαγγάν, γαλαγκά, γαλάγκα; τρουπήτιν, τουρητήτιν, τούρπετον, τρουπίτιν; δαμασκηνῶν; ψιμύνθιν, ψιμίνθιν, ψιμίθιν, ψιμύθου etc.*

The above-mentioned forms were used in the same way for the whole text, although only where there were different spellings. In places where all codices corresponded with incorrect spelling, this spelling was maintained. However, all spelling is represented in the critical apparatus to record the diversity of variations for historical and scientific reasons. Only the iotacisms are left out completely. In doing so, the spelling in every codex itself as well as the text development of the *Dynameron* can be followed from codex to codex and reconstructed during later research.

In the codices, spelling variants can be found throughout:

- in codex **P**: γαρέοφαλα, σίνιπτι, ψίλλιον, ὀποῦ βαλασάμου (ὀποβαλασάμου at **S X L**)
- in codex **S**: ναρδοστάχην, πεπερέου, χροία, μάραθρον ζιντζίβεριν, ἴδη, νήστης, εἰμκρ-ανικός, κογγλυάριον, κογγλιῶν, τραῦματι, ρεῦματι, καῦματος, ἔλκει, στρογγυλῆς, ὀλμὸς. ἀψίνθειον καὶ ἀψίνθεια, ψίλεον, ὡς αὐτως, πεπερέου, κουκία, οὐλκάς, τραῦματι, ρεῦματι, καῦματος, τὰ ἔλκει, συκῆς in place of σικύς;
- in codex **X** there are very few abbreviations or endings: μαστίχ, στάχ, καρδαμῶμ, κρόκ etc. He writes *χοιράδος* for *χειράδος*, *εἰς* in place of *πρὸς*, he corrects to *ῥοῦ μαγειρικοῦ*, *σπόρου* in place of *σπέρμα* and the other way around where *σπόρου* appears in codex **S**, the scribe for **X** writes *σπέρμα*, as: *λινοσπέρμου* in codex **X** *λινοσπόρου* in codex **S** etc. respectively: *σχινάνθους* in place of *σχοίνου ἄνθος*, *τρεμεντίνη* in place of *τερμεντίνη*, *ἔψει* in place of *ἔψε*, *ἡ σύνθεσις* in place of *ἔχει*. Likewise, he uses the following: *μαστῶν, ψιμιθιν, οὐλκάς, καγχρως, δριμέος, ὑπῶπιον, χρίε, γλυκυρίζης, ζζ''* for *ζιντζίβερι, γαρούφαλα, μαγειρικοῦ* for *μαγαρικοῦ*;
- in codex **L** ἔμπλαστρος as well as ἔμπλαστρον, χιλός, ὄμβριμου, τοῦ ἀρκούντος in place of τὸ ἀρκούν, δίκταμον, καὶ ποιήσας χνοῶδη in place of ὡς χνοῶδες, ζιντζίβερ gen. ζιντζιβέρεως, καρόφαλα also καρυόφαλα can be found. The numbers α', β', γ' are often written out as ἕνα, δύο, τρία;
- in the codices **P** and **S** there are orthographic errors throughout: ὕς, gen. ὑοῦ in place of ὕδς, τυκτὰ, τιττάνου, ἀριστολογχίας, κνηδίου, γλυοῦ, κύτρου, μετ' ὕδατος, κῶμεως, πεφογμένου, ὀθωνίου κικκίδος, ἀνίσσου, κασσίας, οὕτως (even before a consonant) ἀνόδνους ραῖου, ψιμήνθιν and ψιμίνθιν, κύτρινον, ἀκρεμβόνων, αἰμμήνων, μάλλιστα, χοινὸς, χειράδος, σπηάς; the contracted forms -ῶν, -ῶντος, -ῶντας become -οῦν, -οῦντος, -οῦντας (τριχιοῦντας, λιθιοῦντας, ἔλεφαντιοῦντας, δυσουριοῦντας etc. respectively);
- in the codices **P, S** and **X** there are orthographic errors throughout: *δοθυίνας, ὕδροκοίλας, ιτταίων, οὐλκάς, ἄνισσον* (very seldom *ἄνισσον*);
- the codices **P, S, V, L** prefer the word *ὄξούγγιν, ἀξούγγιν, οὐξούγγιν*, **X**, on the other hand, *στέαρ*. Where the codex **X** cites *ὄξούγγιν, ἀξούγγιν, οὐξούγγιν*, these recipes follow

the exact order of those of **S**. The **P**, **S**, **V** and **L** also sometimes exhibit the word *στέαρ*, however, it can be traced back to the source every time;

– in all codices *λιθάργυρος* and *ἔμπλαστρος* appear in two *zwei* genera as masculine and feminine;

– the genitive of *πέπερι* is *πεπέρεως* in **X**, *πεπεραίου* in **S**, **V** and in **L** *πεπέρεος*;

– the word *σμύρνα*, *-ης* is abbreviated in codex **P** as ζζ“. The fact that it refers to *σμύρνα* here and not *ζιντζίβερι* can be recognized in the chapter *περὶ Ἐμπλάστων* in recipe *νθ'* [59], where ζζ (=σμύρνη) as well as *ζιντζίβερι* can be found;

– for some recipes it is unclear whether for *ἀσφάλτου*, *ἢ ἄσφαλος* or *τό ἄσφαλον* is meant;

– the word form *κομμίδι* for *κόμμι* is mentioned in the critical apparatus, yet corrected in the text;

– in the manuscripts, both variations are often used of *δίκταμον* and *δίκταμνον*; *γαρόφαλον*, *καρεόφυλλον* and *καρυόφυλλον*; *σένες* and *σέννες*; *γλυκόριζο*, *γλυκύρριζον* and *γλυκυρρίζης*; *σκαμμωνέα* and *σκαμωνέα*; *ψιμύθιν*, *ψιμύνθιν* and *ψιμμίθιν*.

In *Dynameron* there are a number of new words, such as: *ἄχλυσμα*, *ἀχλάδι*, *λεμόνι*, *νεράντζια*, (*ἀγριο*)*μελιντζάνα* and just as worth a mention, the name *Νίκων ο Βυζαντινός*.

After every ingredient in the edition there is a punctuation dot; before every measurement there is a comma; if *ἀνά* comes before it, the comma is set before this preposition. The measurements are expressed as they are found codex **S**, meaning that they are written out – not, however, if they are not written out in **S** and in at least one further codex. Adjectives which relate to towns or regions are written with a capital.

## Sources

Sources for the *Dynameron* are, among others, recipe books by Galen, Aëtios, Archigenes, Oreibasios, Alexander of Tralleis, Damokrates, Aelius Promotus, Hermes Trismegistos, Philagrios, and Philon. Likewise, it is also stated that the works *Antidotarium magnum* and *Antidotarium Nicolai* in the Latin language were also sources of Nikolaos Myrepsos' *Dynameron* due to their parallel recipes. However, the question arises here: Did these three works perhaps have the same archetype as a model?

The recipes which are passed on from several sources, such as, for example:

– Archigenes, *Fragmenta*, p. 23

...ἔστι δὲ ὁ συνήθης ὑπὸ πλείστων σκευαζόμενος δρῶπαξ ὁ γάλλος λεγόμενος, κολοφωνίας τῆς λιβανιζούσης καὶ πιτυίνης καὶ τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς ξυλώδους ῥητίνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς κεραμίοις κομιζομένης ἀποχύματος πίσης ...

– Aetius, *Iatricorum liber III*, ch. 180

...ἔστι δὲ ὁ συνήθως ὑπὸ πλείστων σκευαζόμενος δρῶπαξ ὁ γάλλος λεγόμενος κολοφωνίας τῆς λιβανιζούσης καὶ πιτυίνης καὶ τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς ξυλώδους ῥητίνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς κεραμίοις κομιζομένης, ...

– Paulus, *Epitomae medicae medicae libri septem*, Book 7, ch. 19, sec. 17

Δρῶπαξ ὁ Γάλλος Ὀριβασίου

Κολοφωνίας τῆς λιβανιζούσης, πιτυίνης καὶ τῆς ξυλώδους καλουμένης ἐν Ἰταλία μόνῃ γεννωμένης ἀποχύματος, πίσης ξηρᾶς, ...

– Nikolaos Myrepsos, Section ἄλφα, Chapter περὶ Ἀλειμμάτων, Recipe ιθ' [19]

Ἄλειμμα δρῶπαξ, ὀνομαζόμενος, Γάλλος, Ὀρειβασίου· ἔχει: Κολοφωνίας τῆς λιβανιζούσης· πιτυίνης καὶ τῆς ξυλώδους καλουμένης, ἐν Ἰταλία, μόνῃς γινομένης ἀπὸ χύματος· πίσης ξηρᾶς ...

Likewise, recipes are cited that no other source known to this day has passed on.

## The *Dynameron*'s Structure

The *Dynameron* is a medical-pharmaceutical compendium which contains recipes from the ancient times up to the 13th century. Every recipe can be subdivided into four parts:

The first part comprises the title of the recipe, or the name of the person or the producer of the recipe as well as illnesses which the recipe can be used to treat. People mentioned are, in most cases, historically proven, for example:

Doctors: Archigenes, Philon, Hippokrates, Galen, Oreibasios, Alexandros, Phythagoras, Magnes, Philagrios, Anerios, Anatalos, Protelios, Adamantinos and Asterios

Roman Emperors: Vespasian, Diokletian, Konstantin

Kings: Attalos, Markos, Mithridates, Theazomene, Kleopatra, Medon, Ptolemaios

Magisters: Melanos, Roussinos, Ursinos, Bartholomaios, Ioannes, Theodoros

Actuaries or private physicians: Alypios, Glaukios, Hippialos

Perfumer: Ioannes Myrepsos

Popes: Nikolaos (I.)

However, there is no proof for a number of names that these people even existed, or if they did, when that was, such as Anerios, Anatalos, Protelios, Adamantinos or Asterios. As these people can also not be found in sources that Myrepsos had copied from, the question arises whether they really existed, and if they did, what then the real sources used by Nikolaos Myrepsos were. This must be researched further although the easiest answer would be that Myrepsos had invented them entirely for his recipes to gain more popularity.

The fact that the names Mesue and John of Damascus were mentioned is noteworthy as it is unclear who exactly these people were.

The second part of the recipes comprises illnesses which the recipe is supposed to be good for. These illnesses are still common today and are well-known. They relate to all organs of the human body although most of the recipes concern respiratory organs and their illnesses.

The third part is made up of ingredients that are not only plants but also minerals and fungi as well as inorganic ingredients such as powder from stones, earth, salts and metals, to name a few.

The fourth part consists of instructions on how to use the recipes, at what time of the day (mornings or evenings), before or after meals, before going to bed or on an empty stomach, after a few days of fasting, and also the dosage and how the medication should be taken.

Alongside the medical recipes in the *Dynameron* there are also a few “magical” and theological recipes, as well as entries with no medical content, such as the translation of the Egyptian months into Greek and with a mention of Christian and historical events.

## Sections and Chapters

The *Dynameron* contains 24 sections, one for every letter of the Greek alphabet. Each section has between one and nine chapters beginning with the same letter as the section it is in. Every chapter contains recipes which begin with the same Greek letter as the chapter and the section<sup>42</sup>.

At the beginning of every section named *Στοιχείον*, there is a short introduction connecting the sections to each other. This introduction states that one section has ended and the next is about to begin. The reader is prepared for the illnesses or recipes in the section that follows.

As already mentioned, codex **S** is the basis of the existing edition. As explained, the numbering in the codices does not always agree as some recipes are missing. The numbering of the recipes in the edition is based on **S**. Unnumbered recipes in codex **S** are marked with the letters a, b, c, etc. in the edition.

### 1. Section *Στοιχείον Ἄλφα*

No introduction. There are four chapters:

**1.1. περὶ Ἀντιδότων**<sup>43</sup> with 505 numbered recipes, although 512 are written out. It is the longest chapter in the work. All recipes begin with the word *Ἀντίδοτος*, five of which – 12a, 78a, 196a, 250a, and 309a – are not numbered, two further ones on the other hand – 221a and 328a – twice.

**P** Here there are 269 numbered recipes as well as 146 unnumbered.

**X** Numbering ends at number *φα'* [501]. The number *σκα'* [221] comes after *σ'* [200] although this recipe comes directly after it in all codices.

**S** The last two recipes [504] and [505] are written by another hand.

**1.2. περὶ Ἀλατίων** with 21 recipes of which recipe 10a is not numbered in codices **S**, **V** and **L**, but has a number in **P** as well as in **X**, meaning that in the end there are 22 recipes in **X** and 23 in **P**. All recipes aside from the last one, *κα'* [21], begin with the word *Ἀλάτιον*. Every single one includes the ingredient ammonium salt (*ἀμμωνιακόν ἄλας*). The last recipe begins with the word *Ἄχλυσμα*, a neologism. In **P** there is another recipe at this point and there is also another which can also only be found here.

**P** 23 recipes can be found here. Recipe *δ'* [4] is cited without a number, after *γ'* [3] and after *κα'* [21] there is another which has been added respectively. Recipe *κ'* [20] here bears the number *α'* [1].

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<sup>42</sup> Valiakos (2015), p. 246-248

<sup>43</sup> Valiakos (2014), This chapter was worked on in detail and analysed from a historical, pharmaceutical, medical and botanical perspective, p. 83-278.

**X** Recipe 10a is numbered  $\iota\alpha'$ , all subsequent numbers are therefore one number higher, meaning  $\iota\alpha'$  [11] becomes  $\iota\beta'$  [12],  $\iota\beta'$  [12] becomes  $\iota\gamma'$  [13] etc. Recipe  $\iota\alpha'$  [11] is placed before the unnumbered [10a] as  $\iota\beta'$  and  $\iota\alpha'$ . For this reason, this codex has 22 numbered recipes.

**S** and **L** Recipe [10a] is not numbered.

**1.3. περὶ Ἀλειμμάτων** with 98 recipes. In this chapter, the only recipes not to begin with the word Ἀλειμμα are recipes  $\theta\theta'$  [79] and  $\zeta'$  [90].  $\theta\theta'$  [79] is introduced with the word Ἀπόστημα, and  $\zeta'$  [90] is entitled Πρὸς γλώσσαν ἀνθρώπου. Recipe  $\omicron\zeta'$  [77] is incomplete in all codices; after the first ingredient, all others are missing, as well as the dosage for the recipe.

**P** Only 58 recipes are numbered, as  $\iota\beta'$  [12],  $\iota\zeta'$  [17],  $\mu\delta'$  [44] and  $\mu\zeta'$  [47] as well as those of  $\omicron\gamma'$  [73] and up to  $\zeta\eta'$  [98] are missing. Recipes  $\xi\zeta'$  [66] and  $\omicron\beta'$  [72] do not have a number.

**X** 96 recipes are numbered because the numbers for  $\theta\theta'$  [79] and  $\pi\epsilon'$  [85] are missing.

**L** Recipe  $\iota\alpha'$  [11] from *Eis τὸ μέγα ὄνομα* .... and up to ...*ἐν Κυρίῳ, δόκιμον· γένοιτο, γένοιτο* is crossed out in ink and has become illegible, however it is legible in **R**. For this reason, it is marked with an **R** in the critical apparatus. In recipe  $\omicron\delta'$  [74] it reads *χυλοῦ ἀψιθίας* and on the edge *εἶχε Θαψίας*; in **S** and **X** *Θαψίας χυλοῦ*.

**1.4. περὶ Ἀπομέλιτος σκευασιῶν** with 14 recipes. This chapter only contains three recipes which begin with Ἀπομέλιτος σκευασία:  $\alpha'$  [1],  $\beta'$  [2] and  $\gamma'$  [3]. The next,  $\delta'$  [4], is called Ἀπηδίτου οἴνου σκευασία, the one after that  $\epsilon'$  [5] Ἄδιψον καταπότιον. The nine recipes that follow from  $\zeta'$  [6] to  $\iota\delta'$  [14] are described as Ἀποφλεγματισμός.

**P** Only six recipes can be found here: from  $\zeta'$  [6] up to and including  $\iota\alpha'$  [11]. At the end of this chapter there is an extra entry: *περὶ Ἀρτηριακῶν*, which has  $\iota\gamma'$  [13] numbered recipes. A further 10 have to be added to these, which are without a number; they are cited in *Appendix 1*.

**X** Recipe  $\zeta'$  [6] does not alter the order of ingredients.

## 2. Section Στοιχεῖον Βῆτα

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ἄλφα πραγματείαν διεξελθόντες ἀρίστως, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βῆτα στοιχείου, συγχωρήσωμεν καὶ τούτου τὴν πραγματείαν δηλώσωμεν, πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐν τυγχάνοντων· ὠραῖον γὰρ καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἢ τῶν στοιχείων ἐφεξῆς σύνθεσις· ὧν ἐν πρώτοις ἐτάξαμεν, βηχικὴν θεραπείαν· ἦν τινές, Παυλίνας ἐκάλεσαν· ἔστι γὰρ θεραπεία, τοῖς ἀπείρως βήσουσιν· φθισικοῖς· ἐμπυτικοῖς· περιπνευμονικοῖς· σπάσμασι καὶ ῥήγμασι καὶ τοῖς αἶμα ἀνάγοντας· ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ στομάχου ἀνατροπὰς καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ πάθη, εὐχρήστως τυγχάνει· ἀντιπάσχει δὲ καὶ τοῖς θανασίμοις φαρμάκοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἰοβόλων θηρίων πληγὰς· ἔχει δὲ ἡ σκευασία τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιδότου· τῆς καὶ Παυλίνας ὀνομαζομένης, τοιάδε· ἤγουν.*

It consists of two chapters:



### 2.1. **περὶ Βηχικῶν** with 56 recipes, all called *Βηχικὴ ἀντίδοτος*.

**P** only has 26 recipes: from *ιθ'* [19] up to and including *μδ'* [44]. The recipes from *α'* [1] to *ιβ'* [12] are missing.

**X** Here the recipes *λζ'* [36] and *λζ'* [37] were forgotten in the copying process. When the scribe noticed, he added *λζ'* [36], after *λη'* [38], but left *λζ'* [37] out. For this reason, codex **X** has 55 recipes, so one recipe less.

### 2.2. **περὶ Βαλάνων** with 21 recipes. Here the recipes are introduced with the phrase *Βάλανος, ἤτοι ὑπόθετον*, or in *κ'* [20] and *κα'* [21] with *Βάλανος, ἤτοι ἐπομφάλιον*, with the exception of *ιγ'* [13], that bears the title *Βδέλας καταποθεϊσας καὶ ὄφεις ἐκβάλειν*.

**P** The whole chapter is missing, although it is present in the pinax.

**X** Contains 17 recipes; recipes *γ'* [3], *ε'* [5], *ζ'* [6] and *ι'* [10] are missing.

**L** The pinax is missing here.

## 3. Section *Στοιχεῖον Γάμμα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ βῆτα πραγματείαν διεξεληθόντες ἀρίστως, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ γάμμα στοιχείου, συγχωρήσωμεν καὶ τούτου τὴν πραγματείαν δηλώσωμεν πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων· ὠραῖον γὰρ καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἢ τῶν στοιχείων ἐφεξῆς σύνθεσις· ὧν ἐν πρώτοις· περὶ γυναικῶν ἐλάσσον καθαρσίων·*

### 3.1. **περὶ Γυναικείων καθαρτικῶν** with 20 recipes, only 14 of which mention the *Γυναίκα...*, after which the chapter is named. A further five recipes are applied and named *Γλώσσα*: *η'* [8], *ι'* [10], *ιζ'* [17], *ιη'* [18] and *ιθ'* [19], and lastly, recipe *κ'* [20] is entitled *Γαστρὸς ῥύσιν στέλλει*.

**P** The recipes in this chapter are missing, although their title appears in the pinax.

**X** 20 recipes are cited here. The scribe first wrote recipe *ι'* [10] here and then *θ'* [9], it seems because he accidentally left out the first. The unnumbered recipes are not taken apart but remain part of the previous numbered recipes: [4], [4a] and [4b]; [11], then first [11b] and after that [11a], [11c]; [15], [15a], and then [17] and [17a], [17b] although these unnumbered recipes with the word *ἢ* or *ὁμοίως* could be recognized as their own recipes. Recipe [12a] is missing.

## 4. Section *Στοιχεῖον Δέλτα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ γάμμα πραγματείαν διεξεληθόντες ἀρίστως, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δέλτα στοιχείου, συγχωρήσωμεν καὶ τούτου τὴν πραγματείαν δηλώσωμεν, πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων· ὠραῖον γὰρ καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν· ἢ τῶν στοιχείων ἐφεξῆς σύνθεσις· ὧν ἐν πρώτοις, διετάξαμεν, δροσάτων σκευασίας διαφοροῖς· ἔχει δὲ ἄρχῃ τῶν εἰρημένων σκευασιῶν τῶν δροσάτων· τοιάδε*

It consists of two chapters:

#### 4.1. περὶ Δροσάτων with 121 recipes. All recipes are introduced as *Δροσάτον*.

**P** Here, only 36 recipes are numbered. The following are missing: γ' [3]; η' [8]; θ' [9]; ιβ' [12]; ιδ' [14]; ιθ' [19]; κζ' [26]; μα' [21] and μγ' [21] up to and including ξβ' [62]; ξη' [68]; ξθ' [69] and οα' [71] up to and including ρε' [95]; as well as ρζ' [97] up to and including ρς' [106] and ρη' [108] up to and including ρκα' [121].

**X** Here 117 recipes are cited. The number ζ' [7] occurs twice; for recipe ζ' [7] and η' [8]. Recipes κβ' [22], ργ' [93], and ρβ' [102] are missing.

**S** Recipe ρκα' [121] has been added by another, second hand.

#### 4.2. περὶ Διὰ μόρων with 85 recipes. In addition, there are 14 unnumbered recipes: [32a], [34a], [34b], [40a], [41a], [41b], [42a], [45a], [63a], [63b], [63c], [72a], [81a] and [83a].

Only the first three recipes bear the title *Διὰ μόρων*: α' [1], β' [2] and γ' [3]. These are followed by δ' [4] and ε' [5] as *Διὰ τῶν ῥοῶν*; ζ' [6] as *Διὰ γλεύκοις*; η' [9] as *Διάχρηστος*; θ' [8] and θ' [9] as *Διὰ καρύων*. From ι' [10] up to and including μη' [38] and ογ' [73] as *Διάχρηστος* or *Διάχρηστος* with the exception of the recipes μδ' [34]; με' [35] and μζ' [37] which is cited as *Διάκλισμα*; μθ' [39] up to and including νθ' [49] and οδ' [74] to πε' [85] *Δυσεντερικόν* and in between ξ' [60] and ξα' [61] as *Διοσπολίτου*; ξγ' [63] to ξε' [65] as *Δυσπνοϊκόν*; ξς' [66] as *Δρῶπαξ*; ξζ' [67] as *Δέρματα*; ξη' [68] as *Δεκαμύρου σκευασία*; ξθ' [69] as *Διὰ μάσημα*; ο' [70] *Διουρητικόν*; οα' [71] as *Διάκαυσις* and οβ' [72] as *Δυσουριούσιν*.

**P** has two chapters instead of just one:

- in *περὶ Διὰ μόρων καὶ στοματικῶν Διαχρήστων* the following recipes are missing: λ' [30]; μζ' [47]; μη' [48]. Likewise, only 26 recipes are numbered, the remaining recipes bear no number.
- *περὶ τῶν Δυσεντερικῶν ἔρριμάτων* has 14 recipes. There are a further 19 unnumbered recipes. πγ' [83]; [83a]; πδ' [84] and πε' [85] are missing.

The existence of two chapters indicates that there was another chapter in the section *Στοιχεῖον Δέλτα* before codex ψ, so before the unification and redistribution of the chapters of the *Dynameron*, that the scribe for ψ joined with the other in the section.

**X** 88 recipes are numbered.

**L** Recipe λα' [31] is missing.

## 5. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ἐψιλον*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ δέλτα στοιχείου διεξεθόντες δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ε' χωρίσαντες στοιχείωσιν πλείστας τὰς δυνάμεις εὐρόντες· ἐκ τοῦ ε'· ἐχούσας τὰς προσηγορίας καὶ ταῦτας συναγαγόντες, δήλας κατεστήσαμεν, τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν· ἐν οἷς πρῶτον, τὴν τῶν ἐμπλάστρων σύνθεσιν καὶ πραγματείαν τούτου διετάξαμεν· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, ἐπιθεμάτων καὶ τῶν συνθέτων ἐλαιῶν χρήσιν καὶ ἐδρικός ἀγωγάς, προτέτακται δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀναγραφῆς· φάρμακον σπουδαῖον· ἦν οἱ παλαιοί, μὴλίνην καλοῦσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ*

ἀποστολικὴν ταύτην κατονομάζουσιν· διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰδῶν λαμβάνειν.

It consists of eight chapters:

**5.1 περὶ Ἐμπλάστων** with 199 recipes, all of which are introduced with the word Ἐμπλάστρον with the exception of the recipes: *πθ'* [89], called Ἐλιγμα; *ρλ'* [190], which is a Ἐπι δυσεντερικοῖς ἄχλυσμα; *ρλα'* [191], which is a Ἐπίθεμα; *ρλβ'* [192] Ἐπι παντοίαν αἰμορραγίαν; *ρλε'* [195] Ἐπι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν γλώτταν; and *ρλζ'* [196] Ἐπι τοῖς καταρροῖζομένοις.

**P** 157 recipes are numbered. The following are missing: *β'* [2], *δ'* [4], *ε'* [5], *η'* [8], *θ'* [9], *οδ'* [74], *ρ'* [100], *ρβ'* [102], *ργ'* [103], *ρδ'* [104], *ρε'* [105], *ρζ'* [106] and from *ροη'* [178] up to and including *ροθ'* [199]. There is a hole in the parchment at f. 80.

**X** Here the numbers *λδ'* [34] and *ργ'* [93] appear twice, meaning that *ρογ'* [197] appears last although there is no recipe missing.

**L** There are two pages missing: the first from the middle of recipe *γ'* [3] to the middle of recipe *ιζ'* [16]; the second from the middle of recipe *λθ'* [39] to almost the end of recipe *νγ'* [53]. This means the recipes in between are missing, which are, however, in Codex **R**. Before the pages disappeared, **R** must have then copied **L** before the pages disappeared.

**5.2 περὶ Ἐπιθεμάτων** with 9 recipes, all of which begin with the word Ἐπίθεμα.

**P** In the pinax *κε'* [25] recipes are cited, of which *δ'*[4], *η'*[8] and *θ'*[9] are a Ἐπομφάλιον, *ζ'*[7] is a Ἐμπλαστον καθαρτικόν, *ι'*[10] a Σύνθεσις ἐλαίων ἥτοι ἀλείμματα καθαρτικά, and *ιγ'* [13] is entitled Περὶ τοπικῶν κενώσεων. However, as there is a page missing after f. 82, there are only the first three.

**5.3 περὶ Ἐδρικῶν** with 27 recipes. In this chapter, the first 16 recipes up to and including *ιζ'* [16] are named Ἐδρικόν. After that, twelve more with the titles Ἐπι ἔσοχάδας, Ἐπι ἔσοχάδας or Ἄλλον ὁμοιον follow from *ιζ'* [17] to *κζ'* [27].

**P** Here, 14 recipes are mentioned in the pinax, but only the last four from *ια'* [11] to *ιδ'* [14] have been preserved due to the missing page. After that there are another three unnumbered recipes: [21a], *κβ'* [22] and a further one which can only be found here.

**X** Only 23 recipes are listed in the pinax. *ιζ'* [17], *ιη'* [18], *κγ'* [23] and *κζ'* [26] are missing. All recipes are present in the text; *ιζ'* [16], *ιη'* [18], *κα'* [21] and *κγ'* [23] are not numbered.

**L** Here 29 recipes are numbered. Marginalia can be found next to the recipes *ε'* [5] and *κε'* [25].

**5.4 περὶ Ἐλιγμάτων** with 7 recipes. Only the last is not named Ἐλιγμα but Ἐπι τεταρταίοις πόμα.

**P** Although here seven recipes are also numbered, *γ'* [3] has no number, and *ζ'* [7] is replaced by another. After that there is another recipe which, likewise, does not have a number. These two recipes do not appear in any other codex. Marginalia can be found in recipe *α'* [1].

**X** Here, recipe δ' [4] is missing.

**5.5** **περὶ Ἐλμίνθων** with 8 recipes, all of which are introduced with the word *Ἐλμινθας*.

**P** Only the first recipe is numbered although a further 16 can be found here.

**5.6** **περὶ Ἐρρίνων** with 8 recipes. ε' [5] is introduced with the word *Ἐπομφάλιον*, and C' [6] is described as *Ἐμετὸς ἀπὸ ραφανίδων, σκευαζόμενος*.

**P** Here, the chapter is entitled *Ἐρρινα, καθαρτικά και θώρακος φλέγματος πάνυ καλά*. Only three recipes are numbered.

**5.7** **περὶ Ἐλαίων** with 51 recipes, all of which are named *Ἐλαιον*.

**P** The recipes ι' [10], ιθ' [19], ν' [50] and να' [51] are missing, and five others are added at the end of the chapter.

**L** Recipes from ιθ' [19] up to and including λα' [31] are missing due to the loss of a page.

**5.8** **περὶ Ἐνεμάτων** with 51 recipes. With the exception of the last two recipes which are introduced with *Ἐπίθεμα*, all the others are named *Ἐνεμα*.

**P** Recipes κδ' [24], λζ' [37], λη' [38], λθ' [39], μ' [40], μγ' [43], μδ' [44], με' [45], μς' [46], μζ' [47], μη' [48], μθ' [49], ν' [50] and να' [51] are missing. In **P** there are two chapters with the title *περὶ Ἐνεμάτων*: The one, with seven recipes, six of which are numbered, is called *περὶ Ἐνεμάτων δυσεντερικῶν*. The following text is found before the sixth recipe: *Τὰς σκευασίας τῶν ἐτέρων δυσεντερικῶν ἐνεμάτων ζῆται ἐν τοῖς τροχίσκοις κάκει γὰρ μέλλουσι γραφῆναι*. The other one is described as *περὶ τῶν κωλικῶν Ἐνεμάτων* and has 20 recipes, however the numbers are related to those of the first chapter meaning that both chapters are to be seen as one.

**X** Here, the number κς' is written three times for three consecutive recipes.

## 6. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ζῆτα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ε' στοιχείου πραγματεῖαν συστησάμενος, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ζ' στοιχείου, χωρήσωμεν σύστασιν· συναγοντες ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ θεραπείᾳ σῶσαι. Διὰ τοῦ στοιχείου ζ'· τὰς ὀνομασίας λαμβάνουσιν, ἐν οἷς πρόκειται, περὶ παντοίων ζσηγγμάτων, καταλόγω· πρῶτον διὰ πάντων προετάξαμεν, ζσηγγμα μέγιστον λεγόμενον· ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος ἴνδος· ἔχει δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος, τοιάσδε θεραπείας· ἀνασκευάζων, τὰ χρόνια πάθη καὶ τὰ ρεύματα τοῦ κρανίου στέλλει καὶ τὰ περὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς· ὀδόντων· ὠτων καὶ ρίνας, ἐπωφελὲς ἐστὶν· διαφορεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς καχέκτους στομάχους· ἰκανὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄρθρων τόνωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τις αὐτῶ, διὰ παντὸς χράται οὐκ ἂν πειρασθῆ ποτε ποδάγρας· οὐδὲ ἰσχιάδας· ἐπαγγέλλεται γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, εἰς ἐλεφαντίασιν, θεραπεύει· ἔχει δὲ ἡ σύνθεσις αὐτῆ, τοιάδε.*

**L** No preface

It consists of two chapters:

**6.1** **περὶ Ζσηγγμάτων** with 51 recipes. The word *Ζσηγγμα* here is preceded by a Ζ throughout. Such a way of writing does not exist in Greek and can perhaps only be explained by the word being accidentally written – even if it is phonetically correct – as

*Ζομῆγμα* in a model. First, the codices **L** and **R** correct the mistake and move the chapter to the section *Στοιχεῖον Σίγμα*. Here, 51 recipes can be found, all beginning with the word *Ζομῆγμα*.

**P** Here, there are 50 recipes.

**X** Here, the number λβ' [32] appears twice.

**L** Here, the chapter is, as mentioned, in the section *Στοιχεῖον Σίγμα*.

**6.2 περὶ Ζουλαπίων** with 28 recipes. The first thirteen of α' [1] up to and including ιγ' [13] begin with: *Ζουλάπιον*, the next nine however, from ιδ' [14] up to and including κβ' [22], are called *Ζεμάτιον*. Then follow κγ' [23] and κζ' [27] as *Ζέσις και φλεγμοναὶ και ἐρυσίπελα*, κδ' [24] as *Ζόφωσις ὀφθαλμῶν* and lastly κε' [25], κς' [26] and κη' [28] as *Ζωμὸς ὑπακτικὸς κοιλίας*.

**P** has two chapters instead of just the one:

- *περὶ Ζουλαπίων* with 16 numbered recipes, and
- *περὶ Ζεματίων καθαρτικῶν* with 9 numbered recipes. After that and after an empty gap comes recipe *Ζόφωσις ὀφθαλμῶν* with the number κς' [26]. A further 6 unnumbered recipes follow.

It has to be noted here that after recipe ις' [16], so at the end of the chapter *περὶ Ζουλαπίων*, the numbering continues. Recipes ιη' [18], ιθ' [19], and κ' [20] are missing.

The existence of two chapters indicates that there was another chapter in the section *Στοιχεῖον Ζήτα*, before codex ψ, so before the unification and redistribution of the chapters of *Dynameron*, that the scribe for ψ joined with the other in the section.

**X** Recipe [24a] is missing and κς' [26] is not numbered.

**L** Recipe κς' [26] is not numbered.

## 7. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ἡτα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ζ' πραγματείαν δι' ἐξιόντες, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ η' χωρήσωμεν σύστασιν· συνάγοντες, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στοιχείου, θεραπείαν· τὰ τε ἥπατικά καὶ ἡμικρανικά, παντοῖα βοηθήματα καὶ δὴ πρῶτον ἀρχὴν εἶπωμεν περὶ ἥπατικῶν ἐπιθεμάτων· ἔστι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίθεμα, πάννυθα θυμαστόν· πρὸς τὰς ψυχρὰς διαθέσεις καὶ ἐμφράξεις τοῦ ἥπατος· ἔχει*

It only consists of one chapter:

**7.1 περὶ Ἡπατικῶν σκευασιῶν** with 24 recipes. This chapter is entitled *Ἡπατικὸν* from recipe α' [1] to ζ' [7]. η' [8] becomes *Ἡδυκρώου μάγματος*; and from ι' [10] to κδ' [24] the recipes are named *Ἡμικράνιον*.

**P** only has 8 numbered recipes. All *Ἡμικράνιον* are not numbered.

**L** Here recipes from ιζ' [17] up to and including κα' [21] are crossed out in ink and are illegible; they are cited after **R**.

## 8. Section Στοιχεῖον Θῆτα

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ η´ πραγματείαν διαδραμόντες· ἐν συντόμῳ εὐθυδρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θ´ πραγματείαν χωρήσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες τὰ τούτων· φερωνύμῳ ἱστορίας, προσεθήκαμεν τοὺς σπουδαίους· τέρψιν ἠδίστην· ἐν οἷς προτέτακται, ἢ τῶν θυμιαμάτων σύνθεσις καὶ προπάντων, ἄξιον ἠγησάμεν, πρωτεύειν τῆς πραγματείας, τὴν τῶν κυφίων, σύνθεσίν τε καὶ φύσιν*

It consists of two chapters:

**8.1 περὶ Θυμιαμάτων** with 18 recipes, all of which are introduced with *Θυμίαμα*.

**P** Here, an additional recipe is cited.

**8.2. περὶ Θηριακῶν ἀντιδότων** with 13 recipes, all of which are introduced with *Θηριακή*, with the exception of β´ [2] *Σκευασία* and γ´ [3] *Ἀρτίσκου*.

**P** Here, two more recipes are cited.

**X** Recipes ζ´ [6], ζ´ [7] and η´ [8] have no number.

## 9. Section Στοιχεῖον Ἰῶτα

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ θ´ πραγματείαν διεξεληθόντες εὖ μάλα δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἰῶτα· ἤδη ἐσπεύσαμεν ἀνιχνεύοντες· εἶπου τοῦτο ἐφαρμόσαι δυνηθῶμεν· τὰς φερωνύμῳ αὐτῶ ἀγωγὰς· εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτῶ πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην καὶ σωτηριώδη θεραπείαν· εἴ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰῶτα λαμβάνει τὴν ὀνομασίαν· λέγω δὴ, ἱερὰν τὴν λογαδίου τοῦ Μειφίτου· ταύτην ἐτάξαμεν ἀρχὴν, τῆς τοῦ ἰῶτα πραγματείας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, δεδήλωται ἐνταῦθα, σαφέστερον.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**9.1. περὶ Ἱερῶν σκευασιῶν** with 37 recipes of which: from α´ [1] up to and including κε´ [25] and from λδ´ [34] up to and including λζ´ [37] are called *Ἱερά*. However, κς´ [26] becomes *Ἱρίνου σκευασία*, κη´ [28], κθ´ [29] and λ´ [30] are entitled *Ἰκτερικόν*, and lastly λβ´ [32] and λγ´ [33] as *Ἰσχίου*.

**P** Here, only 19 out of 35 recipes are numbered; κζ´ [27] and λζ´ [37] are missing. Another recipe is added at the end: *Ἱερά πρὸς μελαγχολίας ἐκ τοῦ Ρούφου*.

**L** Recipes λβ´ [32] and λγ´ [33] are crossed out in ink and are illegible, only at the end of λγ´ [33] can the last line be read.

## 10. Section Στοιχεῖον Κάππα

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ἰῶτα πραγματείαν ἐν συντόμῳ διαδραμόντες· πρὸς πλατύτερα διηγήματα· ἠδιστα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κ´ στοιχείου ἱστορίαν χωρίσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντας πλείστας δυνάμεις· αἴτιον ἐστὶν πρὸς στραγγουρίαν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κέκτηνται τοῦ στοιχείου· ταῦτα προσεθήκαμεν τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ ἐν πρώτοις μὲν τὴν περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν σωτηρίαν ἐτάξαμεν, κολλουρίων*

ὀφθαλμικῶν συνθέσεις καὶ κεφαλικῶν βοηθημάτων καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, πάντων περιτέτακται· κολλούριον καλούμενον σ<ωτη>ρία· Μανήθωνος λεγομένη.

It consists of nine chapters:

**10.1. περὶ Κολλουρίων** with 87 recipes. All apart from the last recipe begin with the word *Κολλούριον*. The last is named Ὑδατος ὀφθαλμικοῦ σκευασία.

**P** has 82 recipes here.

**X** There is a lot of confusion between recipes  $\lambda\beta'$  [32] and  $\omicron\zeta'$  [77]: all recipes are there, but do not follow the usual order and are numbered very differently.

**10.2. περὶ Κρανιακῶν πασμάτων** with 15 recipes.

**P** 9 numbered recipes can be found here although all of them are written down.

**10.3. περὶ Καθαρτικῶν διαχρισμάτων** with 4 recipes.  $\alpha'$  [1],  $\gamma'$  [3] and  $\delta'$  [4] are described as *Καθαρτικὸν ἐπομφάλιον*, only  $\beta'$  [2] as *Καθαρτικὸν διάχρισμα*.

**P** Here only one chapter can be found, *περὶ Καθαρτικῶν*, with 100 numbered recipes that contain the recipes of the chapter: *περὶ Καθαρτικῶν διαχρισμάτων*, *περὶ Καταπλασμάτων καὶ Καθαρτικῶν ὑδραγῶγων*, *περὶ Καθαρτικῶν ἐλιγμάτων* and *περὶ Καταπλασμάτων*.

**10.4. περὶ Καθαρτικῶν ὑδραγῶγων** with 43 recipes. From  $\kappa\beta'$  [22] to  $\kappa\zeta'$  [27] as well as  $\lambda\alpha'$  [31] and  $\lambda\beta'$  [32] they are entitled *Κυδωνάτον*; from  $\kappa\eta'$  [28] up to and including  $\lambda'$  [30] they are named *Κατασκευή*, and finally from  $\lambda\gamma'$  [33] up to  $\mu\gamma'$  [43] *Κονδίτον*.

**10.5. περὶ Καθαρτικῶν ἐλιγμάτων** with 21 recipes. The first eleven, from  $\alpha'$  [1] up to and including  $\iota\alpha'$  [11] are entitled *Καθαρτικὸν ἐλιγμα*, the next five from  $\iota\beta'$  [12] up to and including  $\iota\zeta'$  [16] as *Καθαρτικὸν ὑδράγωγον*, and lastly, the final five  $\iota\zeta'$  [17] to  $\kappa\alpha'$  [21] as *Καθαρτικὸν διὰ ἀλόης*, *Καθαρτικὸν διὰ πεπερέου*, *Καθαρτικὸν διὰ κυμίνου*, *Καθαρτικὸν κεφαλῆς ἔρινου*, *Καθαρτικὸν κόλπων ῥυπαρῶν*.

**10.6. περὶ Καταπλασμάτων** with 11 recipes.

**P** Although it is actually a self-contained chapter here, the number follows that of *περὶ Καθαρτικῶν*; from  $\pi\alpha'$  [81] up to  $\zeta\alpha'$  [91]. After that, another chapter follows which contains Ἔτερα καθαρτικά καὶ ἔνδοξον ἀκίνδυνα καὶ λίαν καλά, whereas in the pinax *περὶ τῶν Καθαρτικῶν δειγμάτων* can be read, and the numbering continues from  $\zeta\beta'$  [92] to  $\rho'$  [100].

**10.7. περὶ Κηρωτῶν σκευασιῶν** with 9 recipes, all of which are named *Κηρωτή*.

**P** Here, two further recipes are added without numbers after the nine recipes.

**10.8. περὶ Κωλικῶν καταπλασμάτων** with 25 recipes.

**P** This chapter is named *περὶ Κωλικῶν* and has 7 recipes. The following chapters come after that: *περὶ τῶν Κυφῶων* with  $\delta'$  [4], *περὶ τῶν Κυδωνάτων σκευασία* with  $\iota\zeta'$  [17] and *περὶ τῆς Κεφαλαλγίας* with  $\iota'$  [10] recipes.

**10.9. περὶ Κοκκίων** with 138 recipes. All recipes are introduced with *Κοκκία*, with the exception of recipe  $\omicron\zeta'$  [77], named *Καταπότια*.

**P** The chapter *περὶ τῶν Κοκκίων* comes before *περὶ Κηρωτῶν σκευασμάτων*. In this chapter, recipes ρ' [100], ρα' [101], ρβ' [102] ρζ' [106], from ριβ' [112] up to and including ρκδ' [124] and from ρκζ' [126] up to and including ρλη' [138] are missing. **X** Here, 136 recipes can be found, as the number π' [80] has been designated twice, for recipe π' [80] as well as for the next recipe πα' [81]. Recipe ρς' [96] is missing.

### 11. Section *Στοιχεῖον Λάμπδα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ κ' στοιχείου ὑπαγορίαν διεξεληθόντες, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λ' στοιχείου διαδρομὴν· τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ποιήσωμεν· ἐν οἷς πρῶτον, ἐστὶν ληξοπύρετον, ἢ ἀμβροσία.*

It consists of one chapter:

**11.1. περὶ Ληξοπυρέτων** with 23 recipes. Only the first four from α' [1] to δ' [4] offer the word *Ληξοπύρετον*, the remaining recipes from ε' [5] up to and including κβ' [22] are named *Λειχινικόν*, the last recipe κγ' [23] *Λιθιοῦντων ποτός*.

**P** two chapters can be found here: *περὶ Ληξοπύρετων* and *περὶ Λειχίνων*.

### 12. Section *Στοιχεῖον Μῦ*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ λ' στοιχείου· συντόμως διεξεληθόντες πραγματεῖαν, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μ' στοιχείου καταλαβόντες, τὴν τούτου ἐξήγησιν τῶν θεραπειῶν ποιησάμεθα· ὧν πρῶτον ἐστὶν κεφάλαιον.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**12.1 περὶ Μαρκιάτων σκευασίων** with 25 recipes. Only the first is entitled *Μαρκιάτου σκευασία*. The next, β' [2], is named *Μασουφίου ἰνδικοῦ σκευασία*. 15 recipes then follow from γ' [3] up to and including ιζ' [17], which are named *Μάλαγμα*; ιη' [18] *Μυρτίτου σκευασία* and ιθ' [19], κβ' [22], κγ' [23], κδ' [24] and κε' [25] *Μύρου σκευασία*; κ' [20] *Μέδου ἔψησις*, and lastly κα' [21] *Μήλων σκευασία*.

### 13. Section *Στοιχεῖον Νῦ*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ μ' πραγματεῖαν, καλῶς διεξεληθόντες, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ν' στοιχείου, σεμνῶς ἀρχὴν ποιησάμεθα· ὧν πρῶτον τῶν κεφαλαίων, ἢ τοῦ νάρδου μύρου σκευασία ἐστὶν· ἔστι δὲ δόκιμον·*

It only consists of one chapter:

**13.1. περὶ Νάρδου σκευασίων** with 14 recipes. The first bear the title *Νάρδου σκευασία*. The next and from recipe ζ' [6] up to and including θ' [9] are named *Νεφρών* or *Νεφριτικοίς*. Then comes ι' [10] introduced as *Νεῦρου τρωθέντος*. Following that, we read



ια' [11] and ιβ' [12] as *Νομάς πᾶσας διαθέσεις*, and at the end ιγ' [13] and ιδ' [14] as *Νίτρον*.

**P** This section consists of three chapters: *περι Νάρδου*, *περι Νεφρών* and *περι Νεύρων*.

#### 14. Section *Στοιχείον Ξι*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ν' στοιχείου· τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ· τρανώς διαδραμόντες· δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ στοιχείου τοῦ ξ'· τὰς αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας, τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τ' αὐτοῦ, δημηγορήσομεν ἀόκνως· ἐν αἷς περὶ ξηρίων πασῶν σκευασιῶν, βούλεται ἡμᾶς διδάξαι, ὁ μυσταγωγὸς ἡμῶν· ἔστιν δὲ πρῶτον εὔρεσις τῆς θεραπείας· ξηρίου.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**14.1** *περὶ Ξηρίων σκευασιῶν* with 142 recipes of which only ν' [50] are entitled as *Ἐῆφος*, σε' [75] as *Ξηραντικὸν πᾶσμα* and μη' [48], μθ' [49] and να' [51] as *Ξηρόμυρον*.

**P** counts 111 recipes.

**X** lists 141 recipes here, as νε' [55] and ρμ' [140] are missing.

#### 15. Section *Στοιχείον Ὅμικρον*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ξ' πραγματείαν καλῶς διεξεληθόντες, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ο' στοιχείου παραγενόμενοι, τὴν προσηγορίαν ποιησώμεθα· ὅπως ἐρευνήσωμεν, τὴν τούτου ἐρμηνείαν καὶ θεραπείαν· πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἐμφάνειαν, τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων· ὧν ἐν πρώτῳ κεφαλαίῳ, περὶ ὀξυμέλιτος καθαρτικοῦ σκευασία, ἐξηγησώμεθα φιλοκάλως καὶ σαφέστατα.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**15.1.** *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος σκευασιῶν* with 96 recipes of which only the first 20 are described as *Ὄξυμέλιτος*, the remaining, on the other hand, as follows: κβ' [22], κγ' [23], κδ' [24], κε' [25], κς' [26] and κη' [28] as *Ὄξυπόριον*, from κθ' [29] up to and including μβ' [42] as *Ὀἶνον*, κζ' [27], μζ' [47], μη' [48] as *Ὀῦλα*, ν' [50] up to and including πα' [81] as *Ὀδόντων*. All further recipes are introduced with different words.

**P** This section contains the following chapters: *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος*, *περὶ Οὔλων* (sic!), *περὶ τῶν Ὄξυπορίων* [a], *περὶ τῶν Ὄξυπόριων* [b], *περὶ Ὄστέου καταπότια*. Recipes from *περὶ Ὄξυμέλιτος* which are only mentioned here in **P** can be found in **Appendix 2** **X** 93 recipes are numbered, as πβ' [82] ρδ' [94] and ρε' [95] are missing.

**L** Recipe ζζ' [67] is missing; ρδ' [94] and ρε' [95] are crossed out and are illegible. For this reason, these are complemented in the critical apparatus of Codex **R**.

#### 16. Section *Στοιχείον Πι*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ο' στοιχείου πραγματείαν διεξηγήσαντες δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ π' στοιχείου παραγενόμενοι τὰς ἐξηγήσεις πάσας καὶ δημηγορίας τῶν θεραπειῶν τούτου, τὰς προσηγορίας ποιησόμεθα· ὡς πεσῶν τῶν στοιχείων ἐν αἷς κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰρημένου στοιχείου τοῦ π' τὴν προσηγορίαν, περὶ συλλήψεως πεσῶν, δημηγορίαν ποιούμεν·*

It only consists of one chapter:

**16.1 περὶ Πεσῶν** with 187 recipes. The first 45 recipes are entitled *Πεσός*, then 25 recipes follow from *μζ'* [46] up to and including *ξθ'* [69] with the title *Πρόπομα*. A further 18 from *ο'* [70] up to and including *πη'* [88] are described as *Πρὸς ἀλωπεκίαν*, all other recipes from *πθ'* [89] to *ρζ'* [187] begin with *Πρὸς* and the name of the illness.

**P** Here, the section consists of the chapters: *περὶ Πεσῶν*, *περὶ Προπόματος*, *περὶ Ἀλωπεκίας* and *περὶ Πυριῶν*.

**X** Unnumbered recipes [97a] and *ρξη'* [168] are missing.

### 17. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ῥῶ*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ π' πραγματείαν· διεξεληθόντες ἀρίστως δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ρ' στοιχείου συγχωρήσωμεν καὶ τούτου τὴν πραγματείαν δηλώσωμεν· πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων· ὠραῖον γὰρ καὶ τερπνὸν τοῖς ὀράσιν, ἢ τῶν στοιχείων ἐφεξῆς σύνθεσις· ὧν ἐν πρώτοις, περὶ τοῦ ῥοδομέλιτος τὴν σκευασίαν ἐκθῶμεν καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν τούτου χρῆσιν καὶ θεραπείαν· τὸ τοίνυν ῥοδόμελι, δυνάμειος ἐστὶν ἀρμοζούσης· εἰς φλεγμονὴν στόματος· ἐν τε τοῖς οὔλοις καὶ παρισθμίσι· ἐξ ἐπιρροῆς, θερμοῦ ρεύματος, διακρατούμενον ἐν τῷ στόματι καὶ ἀναγαγαριζόμενον· διδάμεν δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐκκαιόμενοις τὴν γαστέρα καὶ διψῶσι διὰ ξηρότητα χολῆς· χολαγωγοῦ τινὸς χυμοῦ περιουσίαν καὶ χολωδῶν ρευμάτων προεμεσάντων· δηλονότι τῶν πασχόντων δίδεται καὶ συγχιρισμῶ τοῖς πυρέττουσι, μετὰ ὕδατος· ἔδει τῆς φλογὸς καὶ ἀκμῆς τοῦ πυρετοῦ· μετὰ ἐφεστηκυῖας· πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ῥοδόμελι· ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ὕδροροσάτον· διδόμενον δαψιλέστερον, ἐν τῷ προήκοντι καιρῷ, ἤρκεσε· χωρὶς ἄλλου τινὸς σβέσαι, τὴν τοῦ πυρέττοντος δυσκρασίαν καὶ κατάρρηξιν καὶ ὑπαγωγὴν τῶν δριμέων χυμῶν· εἰς γαστέρα ὑπελθῶν· ὧν πρώτων κεφάλαιον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ στοιχείῳ, τόδε.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**17.1 περὶ Ῥοδομέλιτος σκευασιῶν**, with 10 recipes. All recipes refer to preparation with roses.

**P** contains an additional recipe, *ια'* [11] *Ῥοδόμηλου σκευασία*.

### 18. Section *Στοιχεῖον Σίγμα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ ρ' λέξεως· πραγματείαν συστησάμενοι προσηγορίαν· ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σ' στοιχείου, χωρήσωμεν σύστασιν· συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἅπασαν θεραπείαν· δι' αὐτοῦ α'· τῆς*

*ὀνομασίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στοιχείου λαμβάνουσαν· ἐν αἷς δὲ α΄· περὶ σατυριακῶν καὶ ἐντατικῶν· τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν βοηθημάτων ποιήσομεν.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**18.1. περὶ Σατηριακῶν ἐντατικῶν** with 14 recipes.

**P** Here, we find the two chapters *περὶ Σατηριακῶν ἐντατικῶν* and *περὶ Σάπων* as well as an additional recipe.

**L** Here we find two chapters, the latest of which is *περὶ Σμηγμάτων*, moved to here from the section *Στοιχεῖον Ζῆτα*. For this reason, the introduction here reads differently:

*Τὴν τοῦ ρ΄ στοιχείου πραγματείαν συστησάμενοι προσηγορίαν· ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σ΄ στοιχείου, χωρήσωμεν σύστασιν· συναγαγόντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ὡς ἔχουσι σκευάζεσθαι φύσιν, συνθήκην ἐξηγησάμενοι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις, ἄπονον καὶ εὐγνωστον ὠφέλειαν καταλείψωμεν, ἐν αἷς προκείμενον ὃν ἡμῖν περὶ παντοίων σμηγμάτων διεξελθεῖν, τὸ διὰ ἄλλων, σμῆγμα, τὸ καλούμενον ἴνδος προεθήκαμεν ὅπερ μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν τοῖς χρωμένοις αὐτῷ παρέχει, ἀνασκευάζει γὰρ τὰ χρόνια πάθη, ῥεῦμα κρανίου συστέλλει, τὰ περὶ ὀφθαλμοῦς καὶ ὀδόντας καὶ ῥίνας καὶ ὤτα· πάθη διαφορεῖ καὶ τοὺς καχέκτους στομάχους διορθοῦται ἰκανὸν δὲ ἔστι καὶ πρὸς ἄρθρων τόνωσιν, ἐὰν δὲ τις αὐτῷ χρήται διὰ παντός, οὐκ ἂν πειραθῆι ποτε ποδάγρας, οὐδὲ ἰσχυάδος ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἐλεφαντιάσεως θεραπεύειν, δέχεται δὲ ἢ τούτου σύνθεσις ταῦτα.*

## 19. Section Στοιχεῖον Ταῦ

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ σ΄ πραγματείαν· ἐν συντόμῳ, λόγου διαδραμόντες εὐθυδρόμως· δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τ΄ στοιχείου τὴν πραγματείαν χωρήσωμεν καὶ συναγαγόντες τὰ τούτων δημηγοροῦμεν περὶ θεραπειῶν· προθύμως τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν καὶ σπουδαίοις, ἐκτιθέμεθα πρὸς τέρψιν ἡδίστην, ἐν εἰς προτέτακται, ἢ τῶν τροχίσκων σύνθεσις καὶ προπάντων, ἄξιον ἐστὶν ἠγήσασθαι πρωτεύειν τῆς θεραπείας, γνῶσιν δηλῶσαι· τί ἐστὶν τροχίσκος καὶ κατὰ τί, εἴρηται τροχίσκος καὶ ὄσαχῶς, ὀνομάζεται τροχίσκος.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**19.1. περὶ Τροχίσκων** with 159 recipes. All recipes are described as *Τροχίσκος*, with the exception of *μδ΄* [44] and *με΄* [45], of which the first is introduced as *Τῆς πολυειδοῦς σφραγίδος σκευασία* and the other as *Τοῦ κροκομάγαματος σκευασία*.

**P** has 150 numbered recipes.

**X** Here, recipes *πη΄* [88] and *πθ΄* [89] as well as *ρ΄* [90] and *ρα΄* [91] have changed their order. The number *ρκε΄* is designated twice to recipes 125 and 126.

**L** Here, folio 196 is cut off after recipe *ρνδ΄* [154], meaning that recipe *ρνε΄* [155] is missing.

## 20. Section Στοιχείον Ὑψιλον

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ τ' στοιχείου προσηγορίαν διεξεληθόντες ἀρίστως, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ υ' στοιχείου, καταλαβόντες στοιχείωσιν· ὡς πλείστας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν ταύτῳ εὐρόντες· ἐν αἷς πρῶτον· τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μεμαθήκαμεν καὶ ταύτας συναγαγόντες τὰς δημηγορίας, δῆλας κατεστήσαμεν τοῖς φιλομαθέσι· πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἡδύτητα, τῆς στοιχειώσεως· ἐν αἷς πρῶτον· τὴν τῶν ὑπογλωττίων πραγματείαν, δηλώσομεν ἐνέργειαν· ἦγουν· ἀρχή, τῶν ὑπογλωττίων.*

It consists of three chapters:

**20.1. περὶ Ὑπογλωττίων** with 36 recipes. The first twenty from α' [1] up to and including κ' [20], as well as λβ' [32], λγ' [33] and λδ' [34] are introduced with the word Ὑπογλώττια. Recipes κα' [21], κβ' [22], κγ' [23], κς' [26] and λς' [36] are described as Ὑδωρ, κζ' [27], κη' [28] and λ' [30] as Ὑδρόμηλον and the remaining are described as follows: κδ' [24] Ὑπὲρ ἀμβλυωπίας, κε' [25] Ὑδατος σκευασία, λα' [31] Ὑπὸ μυρτίτου σκευασία, λε' [35] Ὑπὲρ ἀμβλυωπίας

P 18 recipes are numbered.

**20.2. περὶ Ὑπνωτικῶν ἐπιθεμάτων** with 12 recipes, all of which are introduced with the word Ὑπνωτικόν.

P 6 recipes are numbered.

**20.3. περὶ Ὑδάτων διαφορῶν** with 32 recipes of which 16, from δ' [4] up to and including ιη' [18], as well as κθ' [29] and λ' [30] are introduced with the word Ὑδράγωγον, α' [1], β' [2] and γ' [3] as Ὑδωρ, ιθ' [19], κ' [20], κα' [21], κβ' [22] as Ὑστερικά, κγ' [23], κε' [25], κς' [26], κζ' [27], κη' [28] as Ὑδρωπικόν, λα' [31] and λβ' [32] as Ὑπὲρ ἀμβλυωπίας and κδ' [34] as Ὑδερικόν.

P Here we can find 23 recipes.

## 21. Section Στοιχείον Φῖ

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ υ' στοιχείου τὴν πραγματείαν διεξεληθὼν ἀρίστως, δεῦρο δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ φ' στοιχείου προσηγορίαν σπεύσαντες ἀνιχνεύσωμεν ἀκριβῶς εἴ ποῦ τοῦτο, ἐφορμοῦσαι δυνηθῶμεν τὰς φερωνύμως αὐτῶ ἀγωγὰς εὐρόντες, δῆλα τοῖς πᾶσιν αὐτὰς ποιήσομεν ὡς ἐναρμολοῦμενοι τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ φερομένας μεθόδους, τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεραπειῶν ἐν αἷς πρῶτον τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, περὶ φθειρῶν ποιήσωμεν.*

It only consists of one chapter:

**21.1. περὶ Φθειρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων σκευασίων**, with 17 recipes. Only the first two are introduced with Φθειράς. There are then 7 further unnumbered recipes which differ from one another with the words ὁμοίως, ὡσαύτως, or ἦ. Of the remaining recipes: γ' [3], δ' [4], ε' [5] and ς' [6], are introduced as Φακοῖς, ζ' [7] and η' [8] as Φοινιγμός, θ' [9], ι'

[10], ιε' [15], ις' [16] as *Φλεγμονή*, ιγ' [13], ιδ' [14] as *Φωνή*, ια' [11] as *Φήμα*, ιβ' [12] as *Φλύκταινα* and the last ιζ' [17] as *Φούσκα λίθων θρυπτική*.

**P** After the first recipe there are six further ones without numbers. After that, there is the title *Ἐτι τοῦ φ' στοιχείου περὶ φακοῖς καὶ νεφέλας ἐν προσώπῳ*, under which all other recipes are summarized. This indicates that there were once two chapters in this codex.

## 22. Section *Στοιχεῖον Χι*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ φ' πραγματείαν διαδραμόντες ἐν συντόμῳ· εὐθυδρόμῳς εὐθύς· δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ χ'· πραγματείαν χωρήσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες, τὰς τούτου φερωνύμῳς, ἱστορίας προσεθήκαμεν τοῖς σπουδαίοις· πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἡδίστην· ἐν οἷς προτέτακται ἡ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσι παθῶν· ἐν αἷς προπάντων, ἀξιὸν ἡγησάμην, πρωτεύειν τὴν πραγματείαν, τὴν τῶν κατερρωγῶτων, θεραπεία, θανμαστή·*

It only consists of one chapter:

**22.1. περὶ Χειλῶν κατερρόγοτων** with 16 recipes of which the first five are described using *Χειλῶν*, Ϛ' [6] with *Χίμεθλα*, ζ' [7] up to and including ις' [16] as *Χοιράδας*.

**P** Here, ten recipes are numbered, although all of them are actually written out and do exist.

## 23. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ψι*

The preface to this section reads:

*Τὴν τοῦ χ' πραγματείαν στοιχείου διαδραμόντες συντόμῳς, δεῦρο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ψ' στοιχείου πραγματείαν χωρήσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες τὰς τούτου φερωνύμῳς, ἱστορίας, προσεθήκαμεν τοῖς σπουδαίοις πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἡδίστην ἐν αἷς προτέτακται ἡ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ψώρας παθῶν, θεραπεία ἐν αἷς πρὸ πάντων ἀξιὸν ἡγησάμην πρωτεύειν τὴν πραγματείαν, ψωρῶν παθημάτων·*

It only consists of one chapter:

**23.1. περὶ Ψώρας ἀλειμμάτων** with 14 recipes. The recipes ια' [11] up to and including ιγ' [13] treat *Ψύλλοι*, the remaining ones are the antidote for *Ψώρα*.

**P** Here we find two chapters *περὶ Ψώρας* and *περὶ Ψύλλων*, although the numbering continues throughout. Recipe ιδ' [14] is missing.

**X, L** have 15 recipes, as [5a] is numbered.

## 24. Section *Στοιχεῖον Ὠμέγα*

The preface to this section reads:

*Ἐπειδὴ περ εὐθυδρόμῳς τὴν πραγματείαν τοῦ ψ' στοιχείου· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐτέρων στοιχείων διάλεξιν ὑπεξελεθῆν καταξιώθημεν· Θεοῦ συνεργούντος καὶ ἐνισχύοντος ἡμᾶς,*

δεῦρο μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ἡμῖν θυμηδίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τελευταίου πασῶν τῶν στοιχείων ὡς προσηγορίαν· ἀόκνως καὶ φιλοπόνως, βαδίσαι σπουδάσωμεν· ἵνα ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἀνερευνήσαντες· τὰ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στοιχείου ἐπωφελῆ καὶ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖα, τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν καὶ σπουδαίοις, δῆλα καταστήσομεν πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ ἡδύτητα, τοῖς αὐτὰ χρωμένοις· ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ἀδιστακτῶ λογισμῶ· ὧν ἐν πρώτῳ κεφαλαίῳ, τὰ διὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὡς παθῶν γινόμενα θεραπείαν εὐρόντες, τοῖς πᾶσιν δῆλα καταστήσομεν.

It only consists of one chapter:

**24.1. περὶ Ὠτικῶν Θεραπειῶν** with 23 recipes, all of which are introduced with the word Ὠτικόν.

**P** The end of the chapter *Στοιχεῖον Ὠμέγα* is followed by a chapter entitled: *Τα παραβληθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Δυναμεροῦ τοῦ Αἰτίου· Ἐρρινα* with 32 recipes, as well as a further group of 13 recipes without titles.

**L** After the recipe [23a] the last two unnumbered recipes [23c] and [23d] are missing. In the recipes [23c] we only read *ὡσαύτως, Γῆς ἔντερα, σὺν ὀλίγην γῆ,* and although there is enough space to write the rest, the text ends here.

## Abbreviations

add.	addidit	added
cancell.	cancellavit	crossed out
cf	confer	compare
deest		left out
del.	delevit	deleted
eras.	erasit	erased
hab.	habet	has, contains
idem		the same
incipit		begins
inferior		found below
iter.	iteravit	repeated
l.n.	legi nequit	cannot be read
lac.	lacuna	gap
litt.	littera	letter
m.	manus	hand
om.	omisit	omitted
pars		part
ponit		moved to / put
post		after
postea		after which
repetit		repeated
scr.		wrote
sec. m.	secunda manus	second hand
semis		half
s.n.	sine numero	without numbering
subscr.	subscripsit	wrote underneath
superscr.	superscripsit	wrote above
tert. m.	tertia manus	third hand
transp.	transposuit	altered
vac.	vacuum	is empty
vide		see
[...5 lin...]		lines missing
[...5 litt...]		letters missing
< >		letters missing which were replaced