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Toward a Revision of Metrodora's Treatise: Evidence from Newly Examined Manuscripts

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ABSTRACT

The work attributed to Metrodora, known until now from the manuscript Laur. Plut. 75.3 under the title: From the Works of Metrodora: On the Female Diseases of the Womb (*Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας*), must now be re-evaluated. After many years of research, it has been established that the manuscript Vat. gr. 299, together with its copy Ambr. Mss. S 3 sup., as well as Voss. gr. F 25 along with its copy in Vat. gr. 1902, preserve a significantly more extensive version of the text, which includes a much larger number of chapters. Moreover, Vat. gr. 299 preserves for the first time the title of the work: Metrodora, female physician, *On Women's* (*Μητροδόρας ἰατρίας, Γυναικείων*). These manuscripts introduce an entirely new dimension to the study of the treatise. *On Women's* appears, on the basis of an indirect reference in Vat. gr. 299, to belong chronologically to the early Byzantine period (4th–5th centuries AD). The text fits within a broader tradition of gynecological treatises with similar titles, shared vocabulary, recipes, and therapeutic instructions, indicating that these texts functioned as medical and pharmaceutical manuals, which were often assembled into collections, sometimes extensive and sometimes concise.

Keywords: Metrodora - On Women's - Byzantine medicine

1. Introduction

Metrodora composed a medical treatise devoted to female ailments. Until recently, research was based on the assumption that her work survived exclusively in a single manuscript, *Laur. Plut.* 75.3 (henceforth *L*)¹, under the title *Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας* (From [the works of] Metrodora: On the Female Diseases of the Womb)². Consequently, all previous studies³, editions⁴, and interpretations relied solely on this witness.

Recent research, following a systematic survey of medical and pharmaceutical manuscripts from the Byzantine period, has led to the identification of new manuscripts containing a more extensive text of this treatise. Central among these manuscripts is *Vat. gr.* 299 (henceforth *V*)⁵, and to a lesser extent *Voss. gr. F* 25 (henceforth *F*)⁶. Together with their apographs, these manuscripts make it possible for the first time to reconstruct Metrodora's treatise in a form and scope approaching its original composition. Specifically, *V* preserves a more extensive version of the treatise, with a significantly greater number of chapters and subchapters. It also records for the first time the title: *Μητροδόρας ἱατρίνας, Γυναικείων* (Metrodora, female physician, *On Women's*)⁷, which provides new interpretive evidence regarding the nature, scope, and authorship of the work.

Metrodora's *Γυναικείων* can be placed chronologically, on the basis of linguistic and factual criteria, in the early Byzantine period (4th–5th century CE), although precise dating is not possible⁸, as is often the case with other medical texts.

The treatise belongs to a long tradition of gynecological texts, extending from classical antiquity to the early Byzantine period, which display strong intertextual connections, a shared vocabulary, and recurring therapeutic recommendations. This similarity does not necessarily reflect direct copying, but rather a common scientific background and the circulation of knowledge within a broader medical framework.

Within this context, the present study aims to establish the authentic title of the treatise, *Μητροδόρας ἱατρίνας, Γυναικείων*, (Metrodora, female physician, *On Women's*) as established through an examination of its manuscript tradition, to highlight the relationships among the various gynecological collections, and to reposition Metrodora's work within the wider context of early Byzantine gynecological literature.

2. Title, and Author

The comparative examination of the manuscripts *L* and *V* reveals significant divergences regarding the presence and formulation of the title, as well as the attribution of authorship, a fact that raises questions concerning the authentic designation of the treatise.

2.1. The Evidence of the Manuscripts

In the codex *L*, already on f. 4v, we observe an explicit reference to the author's name and to the title of the treatise⁹:

Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· Περί τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας
From [the works of] Metrodora: On the Female Diseases of the Womb.

By contrast, in the corresponding section of *V*, both the author's name and the title are absent¹⁰, even though the content of the chapter displays clear verbal and conceptual similarities with the text of the Laurentian manuscript.

The following table provides a side-by-side comparison of the Greek texts from both manuscripts to illustrate these similarities.

V	L
f. 456r ,αρμγ' [1143] περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑστέραν συμβαινόντων παθῶν πλείονων τε καὶ ποικίλων ἐσπουδακόντων· πάντων δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν [lac.17] ἀν' ὑπαρχόντων α[lac.10] δικῆς τινὸς ἀξιῶσαι [lac.13] σαφῶς ἐνθελῖναι πάντα τοῖς [lac.10] καὶ τοῖς γενομένοις συμπαθῶς, εὐθήρατα καὶ εὐληπτα γίνονται τοῖς ἐντυγχανούσῃ	ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας. <α'> [1] τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ ποικίλων ὑπαρχόντων, πάντων δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν περὶ τὴν μήτραν συνισταμένων, ἀναγκαίως <ἔχει> καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγράψαι f. 5r ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν αὐτῆς συμβαίοντα συμπτώματα.
f. 456v πολλοῖς γὰρ δυσίατα ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα ἐπιγίνεται ἰάθη, διὰ τε τὴν τῆς σημειώσεως περὶ σκελῶν [lac.14] ὑφηγουμένων κρύπτειν ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τὰ πολλὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων σειομένων.	τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δυσίατα καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα γίνεσθαι πάθη, ἅπερ διὰ τῆς σημειώσεως ἐκάστου τούτων γνωσόμεθα. λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστερικῶν πνιγὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα.

,αρμγ' [1143] *On the Ailments Affecting the Uterus, both numerous and varied, that have been carefully studied; and all of them, so to speak [lac.17] existing, [lac.10] of some wrong [lac.13] it is deemed appropriate to insert clearly all into the [lac.10] and into what has occurred sympathetically, becoming straightforward and easily grasped for many who encounter them | for it would be difficult and entirely intractable to be healed, through the guidance concerning the notation about the limbs [lac.14] concealing by prudence most of the occurrences being stirred.*

More specifically, whereas *L* begins with the phrase:

ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας· τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ ποικίλων ὑπαρχόντων... *From [the works of] Metrodora; On the female diseases of the womb. Since female diseases are many and varied...*

Codex *V* introduces the corresponding section with the wording:

περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑστέραν συμβαινόντων παθῶν πλείονων τε καὶ ποικίλων....
On the ailments affecting the uterus, both numerous and varied, that have been carefully studied;

This observation leads to the conclusion that the phrase *περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας* (On the Female Diseases of the Womb) in the title of *L* appears to have arisen through direct repetition of the opening phrase of the first chapter. By contrast,

V contains no corresponding title, while the terms *μήτρα* (womb) and *ύστέρα* (uterus) are used interchangeably, without any clear formal distinction. This fact makes problematic the interpretation of the phrase as an established title of the treatise.

Continuing the examination of further chapters in *V*, we read on f. 458v, chapter ,αρζα' [1161], *Πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ χρήσει πασχούσας τὴν ύστέραν* (For women suffering in the course of sexual intercourse with respect to the womb). Here, this specific chapter corresponds exactly to ff. 7v–8r of *L*, albeit with one significant difference. This divergence is juxtaposed in the table below:

V	L
f. 458v ,αρζα' [1161] Πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ χρήσει πασχούσας τὴν ύστέραν· <u>Μητροδόρας ἱατρίνας, Γυναικείων</u> καὶ πονεῖ τὴν μήτραν ἀνδροκοιτούσα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον φλογοειδὲς ἔχει μᾶλλον ἢ χλωρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιμένοντος τοῦ πάθους ὥχρὸν· καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς μήτρας, φλεγμαίνει μᾶλλον ἔσωθεν ἢ ἔξωθεν· σημεῖον δὲ τὸ τοὺς κανθοὺς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πάσχειν. ἐν τῇ χρήσει θεράπευε τοῖνον ταῦτας οὕτως· λαβὼν γυναικὸς ἀρρενοτόκου γάλα καὶ μύρον ρόδινον, ἴσα κόψας καὶ θερμάνας, ἐν πεσσῶ ἀναλαβὼν πρόσθε ἐν τῷ στόματι τῆς ύστέρας·	τὰς δὲ ἐν τῇ χρήσει f. 8v πασχούσας τὴν μήτραν ἀνδρο κοιτούσας f. 8r τὸ πρόσωπον φλεβῶδες ἔχει μᾶλλον ἢ χλωρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιμένοντος τοῦ πάθους ὥχρῶνται· ταῖς τὸ στόμα τῆς μήτρας φλεγμαίνει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔξωθ(εν) ἢ ἔσωθεν· σημεῖον δὲ ταύταις κανθὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πάσχειν. θεράπευε τοῖνον ταῦτα οὕτως· λαβὼν γυναικὸς ἀρρενοτόκου γάλα καὶ μύρον ρόδινον, ἴσα ἅμα ἀνακόψας καὶ θερμάνας, ἐν πεσσῶ ἀναλαβὼν πρόσθε ἐν τῷ στόματι τῆς ύστέρας.

,αρζα' [1161] *For those suffering in the uterus during intercourse Metrodora, female physician, On Women's and when the uterus is pained from intercourse with a man, and the face is fierier than pale in the early stages; later, if the condition persists, it becomes pale. And the mouth of the uterus is inflamed more from within than from without; a sign of this is suffering at the canthi of the eyes. In treatment, therefore, proceed as follows: take milk from a woman who has borne a male child and rose-scented myrrh, grind them equally and warm them, then, using a pessary, insert them into the mouth of the uterus.*

The difference lies in the fact that in *V* on f. 458v (chap. ,αρζα' [1161]), we read the phrase *Μητροδόρας ἱατρίνας, Γυναικείων* (Metrodora, female physician, *On Women's*) which is of unique significance. Although this phrase is surrounded by blank spaces and is not syntactically integrated into the therapeutic text, it functions as the title of the treatise: it states the author's name, her professional status, and the subject matter of the work. The correspondence of this chapter with the relevant section of *L* on ff. 7v–8r, is almost complete, a fact that strengthens the view that we are dealing with a common text arranged according to different typological principles.

The position and fragmentary integration of this phrase in *V* allow for the hypothesis that it originally constituted a marginal note or heading in the exemplar manuscript, which was later incorporated into the main body of the text by a subsequent copyist. The discontinuities and gaps in the manuscript, especially after f. 451r, can be attributed to damage to or loss of folios in the model.

On the basis of the foregoing, the title *Περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας* (On the Diseases of the Female Womb) cannot be regarded as the authentic title of the treatise, but rather as a descriptive or secondary formulation, most likely derived from the incipit of the text. By contrast, the phrase *Μητροδόρας ἰατρίνας, Γυναικείων* (Metrodora, female physician, *On Women's*) corresponds more fully to the character and content of the work, since it clearly states the author's name, her professional status, and the overall thematic scope of the treatise, which is not limited to diseases of the womb but also includes ailments of the breasts, issues of conception, contraception, childbirth, and postpartum care, as well as matters of virginity and cosmetic care. Moreover, this title is neither original nor unique but belongs to a broader tradition of ancient and Hellenistic medical literature. Comparable titles are found in other gynecological treatises, such as the works of Hippocrates' *Diseases of Women I*, and *II* (Ἱπποκράτους, *Περὶ γυναικείων Α', Β'*¹¹), Soranus' *Gynaecology* (Σωρανοῦ, *Γυναικείων*¹²), and Moschion's *On Women's Diseases* (Μοσχίωνος, *Περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν*¹³), a fact that further strengthens the likelihood that the title *Γυναικείων* reflects the original and authentic title of the work.

2.2. Author and Authenticity

The explicit mention of *Μητροδόρας ἰατρίνας* in *V* confirms both the identity of the author and her professional status. The title *Γυναικείων* (On Women's) is concise, comprehensive, and representative of the entirety of the treatise, while aligning with corresponding titles in other gynecological works. The presence of almost all the chapters from *L* in *V* confirms that the text of the treatise indeed belongs to Metrodora. This observation leads to a substantial revision of both the text and of the scholarly understanding of the work to date, which no longer constitutes a limited text, but rather a complete and extensive manual covering the full range of gynecological issues.

3. Chronological Approach

The dating of Metrodora's work remains a subject of scholarly debate in contemporary research. Despite extensive engagement with the text, there is still no universal consensus regarding its time of composition. Most scholars place the work between the 4th and 6th centuries CE¹⁴, while others argue for an earlier dating, situating it in the late Hellenistic period, between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE¹⁵.

Of particular importance for investigating the dating and sources of the work is a specific passage as transmitted in the codex *V*. In the last part of chapter *αρπβ'* [1182] *Πρὸς μήτραν πεπτωκυῖαν* ("For prolapsed womb"), there appears a distinct subsection entitled *Περὶ <υ>στερῶν βραδυνουσῶν ἐκ τῆς προπτώσεως* ("On delayed prolapse of the uterus"). This subsection consists of three paragraphs. The first two correspond word for word with *L*. However, *V* adds a third paragraph, providing additional interpretative material concerning the pathogenesis of uterine prolapse. This interpretation is explicitly attributed to an author named *Θεόδωρος* ("Theodore"), whose views Metrodora invokes¹⁶. The exact correspondence of the first two paragraphs and the addition of the third in *V* are demonstrated in the following table:

V	L
f. 461v <i>αρπβ'</i> [1182] <i>Περὶ <υ>στερῶν βραδυνουσῶν ἐκ τῆς προπτώσεως ἔξω καὶ οἰδαινουσῶν.</i> <i>Ὅταν χρόνος γένηται τῆς ἐκπεπτωκυίας καὶ ἀνοιδίῃ καὶ μεστοῦ γένηται ὕγρου ἰχωροειδοῦς· προπυριάσας σεύτλου ἀποζέματι καὶ μετὰ τὴν κατάντησιν ὄξος δριμὺ ἐπίχυσον κατὰ τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίχυσιν τοῦ ὄξους, ἅλας λεπτὸν ἐπίπασσον. Ὅταν δὲ συντακῇ περίπλυνε τῷ τοῦ σεύτλου ἀποζέματι καὶ πάλιν ποιήσον κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον τῇ αὐτῇ πυρίᾳ· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ τῆς κοιλίας ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ ὅπως μὴ διαταραχθῇ.</i> <i>Ὁ Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ <προ>πτώσεως ὑστέρον, διαλαμβάνων λέγει, ὅτι προπίπτουσιν αἱ ὑστέραι ὁπότεν ἐκλοχοῦσα ἡ γυνή, φορτίον</i> f.462r <i>ἄρη ἢ ξύλον σχῖσαι ἢ ὅταν ἐπιγένηται καὶ ἐπιλάβηται τῆς ῥινός· τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν χρὴ περιπλύνειν ὑστέρας, χλιαρῷ καὶ ἀκράτῳ οἴνῳ μέλανι ταχύνειν.</i>	ιδ' [12] <i>Πρ(ὸς) ὑστέραν ῥαβδύνουσας† ἐκ τῆς προπτώσεως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἰδαίνουσας.</i> <i>ὅταν χρονίῃ ἢ ὑστέρα ἐκπεπτωκυῖα ἔξω καὶ ἐνοιδίῃ καὶ μεστὴ γένηται ὕγρου ἰχωρώδους, προσπυρία σεύτλου ἀποζέματι καὶ μετὰ τὴν κατάντησιν ὄξος δριμὺ ἐπίχυσον κατὰ τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίχυσιν τοῦ ὄξους, ἅλας λεπτὸν ἐπίπασσον. ὅταν δὲ συντακῇ τὸ ἅλας, περιπλυνέτω τῷ σεύτλου ἀποζέματι καὶ ἀνάσπα κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἅμα τῇ πυρίᾳ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ τῆς κοιλίας καὶ διαίτης ὅπως μὴ διαταραχθῇ, παρμικὰ δὲ τοῖς ῥώθωσι πρόσαγε καὶ τὰ εὐωδέστατα τῶν μύρων.</i> f. 10v f. 11r

αρπβ' [1182] *On delayed prolapse of the uterus externally and swelling. When time passes for the fallen organ and it swells and becomes filled with a watery, ichorous substance; having applied seutlos broth and after exhaustion, pour sharp vinegar over the uterus, and after pouring the vinegar, sprinkle fine salt. When the salt has settled, wash it with seutlos broth and again apply the same heat as before; attention must also be paid to the abdomen in diet so that it is not disturbed.*

Theodoros, in his On prolapse of the uterus, states that the uterus falls whenever a woman, having recently given birth, lifts a load, splits wood, or undergoes sudden bodily pressure, for example during a strong sneeze. Such prolapsed uteri must be washed with warm, unmixed black wine.

According to this testimony, uterine prolapse can occur when a woman, immediately after childbirth, is subjected to intense physical strain, such as lifting heavy weights or splitting wood, or when her body experiences sudden pressure, for instance during a strong sneeze. The recommended therapeutic approach involves immediate washing of the prolapsed uterus with warm, unmixed black wine, which, according to ancient medical theory, possesses mild astringent and warming properties, helping to reverse the pathological condition. This reference functions not merely as a supplementary element but is organically integrated into Metrodora's therapeutic and theoretical argumentation. This reference also raises the question of the identity of the mentioned Theodore. One plausible, though unprovable, hypothesis is that he is Theodorus Priscianus, a 4th-century CE physician known from the Latin treatise *Gynaecia* (usually presented as Book III of the *Euporista*)¹⁷. This work includes ten chapters on gynecological diseases, five of which deal with disorders and conditions of the womb; however, none of the surviving sections explicitly mention uterine prolapse.

Nevertheless, Theodore Priscianus himself mentions and explicitly refers to his Greek original text, stating that it contains more extensive discussions of the gynecological issues he treats. It appears that Metrodora had access to Priscianus' Greek manual and drew from it the specific argumentation concerning uterine prolapse. Since, however, Priscianus' Greek work has not survived, it is not possible to identify with certainty this passage or, more specifically, Metrodora's Theodore, with Theodorus Priscianus, although the convergence of chronological and thematic frameworks renders this hypothesis plausible.

The identification of the Theodore mentioned in *V* with Theodorus Priscianus therefore remains hypothetical and cannot be substantiated. For this reason, it is not employed as a decisive criterion for dating, but rather as an indication of a convergence of chronological and theoretical elements within Late Antique medicine. Even without a precise identification, the passage presupposes a level of gynecological thought compatible with this period and functions primarily as a *terminus post quem*, while the dating of Metrodora's work rests on the cumulative assessment of linguistic, therapeutic, and manuscript evidence.

4. The Manuscripts

4.1. Laur. Plut. 75.3 (L)

This is a parchment manuscript consisting of 263 folios, measuring 110 × 170 mm. It is dated to the late 10th or early 11th century and was first described by Bandini in 1770 under the title *Βιβλία ιατρικὰ ποικίλα* (*Libri medicinales vari*)¹⁸. Metrodora's text occupies ff. 4v–19r¹⁹ and bears the heading: *Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας· περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας* (From [the Works of] Metrodora; On the Female Diseases of the Womb).

The chapters address uterine ailments (α' [1]²⁰–κε' [23]), conception (κς' [24]–κζ' [25]), childbirth (κη' [26]–λγ' [31]), and virginity (λδ' [32]–λθ' [37]). They are fol-

lowed by chapters dealing with breast ailments (μ' [38]–νε' [53]) and women's cosmetic care (νς' [54]–ξγ' [61]), at which point the work concludes.

Although Metrodora's treatise was known from the 19th century and discussed in the following decades by various scholars, it was first published only in 1945 in an edition by Ar. Kouziz²¹. A revised edition appeared in 1953, accompanied by an Italian translation by G. Del Guerra²². In 1995, Congourdeau published the text exclusively in a French translation²³. More recently, in 2024, a revised digital edition was released with a parallel English translation by H. Parker²⁴.

It is worth noting that the vast majority of scholars who have studied this text, relying both on the manuscript and the editions, believed that the text extended to f. 33v. However, recent studies demonstrate that Metrodora's treatise is limited to f. 19r²⁵, while the remainder consists of excerpts of prescriptions from Aetius, Andromachus, and Alexander of Tralles²⁶.

4.2. Vat. gr. 299 (V)

This manuscript is written on paper and measures 292 × 199 mm. It is dated to the late 14th century and comprises a total of 519 folios, including f. 129a, with the only additional element being a single flyleaf²⁷. This codex preserves two gynecological collections.

Although the table of contents (ff. 230r, 231r, 233v) lists more than one hundred chapters, together with others that are unnumbered, the structure of the main body of the text (ff. 456r–467v and 503r–509r) is clearly more extensive. After each chapter follows a series of pharmaceutical prescriptions, each introduced by the term *Ἄλλο* (Another), which function as subchapters referring to the same condition.

The first collection (ff. 456r–467v, chs. , αρμγ' [1143]²⁸–, ασκα' [1221] with several unnumbered subchapters) follows a systematic thematic organization. It begins with diseases of the uterus, such as inflammations, suffocation, cancer, ulcers, hemorrhages, and disorders of menstruation; it then proceeds to ailments of the vulva, followed by treatments and methods for conception and contraception, sections on fertility and abortion, complications of childbirth and the postpartum period, and chapters on diseases of the breasts, including inflammations and cancer, concluding with topics related to breast milk and the cosmetic care.

The second collection (ff. 503r–509r, chs. , αυθ' [1409]–, αυμη' [1448], together with several unnumbered subchapters), which was recently published by De Lucia²⁹, is shorter and thematically more limited, focusing primarily on diseases of the womb. With the exception of five prescriptions addressing fever³⁰, all remaining chapters concern gynecological conditions and are organized into sections dealing with hemorrhages and purgation, menstruation, fissures, diseases of the vulva, issues of conception and contraception, and complications of childbirth.

Comparative examination of these two collections in *V* shows that approximately twenty chapters at the end of the first collection, together with their subchapters, cor-

respond word for word with the chapters at the beginning of the second collection. This complete correspondence ultimately confirms that the two do not constitute two independent collections, but rather two parts of a single work that was divided at a later stage. The repetition of these chapters and subchapters may be attributed either to an inadvertent error by the copyist or to the use of different exemplar manuscripts. When the two collections are combined, the work comprises a total of 226 chapters, to which an additional 110 subchapters must be added³¹.

The presence of gaps in the text, particularly after f. 451r, attests to damage in the exemplar manuscript. Nevertheless, the extent and level of detail of the text in *V* far exceed those of the Laurentian manuscript and allow for the restoration of lost or abridged passages, making this codex a central point of reference for the reconstruction of the treatise.

4.3. Comparison of V and L

The greater part of the chapters of Metrodora's treatise preserved in *L* also appears in *V*, often with almost verbatim correspondence. This fact clearly confirms that the Vatican manuscript preserves a more complete, more extensive, more systematic, and overall richer version of the treatise in comparison with that of the Laurentian codex. This superiority concerns not only the quantity of the material transmitted, but also its degree of organization and syntactic coherence.

Toward the end of the treatise, a number of chapters appear that contain pronounced magico-religious elements, reflecting superstitions, popular beliefs, and practices of preventive folk medicine. The presence of such material fits within the broader cultural and therapeutic context of the period and is attested in both manuscripts, albeit with differences in completeness and arrangement. In order to clarify the relationship between the two codices, several parallel chapters are presented here in the following table by way of illustration:

V	L	
f. 457r ,αρμε [1145] Ὅσφραντὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀφώνους γινομένας. Δεῖ τὰ θυμιώμενα ἐπ' ἀν[+24] καὶ τὸν καμπτόν τοῖς [lac. 12] συνεισάγειν καὶ κελεύειν ἀνα[lac. 10] τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις· ,αρμς' [1146] Ὅσφραντικὰ πρὸς ὑστερικὰς πνίγας κἂν ἐν ἐσχαρωτάτῳ κινδύνῳ· λίθον γαγάτην, ἀπόβαψον [lac. 14] ῥῖψον καὶ σβέσον ἐν ἐλαίῳ καὶ πρόσθετος ταῖς ῥίσις ἐσθησμένον· πήγανον χλωρὸν ὑπομαλάξας, πρόσφερε ταῖς ῥίσις. ἄλλο· κεδρία βάσας ὀθόνιον καὶ ὑφάνας σβέσον καὶ πρόσαγε ταῖς μυκτῆρσιν	γ' [2] Ὅσφραντὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀφώνους γυναῖκ(ας). δεῖ τὰ θυμιώμενα ἐπ' ἀνθρώκων ἐπιβάλλειν, συνάγειν καὶ κελεύειν ἀνασπᾶν τῇ εἰσπνοῇ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις· οἶον γαγάτην λίθον, κέρας αἰγός, καστόριον, ἄσφαλτον· πήγανον χλωρὸν ὑπομαλάξας πρόσφερε τοῖς ῥόθωσιν.	f. 6r f. 6v

V	L
ἄλλο· ἄσφαλτον καὶ καστόριν ὁμοῦ θυμίαμα καὶ ἀποσφραίνου ἄλλο· Ὀνυχας αἰγῶν ὑποθυμίασον καὶ πρόσαγε τοῖς μυκτῆρσι , αρμζ' [1147] Ποτήματα πρὸς <τὰς> ὕστερικὰς πνίγας· Ποτήματα δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις χρῶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ πάθη· Πυράθους αἰγείους ἀριθμοὺς γ'· λευκοίου σπέρματος σταθμὸν ἴσα λειώσας, πότιζε σὺν οἶνῳ· ἄλλο· Κνίδειον σπέρμα πεφρυγμένον δραχμὴ α' λειάνας σὺν οἶνῳ δίδου καὶ εὐθὺς παύει ἄλλο· Καστόριον σὺν οἶνῳ πότιζε, ἢ μετὰ ἀνίσου ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα πνιγομένων· ἄλλο· Δαύκου Κρητικοῦ ὑοσκύμου ἴσα βαλὼν σὺν μέλιτι λειώσας, δίδου κύαμου μέγεθος σὺν ὀξομέλιτι.	θεῖον λειώσας πρόσφερε. ἐλλέβορον λευκὸν πρόσφερε. στρουθίου ῥίζαν πρόσφερε. [3] Πόθημα πρὸς τὰς ὕστερικὰς πνίγας· καστόριον σὺν οἶνῳ πότιζε, πῆγανον λειώσας μετὰ μέλιτος πρόσθεσ.

, αρμε' [1145] *Fumigations for women who become aphonic.*

It is necessary to place the substances to be fumigated in [lac. 24] and to introduce the bent tube into the [lac. 12], instructing them to inhale [lac. 10] the fumes.

, αρμζ' [1146] *Olfactory remedies for hysterical suffocation, even in cases of extreme danger. Take jet stone; dip it [lac. 14], throw it into the fire and extinguish it in oil, then apply it extinguished to the nostrils; soften fresh rue and apply it to the nostrils.*

Another: Dip cedar resin in a small cloth, weave it, extinguish it, and apply it to the nostrils.

Another: Asphalt and castoreum together as incense and let the patient inhale the fumes.

Another: Fumigate with goat hooves and apply them to the nostrils.

, αρμζ' [1147] *Potions for hysterical suffocation; Use the following drinks for the same conditions: Take three goat dung pellets; grind them together with an equal weight of white violet seed, and administer with wine.*

Another: Roast Knidian seed, grind one unit with wine, give it to drink, and it immediately brings relief.

Another: Administer castoreum with wine, or with anise in cases of severe suffocation.

Another: Take equal amounts of Cretan carrot and henbane, grind them with honey, and administer a dose the size of a bean with oxymel.

The comparison of these examples demonstrates that, while the core content remains shared, *V* preserves more details, clearer therapeutic instructions, and more fully developed syntax, in contrast to *L*, where abbreviations, omissions, and condensed formulations are frequently observed. The same phenomenon is confirmed in other scattered chapters and subchapters of the treatise, which are presented below in order to substantiate more fully the textual correspondence:

V	L
f. 459r ,αρξβ' [1162] Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἐκφλογώσεις καὶ ἀποστάσεις· [lac.12] ὅσαις ἐν τῇ ὑστέρα γίνονται [lac.8] σις ταύτης ἀρχομένης οἱ μασθοὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἰδοῦσι καὶ σκληροὶ γίνονται· καὶ πυρε[lac.5] κες συμβαίνουσι καὶ ῥέυμα θερμὸν· [lac.12] καταρρεῖ· καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας θλιβομένας οὐκ ἀνέχονται· ἕως ἂν ῥαγῇ τὸ πύον· εἴθ'· οὕτω παύονται κατὰ μικρὸν τοῦ περιεστώτος πόνου. καὶ ἀπτομένοις λιθώδεις ὑποπίπτει καὶ ἐρείδονται αἱ τοιαῦται πυκνῶς· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπόπικρος ἡ ἐρυγὴ· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἀσιτήσασιν· ἀνορεξία δὲ σιτίων ἔχει τὰς τοιαύτας· αἱ τοῖνυν πλεῖσται τοῦτων ἀγόμεναι διαμένουσιν· θεραπεύονται δὲ οὕτως· μυρσίνης κλώνας κασίας τε ναρδοστάχους κυπέρων· ἐψησας ὕδατι εἴτα ἐπιβαλὼν μέλιτος τὸ ἄρκοῦν, συνέψησον τῷ ὕδατι καὶ προσβαλὼν νίτρον τῷ ἀποζέματι πρόσκυλζε τὴν μήτραν· καὶ ἐπάλειφε χηνεῖω στέατι.	η' [6] Πρ(ὸς) τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἀποστάσεις. ὅσαις ἐν τῇ ὑστέρα γίνονται ἀποστάσεις, ταύτης ἀρχομένης οἱ μασθοὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἰδαίνουσι καὶ σκληροὶ γίνονται καὶ πυρετοὶ καὶ φρίκαι σημαίνουσι καὶ ῥέυμα θερμὸν διὰ τοῦ αἰδοίου καταρρέει. αἱ τοιαῦται θλιβόμεναι οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ἕως ἂν ῥαγῇ τὸ ἀπόστημα καὶ τὸ πύον ἐκκριθῇ· εἴθ' οὕτως παύονται κατὰ μικρὸν τοῦ περιεστώτος πόνου. ἐρεύγονται δὲ αἱ τοιαῦται πυκνά, ὁξώδη καὶ ὑπόπικρα. ἀνορεξία δὲ σιτίων ἔχει τὰς τοιαύτας. αἱ τοῖνυν πλεῖσται τοῦτων ἀγωνιόμεναι διαμένουσιν. θεράπευε τοῖνυν οὕτως· μυρσίνης κλώ νους καὶ κυπαρίσσου, νάρδου στάχους· ταῦτα συνεψησας ὕδατι ἐπιβάλλων μέλιτος καὶ νίτρον <τὸ ἄρκοῦν> καὶ χλιάνας πρόσκυλζε τὴν μήτραν. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο πρόσκυλζε πάλιν οἶνον καὶ ἐπάλειφε βοῦτυρον ἢ μυελὸν ἐλάφειον ἢ στέαρ χηνεῖον ἢ ὀρνίθειον.

,αρξβ' [1162] Concerning inflammations and discharges of the uterus;
[lac.12] in those occurring in the uterus [lac.8] beginning of this condition, the breasts of the woman swell and become hard; and fevers [lac.5] occur and a hot flux; [lac.12] flows down; and those afflicted in such a way cannot bear it; until the pus ruptures; then they cease gradually from the remaining pain. And in those touched, stones fall and such things are pressed; and vomiting seems also bitter, especially in those who are fasting; anorexia of food occurs in such cases. The majority of these persist when led along; they are treated as follows: Take branches of myrtle and cassia, and spike of nard, and cubebs; boil them in water and then apply honey to what is sufficient, boil together with the water, and apply niter to the decoction to wash the uterus; and anoint it with goose fat.

Additional examples of this textual relationship are juxtaposed in the following table:

V	L
f. 460r ,αρογ' [1173] Πρὸς τὰ ἀνακακαθαρμένα ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ ἔλκη χρῶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν·	Πρ(ὸς) τὰ ἀνακακαθαρμένα ἔλκη τῆς μήτρας. α' μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνακαθαρθῆναι χρῶ πεσσοῖς·

V	L
f. 460v πίσης ὑγρᾶς, ἐρείκης καρπὸν, βαλαυστίων· ἱρίνου μύρου χρῶ ἐν κροκίδι [lac.10] ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τῆς μήτρας. ἄλλο· Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνακεκαθαρμένων [lac.8] μυρσίνης· ῥοδίνου μύρου τήξας [lac.8] καὶ μίξας κροκίδι χρῶ. ἄλλο· [lac. 8] ῥητίνης· πιτυίνης ὑγρᾶς· μέλιτος [lac. 8] ῥοδίνου τὸ αὐταρκες μίξας ὡσαύτως κροκίδα προστίθει. ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ. σιβαπίδα ξηρὰν λίαν, μίσγε ῥοδίνῳ μύρῳ καὶ ποιήσας κρᾶμα δεύσας κροκίδα πρόσθεες. ἄλλο ἀπουλωτικόν· ψοῦ ὀπτοῦ λέκιθους καὶ σεσέλεως καὶ ῥοδίνου μίξας χρῶ. , αροδ' [1174] Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας καταψύξεις. Πρὸς τὰς ἐψυγμένας ὑστέρας καὶ διὰ τὴν ψύξιν στραγγουριώσας καὶ αἰμούσας καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πάθη διὰ ψύξιν συνιστάμενα ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ. Τερεβινθίνην, μνᾶν α'· νάρδου, μνᾶν α'· καλαμίνθης, ἥμισυ· ὄξους δριμέος, μνᾶς δ'· κόψας τοῖς ξηροῖς καὶ ἀναλαβὼν, χρῶ ἐν πεσσοῦ προστιθείς.	πίσης ὑγρᾶς, ἐρείκης καρποῦ, στέατος f. 11r χηνείου, ῥοδίνου μύρου προστίθει. β' ἄλλο· ῥητίνης στροβιλίνης, ῥοδίνου μύρου, τήξας ὁμοῦ προστίθει ἐν πεσσοῦ. γ' ἄλλο· ῥητίνης πιτυίνης ὑγρᾶς, μέλιτος βραχύ, ῥοδίνου τὸ ἀρκοῦν, τήξας προστίθει. δ' ἄλλο· ψοῦ ὀπτοῦ λέκιθον λειώσας ῥοδίνῳ χρῶ. ιζ' [15] Πρ(ὸς) τὰς τῆς μήτρας διαψύξεις. τὰς δὲ κατεψυγμένας καὶ διὰ τὴν ψύξιν στραγγουριώσας καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ πάθη τὰ διὰ ψύξιν συνιστάμενα ἐν τῇ f. 11v μήτρᾳ. θεράπευε δὲ οὕτως· Τερεβινθίνης, νάρδου ἀνὰ < α'· καλαμίνθης < σ'· ὄξους < α'· τὰ ξηρὰ κόψας ἀναλάμβανε τοῖς ὑγροῖς καὶ προστίθει ἐν πεσσοῦ ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τῆς μήτρας.

, αρογ' [1173] *For ulcers cleansed in the uterus. Apply after the cleansing:*

Wet pitch, heather berries, balauxtion; apply myrrh ointment in saffron [lac.10] at the opening of the uterus.

Another: On the cleansed uterus [lac.8], apply myrtle; melt rose myrrh [lac.8] and mix with saffron, then apply.

Another: [lac.8] Resin; wet spelt; honey [lac.8] of rose, mix to a self-sufficient ointment, add saffron similarly.

Another: For the same condition; very dry silphium, mix with rose ointment, make it into a paste, and apply as a little ball.

Another: healing ointment: Mix the yolk of a roasted egg, with sesame, and rose ointment, and apply.

, αροδ' [1174] *For cooling the uterus.*

For cooled uteri, and for those chilled, constricted, or blooded, and for all other conditions arising from cold within the uterus:

Turpentine, 1 mna; nard, 1 mna; calaminth, half a mna; sharp vinegar, 4 mnas; crush the dry ingredients, mix, and apply using a pessary.

A similar correspondence is evident in the treatment of breast ailments, as demonstrated below:

V	L
f.466 ^r , αση' [1208] Πρὸς τὰ τῶν μασθῶν πάθη ἥτοι φλεγμονὰς σεῦτλα ἐλαίῳ ἐψήσας ἕως τακῶσι καὶ λειώσας, ἐμβαλε τῷ ἐλαίῳ κηρόν, καὶ λύσας μίξον τῇ κηρωτῇ τοῖς λειωθεῖσι σεύτλοις καὶ ἐμπλάσας ἐπιτίθει.	μ' [38] Πρὸς τῷ <ν> ἐν τοῖς μασθοῖς f. 15v γινομένων παθῶν· μασθῶν φλεγμονὰς θεραπεύει· σεῦτλα εἰς ἔλαιον ἐψήσας, ἕως ἂν τακῶσι, καὶ λειώσας ἐπιβάλλε τῷ ἐλαίῳ κηρόν, κ(αῖ) ποιήσας κηρωτὴν σὺν τοῖς λελειωμένοις σεύτλοις κατάπλασσε.

, αση' [1208] *For ailments of the breasts, such as inflammations:*

Take fat suet, roast it in oil until it becomes soft and melted; add beeswax to the oil, mix with the softened suet, and then apply as a poultice.

Comparative examination further shows that the lacunae of *V* can often be restored on the basis of *L*, as, for example, in the supplementation of δια[*lac.*+4]κῶσιν with διαπυήσουσιν, or πρὸς τὸν κ[*lac.*+8] with πρὸς τὸν κύκλον. Conversely, errors or unclear readings in the Laurentian manuscript can be corrected by means of *V*, as in the cases ἀμαρακίνῳ ἢ κρίνῳ corrected to ἀμαρακίνῳ ἢ ἱρίνῳ, or ῥαβδύνουσιν corrected to βραδυνουσῶν. This mutual supplementation demonstrates the close genetic relationship between the two manuscripts.

At the level of structural organization, in addition to evident similarities, significant differences emerge with regard to cohesion, arrangement, and degree of completeness of the chapters. The Vatican manuscript exhibits greater stability in sentence structure and adopts a coherent style reminiscent of medical treatises of Late Antiquity and the Hellenistic tradition. The sentences follow a clear logical sequence, verbs have explicitly defined subjects, and participles are smoothly integrated into the syntax. Furthermore, the systematic use of conjunctions and organizational markers ensures a smooth transition from the description of symptoms to therapeutic instructions, resulting in a technical yet comprehensible style. By contrast, *L* displays a lighter and often fragmentary texture, marked by structural asymmetries, unclear verbal connections, and interruptions in the flow of the text. In several passages, symptoms are listed without clear sectional division, weakening internal organization, while the imprecise placement of technical terms creates interpretive ambiguity. Therapeutic sections are frequently incomplete, consisting of elliptical clauses lacking verbal nuclei, and transitions between units are abrupt and disconnected. Within this extensive text, particular interest attaches to the fact that in three chapters of *V* the name of Metrodora is explicitly mentioned, although from the overall comparison with *L* it is clear that the entire treatise belongs to her. Specifically, in f. 462r the chapters , αρπε' [1185] and , αρπς' [1186] appear, and in f. 506r the indication "From the potions of Metrodora," even though the corresponding texts are identical word for word with those already known from *L*. These specific parallel passages are presented in the following comparison:

V	L
f.461r ,αρπε' [1185] Πρὸς ῥοὺν γυναικεῖον λευκὸν τε καὶ μέλανα. Γυναικεῖος ῥοὺς, ῥευματισμός ἐστιν ὕστερας πολυχρονίου αἰσθητῶς ἀποκρινομένου ὕγροϋ λευκοῦ ὕδατῶδους καὶ ἐρυθροῦ ὕφαίμου καὶ μέλανος χωρὶς ἀλγήματος· ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ δυσώδους καὶ ποδῶν οἰδήματος· ὥς δὲ Μητροδώρα καὶ πόρους περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοὺς δὲ κανθοὺς ὑποχλῶρους ἔχει· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν· περὶ δὲ τὸ ὅλον σῶμα· γλίσχροι πυρετοὶ ἀτάκτως ἐπιγινόμενοι· παύεται τοῖνον οὔτω· φελλὸν ἐκ κεραμείου παλαισιότατον ἀνελόμενος, καῦσον εἰς κληματίδα καὶ τρίψας δίδου κο(κκους) β'· μετ' ὀξυκράτου πρῶτ' ἢ ἐν τῷ πεσσῶ μετὰ γυναικεῖου γάλακτος.	<ια> [9] Πρ(ὸς) ῥοὺν γυναικεῖον λευκὸν f. 9v καὶ ἐρυθ(ρόν)· ὁ γυναικεῖος ῥοὺς ῥευματισμός ἐστι τῆς ὕστερας πολυχρόνιος αἰσθητός, ἀποκρινομένου πλείονος ὕγροϋ ὕδατῶδους ἢ ἐρυθροῦ αἱματῶδους ἢ καὶ μέλανος, χωρὶς ἀλγήματος· ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ <με> τὰ ὀδύνης καὶ δυσπνοίας καὶ ποδῶν οἰδήματος καὶ πόρους περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. τοὺς δὲ κανθοὺς ὑποχλῶρους ἔχει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπόθερμον, περὶ δὲ τὸ ὅλον f. 10r σῶμα γλίσχρος πυρετὸς ἀτακτὸς ἐπιγενόμενος. θεράπευε τοῖνον οὕτως· φελλὸν παλαισιότατον ἐκ κεραμίου ἀνελόμενος κατὰκαυσον εἰς κληματίδα καὶ τρίψας δίδου κόκκους β' μετὰ ὀξυκράτου κύαθον α'· πρῶτ' καὶ ὁψὲ μετὰ γυναικεῖου γάλακτος· προστίθει ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐν πεσσῶ.

On white and black female discharge. Female discharge is a flux, that is, a chronic condition of the womb, in which fluid is perceptibly discharged—white and watery, red and blood-tinged, or black—without pain; at times, however, it occurs with pain, foul odor, and swelling of the feet. According to Metrodora, there are also pains around the eyes; the corners of the eyes appear somewhat pale-greenish, and the head is slightly warm; over the whole body there occur viscous fevers arising irregularly. It is treated as follows: take cork from a very old earthen vessel, burn it on a vine branch, and after grinding it give two grains, either in the morning with oxycrat, or administer it in a pessary together with woman's milk.

f.462v ,αρπς' [1186] Ἄλλο· ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας· στέατος χηνείου· βουτύρου· ῥητίνης· ἀνίσου· ἴσα λειώσας καὶ ἀναμίξας πεσσὸν ἐξ ἐρίου ποιήσας, ἐμβρεξον καὶ προσοδήσας ἐντίθει.	f. 7v βούτυρον καὶ μυελὸν ἐλάφειον καὶ στέαρ χήνειον ἢ ὀρνίθειον, συμμίξας ὁμοῦ καὶ ποιήσας πεσσὸν ἐξ ἐρίου προστίθει.
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Another [remedy], from Metrodora: Take goose fat, butter, resin, and anise; grind them in equal parts and mix them together. Make a pessary from wool, soak it in the mixture, bind it, and insert it.

f.506r ἄλλο· Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας ποτῶν Πρὸς τὰς ὠμοτοκούσας καὶ διαφθειρούσας τὰ ἔμβρυα καὶ τελεσφορούσας· Ἀρτεμισίας, < α'· λειώσας οἶνω· ἱρεως, κο() ἡμισυ· πινέτω νῆστις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας λ'· καὶ εὐτοκήσει.	f. 15v λ' [28] Πρ(ὸς) ὠμοτοκούσας γυναῖκ(ας). Πρὸς τὰς δὲ ὠμοτοκούσας γυναῖκας καὶ μὴ τελεσφορούσας τὰ βρέφη καὶ διαφθειρούσας τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἀρτεμισίας βοτάνης < α'· λειώσας σὺν οἶνω· εὐώδει δίδου πίνειν.
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From the potions of Metrodora. For women who miscarry prematurely, destroy the embryo, and fail to carry pregnancies to term: Take one unit of artemisia; grind it with wine; add half a measure of iris. Let her drink it fasting for thirty days, and she will give birth successfully.

This phenomenon naturally raises the question of why the scribe considered it necessary to record Metrodora's name within a work that, according to both title and content, is wholly attributed to her. Such a practice, however, is neither paradoxical nor unusual within the context of the Byzantine medical tradition. On the contrary, it reflects the manner in which medical texts were transmitted, copied, and recompiled. One plausible explanation is that these particular recipes originally circulated independently or were incorporated into earlier collective compilations, where the author's name was required for purposes of identification. When they were later integrated into a broader corpus of recipes already regarded as Metrodora's work, the corresponding attributions were mechanically preserved. Alternatively, these phrases may derive from marginal notes added by a scribe or commentator to indicate authorship; at a later stage of transmission, such notes were incorporated into the main text, as is attested elsewhere in the same codex.

Moreover, it is possible that these recipes were considered especially well known or effective, so that invoking Metrodora's name functioned as a mark of authority, in much the same way as references such as *ἐκ Γαληνοῦ* (from Galen) appear in other medical texts, even within works by Galen himself. Finally, this peculiarity may reflect different layers of composition within the manuscript and processes of gradual accumulation and rearrangement of material, a conclusion supported by the differing order of identical chapters in manuscripts *V* and *L*.

On the basis of palaeographical and philological criteria, the most probable explanation is that the indication *ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας* (from Metrodora) derives from the incorporation of older material into the text of *V*. In any case, the presence of the phrase does not undermine the unified authorship of the work; rather, it provides valuable evidence for the fluidity of the tradition and for the ways in which authority and provenance are articulated within Byzantine medical manuscripts.

4.4. Apograph and other Manuscripts

Several other manuscripts contain texts that are closely related to or are direct copies of *V*. Specifically, the manuscript *F* from the library of Leiden in the Netherlands is a paper manuscript, measuring 325 × 220 mm, composed of 14 folios³², and copied in the mid-16th century by Manuel Provatáris³³. The recipes in this manuscript are not numbered. The codex contains a variety of works, such as Heliodorus' *On Measures and Weights* (Ἡλιοδώρου, *Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*) and Pseudo-Democritus' *On Sympathies and Antipathies* (Ψευδο-Δημόκριτου, *Περὶ συμπάθειας καὶ ἀντιπάθειας*)³⁴. On ff. 8v–14v, we find gynecological recipes. For this section, manuscript *F* exhibits a nearly verbatim correspondence with the second collection of *V* (ff. 503r–509r).

While their exact stemmatic relationship remains to be fully investigated, their close textual affinity is clearly evident. This manuscript shows that excerpts of Metrodora's treatise circulated independently and were incorporated into various codices, attesting to the diffusion and use of her work in different manuscripts.

*Ambrosiana Mss. S 3 sup. (Mart.-Bassi 728)*³⁵ from the Ambrosiana Library in Milan is a paper manuscript composed of 176 folios (after the frontispiece) and dates from the late 15th to early 16th century³⁶. It contains medical and pharmaceutical texts, such as Aelius Promotus' On Poisonous Beasts (Αἰλίου Προμώτου, *Περὶ δηλητηριωδῶν ζώων*)³⁷, Nepualius' On Antipathy and Sympathy (Νεπουάλιου, *Περὶ ἀντιπάθειας καὶ συμπάθειας*)³⁸, and Pseudo-Democritus' On Sympathies and Antipathies (Ψευδο-Δημόκριτου, *Περὶ συμπάθειας καὶ ἀντιπάθειας*). On ff. 24v–69v and 128r–170v, there are two collections of gynecological recipes, which are completely identical in order, wording, and errors to those of codex *V*. This confirms that this manuscript is a direct copy of the *V* codex, as previously noted by Wellmann³⁹ and Ihm⁴⁰.

*Vat. gr. 1902*⁴¹, is another Vatican manuscript, written on paper and consisting of 434 folios (after the frontispiece). Its dating is placed between the late 15th and the late 16th century.

It contains various philosophical, theological, and literary texts. The only medical-pharmaceutical section is found on ff. 264r–274r. This section was copied by Manuel Provatáris, the same scribe who copied manuscript *F*. The writing here is characterized by speed and frequent corrections; the chapters are not numbered, and f. 267v remains blank.

The content of this section corresponds exactly to that of the *F* codex. On ff. 264r–267r there are gynecological recipes, followed on ff. 268r–270r by the treatise of Pseudo-Democritus, On Sympathies and Antipathies (Ψευδο-Δημόκριτου, *Περὶ συμπάθειας καὶ ἀντιπάθειας*). On ff. 270r–273v additional medical recipes for various diseases are transmitted. It is worth noting, however, that at the end of f. 273v the text breaks off abruptly, and its continuation is found on ff. 264r–267r, a fact that makes the rearrangement of the folios necessary. The correct order of the material is first f. 273r–273v, then ff. 264r–267r with the gynecological recipes, followed by ff. 268r–270r with the work of Pseudo-Democritus, and finally ff. 270r–273r with recipes for various medical conditions.

*Paris. gr. 2194*⁴² is a fifteenth-century manuscript of complex structure and rich medical content⁴³. On ff. 3–400v it preserves Books V–XIV of Aetius, followed on ff. 407v–431v by the Synopsis on Remediis (Σύνοψις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ) of Theophanes Chrysobalantes. Thereafter come various medical collections extending as far as f. 454r. The manuscript concludes with ff. 454r–464v, which contain the Book Containing Recipes Compiled by the Most Marvellous Euphemios of Sicily and Philippos Xeros of Reggio, the Marvellous Physicians, (Βιβλίον περιέχον συνθέσεις συναχθὲν καὶ παρὰ Εὐφημίου Σικελοῦ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου καὶ Φιλίππου Ξηροῦ τοῦ Ριγινιοῦ τῶν θαυμασίων ἱατρῶν⁴⁴) a collection of recipes attributed to these two physicians.

Of particular interest are ff. 461v–462r, where eighteen recipes concerned with virginity, pregnancy, and adultery are recorded. Of these, only eight can be identified with corresponding recipes in the work of Metrodora, while the remainder derive from another, anonymous collection found on ff. 33v–229v of manuscript *L*⁴⁵. The divergences between the texts are generally limited and consist mainly of secondary lexical or syntactic variations. This observation supports the view that texts, individual chapters, or pharmaceutical recipes with gynecological content circulated widely and were flexibly incorporated into medical collections, contributing to the formation of both extensive and more concise handbooks.

5. Content of the Treatise

Metrodora's *On Women's* records a wide array of medical and pharmacological prescriptions for the treatment of gynecological disorders. The author explicitly states that her goal is to make the work understandable and accessible to as many readers as possible. At the same time, she incorporates chapters of a theoretical nature, in which the etiology and physiology of diseases are examined. These interpretive sections are extensive, reflecting the author's deep expertise in both the theory and practice of gynecology.

5.1. Diseases of the uterus (Chapters 1–76b⁴⁶)

The treatise begins with an introduction stating its purpose. It then examines the causes and symptoms of uterine diseases and proposes therapeutic methods accompanied by detailed instructions. This is followed by an analysis of specific uterine conditions, such as hysterical suffocation (*πνίξις*), inflammations and abscesses, cancer, ulcers, edemas (*ἐμπνευμάτωσις*), dyspareunia, induration, prolapse, and “coldness” (*ψυχρότης*).

The text aligns with the Hippocratic tradition, in which the uterus is considered a central organ in female pathology. The wandering uterus⁴⁷ is presented as a living, mobile, and autonomous organ, capable of moving within the abdominal cavity, toward the diaphragm or the hypochondrium, causing crises, fainting, suffocations or aphonia, or other symptoms that today would be classified as neurological⁴⁸.

From examining the references, it is evident that Metrodora adopts and develops the theory of the uterus as an active cause of multiple female pathologies. Female nature is portrayed as fluid, unstable, and predominantly moist, vulnerable to flows and congestion (*ἐποχαί, ῥεύματα*). This view is interpreted within the humoral pathology of the period, according to which women are characterized by an excess of bodily fluids and a “cooler” and “moister” temperament, making them more prone to inflammatory conditions. Maintaining the balance of the humors is therefore considered essential for health. The treatise's theoretical background is purely medical and grounded in the theory of humors and the concept of bodily equilibrium.

5.2. Menstrual flow, secretions, and hemorrhages (Chapters 77–101, 104–113b, 221–222)

This section focuses on conditions related to menstruation, vaginal secretions, fissures, blisters, warts, and hemorrhages. The term *γυναικεῖος ῥοῦς* (female flux) refers to pathological discharge from the uterus, either whitish (*ῥοῦς λευκός*) or bloody (*ῥοῦς μέλας*, *ῥοῦς ἐρυθρός*). Descriptive terms such as *ὕδατῶδες* (watery), *ὑφαιμον* (blood-tinged), *μέλαινον* (blackish), and *δυσῶδες* (foul-smelling) indicate a clinical attempt to classify secretions based on visual and olfactory characteristics to assess the quality of bodily humors.

The association of these conditions with systemic symptoms, such as fever, lower limb edema, pain, and pallor, reflects the perception that disease affects the whole body rather than being merely localized. The detailed recording of symptoms demonstrates medical experience, further reinforced by therapeutic recommendations, such as *φελλός* (cork) and *ὀξύκρατον* (oxymel drink), aimed at regulating moisture and preventing pathological discharge.

5.3. Diseases of the vulva and issues of virginity (Chapters 102–103, 114–115, 118–122, 135–142)

This section focuses on pathological conditions of the vulva, such as hypertrophy or hyperplasia of the mucosal folds (labia), malodor, trauma, and warts, as well as treatments intended to preserve or restore virginity. It demonstrates detailed anatomical knowledge, referencing terms such as *περὶγῶμα* (labial folds) and *φῆμος* (frenulum), while the pathological description includes pain and inflammatory processes.

The clinical approach is empirical and involves targeted therapeutic interventions with pharmacological substances such as *ὕοσκάμος* (henbane), *κιμωλία* (chalk), and *μύρον* (myrrh). Regarding virginity, social and moral expectations are apparent, with advice on concealing its loss (*φθαρεῖσαν μὴ φαίνεσθαι*) and on modifying vulvar anatomy (*στενὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ αἰδοῖον*) to conform to ethical and social norms.

5.4. Pregnancy and Childbirth (Chapters 116–117, 192–196, 212–218, 224–226a)

This section is devoted to childbirth and includes pharmacological treatments and recipes aimed at facilitating labor, as well as therapies for managing the puerperium after delivery. The content reflects a systematic and well-developed gynecological theory. Clinical descriptions and therapeutic interventions demonstrate empirical knowledge, with a clear distinction of specific pathological conditions such as dystocia due to inadequate fetal descent, transverse presentation, acquired infertility after multiple pregnancies, and other childbirth-related complications. Postpartum inflammations are treated with combinations of astringent and emollient preparations.

Therapeutic measures rely on various local applications, pessaries, and oral medications, indicating both pharmacological and local interventions aimed at supporting normal anatomy and function.

5.5. Fertility, Conception, and Abortion (Chapters 123-134a, 182-191, 197-211, 219-220a)

This section examines fertilization and the management of female reproduction, including instructions for facilitating conception, both in general and specifically for producing offspring of a particular sex (*ἄρρεν/θῆλυ*, male/female). Treatments for subfertility, sterility, and contraception are also discussed. Although most chapters focus on pharmacological methods with abortifacient effects, such as pessaries, suppositories, and other devices, practical knowledge is not limited to medicinal methods. Apotropaic, magical, and folk practices are also mentioned, such as the use of amulets worn on the body and methods for predicting the sex of the fetus. This content highlights the integration of traditional and empirical knowledge within the gynecological practice of the past, emphasizing the connection between pharmacology, obstetrics, and social beliefs concerning fertility.

5.6. Diseases of the Breasts, Beautification, and Regulation of Milk (Chapters 143-181, 223)

This section deals with breast diseases, including inflammations, cancerous lesions, ulcers, and torsions, as well as the corresponding therapeutic practices. Methods for pain relief, treatment of induration, dissolution of hardened areas, and techniques of cauterization, drying, cleansing, and local sterilization of the skin are described. These practices reveal an understanding of the pathophysiology of breast conditions and empirical skill in treatment, based on the theory of hot-cold and wet-dry qualities of the body. Special emphasis is given to the regulation of milk through pharmacological recipes and dietary guidelines, either to increase or suppress lactation, using warming, cooling, or astringent substances. Instructions are also provided for breast beautification and care, as well as for addressing breastfeeding difficulties such as edema and engorgement. The section concludes with a reference to the aesthetic ideals of the period, which associate small and firm breasts with virginity, youth, and socially desirable femininity.

6. Conclusion

The present study has highlighted the need to reassess Metrodora's medical treatise, which can no longer be regarded as a text known from a single manuscript witness. The use of additional codices, and especially *V* and *F* together with their copies, makes it possible to restore a more extensive and more coherent form of the text and opens new perspectives for its philological study and critical edition⁴⁹. Of particular importance is the testimony of the title *Μητροδόρας ἱατρίνας, Γυναικείων* in *V*, which provides a clearer picture of the nature, scope, and structure of the work.

The analysis of individual passages, such as the one concerning uterine prolapse, has shown that *V* preserves material previously unknown, which does not constitute a

random addition but is organically integrated into the treatise's line of reasoning and enriches the interpretation of pathological phenomena. The invocation of Theodore's views reveals the manner in which Metrodora draws upon earlier medical knowledge and creatively incorporates it into her work. The possible identification of the Theodore mentioned with Theodore Priscianus, although it cannot be demonstrated with absolute certainty, offers a useful chronological point of reference for the composition of the treatise and strengthens its placement in the early Byzantine period. Overall, the present study advances the investigation of the manuscript tradition of the *Γυναικείων* and underscores the necessity of a new critical edition based on the full range of surviving witnesses. To fulfill this essential prospect, the preparation of such an edition is already underway, constituting the immediate next objective of our ongoing research. Ultimately, this endeavor will redefine Metrodora's place in the history of medicine and medical literature, since her work constitutes a sophisticated synthesis of humoral theory, practical gynecology, obstetrics, pharmacology, and women's healthcare.

Overview of the Arrangement of Metrodora's Recipes

The table below lists the recipes from Metrodora's treatise *On Women's* as found in the manuscripts *L*, *V*, and *F*. The symbol ✓ indicates the presence of a recipe without numbering.

Table 1

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
1.	Περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑστέραν συμβαινόντων παθῶν	<i>On the Afflictions that Occur in Connection with the Womb</i>	⟨α'⟩ [1]	,αρμγ' [1143]	—
2.	Πρὸς ὑστερικὴν πνίγα	<i>For hysterical suffocation</i>	β'	,αρμδ' [1144]	—
2a.	Πρὸς μὲν τὰς ὑστέρας, ἐπιτιθέναι ἔριον	<i>For the wombs, apply wool</i>	✓	✓	—
2b.	Πρὸς μὲν τὰς ῥίνας ἐπιτιθέναι τὰ εὐώδη	<i>For the nostrils, apply fragrant substances.</i>	✓	✓	—
2c.	Πρὸς δὲ τὴν οὐρήθραν προστίθει	<i>For the urethra, apply</i>	✓	✓	—
3.	Ὅσφραντὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀφώνους γινομένης	<i>Aromatics for women who become voiceless (aphonic)</i>	γ' [2]	,αρμε' [1145]	—
4.	Ὅσφραντὰ πρὸς ὑστερικὰς πνίγας καὶ ἐν ἐσχαρωτάτῳ κινδύνῳ	<i>Aromatics for hysterical suffocation, even in the most extreme danger</i>	✓	,αρμς' [1146]	—
4a.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
4b.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
4c.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
5.	Ποτήματα πρὸς ὑστερικὴν πνίγα	<i>Drinks (potions) for hysterical suffocation</i>	[3]	,αρμζ´ [1147]	—
5a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
5b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—
5c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
6	Πταρμικά πρὸς ὑστερικὴν πνίγα	<i>Sneezing agents (sternutatories) for hysterical suffocation</i>	—	✓	—
7	Τὸ μέλαν φάρμακον	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
8.	Ἐξ πεσσοὶ πρὸς ὑστερικὴν πνιγάδα καὶ ἀφωνίαν·	<i>Six pessaries for hysterical suffocation and loss of voice.</i>	—	,αρμη´ [1148]	—
9.	Πρὸς ἀναδρομὴν μήτρας, εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἄξει·	<i>For the retraction of the womb, to bring it back to its natural position.</i>	✓	,αρμθ´ [1149]	—
9a.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—
9b.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
10.	ἄλλο· Πεσσὸς πρὸς ὑστέρας	<i>Pessary for the wombs</i>	✓	✓	—
11.	Πεσσὸς ἀρωματικὸς ποιῶν πρὸς πνίγας καὶ φλεγμονάς καὶ παρεγκλίσεις καὶ πρὸς λελοιπιῖαν κάθαρσιν·	<i>Aromatic pessary, to make for suffocations, inflammations, displacements, and for cessation of the monthly discharge</i>	⟨ς´⟩	,αρν´ [1150]	—
12.	Πρὸς ὑστέρας τὰς ἐρηρεισμένον ἔχουσας τὸ στόμα	<i>For wombs that have their mouth closed and contracted</i>	—	✓ ,αρνα´ [1151]	—
12a.	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	,αρνα´ [1151]	—
13	Πρὸς τὰς ὑπογαστρίους πόνους νυττομένας	<i>For sharp, stabbing pains in the lower abdomen.</i>	⟨ς´⟩	✓	—
14	ἄλλος πεσσός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδοκίμῳ	<i>Another pessary</i>	—	✓	—
15	Πρὸς τὰς διὰ στέρησιν ἀνδρὸς πασχούσας ὑστέρας Πρ(ὸς) φλεγμονὰς μήτρας.	<i>For wombs suffering from deprivation of a husband (sexual abstinence). For inflammations of the womb</i>	✓ δ´ [4]	,αρνβ´ [1152]	—
16	Πεσσοὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας φλεγμονάς·	<i>Pessaries for inflammations of the womb.</i>	ε´	,αρνγ´ [1153]	—
16a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another [pessary]</i>	✓	✓	—
17	Πρὸς τὰς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα πασχούσας·	<i>For women whose whole body is affected.</i>	✓	✓	—
18	Πρὸς πόνον·	<i>For pain.</i>	—	,αρνδ´ [1154]	—
19	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας φλεγμονὰς καὶ δυσωδίας	<i>For inflammations and foul discharges of the womb.</i>	—	✓	—

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
20	Πρὸς φλεγμονὰς τὰς ἀπὸ ἐκτρώσεως·	<i>For inflammations arising after abortion.</i>	✓	,αρνε´ [1155]	—
21	Πρὸς φλεγμονὰς	<i>For inflammations.</i>	—	✓	—
22	Πεσσὸς μαλακτικὸς·	<i>Softening pessary.</i>	—	,αρνς´ [1156]	—
23	Πεσσοὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας παρεγκλίσεις·	<i>Pessaries for displacements of the womb.</i>	—	,αρνς´ [1157]	—
23a	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας παρεγκλίσεις·	<i>For displacements of the womb.</i>	—	✓	—
24	Πεσσὸς ποιῶν πρὸς ὑστερικὴν ἀποστροφὴν μήτρας	<i>Pessary for reversing a hysterical displacement of the womb</i>	—	✓	—
25	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ὀδύνας καὶ παρεγκλίσεις·	<i>For pains and displacements of the womb</i>	—	,αρνη´ [1158]	—
26	Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐγκλίσεις, ἄλλο·	<i>For prolapses, another</i>	—	✓	—
27	Πρὸς τὰ ἐν ταῖς μήτραις πάθη·	<i>For diseases within the womb</i>	—	✓	—
28	Πρὸς τὰς ὀδυνομένας τὸ ὑπογάστριον καὶ τὰ ὀπίσθια κοιλίαν καὶ μέτωπον·	<i>For pains in the lower abdomen, back, and forehead</i>	—	,αρνθ´ [1159]	—
29	Πρὸς τὰς ἐχούσας διεσπασμένην τὴν μήτραν	<i>For those with a ruptured womb</i>	—	,αρξ´ [1160]	—
30	Πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ χρήσει πασχούσας τὴν ὑστέρα·	<i>For those whose womb is afflicted during intercourse</i>	✓	,αρξα´ [1161]	—
30a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
30b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—
31	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἀλγούσας τὴν κύστην καὶ τὴν ράχιν καὶ χλωρίωσας·	<i>Another: For those suffering pain in the bladder, back, and who have chlorosis</i>	✓	✓	—
32	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἐκφλογώσεις καὶ ἀποστάσεις·	<i>For inflammations and abscesses of the womb</i>	η´ [6]	,αρξβ´ [1162]	—
33	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἀποστάσεις καὶ φλεγμονὰς·	<i>For abscesses and inflammations of the womb</i>	—	,αρξγ´ [1163]	—
34	Πεσσὸς πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἀποστάσεις·	<i>Pessary for abscesses of the womb</i>	—	✓	—
35	Πρὸς φλεγμονὰς·	<i>For inflammations</i>	—	✓	—
35a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
35b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
36	Ὑποσπίγματα πρὸς τὰς ἐν μήτρᾳ φλεγμονὰς· τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ποιήσας·	<i>Suppository for inflammations within the womb (prepared in this way)</i>	—	,αρξδ´ [1164]	—

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
36a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
36b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
37	Πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ ἐλμίνθων ὀχλουμένας	<i>For those troubled by worms</i>	ις' [14]	,αρξε' [1165]	—
38	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς ὑστέρας καρκινώδεις διαθέσεις· αἱ γίνονται οὕτως·	<i>For cancerous conditions of the womb, which occur as follows</i>	θ' [7]	,αρξζ' [1166]	—
39	Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῆς ὑστέρας καρκινώδεις διαθέσεις	<i>For cancerous conditions of the womb</i>	ι' [8]	✓	—
40	Πρὸς καρκινώματα	<i>For carcinomas</i>	—	,αρξζ' [1167]	—
40a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
41	Πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ ἔλκη ἀκάθαρτα	<i>For foul ulcers within the womb</i>	—	✓	—
42	Πρὸς πᾶν ἄλγημα γυναικεῖον καὶ χολέραν καὶ ὁδύνην·	<i>For any female pain, cholera, and suffering</i>	—	,αρξη' [1168]	—
42a	<ἄλλο·>	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
43	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἐλκώσεις· πρὸς τὰς τῆς ὑστέρας ἐλκώσεις·	<i>For ulcerations of the womb; For ulcerations of the uterus</i>	—	✓	—
44	Πρὸς πόνον μήτρας ἡλκωμένης·	<i>For pain from a ulcerated womb</i>	—	,αρξθ' [1169]	—
45	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἐν μήτρᾳ ἐλκώσεις·	<i>Another: For ulcerations in the womb</i>	—	✓	—
46	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ἐλκώσεις·	<i>Another: For ulcerations</i>	—	✓	—
47	Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ στόματος φλεγμονάς καὶ ἐλκώσεις·	<i>For inflammations and ulcers of the mouth</i>	—	,αρο' [1170]	—
48	ἄλλο· Ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπογαστρίῳ ὁδὸν ἐπιγίνεται·	<i>Another: When pain occurs in the lower abdomen</i>	—	,αροα' [1171]	—
49	Πρὸς ἔλκη ῥυπαρὰ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ δεόμενα ἀνακαθάρσεως	<i>For dirty ulcers in the womb requiring cleansing</i>	κγ' [20]	,αροβ' [1172]	—
49a	<ἄλλο·>	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
50	ἄλλο· Κάλλιστον ἀνακαθαῖρον·	<i>Another: An excellent cleanser</i>	✓	✓	—
51	ἄλλο· Κάλλιστον καθαῖρον·	<i>Another: Excellent purifier</i>	✓	✓	—
52	Πρὸς τὰ ἀνακαθαρμομένα ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ ἔλκη χρῶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν·	<i>For ulcers in the womb that have already been cleansed, to be used after purification</i>	✓	,αρογ' [1173]	—
52a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—
52b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
52c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
52d	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	—
53	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας καταψύξεις·	<i>For cooling of the womb</i>	ιζ' [15]	,αροδ' [1174]	—
54	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ψυχρότητας·	<i>For coldness of the womb</i>	—	,αροε' [1175]	—
55	Αἱ ψυχρὸν ἔχουσai τὸ αἰδοῖον·	<i>For those whose genitals are cold</i>	—	✓	—
56	Πρὸς κύστεως μύσεις καὶ φλεγμονὰς γινομένας περὶ τὴν μήτραν·	<i>For cystic swellings and inflammations around the womb</i>	—	✓	—
57	Πρὸς μήτρας φλεγμονὰς·	<i>For inflammations of the womb</i>	—	,αρος' [1176]	—
57a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
57b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
58	Κάλλιστον τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐψυγμένων τὴν μήτραν·	<i>The best remedy for chilled wombs</i>	—	✓	—
59	Πρὸς ψύξιν· ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν·	<i>For cooling, also works on men</i>	—	✓	—
60	Πρὸς ψύξεις καὶ φλεγμονὰς· ἔστι δὲ καὶ χαλαστικὸν·	<i>For chill and inflammation, also acts as a relaxant</i>	—	✓	—
60a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
61	Πρόσθετον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐψυγμένων·	<i>Add-on for chilled wombs</i>	—	✓	—
62	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἐμπνευματώσεις·	<i>For distensions of the womb</i>	ιθ' [16]	,αροζ' [1177]	—
63	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας ἐμπνευματώσεις·	<i>Another: For distensions of the womb</i>	—	✓	—
64	Πρὸς ἐμπνευματώσεις ὑστέρας·	<i>For distensions of the womb</i>	—	✓	—
65	Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ συνισταμένους ὕδρωπας·	<i>For dropsy within the womb</i>	κ' [17]	,αροη' [1178]	—
66	Ἐπίθημα πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ·	<i>Poultice for the same condition</i>	—	✓	—
67	Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ γυναικείου στόματος ἀποστροφὰς καὶ μύσεις·	<i>For reversions and swelling of the vaginal opening</i>	—	,αροθ' [1179]	—
68	Πρὸς ὑστέραν μεμηκυῖαν·	<i>For enlarged womb</i>	—	,αρπ' [1180]	—
69	ἄλλο· Πρὸς μεμηκυῖας ὑστέρας·	<i>Another: For enlarged wombs</i>	—	✓	—
69a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
70	Πρὸς τὰς σὺν φλεγμονῇ μούσας τὸ στόμα ὑστέρας·	<i>For swelling of the cervix with inflammation</i>	—	✓	—

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71	ἄλλο· [lac. 14] γινομένους φίμους	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
71a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
72	Πρὸς πτῶσιν ὑστέρας·	<i>For prolapse of the womb</i>	ιγ' [11]	,αρπα' [1181]	–
73	Πρὸς μήτραν πεπτωκυῖαν·	<i>For a fallen womb</i>	ιε' [13]	,αρπβ' [1182]	–
73a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
73b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
74	Πρ(ὸς) ὑστερῶν βραδυνοῦσῶν	<i>For delayed menstruation</i>	ιδ' [12]	✓	–
75	Πεσσὸς πρὸς πτῶσιν ὑστέρας·	<i>Pessary for prolapse of the womb</i>	✓	,αρπγ' [1183]	–
76	Πρὸς τὰς ἐν στοματικῇς μήτρας συνισταμένας αἱμορροΐδας·	<i>For hemorrhoids that form in the opening of the womb</i>	ιβ' [10]	,αρπδ' [1184]	–
76a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
76b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
77	Πρὸς ῥοὺν γυναικεῖον λευκὸν τε καὶ μέλανα.	<i>For white and black female discharge</i>	ια' [9]	,αρπε' [1185]	–
78	ἄλλο· Ποιοῦν πρὸς πάντα ῥοὺν·	<i>Another: Preparation for any discharge</i>	–	,αρπς' [1186]	–
79	Πρὸς ῥοὺν ἐρυθρὸν·	<i>For red discharge</i>	–	✓	–
79a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
79b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
80	ἄλλο· Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρας	<i>Another</i>	✓	✓	–
81	ἄλλο· Ποτόν	<i>Another: A drink</i>	–	✓	–
81a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
82	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥύσιν πολλήν	<i>Another: For abundant discharge</i>	–	✓	–
83	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ αἰδοίου ὑγρότητας·	<i>Another: For moisture of the genitals</i>	–	,αρπζ' [1187]	–
84	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥοὺν γυναικεῖον	<i>Another: For female discharge</i>	–	✓	–
85	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥοὺν·	<i>Another: For discharge</i>	–	✓	–
86	ἄλλο· Πόμα	<i>Another: A potion</i>	–	✓	–
87	Πρὸς τὰς πεπωρωμένας μήτρας χυμοῦ κολλώδους·	<i>For calloused wombs with thickened fluid</i>	κα' [18]	,αρπη' [1188]	–
87a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	–
87b	ἄλλο· Πότιμον	<i>Another: Drinkable</i>	–	✓	–
88	Πεσσοὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ μήτρας αἱμορραγίας·	<i>Pessaries for uterine bleeding</i>	–	,αρπθ' [1189]	–

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88a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
89	Πρὸς αἰμορραγίας μήτρας·	<i>For uterine hemorrhage</i>	—	✓	—
89a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
90	ἄλλο· Πρὸς αἰμορραγούσας μήτρας·	<i>Another: For bleeding wombs</i>	—	✓	—
91	ἄλλο· Ἐξ ἱερατικοῦ τόμου·	<i>Another: From sacred text</i>	—	✓	—
91a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
92	Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ μήτρας αἰμορραγίας·	<i>For uterine hemorrhages</i>	—	,αρχ' [1190]	—
92a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
92b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
92c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
92d	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
93	ἄλλο· Πρὸς καθύγρους γυναῖκας ὅσαι ἐν ὕγροϊς ἐστὶν ἡ ὑστέρα	<i>Another: For moist women whose wombs are watery</i>	κβ' [19]	✓	—
94	Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοκετοῦ αἰμορραγίας·	<i>For postpartum hemorrhages</i>	—	✓	—
95	Ἐπίχρισμα πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας αἰμορραγίας	<i>Topical application for uterine bleeding</i>	—	,αρχ'α' [1191] and ,αυθ' [1409]	✓
95a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
95b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
96	Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τοκετοῦ αἰμορραγίας·	<i>For postpartum hemorrhage</i>	—	,αρχ'β' [1192] and ✓	✓
97	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	om. and ✓	✓
98	ἄλλο· Πεσσός	<i>Another: Pessary</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
99	Πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ	<i>For the same conditions</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
100	ἄλλο· Πεσσὸς πρὸς αἰμορραγίαν·	<i>Another: Pessary for hemorrhage</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
101	ἄλλο· Πεσσός	<i>Another: Pessary</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓

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102	Πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τοκετοῦ ῥήξεις τοῦ αἰδοίου	<i>For ruptures of the vagina after childbirth</i>	–	✓ ,αι' [1410]	✓
103	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ γυναικείῳ αἰδοίῳ ἕλκη·	<i>Another: For ulcers in the female genitals</i>	–	✓ and ,αια' [1411]	✓
104	Πρὸς τὰς τῶν καταμηνίων πλείους διαφορὰς	<i>For many disorders of menstruation</i>	–	,αρηγ' [1193] and ,αιιβ' [1412]	✓
104a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
104b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
104c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
105	Ποτὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν καταμηνίων ἀμέτρους πορὰς·	<i>Drinks for excessive menstrual flow</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
105a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
105b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
106	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἀποφθορίου ἠλκωμένας μήτρας·	<i>Another: For ulcerated wombs due to retained waste</i>	–	✓ ,αιγ' [1413]	✓
107	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἐν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλκώσεις καὶ σκληρίας·	<i>Another: For ulcerations and hardness in the womb</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
108	Ἐμμηνάγωγα καὶ αἵμαγωγὰ· πόσιμα καὶ αὐθημερινὰ ἄγων ἀλύπως	<i>Emmenagogues and blood-moving remedies, drinkable and effective on the same day without pain</i>	–	,αρηδ' [1194] and ,αιιδ' [1414]	✓
108a	Ἐμμηνάγωγα·	<i>Emmenagogues</i>	–	✓ ✓	✓
109	Πεσσὸς ἐμμηναγωγὸς	<i>Pessary for promoting menstruation</i>	–	,αρηε' [1195] and ✓	✓
110	ἄλλο· Ἐμμηνάγωγον τὸ καὶ ἐκβόλιον·	<i>Another: Emmenagogue and abortifacient</i>	–	✓	✓
110a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	✓
110b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	–	✓	✓

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111	ἄλλο· Ἐμπλαστρος εὐαγωγὸς ἐμέτων ἐντιθέμενη κατὰ τοῦ ὑπογαστρίου·	<i>Another: A plaster inducing menstruation (and vomiting, bloodletting), applied to the lower abdomen</i>	—	‘αρχὴς’ [1196] and ✓	✓
112	Ποίει φλεβοτομίαν, εἴτα κάθαρσιν	<i>Perform phlebotomy, then purging</i>	—	✓	-
113	ἄλλο· Ἐμμηνάγωγον·	<i>Another: Emmenagogue</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
113a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
113b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
114	Πρὸς ῥαγάδας·	<i>For fissures</i>	—	‘αρχὴς’ [1197] and ‘ανιε’ [1415]	✓
114a	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥαγάδας·	<i>Another: For fissures</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
114b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
115	ἄλλο· Ἐπὶ κονδυλωμάτων	<i>Another: For condylomas</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
116	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ τοκετοῦ τὸ ὑπογάστριον πασχούσας·	<i>Another: For problems in the lower abdomen after childbirth</i>	—	✓ and ‘ανις’ [1416]	✓
117	Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιρρήσεσθαι κοιλίαν ἐκ τοκετοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτου μελανίας·	<i>For preventing abdominal swelling and bruising after childbirth</i>	—	‘αρχὴ’ [1198] and ‘ανις’ [1417]	✓
118	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς τῆς κοιλῆς ῥαγάδας·	<i>Another: For abdominal fissures</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
118a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
119	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥαγάδας καὶ μελανίαν·	<i>Another: For fissures and bruising</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
120	ἄλλο· Πρὸς ῥήξεις γαστροῦ καθ’ οἴασθητοτοῦν αἰτίαν·	<i>Another: For ruptures of the belly from any cause</i>	—	✓	✓
121	Πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς πτερυγώμασι συνιστάμενα πάθη·	<i>For conditions occurring in the flanks</i>	—	‘αρχὴ’ [1199] and ‘ανιη’ [1418]	✓
122	Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πτερυγώμασι φίμους·	<i>For swellings in the flank</i>	—	‘ας’ [1200] and ✓	✓

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123	Φθόρια καὶ ἐκβόλια·	<i>Abortives and ejectives</i>	—	ἄσφα [1201] and ✓	✓
124	ἄλλο ἐκβόλιον· περιεχρισμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον συνουσίαζε·	<i>Another abortive: Sexual intercourse after applying to the genitals</i>	—	✓ and ἀσπιθ· [1419]	✓
125	ἄλλο ἐκβόλιον·	<i>Another abortive</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
126	ἄλλο Ποιῶν ἄχρι μηνῶν τεσσάρων	<i>Another: Effective up to four months</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
127	ἄλλο Ἐκβόλιον κἂν σεσηπὸς ᾗ·	<i>Another: Abortive, even if decayed</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
128	ἄλλο Φθόριον Μενάνδρου βασιλέως ἐνεργές·	<i>Another: King Menander's abortive, effective</i>	—	✓ and ἀσκα· [1420]	✓
129	ἄλλο· Ὑπόθεμα ἐκτρωτικόν·	<i>Another: Abortive suppository</i>	—	✓ and ἀσκα· [1421]	✓
130	ἄλλο ἐκβόλιον·	<i>Another abortive</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
131	Πεσσὸς φθόριος αὐθημερινός·	<i>Daily abortive pessary;</i>	—	ἄσβ· [1202] and ἀσκαβ· [1422]	✓
132	ἄλλο· Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ τιθέμενον·	<i>Another: To be placed on the navel;</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
133	ἄλλο· Φθόριον τιθέμενον κατὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ	<i>Another: Abortive agent placed on the navel;</i>	—	ἄσγ· [1203] and ἀσκαγ· [1423]	✓
133a	ἄλλο· [Φθόριον ἐντιθέμενον κατὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ]	<i>Another [Abortive agent inserted on the navel];</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
133b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
133c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
133d	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓ ✓	✓
133e	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	—

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134	ἄλλο· Ἀπαράβατον·	<i>Another: Inviolable (sure);</i>	—	‘ασδ’ [1204]	—
134a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	—
135	Πρὸς τὰς ἤδη διεφθαρμένας καὶ βουλομένας λαθεῖν·	<i>For those already corrupted (pregnancy ended) and wanting to hide it;</i>	κε’ [23]	‘ασε’ [1205]	—
135a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	—
136	ἄλλο· Κόρην φθαρεῖσαν μὴ γνωσθῆναι	<i>Another:</i>	✓	✓	—
136a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	✓	✓	—
137	ἄλλο· Κόρην φθαρεῖσαν μὴ φαίνεσθαι	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	—
138	ἄλλο· Πρὸς κλυσμα γυναιξὶ χαλαραῖς·	<i>Another: Douche for looseness in women;</i>	—	✓	—
139	Γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον στενὸν ποιῆσαι·	<i>To make a woman’s genital narrow;</i>	—	✓	—
140	Πρὸς τὰς τῆς μήτρας δυσωδίας·	<i>For foul odors of the womb;</i>	—	‘ασζ’ [1206]	—
141	Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ γυναικείου αἰδοῖου δυσωδίας·	<i>For foul odors of the female genitals;</i>	—	‘ασζ’ [1207]	—
142	Ἄλλο· Πρὸς δυσωδίας·	<i>Another: For foul odors;</i>	—	✓	—
143	Πρὸς τὰ τῶν μασθῶν πάθη ἥτοι φλεγμονάς·	<i>For diseases of the breasts or inflammations;</i>	μ’ [38]	‘αση’ [1208]	—
144	Ἄλλο· Ἐμπλαστρος ποιοῦσα πρὸς τὰς ἐν μασθοῖς ἀποστάσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀλόγους ὄγκους·	<i>Another: A plaster for abscesses in the breasts and unreasonable tumors;</i>	—	‘ασθ’ [1209]	—
145	ἄλλο· Ἡ δὲ αὕτη ρήσσει καὶ παρακολλᾷ·	<i>Another: This one bursts (opens) and draws together (heals);</i>	—	✓	—
146	ἄλλη Πρὸς τὰς τῶν μασθῶν σκληρίας·	<i>Another, for breast hardness;</i>	μβ’ [40]	‘ασι’ [1210]	—
147	ἄλλο· Μαλάσσουσα τὰς ἐν τοῖς μαστοῖς σκληρίας·	<i>Another: Softening the hardness in the breasts;</i>	—	‘ασια’ [1211]	—
148	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοκετοῦ μασθοὺς σπέργοντας καὶ ἀποθρόσκοντας	<i>Another: For breasts swollen and engorged from childbirth;</i>	μα’ [39]	✓	—
149	Πρὸς μασθοὺς ἐξάιρετον·	<i>Excellent for breasts</i>	—	✓	—
150	ἄλλο· Πρὸς φλεγμονάς μασθῶν·	<i>Another: For inflammations of the breasts</i>	—	✓	—
151	Πρὸς μασθοὺς ἀπὸ τοκετοῦ φλεγμαίνοντας·	<i>For breasts inflamed from childbirth</i>	—	✓	—
152	ἄλλο· Πρὸς μασθῶν πόνους·	<i>Another: For breast pains</i>	—	✓	—

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153	ἄλλο· Πρὸς μασθῶν ἀπόστασιν·	<i>Another: For breast abscesses</i>	–	✓	–
154	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς μασθοῖς φύματα·	<i>Another: For tumors in the breasts</i>	–	✓	–
155	ἄλλο· Πρὸς πᾶσαν διάθεσιν μασθῶν·	<i>Another: For any disorder of the breasts</i>	μδ' [42]	✓	–
155a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
156	ἄλλο· Πρὸς μασθῶν φλεγμονᾶς·	<i>Another: For inflammations of the breasts</i>	–	✓	–
157	ἄλλο· Ἐκ τῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ δυνάμεων· ἡ πάγχρηστος καλουμένη·	<i>Another: From Asclepius' powers called the universal remedy</i>	–	✓	–
158	ἄλλο· Πρὸς μασθῶν φλεγμονὰς καὶ οἰδήματα καὶ σκληρίας·	<i>Another: For breast inflammations, swellings, and hardness</i>	–	ἄσιβ' [1212]	–
159	Πρὸς τὰς ἐν μασθοῖς καρκινώδεις διαθέσεις·	<i>For cancerous conditions in the breasts</i>	–	✓	–
160	Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν μασθῶν καρκινώδεις διαθέσεις καὶ σπαργάντας·	<i>For cancerous conditions in the breasts and ulcerating growths (squirting tumors)</i>	μγ' [41]	✓	–
161	ἄλλο· Πρὸς καρκίνωμα καὶ συστροφᾶς ἐν μασθοῖς·	<i>Another: For cancer and twisted tumors in the breasts</i>	✓	ἄσιγ' [1213]	–
162	ἄλλο· Πρὸς καρκινώματα ἢ καλουμένη λιπαρὰ·	<i>Another: For cancers, called "the greasy remedy"</i>	–	ἄσιδ' [1214]	–
163	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὰς ἐν μασθοῖς χειρόνια ἔλκη·	<i>Another: For fistulous ulcers in the breasts</i>	–	ἄσιε' [1215]	–
164	Γάλακτα σπᾶσαι· Γάλακτος ἀγωγὸν·	<i>To promote milk flow</i>	–	ἄσις' [1216]	–
164a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
165	Γάλα πολὺ φέρεσθαι·	<i>To produce a lot of milk</i>	–	ἄσιζ' [1217]	–
165a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	✓	✓	–
165b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
165c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	μζ' [44]	✓	–
166	ἄλλο· Διὰ πολλῆς πείρας	<i>Another: Verified by much experience</i>	–	✓	–
166a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
167	Γάλα πολὺ ποιῆσαι	<i>To produce much milk</i>	–	ἄσιη' [1218]	–
168	Γάλακτος σβεστικά.	<i>Milk-drying remedies</i>	–	✓	–
169	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
170	ἄλλο· Γάλα ἀποσβέσαι	<i>Another: To dry up milk</i>	ν' [47]	✓	–

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171	Μασθοὶ ἐκ τοκετοῦ ἂν ὑδροῦσι.	<i>Breasts sweating after childbirth</i>	–	ἄσιθ' [1219]	–
172	Μασθοὺς τηρῆσαι μικροὺς καὶ αἰδοῖα παιδίων καὶ ἀνήβους φυλάξαι.	<i>To keep breasts small and children's genitals, and preserve youthfulness</i>	να' [48]	✓	–
173	ἄλλο· Μασθοὺς διατηρῆσαι μικροὺς	<i>Another: To keep breasts small</i>	✓	✓	–
174	ἄλλο· Τιτθοὺς κεχλασμένους ὀρθοὺς ποιῆσαι.	<i>Another: To make drooping breasts upright</i>	νβ' [49]	ἄσκ' [1220]	–
175	ἄλλο· Μασθοὺς παρθένων μὴ πεσεῖν	<i>Another: To prevent the breasts of virgins from sagging</i>	–	✓	–
176	ἄλλο· Ὡστε ἀνηβον μένειν	<i>Another: To remain pre-pubescent</i>	να' [48]	✓	–
176a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another: So that virgins' breasts not sag</i>	νδ' [50]	✓	–
177	ἄλλο· Ὡστε τοὺς χειροπληθεῖς μασθοὺς ὥραίους διαφυλάξαι καὶ μικροτέρους ποιῆσαι·	<i>Another: To remain adolescent</i>	νς' [52]	✓	–
178	ἄλλο· Ἀνήβους διαφυλάττειν καὶ ἀγενεῖους	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
179	Χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν καὶ τραχήλων νίμματα Χειρόμακτον ποιοῦν λευκὰς καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας·	<i>Wash for hands, feet, and neck; hand lotion to make hands white and soft</i>	ξ' [55]	ἄσκα' [1221]	–
180	ἄλλο· Χειρῶν σμῆγμα·	<i>Another: Hand ointment</i>	–	✓	–
180a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	–
181	ἄλλο· Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κεχρῆσθαι	<i>Another: One must know that he who is about to use it</i>	–	✓	–
182	πεσσὸς συλληπτικὸς	<i>Contraceptive pessary</i>	–	ἄση' [1408]	✓
183	Καταγωγὰ δευτέρων·	<i>Preparations for abortion</i>	–	ἄσκδ' [1424]	✓
183a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
183b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
184	ἄλλο· Πρὸς καταγωγὴν δευτέρων	<i>Another: For inducing abortion</i>	–	✓	✓
184a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
184b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
184c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
184d	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
185	ἄλλο· Ἐπὶ μὴ κάτεισι τὸ χοιρίον	<i>Another: When the afterbirth does not descend</i>	–	✓	✓
186	Εὐσύλληπτα· Πεσσὸς συλληπτικός ὁ <σα> τύριος καλούμενος	<i>Easily conceived; contraceptive pessary called “satyrion”</i>	κς´ [24]	,αυκε´ [1425]	✓
187	ἄλλο· Πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν in margine	<i>Another: For conception (in the margin)</i>	–	✓	✓
187a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
188	Εὐσύλληπτον ἀπαράβατον·	<i>Conception remedy, inviolable</i>	✓	✓	✓
188a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
188b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	κη´ [26]	✓	✓
188c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
189	ἄλλο· Ὡστε πᾶσαν γυναῖκα συλήσεται	<i>Another: So that any woman will conceive</i>	✓	✓	✓
190	ἄλλο· Πεσσὸς συλληπτικός	<i>Another: Contraceptive pessary</i>	–	✓	✓
191	ἄλλο· Εὐσύλληπτον	<i>Another: Conception remedy</i>	–	✓	✓
192	Πρὸς δυστοκούσας·	<i>For those having difficult births</i>	κθ´ [27]	,αυκς´ [1426]	✓
193	ἄλλο· Πότιμα	<i>Another: Potions</i>	✓	✓	✓
194	Κάτοχα ἐμβρύων ὥς μὴ τὰ κυοῦμενα εὐχερῶς ἐκβάλλεσθαι·	<i>To retain embryos so that they are not easily expelled</i>	λα´ [29]	,αυκζ´ [1427]	✓
195	ἄλλο· Ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρας, πρὸς τὰς ὠμοτοκούσας καὶ διαφθειρούσας τὰ ἔμβρυα	<i>Another: From Metrodora, for those who deliver prematurely and destroy embryos</i>	λ´ [28]	✓	✓
196	ἄλλο Κατάντλημα	<i>Another: Compress</i>	–	✓	✓
197	Ἀσύλληπτα καὶ ἄτοκα·	<i>To prevent conception and childbirth</i>	κς´ [25]	,αυκη´ [1428]	✓
197a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
198	ἄλλο· Πρινὴ ἐκκλησιάσαι	<i>Another: Before attending church (to prevent pregnancy?)</i>	–	✓	✓
199	ἄλλο· Διὰ βίου	<i>Another:</i>	✓	✓	✓
199a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
200	ἄλλο· Ἀσύλληπτον μηνιαῖον	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
201	ἄλλο· Ἀτόκιον	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓
202	Πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι εἰ γόνιμος ἢ ἄγονος ἢ γυνὴ ὡσαύτως καὶ περὶ ἀνδρὸς·	<i>To know whether a woman is fertile or infertile, and similarly for a man</i>	–	,αυκθ´ [1429]	✓
203	ἄλλο· Ἄνδρα γνῶναι εἰ γόνιμος ἢ ἄγονος	<i>Another:</i>	–	✓	✓

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
204	Γυναῖκα γνῶναι εἰ στεῖρα ἢ οὐ·	<i>To know if a woman is sterile or not</i>	λβ' [30]	,αυλ' [1430]	✓
205	ἄλλο· Προγνωστικὸν ἀνδρὸς, εἰ γόνιμος	<i>Another: Prognostic for a man, whether fertile</i>	—	✓	✓
206	Προγνωστικά τικτουσῶν εἰ ἄρρεν ἢ θήλυ τὸ τεχθησόμενον·	<i>Prognostics for pregnant women, whether the child will be male or female</i>	—	,αυλα' [1431]	✓
206a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another: In a cup holding water</i>	—	✓	✓
206b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	✓
206c	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	✓
207	Πρὸς ἀρρενοτοκίαν·	<i>For male offspring</i>	λγ' [31]	,αυλβ' [1432]	✓
208	Πρὸς θηλυτοκίαν·	<i>For female offspring</i>	λγ' [31] and λε' [33]	,αυλγ' [1433]	✓
209	Ἐπιγνῶναι γυναῖκα εἰ ἔφθαρται	<i>To recognize if a woman has lost her virginity</i>	✓	✓	✓
209a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	✓
210	Πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι κἄν ἔσχεν ἐν γαστρὶ·	<i>To know if she is already pregnant</i>	—	,αυλδ' [1434]	✓
211	Πρὸς τὰς τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις τικτούσας, ὕστερον τὴν γονὴν ἀπερευγομένας·	<i>For women who formerly bore children but now have ceased conceiving</i>	κη' [26]	,αυλε' [1435]	—
211a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another:</i>	—	✓	—
		...			
212	Κάτοχα ἐμβρύων.	<i>To retain embryos</i>	—	,αυμβ' [1442]	—
212a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
212b	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
213	Πρὸς δυστοκούσας κἄν ἢ πλάγιον τὸ παιδίον κἄν τέθνηκε.	<i>For women in difficult labor, whether the child is sideways (transverse) or dead</i>	—	,αυμγ' [1443]	—
214	ἄλλο· Γυναικὶ δυστοκούσα βοηθῆσαι	<i>Another; To assist a woman in difficult labor</i>	—	✓	—
214a	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
214b	ἄλλο	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
214c	Εὐτόκιον in margine	<i>Easy childbirth (in the margin)</i>	—	✓	—
214d	ἄλλο· in margine	<i>Another (in the margin)</i>	—	✓	—
214e	ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—

Chap. / Subchap.	Chapter title	Translate title	Laur. Plut. 75.3*	Vat. gr. 299**	Voss. gr. F 25**
215	ἄλλο· Ἀσύλληπτον	<i>Another; Contraceptive</i>	—	✓	—
216	Ἀτόκιον διὰ πείρας	<i>Prevention of childbirth based on experience</i>	—	✓	—
217	ἄλλο· Διὰ πολλῆς πείρας	<i>Another; Verified by much experience</i>	—	✓	—
218	ἄλλο· Ἀσύλληπτον	<i>Another; Contraceptive</i>	—	✓	—
219	Ἐκβόλια·	<i>Expulsive agents</i>	—	,αυμδ´ [1444]	—
220	Ἐκβόλιον καὶ ὠκυτόκιον	<i>Expulsive and quick-labor remedy</i>	—	✓	—
220a	ἄλλο	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
221	Πρὸς αἱμορροοῦσας	<i>For women with bleeding</i>	—	✓	—
221a	ἄλλο	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
222	Ἐμμηναγωγόν·	<i>Emmenagogue (menstruation inducer)</i>	—	,αυμε´ [1445]	—
223	Μαστοὺς ἀναυξεῖς φυλάσσει	<i>To keep the breasts unenlarged</i>	—	✓	—
224	Πρὸς παῖδα πολλὰ κλαίοντα·	<i>For a child crying excessively</i>	—	,αυμς´ [1446]	—
224a	ἄλλο	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
224b	ἄλλο	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—
225	Πρὸς παιδιά ἐκθαμβούμενα·	<i>For children who are frightened</i>	—	,αυμζ´ [1447]	—
226	Πρὸς παιδιά μὴ δεχόμενα μασθοὺς·	<i>For children who refuse to accept the breast.</i>	—	,αυμη´ [1448]	—
226a	Ἄλλο·	<i>Another</i>	—	✓	—

* The Greek numerals refer to codex Laur. Plut. 75.3; the numbers in angle brackets refer to Del Guerra's edition.

** The Greek numerals are given as they appear in the manuscript; the numbers in angle brackets represent the corresponding Arabic numerals.

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