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SOME UNPUBLISHED CYRANIDEAN MATERIAL IN MARC. GR. 512
(678): THREE ADDENDA TO MESHINI

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SOME UNPUBLISHED CYRANIDEAN MATERIAL IN MARC. GR. 512 (678): THREE ADDENDA TO MESCHINI⁺

In the early nineteen-seventies it was discovered that the work found in folios 239v-256r of Marc. Gr. 512 (678) [M] and entitled *περὶ ἰατρικῆς* contained a version of part of the medico-magical work known as the *Cyranides*. In 1983 Anna Meschini¹ edited those Cyranidean items found in this codex which are absent from the edition of Kaimakis.² She promised at the time a complete collation of the work which has still to appear. In 1991 I collated the whole of the Cyranidean section of M from photographs and, in doing so, came across three items which appear to have escaped her notice. I take the opportunity of editing them here. I number the new passages according to Meschini, adding in each instance the letter a. I have appended some notes on problems of interpretation and points of interest arising from them. The second additional piece is especially worthy of publication because of its appeal to historians of medicine. All three passages contain lexical items worthy of note and add to the already vast vocabulary of the *Cyranides*.³ The first also raises two serious textual problems which I hope that others may be more successful in solving than I have been.

⁺ I am grateful to Anna Meschini-Pontani for sending me a copy of her excellent edition of the new material from the Marcian *Cyranides* and to Dr M.Zorzi, director of the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, for supplying me with photographs of Marc. Gr. 512. N.G.Wilson has rendered me invaluable assistance by examining the original and saved me from numerous errors, particularly in the transcription of the *περὶ περιτερω̄ς* extract. My debt to M.Geymonat is acknowledged in the text, those to J.N.Adams, K.-D.Fischer, and A.Fountoulakis are acknowledged in notes 11, 13 and 14.

¹ A.Meschini, 'Le Ciranidi nel Marc. Gr. 512', *Atti dell' Accademia Pontaniana* n. s. xxxi, Naples, 1983, 145-77. On M see also my own article 'Marcianus Graecus 512 (678) and the Text of the *Cyranides*: some preliminary Observations' (*RFIC*, forthcoming).

² D.Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie herausgegeben von E.Heitsch, R.Merkelbach und C.Zintzen, Heft 76)*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976. An extract from the Marcianus had already been published in 1975-76, the chapter on the eagle, which Meschini chose not to re-edit. See E.Gherro, 'L'Aquila nella farmacopea medioevale e Bizantina. Con testi inediti dal Marc. gr. 512', *Atti e memorie dell'Acc. Patavina di scienze, lettere e arti. Memorie* 88 (1975-6), III, 125-35).

³ See G.Panayiotou, 'Paralipomena Lexicographica Cyranidea', *ICS* 15 (1990), 295-338 and B.Baldwin, 'Cyranidea: some Improvements', *ibid.* 17 (1992), 103-07 who argues that Panayiotou somewhat exaggerates the novelty of the vocabulary of the work. An inspection of R.J.Durling, *A Dictionary of Medical Terms in Galen* (Leiden, 1993) lends some support to this view.

THE TEXTS

1) II. 3a περὶ αἰγός⁴

τριχιοντι τὲ (*sic*) μετὰ τὸ ἐλκύσαι τὰς τρίχας ἐπίχρια (*sic*)
 μετὰ χιλοῦ κράμβης ἕως ξηρανθῆι. καὶ τὸ δυσήκοον δὲ τῶν ὄτων
 ἐνταζομένη λύει. ἔτι δὲ τὴν χολὴν λόγος ἔχει καὶ ὄνειροπόμπιον
 αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐὰν ἀπο ἱεροθύτου λαβὼν †ἐνθίγει† τὰς παρειὰς ἢ καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῶν προσκεφάλων θήσων.

M 240 r-240 v (post Kaim. p. 120. 16 πτερύγια)

l. τριχιῶντί τε l. ἐπίχριε l. χυλοῦ ὄνειροπόμπιον *addendum lexicis*
 προσκεφάλων (cf. Kaim. I. 10. 24 AGHFR) θήσων *suspectum*

2) II. 25a περὶ κυνὸς νεογεννήτου⁵

διὰ τὸ κύχαντὸν καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀκμαζόντων τοὺς μίθους ἀπήτει.
 μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τελείαν ὑγίειαν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀχάριστοι γίνονται.

M 247 r (post Kaim. p. 147. 12 τῶι πάσχοντι)

τὸ: *litteram o in rasura scriptam conspexit Geymonat* κύχαντὸν i. q. *κιγκαντὸν*
 l. ἀπαίτει

3) III. 26a περὶ περιτερᾶς

ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπόπατος τοῦ ζώου θυμαντικός. χύματα δὲ καὶ
 ἀποστήματα καὶ παρωτίδας καταπλασσομένη διαφθείρει. ἄρθρων δὲ παρηγορεῖ
 πόνους ἐπὶ μετὰ ἀλφίτων λάβησι οἴνωι λεύκωι περιφυρωμένωι καὶ
 καταπλάσσει.

M 253 r (post Kaim. p. 226. 19 θεραπεύει)

l. θυμαντική? l. περιφυρωμένην uel περιφυρωμένων?: περιφυρώ *addendum*
lexicis, ut uid.

⁴ Four of the manuscripts used by Kaimakis (AGHF) have this as a heading for this chapter. Two (BP) agree with M while R has αἰγῶν ζώων and W and S have αἰγες. This information is presented in Kaimakis's apparatus in a characteristically bewildering and time wasting fashion (Cf. K. Alpers, *Vestigia Bibliae* 6 (1984), p. 61 n. 54 and Meschini, 146f.).

⁵ The section headed περὶ κυνὸς νεογεννήτου corresponds to Kaimakis's περὶ κυνὸς μικροῦ. This title is, in fact, if I interpret his apparatus correctly, attested by none of the manuscripts he uses: AGHF have περὶ κύνου μικροῦ, while O has περὶ κύου μικροῦ and WKS have κρότων (on this see Panayiotou [note 3], 321), the remaining manuscripts omitting the title. The Latin version (see note 8) entitles the chapter *de catulo*.

NOTES

1) II. 3a.

δυσήκοον: LSJ do not give medical examples for this word (they do for δυσηκοέω and δυσηκοία), but Sophocles's lexicon gives an example from Galen. εὐήκοος is found in the *Cyranides* (l. 19. 13), but it is used of a speaker with the meaning 'given a good hearing'. εὐήκοος occurs twice in the Hippocratic corpus: it is also found in the meaning 'hearing well or easily' in Galen (Gal. 17. 570. 13 Kühn).

καὶ ὄνειροπόμπιον αὐτήν: the bile on its own is capable of sending dreams (presumably prophetic ones since goats are noted for possessing prophetic powers).⁶ LSJ give several exx. of ὄνειροπομπός and one from the magic papyri of the noun ὄνειροπομπία. There is also a verb ὄνειροπομπεῖν. If correct, ὄνειροπόμπιον will be an alternative for ὄνειροπομπόν, a word which is variously accented in manuscripts. Though unnoticed by the lexica, ὄνειροπόμπιος is found as a variant in ps.-Callisth., *Hist.Alex.* 1. 8: καὶ δὴ λαβὼν (sc. Nectanebus) ἰέρακα πελάγιον καὶ τοῦτον μαγεύσας ὄνειροπόμπιον (A: ὄνειρόπομπον, L: ὄνειροπομπίαν, the rest of the tradition) ποιεῖ τῶι Φιλίππῳ. Kroll prints ὄνειροπομπίαν, but concedes that the other two readings are equally valid.

On dream-inducing in the Greek world and particularly in the magic papyri see K.Preisendanz, 'Oneiropompeia', *RE* 18. 1. 440-47, Th.Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* 2 (Leipzig, 1924), §§ 162-211 and †S.Eitrem, 'Dreams and Divination in Magical Ritual' in C.A.Faraone, D.Obbink edd. *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, New York and Oxford, 1991, 175-87 (especially 179ff.). They bear little relation to what is described here. For the inducing of dreams elsewhere in the *Cyranides* compare 2. 23. 10ff., 3. 1. 81, 4. 12. 5.

ἐνθίγει τὰς παρειὰς is clearly the reading of M as Nigel Wilson confirms. ἐνθίγει must be corrupt. A second person middle verb would be in place, but I cannot think of one palaeographically close to ἐνθίγει. One expects the run of the sentence to be 'do x to your cheeks ['smear', 'anoint', 'cover?'] with the bile (?ἐνχρήσις, ἐγχρήσις)'.⁶

προσκέφαλων must be an alternative for προσκεφαλαίων. LSJ's only instance of προσκέφαλον comes from the *Cyranides* in a passage where a plant is placed under a pillow to prevent the sleeper achieving an erection (l. 10. 24). A tin tablet is placed *beneath* a pillow in one magic prescription *PGM* 7. 740ff. (an instance of a self-induced dream).

θήσων: it is hard to account for a future *participle* here. Anacolutha are common in the work, but I can find no parallel for one such as this. Has the ending of the verb been assimilated to that of the noun preceding it?

⁶ cf. Cyr. 2. 3. 28f., 2. 4. 2 and Aelian, *NA* 7. 8.

2) III. 25a

This addition does not mark the beginning of a new sentence, but is tacked on to what precedes: ἡ δὲ κόπρος ξηρὰ λεία ἐν ποτῶι δοθεῖσα ἰκτερικοὺς καὶ δυσεντερικοὺς ἰᾶται. λαθραίως δὲ ποίει πάντα μὴ ὁμολογῶν τῶι πάσχοντι. This corresponds to Kaimakis, 2. 20. 9ff., p. 147:

ἡ δὲ κόπρος ξηρὰ λεία ἐν ποτῶι δοθεῖσα ἰκτερικοὺς καὶ δυσεντερικοὺς θεραπεύει. μετὰ μέλιτος δὲ ἐγγριομένη τῶι λαιμῶι καὶ τῶι σώματι συναγχικοὺς ἄκρωσ ἰᾶται. λαθραίως δὲ ποιεῖ⁷ πάντα μὴ ὁμολογῶν τῶι πάσχοντι. πινομένη δὲ ὑδρωπικοὺς ἄκρωσ ἰᾶται.

The Latin version⁸ here runs as follows:

fimus autem aridus tritus et in potu datus ictericos et dysentericos sanat. cum melle autem inunctus gutturi et corpori: occulte autem detur ad omnia, ignorante infirmo. bibitus etiam hydropicos perfecte sanat (113. 13-114. 1).

M. contains the variant ἰᾶται in the first sentence (such variations in phraseology from manuscript to manuscript are typical of the tradition of the *Cyranides*)⁹ and omits the sentences dealing with the curing of quinsy and dropsy.

διὰ τὸ κύχαντὸν: on the photograph the τὸ looks like τεῖ (this is how Nigel Wilson took it when I showed him the photograph) and the word following is not easily determined (κυλαντον or κυχαντον?). My own autopsy of M in January, 1992 did not settle the matter, but subsequently Professor Mario Geymonat was kind enough to examine the manuscript for me. He read διὰ τὸ κυχαντὸν, observing that the o of the τὸ was written *in rasura*. Nigel Wilson writes 'at the critical point either there is a rasura or the quality of the paper was sub-standard. The ink has spread, and this creates at first a misleading impression'.

κύχαντὸν is an alternative spelling for κικχαντὸν. It took me a long time to work out what it represents, largely because I was attempting to relate it to what follows rather than what precedes. διὰ τὸ κυχαντὸν makes good sense taken with λαθραίως δὲ ποίει πάντα μὴ ὁμολογῶν τῶι πάσχοντι, giving the reason why the treatment should be secret.

LSJ give one example of the adjective κικχαντός, Marc. Ant. 8. 24, adding 'etc.'. Lampe gives two examples, one of these in the spelling found in *Cyranides*, κυχαντήν (*Cyr. hom.*

⁷ I assume that this is a misprint (in his apparatus Kaimakis mentions the reading of R ποίει τὰδτα). Meschini (146) takes it as a choice of variant. There is no indication in the editio princeps (C.E.Ruelle in F. de Mély, *Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, Tome II i, *Les lapidaires grecs*, Paris, 1898) that A, the other manuscript used by the first editor, had ποιεῖ rather than ποίει.

⁸ On the Latin version, an early witness for the text, see my article "'Treading Birds": an unnoticed use of πατέω (*Cyranides*, 1. 10. 27, 1. 19. 9).' in E.M.Craik (ed.) *Owls to Athens: essays on Classical Subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, Oxford, 1990, 295ff., 297f. I cite it by page and line number from L.Delatte, *Textes latins et vieux français relatif aux Cyranides*, Liège-Paris, 1942.

⁹ cf. the observations in my article (cited in note 1) n. 15. Alternatively one might consider the possibility that M has, through parablepsy, accidentally omitted the words θεραπεύει. μετὰ μέλιτος δὲ ἐγγριομένη τῶι λαιμῶι καὶ τῶι σώματι συναγχικοὺς ἄκρωσ.

div. 14 (5² 412c).¹⁰ The family clearly emanates from the popular language ('Terme populaire et expressif', Chantraine s. v. *κυχός*). Phrynichus (198 Fischer) condemns *κυχαίνομαι* and strongly advocates *βδελύττομαι*. The verb is twice found in Epictetus, but is very rare in poetry (see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* II. p. 156). Forms in *κυ-* survive in MG (see G.P.Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary*, Sydney, 1979, 498 and Chantraine), e. g. *κυχαίνομαι*, *κύχμα*, *κυχασιάρης*, *κυχαμένος*, *κυχασιά*.¹¹

An interesting general point arises from this passage. Injunctions to secrecy in the administration of treatment are common throughout the work. The prescriptions often contain the words *λάθρα* or *λαθραίως* (1. 7. 13, 1. 10. 46, 1. 12. 7, 1. 17. 17, 2. 8. 7, 2. 15. 5, 2. 15. 7, 2. 15. 10ff., 2. 20. 11, 2. 30. 10, 2. 31. 9, 2. 40. 23, 2. 40. 35, 2. 40. 44, 2. 41. 20, 3. 1a. 16). One expects this kind of thing in a magic book (cf. also Alexander of Tralles, 2. 319, a medical writer prepared to adopt magical means of treatment, *κάρφος, ἢ λιθάριον ἢ κόπριον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄρας ἔνθεσ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ λύζοντος λαθὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εὐθέως παύεται* and Galen 12. 292 *ἀλλὰ τῆς κυνείας κόπρου ξηρᾶς λειώσας ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐνέβαλλε τῷ τοὺς κάληκας ἐναποβρεμένους ἔχοντι γάλακτι λανθανόντων*: the words that follow, however, suggest that this is not so much a magic procedure as a trade secret, *καὶ μόνους τοὺς γνησιωτάτους μαθητὰς ἐδίδαξε τοῦτο*). The injunction to secrecy, however, is never elsewhere accompanied by a reason (in instances when the procedure is for a malicious purpose or is intended to achieve erotic success,¹² the reason for secrecy may be regarded as implicit). Undoubtedly it needed none: secrecy was an essential ingredient of the spell. What we have here is a kind of rationalisation of a magical procedure.¹³

Incidentally, it is notable that Galen who objects violently to the drinking of human excrement, using the word *βδελυρός* to describe it (12. 249), is favourable to the drinking of (properly treated) dog excrement (12. 292).

καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀκμαζόντων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπῆται. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τελείαν ὑγίειαν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀχάριτοι γίνονται. The words *καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀκμαζόντων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπῆται. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τελείαν ὑγίειαν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀχάριτοι γίνονται* provide for the first time in a Greek source an example of a topic common in Latin medical writings of late

¹⁰ Du Cange has an entry under *κυχαίνεσθαι* which mentions the nouns *κύχμα*, *κύχμος*, and *κυχασιός*.

¹¹ I am grateful to my pupil Andreas Fountoulakis for information about MG usage.

¹² e.g. 1. 5. 23 (not innocent), 1. 10. 37 (malicious), 1. 18. 43 (love potion), 2. 5. 4 (inducing confession), 3. 7. 6 (love-potion), 3. 9. 19 (love-potion), 3. 22. 4 (love-potion).

¹³ I am grateful to J.N.Adams for enlightenment on this point. See chapter one of J.N.Adams, *Pelagonius, Veterinarii and the Language of Veterinary Medicine in Latin* (forthcoming) where he adduces, among other examples, Celsus, 4. 16. 2 and Scribonius Largus, 146 as instances of a magical formula being given a rationalistic explanation by medical writers.

antiquity and the middle ages,¹⁴ the need for the physician to make sure of his fee by 'striking while the iron is hot' and demanding it while the patient is still suffering.

Compare the advice given in the '*Epistola Yppocratis*', 9-11: *mercedem sine intermissione accipe, quia qui emere uult et donare, disponit mendicare. dum dolet, accipe, quia si cessauerit dolor, cessat et labor.* (See W.Wiedemann, *Untersuchungen zu dem frühmittelalterlichen medizinischen Briefbuch des Codex Bruxellensis 3701-15*, Berlin, 1976, 159-64).

An Arabic text which survives only in Hebrew translation¹⁵ is very close to the Cyranidean passage:

'Determine the fee with the patient when his sickness is serious and getting worse. Otherwise, when he is getting better, he will forget what you have accomplished for him.' (M.Levey, 'Medical Ethics of Medieval Islam with special reference to Al-Ruhawi's "Practical Ethics of the physician"', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n. s. 57. 3 (1967) 97 (the treatise is translated in an appendix 95-97)).¹⁶

Wiedemann also points to the antidote called *ἀχάρικτον* and the explanation of its name given by Marcellus Empiricus: *antidotum acharistum multiplex mirum ... et, cum dederis, accipies mercedis quodcumque; multi enim, qui cito curati sunt, ingrati extiterunt propter quod ipsum antidotum acharistum appellatur, id est sine gratia* (Marcellus, 20. 92).

Compare also the medieval poem *Regimen sanitatis*, 3459-62 quoted by Temkin: *ergo petas precium, patienti dum dolor instat:/ nam dum morbus abest, dare cessat, lis quoque restat;/ empta solet care multum medicina iuuare;/ si qua detur gratis, nil affert utilitatis.*¹⁷

3) III, 26a

θυμαντικός: a new sense? LSJ cite only from a glossary ('*animosus*'). Lampe gives one example where the meaning is 'passionate'. We need something like 'effective' here. (The entry θυμαντρία in LSJ referring to *PGM* 4. 2267 has nothing to do with θυμαντικός: Eitrem is certainly correct to interpret it as θυμάνδρεια, 'valiant').

περιφρωμένωι: unless this is merely a misspelling of περιφρομένωι, περιφρώω must be added to the lexica. περιφύρω is found in LSJ, but not in the sense required here. If the

¹⁴See O.Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, Baltimore, 1991, 223 and Wiedemann, 160ff. Practically all of the information and references relating to this topic set out here has been supplied to me by K.-D.Fischer. He is not responsible for the manner in which I have used it.

¹⁵ See Wiedemann, 163 who refers to M.Ullmann, *Die Medizin in Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung I Ergänzungsband vi. 1)* (Leiden, 1970), 224.

¹⁶ 'Lässt sich von vornherein für diese Bereiche unseres frühmittelalterlichen Textes und der hippokratisch beeinflussten arabischen Schrift ein gemeinsamer griechischer Ursprung vermuten', Wiedemann.

¹⁷ S. de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852-59) 5. 103: cf. also the version found by C.Daremborg, *Notices et extraits de manuscrits médicaux grecs, latins et français de principales bibliothèques de l'Europe* pt. 1 *Manuscrits grecs d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1853), 197: *cum dolet infirmus, medicus sit pignore firmus/ Ergo liberato dolet de pignore dato;/ Ergo petas precium, patienti dum dolor instat;/ Nam dum morbus abest, dare cessat, lis quoque restat./ Empta solet care multum medicina iuuare./ Si data sit gratis, nil confert utilitatis.*

ending is not corrupt, the reference will be to wine mixed with water. Since φυράω is normally used of mixing a liquid with a solid (see LSJ), it is much more likely that the reference will have been to the mixing of the barley or, perhaps better, the excrement itself with the (undiluted) wine.

ADDENDUM

In one of the passages from Marc. Gr 512 containing additional material from the *Cyranides* an instruction was given about the use of the goat's bile in order to induce dreams:

ἔτι δὲ τὴν χολὴν λόγος ἔχει καὶ ὄνειροπόμπιον αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐὰν ἀπὸ
ἱεροθύτου λαβὼν †ένθιγει† τὰς παρειὰς ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσκεφάλων θήσων.

In discussing these words I noted that the form of the word for pillow, προσκέφαλον, was paralleled elsewhere in the *Cyranides*. It is a variant at 1. 10. 24. This is the only example given for this form by Liddell and Scott. It is worth drawing attention to another example because the passage containing it bears certain similarities to this passage of the *Cyranides*. It occurs in the chapter *de paeonia* edited from Vat. Gr. 952 by the estimable J.Heeg in the catalogue of the Greek astrological manuscripts.¹⁸ As both Heeg and Klaus Alpers have pointed out, this material is essentially Cyranidean. There is considerable overlap with the material to be found in chapter three of book one of the *Cyranides* and there can be little doubt that what is presented in the *de paeonia* is a fuller version of what had originally appeared in that abbreviated Cyranidean chapter.¹⁹ The passage in question runs as follows:

ὁ τιθεὶς τὴν ρίζαν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφάλου αὐτοῦ κακὸν ὄνειρον οὐ
μὴ θεάσεται (170. 5-6).

Interestingly, this passage is also concerned with dreams and provides a parallel for the act of putting something on a pillow in order to affect the person's sleep.

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¹⁸ CCAG VIII. 2, 166-71. Heeg promised there an article dealing with the *Cyranides*: 'pluribus de Cyranidum Hermeticarum origine atque indole disseram propediem in Philologo'. Unfortunately it never appeared. I would be grateful if anyone has an explanation of why it did not or for any information about Heeg's Nachlass. This is one of three unfulfilled promises concerning the work. In 1865 Parthey informed the world that Hercher intended producing an edition (APAW 1865. 162). Festugière said the same of Louis Delatte, the excellent editor of the Latin translation (*La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* 1. 201. n. 1: I would be even more grateful to know whether Delatte had made any progress with this edition). If all of this had come to fruition, the task of the potential present-day editor or commentator would have been considerably eased.

¹⁹ So Heeg, op.cit. 166 and K.Alpers, *Vestigia Bibliae (Jahrbuch des deutschen Bibel-Archivs, Hamburg)* 6 (1984), 13-87, 20.

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ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἀπόπατος τοῦ ζώου θυμαντικός. This was the text I printed (*ZPE* 104 [1994] 36–42) when editing the third of the new texts which had been missed by Anna Meschini (III.26a from the section περὶ περιστερᾶς). In my notes I discussed the possible meaning that might be given to θυμαντικός. This discussion can now be disregarded. Looking at the photograph of M again I see that the word is clearly θερμαντικός and I cannot account for the fact that I originally read it as θυμαντικός. θερμαντικός does not occur elsewhere in the *Cyranides*: it is very common, however, in Dioscurides.

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