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Alain Touwaide: *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts. From Byzantium to the Renaissance*. London/New York: Routledge 2016 (Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean 6). XX, 432 p. £ 115.00. ISBN: 978-1-409-40656-3.

It has been more than a century since the German scholar Hermann Diels published his monumental work containing lists of manuscripts that preserved ancient and medieval Greek medical works in 1906. This venture involved a team of nearly thirty scholars from six countries.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the last century many manuscripts have moved from one place to another, others were inaccessible at the time that Diels' work was being completed and others, recorded by Diels, have now been lost. Moreover, some works were misidentified, while others and, in particular, those dating to the Byzantine period were often treated cursorily or were left out altogether. The laborious task of providing the first updated checklist of Greek medical manuscripts since Diels' endeavour has been undertaken by Alain Touwaide in the book under review (*Census*). By Touwaide's own admission in the introduction, he has been working on this project for almost thirty years, including many trips to and *in situ* consultations in libraries across the world (XI). It is important to note that Touwaide's work is not intended to be a catalogue *per se*, since it does not aim to give a detailed physical description of the manuscripts or full details about their dating, provenance, and bibliographical references. Its main purpose is to 'list the manuscripts of all currently identified Greek medical texts – authored or anonymous – produced in the Greek world from Hippocrates to the fall of Constantinople' (IX). In this review, I aim to provide a critical discussion of its contents and structure and at the same time to comment on some of the important new evidence

1 H. Diels: *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*. 2 vols. Berlin 1905–1906 (Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1905, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 3 and 1906, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1). The two volumes were supplemented by a third volume two years later. See H. Diels: *Bericht über den Stand des interakademischen Corpus medicorum antiquorum und Erster Nachtrag zu den in den Abhandlungen 1905 und 1906 veröffentlichten Katalogen: Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, I. und II. Teil. Berlin 1908 (Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1907, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 2).

it presents, omissions, and *desiderata*, all of which I hope they will be taken into account in any future project of this kind.<sup>2</sup>

The book has a very brief introduction, in which the author explains how he set about this project (IX–XI), followed by some notes on how to consult the *Census* (XIII–XV). There is only one short index of libraries in the volume (423–432). The absence of an index of listed works and authors makes it more difficult to use the *Census*, even for someone who is very familiar with Greek medical works and manuscripts. Touwaide lists libraries alphabetically according to the name of the city in which they are located. He starts by giving the names of the cities in the original language followed by the English translation, e.g. ‘Firenze (Florence) IT’ (67). He then includes a reference to the original German version in Diels’ catalogue in bold accompanied by the modern name and the most common English version for those archives mentioned by Diels, e.g. ‘**Florenz** (Firenze) (IT), **Bibl. Mediceo Laurenziana** now Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Medicea Laurenziana Library)’ (67). If an entire collection or a single manuscript has moved from the collection originally listed by Diels to another, these manuscripts are listed twice with the relevant cross-references. This is particularly helpful. For example, in the case of the manuscript collection that once belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps (Cheltenham, United Kingdom), which has now been dispersed to various places throughout Europe and the USA, including the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich), the Brigham Young University, Lee Library (Provo, UT), the Morgan Library (New York, NY), the National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, MD), and Yale University Libraries (New Haven, CT) (50–52). In most cases the identification of the new location had already been confirmed in recent critical editions, specialised articles or new descriptive catalogues, but there are also cases in which Touwaide makes original contributions, especially in updating the reader with the most recent shelf-mark, as in the case, for example, of Holkham gr. 108, now at the University of Oxford (89, 181, 192). In similar vein, Touwaide often clarifies the status of items of doubtful identification in Diels’ work, including early printed editions (see e.g. 106) or non-Greek manuscripts (see e.g. 120), erroneously identified in Diels as Greek manuscripts.

2 Touwaide himself has stated, in an ‘Author Q&A Session’ accompanying the publication of his book, that he is currently preparing a ‘full analysis of all manuscripts listed in the *Census*’, at <https://www.routledge.com/posts/11973> (accessed 12 January 2019).

All in all, Touwaide should be given considerable credit for putting together a massive amount of information about the relocation of collections and the current status of a large number of items in a single accessible volume. Nevertheless, there are some inconsistencies, which could prove confusing for the reader. For example, the various monastic libraries on Mount Athos have been listed twice in different parts of the book, although the libraries have never moved from the Athonite Peninsula. For example, the Library of Dionysiou Monastery is listed under ‘Athos’ and ‘**Bibl. Mon. Dionysiou** (Βιβλιοθήκη Μονῆς Διονυσίου)’ in line with Diels’ naming (16–17) and also under ‘Ἁγίον Ὄρος, Ἱερά Μονή Διονυσίου (Dionysiou Monastery)’ (4). Updating the accentuation of Greek words from polytonic to monotonic or the form of the name from *katharevousa* to Standard Modern Greek should not affect the listing. A future work of this kind should only give one listing per library according to the relevant city or regional name in the most common English version.

For each manuscript a shelfmark is provided along with a reference to the corresponding volume of Diels. There are also references to the most recent catalogue(s) of the collection or other secondary bibliographical items important for the identification of any given codex. As for the contents, Touwaide only provides details for those works that were not listed in Diels’ catalogue, which makes it impractical to use the *Census* without a copy of Diels. On the other hand, the *Census* lists a large number of manuscripts and works that were not included in Diels. A significant contribution has been made in this respect, in particular, in the area of Byzantine medical authors, so that, for example, there is mention of Theophanes Chrysobalantes and Demetrios Pepagomenos, both authors absent from Diels (x). On the other hand, the coverage of the available manuscripts and works of these authors is not always entirely comprehensive. There are a significant number of unjustified omissions, which attest to the incomplete status of the *Census*. In the case of Pepagomenos, Touwaide lists only his monograph *On Gout*. However, Pepagomenos has also been ascribed authorship of a collection of recipes surviving in two manuscripts: Wellcomensis MS.MSL.60 (ff. 125<sup>r</sup>–138<sup>r</sup>) and Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 335 (ff. 12<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>v</sup>). The collection has been edited since 2003,<sup>3</sup> while the first manuscript was described in detail in a

3 M. Capone Ciollaro (ed.): Demetrio Pepagomeno. Prontuario medico. Testo edito per la prima volta, con introduzione, apparato critico e indice. Naples 2003 (Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana. Collana di Studi e Testi 21).

catalogue published in 2015, which was consulted in the preparation of the *Census* (122).<sup>4</sup> Yet the newly described contents of MS.MSL.60 are not given. Similarly, the recently identified *iatrosophion* of John Archiatros in MS.MSL.14 is not mentioned by Touwaide. On the other hand, Touwaide gives the contents of three other manuscripts from the Wellcome collection in detail (MS.289, MS.354, MS.MSL.135), also providing folio numbers, in line with the most recent catalogue (122–123). From this example, we understand that Touwaide mainly gives contents for manuscripts that were not included in Diels and he is indeed consistent throughout the *Census* in not giving a revised list of contents of manuscripts mentioned by Diels, even though recent catalogues may have given a more accurate description, including new findings that Touwaide completely omits. Furthermore, sometimes even when particular manuscripts were not mentioned by Diels and recent studies or catalogues have given an accurate description of their contents, Touwaide fails to provide his readers with these details, most notably in the cases of Codex no. 14 of the Monastery of Vlatadon (Thessaloniki) (315), and Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw), Zamoyscianus 155 (347); both are very important witnesses to the Galenic corpus and John Zacharias Aktouarios' works respectively.

To return to the new entries for Byzantine medical authors and works, Touwaide has, for example, helpfully included some manuscripts in Budapest (38), Modena (143), Padua (187), Rome (288), Sofia (314), Warsaw (347), and Vienna (359), which contain works by the most significant late Byzantine medical author John Zacharias Aktouarios that were not mentioned by Diels. Nevertheless, the results of these updates are sometimes based on somewhat insufficient consultation of the relevant catalogues, and clearly not on autopsy. For example, the Codex C. M. 644 in the Biblioteca Civica of Padua not only contains John Zacharias Aktouarios' *De methodo medendi*, but also his *De spiritu animali* (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>). The latter work is not mentioned in the *Census* (187), although it is correctly listed by Elpidio Mioni in his 1965 catalogue, which paradoxically is cited by Touwaide.<sup>5</sup> Moving from

4 P. Bouras-Vallianatos (with contributions by G. Parpulov): Greek Manuscripts at the Wellcome Library in London. A Descriptive Catalogue. In: *MedHist* 59, 2015, 275–326, at 292–302.

5 E. Mioni: *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, vol. I. Rome 1965 (Ministerio della Pubblica Istruzione. Indici e Cataloghi 20), at 237–238. The manuscript has also been recently described in detail by C. Giacomelli: *Su di un codice Greco di Giovanni Zaccaria Attuario nella Biblioteca Civica di Padova* (C.M.

John Zacharias Aktouarios to Nicholas Myrepsos, it should be noted that the *Census* gives two new manuscripts of the *Dynameron* that are not mentioned by Diels, i.e. Mount Athos, Great Lavra Monastery, Codex no. E192 (7) and Vaticanus gr. 1424 (300). The latter is not even mentioned by Ilias Valiakos, who has recently been working on an edition of the *Dynameron* and who lists 18 manuscripts in total, including complete and excerpting copies.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Touwaide has wrongly described National Library of Athens, Codex no. 1478 (12), as a seventeenth-century *iatrosophion*, while it is another copy of Myrepsos' text in line with Diels' original listing.<sup>7</sup> These two particular authors make an interesting example for comparison with regard to the coverage in the *Census* and the relevant digital databases of manuscripts of Byzantine medical works. For example, the very helpful online database of Greek manuscripts, *Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs*, presents the contents of the Padua manuscript correctly, but the same database actually lists only 14 manuscripts containing Myrepsos' work.<sup>8</sup> This example shows that although we currently live in an era, in which so many collections have been catalogued in detail and numerous manuscripts have been digitised and are available in an open access online format, research on some Byzantine authors is still at such an early stage that none of the available databases or studies can provide a complete list of witnesses.

Another useful example of this kind, Touwaide himself emphasises in his prologue (X), is the inclusion of manuscripts of medieval Greek translations of Arabic medical works, such as the *Ephodia tou Apodemountos* (here simply

644). In: *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 13, 2018, 93–127. Touwaide also omits to list another Italian manuscript (not in Diels) whose contents can be found in Mioni's catalogue, vol. I, at 160–167, i.e. Mediussensis 3, Biblioteca dell'Istituto "A. Reres" (Mezzojuso, Sicily), dated to the sixteenth/seventeenth century and containing a noteworthy collection of Greek (e.g. the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*) and Byzantine works (e.g. an excerpt of Paul of Aegina's *Medical Epitome* and Nikephoros Blemmydes' texts on blood and urines).

6 I. Valiakos: *Τό Δυναμερόν του Νικολάου Μυρεψού*. In: *Βυζαντιακά* 32, 2015, 241–255, at 244–245. See also I. Valiakos: *Η συμβολή του Νικολάου Μυρεψού στην προώθηση και την τεκμηρίωση της βοτανολογίας και της φαρμακευτικής κατά την ύστερη βυζαντινή εποχή*. PhD thesis. University of Thessaly, Greece 2014, at 40. The [thesis](#) is available in open access format (accessed 12 January 2019).

7 Diels, N.60 (above, n. 1), s.v. Nicolaus Myrepsus. On this manuscript, see also Valiakos: *Η συμβολή* (above, n. 6), at 47–48.

8 *Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs*, at [Pinakes no. 2265](#) and [no. 10056](#) (accessed 12 January 2019).

*Efodia*) of Ibn al-Jazzār (Ar. *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-hādīr*, more commonly known by its Latin title *Viaticum*). All in all, Touwaide lists thirteen manuscripts containing the full text or excerpts of it (41, 64, 65, 124, 135, 165, 230, 243, 253, 280, 305), while the most recent study by Thibault Miguet refers to at least forty-four witnesses.<sup>9</sup> The same applies to the various versions of the uroscopic treatise ascribed to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), for which Touwaide lists only one codex (292), despite the fact that in his critical edition of, for example, the version revised by John Zacharias Aktouarios Mario Lamagna refers to twelve codices.<sup>10</sup> The latter observation is intriguing, since Touwaide has in the past published a study in which he gives a long list of manuscripts containing uroscopic treatises attributed to Arab and Persian authors.<sup>11</sup> In similar vein lexica of vegetal ingredients are not systematically cited in the *Census* despite the fact that Touwaide has published a detailed list in the past.<sup>12</sup> Given that Touwaide has most probably gathered all the requisite material to give an accurate list of the relevant manuscripts of the above mentioned works, one cannot help but wonder what made him decide to share information only on selected manuscripts and thus not to give the reader a complete picture? Surely a work of this kind should have contained a clearer statement in the introduction on the intended coverage of the relevant medical literature.

Perhaps the *Census*' most significant contribution as regards Byzantine medical works is the inclusion for the first time of a large number of brief and often neglected, anonymous practical treatises or opuscles on a large variety of topics, from theoretical details on the construction of the human body to diagnosis and treatment (e.g. *De elementis et humoribus*, *De hominis membris*, *De phlebotomia*, *De pulsibus*, *De theriaca*, *De urinis*). Touwaide cannot be credited with comprehensive coverage of this kind of literature, but he has at least

- 9 T. Miguet: Premiers jalons pour une étude complète de l'histoire du texte grec du *Viaticum du Voyageur* (Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος) d'Ibn al-Ġazzār. In: *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 12, 2017, 59–105, at 85.
- 10 M. Lamagna: Giovanni Attuario. L'eccellente trattato sulle urine di Avicenna. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note al testo. Cuenca 2018, at 18–19.
- 11 A. Touwaide: Arabic Urology in Byzantium. In: *Journal of Nephrology* 17, 2004, 583–589.
- 12 A. Touwaide: Lexica medico-botanica byzantina. Prolégomènes à une étude. In: L. Pérez Castro/F. Adrados/L. de Cuenca (eds.): *Τῆς φιλέτης τάδε δῶρα*. Miscelánea léxica en memoria de Conchita Serrano. Madrid 1999, 211–228.

given it more prominence. In a future catalogue of Greek medical works it would be even more helpful if it provided the original Greek titles rather than Latin translations, which do not always give the reader an accurate idea of the contents. For example, the Latin title *De dysuria* (367) obviously refers to a work on urinal affections. On the other hand, the use by Touwaide of the Latin *De stomachi dolore* for a text in the Codex no. 521 (Lambros: 4118. 584.) of the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos (4) not only mistranslates the title of a text, which actually deals with gluttony, but is misleading, as the text itself does not seem to have a medical focus, since the Greek title clearly refers to the deadly sin of gluttony from a Christian ethical perspective. The title in Lambros' catalogue reads *Περὶ γαστριμαργίας καὶ ὅτι βλάπτει μεγάλως τὸν θέλοντα σωθῆναι καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων πταισμάτων*, which could be translated as *On gluttony and [the fact] that it causes great harm to anyone who wishes to be saved, and on other sins*.<sup>13</sup> Thus, great care should be taken, not only in ensuring that the correct versions of the Greek titles are listed, but also in ascertaining the actual nature of the content of listed manuscripts, which – as shown above – sometimes have nothing to do with medicine.

Among other equally largely neglected texts are the Byzantine and post-Byzantine *iatrosophia*. These are manuals consisting of diagnostic details and pharmacological recipes arranged in an *a capite ad calcem* order, so that they can be easily consulted in daily practice. Most of them are anonymous and are often written in the vernacular. Touwaide must be congratulated for attempting to list a large number of these manuscripts for the first time. On the other hand, it is not easy to get an idea of the contents of the *iatrosophia* listed due to the lack of incipits. The list is in any case far from complete with many omissions, even of catalogued examples, such as Wellcomensis MS.MSL.14 (fourteenth century, pp. 272–317) and Wellcomensis MS.4103 (AD 1697).<sup>14</sup> One could argue that Touwaide has not listed post-Byzantine texts in line with his introductory statement about covering medical works composed up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, yet he clearly includes many *iatrosophia* manuscripts (that were not included in Diels) dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some cases (see, for example, the codices in Athens, Meteora, Venice, and Weimar: 11–12, 138, 344, 347). Fur-

13 S. Lambros: *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Cambridge 1895, vol. I, 435. All translations are mine.

14 Bouras-Vallianatos: *Greek Manuscripts* (above, n. 4), at 285–286 and 324–326.

thermore, he lists only three manuscripts (69, 117, 292) out of the large number of extant *xenonika*, i.e. collections of recipes associated with the operation of Byzantine *xenons*,<sup>15</sup> despite stating in his introduction ('hospital manuals', x) that he aimed to list such manuscripts in the *Census*.

In addition to medical texts, Touwaide also lists various collections of *oneirocritica* or manuals of dream interpretation and other works on dreams (including Artemidorus, and the relevant Byzantine text ascribed to Achmet), most probably influenced by Diels' original listing of Synesios of Cyrene's work *On Dreams*.<sup>16</sup> Although Synesios' work sometimes includes references to more general concepts about diet and regimen, Achmet's *Oneirocriticon* could hardly be seen as a medical work or one related to medicine. This brings us to another important issue concerning future cataloguing of works of this kind and the ideal overall conceptual framework for such a project. Important questions that need to be considered, include: What kind of criteria determine the inclusion of a certain text under the general umbrella of 'medical' works in a medieval context? Should one refer only to 'rational'/humoral medicine or should one also include, for example, important accounts of miraculous healing?

Having given some detailed examples, I would like to emphasise that Touwaide makes a great effort to list many new manuscripts and entire collections across Europe and the USA, including hard-to-access monastic archives in Greece, such as Mount Athos, Meteora, Zavorda, and Panagia Olympiotissa (Ellassona). Still there remains one puzzle for the readers which is related to the actual source of the information provided, i.e. whether it comes from catalogues of relevant collections, autopsy of the manuscripts by the author, or a combination of the two. In his introduction Touwaide states that 'this census is the result of [...] research *in persona* in libraries all over the world' (XI), but later on, he is completely vague as to what the information listed is based on. I do not doubt that Touwaide undertook many *in situ* consultations. However, it is hard to explain why the author cannot confirm the contents of some manuscripts in very accessible libraries such

15 It is worth pointing out that a detailed study on these manuals has been available online in [D. Bennett: Xenonika: Medical Texts Associated with Xenones in the Late Byzantine Period](#). PhD thesis. University of London 2003 (accessed 12 January 2019).

16 Diels, II.99–100 and N.66–67 (above, n. 1), s.v. Synesius.

as the Bodleian in Oxford.<sup>17</sup> On another occasion, Touwaide queries the existence of Galen's *Exhortation to the Study of Medicine* (*Protrepticus*) in Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Codex no. 214 ('Galenus, *Protrepticum* (?)', 5), on the basis of a Greek title given in the 1900 catalogue, which reads 'Περὶ τραπετικὸν Γαλινοῦ καὶ ἑτέρον πλειόνων'.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, this Galenic work does not survive in any Greek manuscript, while the item in the Iviron manuscript actually contains an anonymous compilation of details relating to diagnosis, prognosis, and the therapy of diseases and on the constitution of the human body, often in the form of *erotapokrisis*.<sup>19</sup> Iviron Monastery may not be as easy to visit as Oxford, but it is nevertheless possible to consult a microfilm of this codex in the considerably more accessible Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki. Furthermore, this Iviron manuscript contains a version of John Archiatros' *iatrosophion*, reported in the *editio princeps* by Barbara Zipser in 2009.<sup>20</sup> No mention of this is made by Touwaide, who simply refers to '*Iatrosophia tria*' (5), perhaps indicating that he last updated this part of the *Census* before 2009. Another important issue is dating. I understand that the *Census* does not aim to include palaeographical and codicological details, including dating, and thus in most cases it follows existing catalogues. But it is odd that for those manuscripts not listed in Diels

- 17 See, for example, the case of Holkham gr. 112 (89), which Touwaide could not confirm contained a brief work on weights and measures (*De mensuris et ponderibus*), although the manuscript was correctly listed by Diels, and by A. B. Drachmann: *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars*. Copenhagen 1936 (*Historisk-filologiske meddelelser* 21,5), at 54. The text is on ff. 174<sup>r</sup>–176<sup>v</sup>. On this manuscript, see P. Bouras-Vallianatos: *Enrichment of the Medical Vocabulary in the Greek-Speaking Medieval Communities of Southern Italy. The Lexica of Plant Names*. In: B. Pitarakis/G. Tanman (eds.): *'Life is Short Art Long': The Art of Healing in Byzantium. New Perspectives*. Istanbul 2018, 155–184.
- 18 The catalogue reads: S. Lambros: *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Cambridge 1900, vol. II, at 62.
- 19 This text is on ff. 287<sup>r</sup>–296<sup>v</sup>. Oddly enough, the text is also listed as one of the manuscripts of Galen's *Protrepticus* in *Pinakes* no. 276 (12 January 2019). I had the chance to consult this manuscript via microfilm in Thessaloniki, Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, in March 2016, and, *in situ*, in April 2016. I would like to thank Father Theologos, librarian of the Iviron Monastery, for his hospitality and for allowing access to the codex.
- 20 This is on ff. 145<sup>r</sup>–225<sup>r</sup>. See B. Zipser: *John the Physician's Therapeutics. A Medical Handbook in Vernacular Greek*. Leiden 2009 (*Studies in Ancient Medicine* 37), at 18.

sometimes a date is provided based on the most recent catalogue,<sup>21</sup> while at other times it is not.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, sometimes a revision of the date given in the relevant catalogue is provided in the *Census*, but without any explanation of how the revised date has been arrived at.<sup>23</sup>

Lastly, I would like to point out a number of important omissions of manuscripts. My intention is not to give a complete list of the omissions from various collections across the world, but only a few indicative examples, focusing on the manuscripts of Mount Athos and Meteora, which have not been treated in detail. The *Census* does not include any of the following manuscripts, which contain Greek and/or Byzantine medical works and also some post-Byzantine *iatrosophia*, although all these items were included in the late nineteenth-/twentieth-century catalogues of the relevant collection: Iviron Monastery Codex no. 221 (4341),<sup>24</sup> Koutloumousiou Monastery Codex

21 See, for example, the case of the sixteenth-/eighteenth-century manuscript in Dimitsana (57) or the sixteenth-century Codex no. 135 from St Stephen's Monastery in Meteora (138), where Touwaide cites the dates given for them in the relevant catalogues.

22 See, for example, the two manuscripts in the Monastery of the Annunciation on the island of Skiathos (313). Although Touwaide cites the contents of the manuscripts according to the most recent catalogue, he does not give dates for them.

23 See, for example, the case of codex no. 1484 from the National Library of Athens, which is reported in both catalogues cited by Touwaide as a sixteenth-century manuscript. However, Touwaide refers to it as a '15th/16th century manuscript' (12). It should be noted that the reference given by Touwaide to G. Karas: *Οί ἐπιστήμες στην Τουρκοκρατία*, vol. III. Athens 1994 (Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν/Ἐθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν 46), is erroneous. It should be p. '227' not '219'.

24 Lambros: Catalogue (above, n. 18), at II.63, dates the codex to the seventeenth century. It contains the *Ephodia*.

no. 379 (3452),<sup>25</sup> Great Lavra Monastery, Codices nos. H35,<sup>26</sup> M8,<sup>27</sup> M34,<sup>28</sup> M36,<sup>29</sup> M39,<sup>30</sup> Varlaam Monastery ( Meteora) Codex no. 175,<sup>31</sup> and Metamorphoseos Monastery ( Meteora), Codices nos 105,<sup>32</sup> and 166.<sup>33</sup> Arguably most of them are dated to between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet Touwaide has listed such manuscripts in several other cases (e.g. Iviron Monastery Codices nos 207 and 222, both sixteenth-century *iatrosophia*, p. 5; Metamorphoseos Monastery, Meteora, Codex no. 589, a collection of recipes in a sixteenth-century manuscript, p. 139; and Public Historical Library of Dimitsana, a sixteenth-/eighteenth-century manuscript of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, p. 57).

- 25 Lambros: Catalogue (above, n. 13), at I.313, dates the codex to the fifteenth/sixteenth century. This manuscript contains pharmacological recipes scattered throughout the codex. I consulted this manuscript via microfilm in Thessaloniki, Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, in March 2016.
- 26 Monk Spyridon and S. Eustratiades: Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos. Cambridge, MA 1925 (Harvard Theological Studies 12), at 109, dates the codex to the seventeenth century. According to the catalogue there is a brief text ascribed to Galen on humours starting on f. 177<sup>r</sup>: 'Γαληνῶ περὶ χυμῶν καὶ ἄλλων'.
- 27 Monk Spyridon and S. Eustratiades: Catalogue (above, n. 26), at 303, with no information on dating. According to the catalogue, there is an *iatrosophion* starting on f. 54<sup>r</sup>.
- 28 Monk Spyridon and S. Eustratiades: Catalogue (above, n. 26), at 309, with no information on dating. According to the catalogue, the codex contains an *iatrosophion*.
- 29 Monk Spyridon and S. Eustratiades: Catalogue (above, n. 26), at 309, with no information on dating. According to the catalogue, the codex contains the *Ephodia* and other relevant texts.
- 30 Monk Spyridon and S. Eustratiades: Catalogue (above, n. 26), at 309–310, with no information on dating. According to the catalogue, there is an *iatrosophion* starting on f. 59<sup>r</sup>.
- 31 N. Bees: Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων, vol. II. Athens 1984, at 240–242, dates the codex to the sixteenth century. It contains a fragment from the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* on f. 253<sup>v</sup>.
- 32 N. Bees: Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων, vol. I. Athens 1967, at 135–137, dates it to the seventeenth century. It contains some brief texts ascribed to Galen and Hippocrates, including the *Epistula ad Ptolemaeum*, starting on f. 80<sup>r</sup>.
- 33 N. Bees: Τὰ χειρόγραφα, vol. I (above, n. 32), at 197–198, dates it to the seventeenth century. It contains the *Ephodia*.

Moreover, apart from the cases of overall homogenisation of the information (especially contents and dates) provided in the *Census* already discussed above, it should be mentioned that titles of works are not always cited in consistent fashion throughout (e.g. *Scholia in Synesii de insomniis* on p. 7, but *Explicatio in librum Synesii De insomniis* on p. 36; *De dieta* on p. 38, but *De spiritus animali libri II* on pp. 59, 174, 288, 314; *De historia philosophica* on pp. 49, 52, 153, but *De historia philosopha* on p. 303; Nepualius, *De sympathicis et antipathicis* on p. 161, but *De sympathia et antipathia* on p. 312), which could easily confuse the non-expert reader. The book is mostly free of typographical errors, apart from some cases connected with misspelled or wrongly accentuated Greek terms.<sup>34</sup>

All in all, the *Census* is a very useful addendum to the Diels catalogue and confirms that Touwaide has a lot to offer to the study of Greek medical works and manuscripts. Hopefully his next publication will show a little more systematic and consistent referencing, making it more convenient and helpful to the reader. We eagerly await his promised full catalogue at some future date. A final comment must be made on the remarkable fact that Touwaide does not make a single reference to the most up-to-date current database of information about Greek manuscripts, i.e. *Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs*.<sup>35</sup> This is not intended as a criticism, but rather as an appeal to scholars working in different countries for wider collaboration in the cataloguing of Greek medical manuscripts. Finally, further to my initial observation on the most important deficiency of the *Census*, i.e. the lack of a proper index, I append an index of authors and titles of works, which I had the opportunity to compile while reading the book and which I hope may be useful to future readers of the *Census*.

34 E.g. 'Πρότυπο Πειραματικό Γενικό Λύκειο' not 'Πρωτότυπο' (XIX), 'Επετηρίς' not 'Επετηρίς' (393), 'Ξηροποταμηνιά' not 'Ξηροποταμινιά' (421), 'Ξενοφώντος' not 'Ξενοφώντος' (432).

35 Cf. <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/> (accessed 12 January 2019).

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