

Treatment by Medicine and Magic in Coptic Documents

“A Linguistic and Cultural study”

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**Treatment by medicine and magic in Coptic texts**” is written by me on the basis of my doctoral project experimental work in the Department of Egyptology and Coptic Studies, Georg-August-University Göttingen. All sources utilized in this thesis research work are properly quoted. In addition, I confirmed that this thesis is written by me and not under consideration in any other university for award of doctoral degree or any other degree.

Göttingen, 2021.

Dedication

I dedicate the successful completion of this thesis to my loving parents, my husband and children.

Abstract

This thesis examines the evidence for healing practices in the Post-pharaonic and Early Islamic periods in Egypt. It uses all Coptic medical and magico-medical sources in the IV-XI centuries CE. This thesis investigates the healing methods from various evidence: Coptic medical and pharmaceutical texts, Coptic magico-medical texts, private letters, legal documents and literary sources.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to this study. Chapter 2 offers detailed data on all medical sources, which constitute the main source of knowledge in term of diseases and methods of treatment. Chapter 3 examines all remedies applications and the use of each type. This chapter also examines the components and the effectiveness of each remedy with particular focus on the formulae in remedy use. Chapter 4 explains units of weights and measurements of drugs. This chapter also describes the various dry and liquid measure and the common abbreviations for each measurement. Chapter 5 provides a synoptic outline of all medical prescriptions and disorders that affected the human body. This chapter focuses on the symptoms and the diseases of the affected organs. It presents an overview of the surgical interventions, anatomy and physiology through the medical recipes. Chapter 6 affords an in-depth study of the use of magic as a method of healing. It begins with a discussion on the concept of magic and a general overview of Ancient Egyptian magic, and the relationship between magic and religion. This chapter deals with various categories of healing, ritual texts such as ritual manuals, amulets and prayers, in particular with regard to the diseases that were treated by magical procedures. Chapter 7 examines the different and unusual ingredients in medical recipes. Chapter 8 explains the monastic medical care system, and the healthcare institutions, with special attention given to the earliest monastic illnesses and healing writings such as the archives of the Monastery of Hathor's private letters, the letters of Pachomius, and the letters of Antony; in addition, the miraculous healing which took place in specific monasteries in Late Antique Egypt. Chapter 9 discusses the main medical professions and practitioners who are presented in medical sources and were involved in the medical care process. Chapter 10 summarises the main research findings of the study.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit untersucht die Belege für Heilpraktiken in der postpharaonischen und frühislamischen Zeit in Ägypten. Sie verwendet alle koptisch-medizinischen und magisch-medizinischen Quellen im 4.-9. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Darüber hinaus untersucht die Arbeit die Heilmethoden anhand verschiedener Quellen: koptisch-medizinische und pharmazeutische Texte, magisch-medizinische Texte, Privatbriefe, juristische Dokumente und literarische Quellen.

Kapitel 1 bietet eine Einführung in die vorliegende Studie. Kapitel 2 liefert detaillierte Daten zu medizinischen Quellen, die die wichtigste Wissensquelle in Bezug auf Krankheiten und Behandlungsmethoden darstellen. Kapitel 3 untersucht alle Typen und Anwendungsmethoden von Heilmitteln. In diesem Kapitel werden auch die Bestandteile und die Wirksamkeit jedes medizinischen Mittels untersucht. In Kapitel 4 werden die Gewichtseinheiten und Maßeinheiten von Drogen thematisiert. In diesem Kapitel werden auch die verschiedenen Trocken- und Flüssigkeitsmaße und die gebräuchlichen Abkürzungen für jedes Maß beschrieben. Kapitel 5 bietet einen zusammenfassenden Überblick über alle ärztlichen Verordnungen und Störungen, die den menschlichen Körper betreffen. Dieses Kapitel konzentriert sich auf die Symptome und die Erkrankungen der betroffenen Organe. Es bietet einen Überblick über die chirurgischen Eingriffe, die Anatomie und Physiologie anhand der medizinischen Rezepte. Kapitel 6 bietet eine eingehende Untersuchung der Verwendung von Magie als Heilmethode. Es beginnt mit einer Diskussion über den Begriff Magie und enthält einen allgemeinen Überblick über die altägyptische Magie und die Beziehung zwischen Magie und Religion. Dieses Kapitel befasst sich darüber hinaus mit verschiedenen Heilarten, Ritualtexten wie auch Ritualhandbüchern, Amuletten und Gebeten, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Krankheiten, die durch magische Verfahren behandelt wurden. Kapitel 7 untersucht die unterschiedlichen und ungewöhnlichen Zutaten in medizinischen Rezepten. Kapitel 8 erläutert das klösterliche medizinische Versorgungssystem und die Gesundheitseinrichtungen. Dabei wird den frühesten in Klöstern auftretenden Krankheiten und Heilung betreffenden Schriften wie den Archiven der privaten Briefe des Klosters von Hathor, den Briefen des Pachomius und den Briefen des Antonius besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Weiterhin thematisiert wird die Heilung durch Wunder, die in bestimmten Klöstern im spätantiken Ägypten stattfand. Kapitel 9 diskutiert die wichtigsten medizinischen Berufe und Praktiken, die in medizinischen Quellen vorgestellt werden und am Versorgungsprozess beteiligt waren. Kapitel 10 gibt eine Zusammenfassung der Forschungsergebnisse.

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Contents

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	12
1. INTRODUCTION.....	14
1.1 CONTESTED ISSUES	17
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	17
1.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES	17
1.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND AIMS OF THE STUDY	19
1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	19
2. SOURCES	21
2.1 PRIMARY SOURCES.....	21
2.2 COMPLEMENTARY SOURCES.....	32
3. REMEDIES IN COPTIC MEDICINE.....	38
3.1 ORAL ADMINISTRATION (ingestion)	40
3.2 EXTERNAL AND TOPICAL APPLICATION	42
3.3 INTERNAL APPLICATION AND RECTAL MEANS	60
3.4 INHALATION.....	62
3.5 DOSAGE AND TIMING.....	63
4. METROLOGY SYSTEM AND DOSAGE.....	67
4.1 DRY MEASURES	68
4.2 LIQUID MEASURES	75
5. MEDICAL RECIPES	81
5.1 PRESCRIPTION STRUCTURE	81
5.2 HEAD DISEASES	84
5.3 EAR DISEASESES	89
5.4 MOUTH DISEASES	90
5.5 DENTAL AND ORAL DISEASES.....	91
5.6 EYE DISEASES	97
5.7 STOMACH DISEASES	134
5.8 INTESTINE DISEASES	137
5.9 LIVER DISORDERS.....	146
5.10 ANAL DISORDERS.....	147
5.11 BLADDER DISEASES	150

5.12 GENITAL DISEASES	152
5.13 PSYCHOTIC DISORDERS	159
5.14 LIMBS DISEASES	159
5.15 BREAST DISEASES	163
5.16 SKIN DISEASES.....	166
5.17 DISEASE OR CONDITION THAT AFFECTS MULTIPLE ORGANS	193
5.18 INTERNAL DISEASES	211
5.19 GENERAL RECIPES	215
5.20 SURGICAL PROCEDURES.....	220
5.21 ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY	226
6. MAGIC AND MEDICINE IN COPTIC SOURCES.....	233
6.1 ETIOLOGY AND THERAPY	233
6.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAGIC AND RELIGION	236
6.3 RITUAL MANUALS	243
6.4 AMULETS	245
6.5 THE PRAYER.....	261
6.6 DISEASES TREATED WITH MAGIC.....	268
6.7 NAMES AND MAGICAL WORD IN MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS	294
7. UNCOMMON INGREDIENTS IN COPTIC MEDICAL TEXTS	297
7.1 PLANT RESOURCES	297
7.2 ANIMAL RESOURCES	299
7.3 INSECT RESOURCES	305
7.4 BIRD SUPPLEMENTS	307
7.5 REPTILES SOURCES.....	308
7.6 MAMMAL RESOURCES	309
7.7 MINERAL RESOURCES	311
7.8 AQUATIC ORGANISM	312
7.9 HUMAN RESOURCES	313
8. THE ROLE OF MONASTERIES IN MEDICAL HEALTHCARE	317
8.1 INPATIENT CARE OF COENOBITIC MONASTICISM.....	319
8.2 PRIMARY MEDICAL SOURCES FROM MONASTIC LIBRARIES	321
8.3 THE MONASTERY OF APA JEREMIAS.....	322
8.4 THE MONASTERY OF APA THOMAS.....	325

8.5 THE MONASTERY OF APA ELIAS	327
8.6 THE WHITE MONASTERY	327
8.7 THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS	327
8.8 OUTPATIENT CARE OF COENOBITIC MONASTICISM.....	328
8.9 ARCHIVES FROM THE MONASTERY OF HATHOR.....	331
8.10 THE LETTERS OF PACHOMIUS	332
8.11 THE LETTERS OF ANTONY.....	334
8.12 ILLNESS, DONATION AND HEALING	336
8.12.1 THE MONASTERY OF APA PHOIBAMMON	337
8.12.2 TOPOS OF SAINT COLLUTHOS.....	345
8.12.3 THE SHRINE OF APA MENA.....	349
9. MEDICAL PROFESSIONS AND NURSING.....	356
9.1 DOCTORS	356
9.2 NURSES.....	361
9.3 ELDERS AND STEWARDS	362
9.4 MEDICAL EDUCATION.....	362
9.5 PERSONS MENTIONED IN MEDICAL TEXTS.....	364
10. CONCLUSION	374
Appendix A	379
Inventory of Coptic medical texts.....	379
Bibliography.....	384

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACM</i>	Meyer, M.W., and Smith, R. 1999. Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power (Princeton)
<i>AcOr</i>	Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden/Copenhagen)
<i>AfP</i>	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete (Stuttgart/Leipzig)
<i>AJSL</i>	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago)
<i>ANEGM</i>	Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-roman Medicine (Leiden)
<i>ANRW</i>	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt (Berlin-New York)
<i>APF</i>	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete – Beihefte (Berlin-Boston)
<i>ASAE</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
<i>BASP</i>	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)
<i>BBA</i>	Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten (Berlin)
<i>BHM</i>	Bulletin of the History of Medicine (Maryland)
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
<i>BMMA</i>	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
<i>BMSAES</i>	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (online journal)
<i>BSAC</i>	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (Cairo)
<i>ByzZ</i>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift (München-Köln)

<i>CanJOphthalmol</i>	Canadian Journal of Ophthalmology (Toronto)
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Brussels)
<i>CH</i>	Church History (Chicago)
<i>CoptEncyc</i>	Atiya, A.S., ed. 1991. The Coptic Encyclopedia, 8 volumes (New York)
<i>CP</i>	Classical Philology (Chicago)
<i>CRAIBL</i>	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris)
<i>DChAE</i>	Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society (Athens)
<i>HURJ</i>	John Hopkins Undergraduate Research Journal (online)
<i>HTR</i>	The Harvard Theological Review (Cambridge)
<i>JA</i>	Journal Asiatique (Paris)
<i>JAmColCertifWoundSpec</i>	The Journal of the American College of Certified Wound Specialists (online)
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society (New York)
<i>JARCE</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
<i>JCoptS</i>	Journal of Coptic Studies (Leuven)
<i>J. R. Soc. Med.</i>	Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine (London)
<i>MDIAK</i>	

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde
in Kairo (Berlin)

<i>MIFAO</i>	Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
<i>MMAB</i>	Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (New York)
<i>MPER</i>	Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Vienna)
<i>Mus</i>	Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Louvain)
<i>OEAE</i>	Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt (New York)
<i>OpAthRom. Opuscula</i>	Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome (Stockholm)
<i>PGM</i>	Preisendanz, K. 1973. Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. 2 vols., (Stuttgart)
<i>Proc. R. Soc. Med.</i>	Proceedings of the history of the Royal Medicine Society of Medicine (London)
<i>RevEg</i>	Revue égyptologique (Paris)
<i>ROC</i>	Revue de l'orient chrétien (Paris)
<i>STAC</i>	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum (Tuebingen)
<i>Stud. papyrol.</i>	Studia papyrologica: revista española de papirologia (Barcelona)
<i>SudhoffsArch.</i>	Sudhoffs Archiv (Wiesbaden)

<i>TexHeartInstJ.</i>	Texas Heart Institute Journal (Texas)
<i>WdO</i>	Die Welt des Orients (Göttingen)
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Berlin)
<i>ZAC</i>	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum (Berlin)
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (Bonn)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: *O.Crum* 487.

Figure 2: Coptic medical texts corpus by numbers.

Figure 3: Medical texts by material and century.

Figure 4: Medical texts by century.

Figure 5: Remedies in Coptic medical texts.

Figure 6: A small hand-balance of bronze dating from the post-Pharaonic period in the Metropolitan museum of Art.

Figure 7: Internal organs of human body.

Figure 8: Anatomical organs.

Figure 9: Surgical instrument case.

Figure 10: Heid. Äg. Slg. Inv.-Nr. 491. Tweezers, from Qarara.

Figure 11: Yao Sabbaoth.

Figure 12: Drawing of a cock: ιc xc “Jesus Christ”.

Figure 13. SABAOTH SABA AO written within the ring signs.

Figure 14: Magical Wands or Knives.

Figure 15: Metropolitan Museum of Art, wand to protect the lady, Merisenb.

Figure 16: Doorjamb, Limestone block.

Figure 17: A group of chambers (perhaps a hospital).

Figure 18: Sandstone brick from Erment; About 6th-7th cent. CE.

Figure 19: Sandstone stele from Erment (?).

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the various treatment methods and medical texts and written in Coptic. The term “Coptic” designates the final stage of the ancient Egyptian language. Coptic was written in the Greek alphabet, supplemented by six or seven letters borrowed from the Demotic script and used by Egyptians in the text production between the 3rd and 13th cent. CE. It continues to be used by Coptic Orthodox Christians as a liturgical language. The probable origin of Coptic as a literary language lies in the translation of the Bible, Old and New Testament, from Greek into the local language of Egypt as part of the spread of Christianity from Alexandria into the provinces. Religious and literary texts were not only translated into Coptic, but also newly-composed in this language. In addition to these genres, we find legal, documentary and scientific texts in Coptic. To the latter belong forty-one pieces of medical literature datable from the 4th to 11th cent. CE. The overwhelming majority of these texts originated in Upper Egypt.¹ In addition, we have other sources of healing practices obtained from the documentary and literary sources from early monastic writings of health and illness from especially from three collections of letters, the archives of the Monastery of Hathor’s private letters; the letters of Pachomius, the founder of coenobitic monasteries in Upper Egypt; and the Letters of Antony.² Other sources of healing methods come from ecclesiastical literature, specifically donation documents which are full of healing and miracles narratives.³

It has long been known that the ancient Egyptians were advanced in medicine and practiced certain kinds of surgery such as suturing, skull surgery and setting of bones.⁴ Dentistry was also practiced as a branch of medicine. Additionally, the ancient Egyptians practiced a number of complementary treatments such as herbal medicine and aromatherapy, and had knowledge of the usage of essential oils and flower remedies.⁵ The roots of western medicine can be found in ancient Egypt about 5000 years ago. Post-pharaonic medicine was influenced by Egyptian and Greek remedies, as well as, after the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th cent. CE, by Arabic medicine. Our evidence for the medicine practiced during the Post-pharaonic period is reliant mainly on documentary evidence in the form of medical texts which were written on various media such as papyrus, ostraca, leaves of parchment, paper, and on walls (as dipinti). Preserved Coptic texts concerning medicine date back to between the early 4th and 11th cent. CE. Evidence of medical practices is also available in Coptic literary and hagiographical texts. The surviving documentation for

¹ Cf. appendix A.

² Sections (8.9); (8.10); (8.11).

³ Section (8.12)

⁴ The knowledge of surgical procedures is mainly obtained from the Edwin Smith papyrus, which contains the first example of suturing technique, trauma and joints surgeries. Ranke 1933; Sullivan 1996.

⁵ Nunn 1996: 156–160.

medical practices, however, is still so incomplete that a classification corresponding to that available for ancient Egyptian medicine has not been possible.⁶ Our evidence for Coptic medicine comes from scattered, and often not easily accessible publications of medical and magical texts. One of the objectives of this study, therefore, is to provide a survey of the documentary evidence for medical texts, and compare them with the ancient Egyptian, Greek and Arabic documentation.

The study of these medical texts gives us a close view of the daily life of the Egyptian population in this period. Furthermore, it unveils the main diseases that were common among the people and how they were treated them by using the medical recipes, surgeries, rituals, magic and religion. Medical recipes contain various types of remedy administrating remedies such as oral ingestion in the form of as pills, internal application as a pessary or paste, an external or topical application using powder, ointment, poultice or wrappings, or baths. In addition, remedies were also applied through fumigation (where the woman was required to sit or squat over the remedy), or even through inhalation or smoking. Each form of administration was recommended for particular diseases and was carried out according to specific instructions.⁷

Other sources for medical practices can include mythological texts, amulets, and spells. According to the ancient Egyptians, illnesses were the works of gods, issued as a punishment, or of demons as a form of vengeance. Therefore, those affected invoked either the deity or the demons in order to achieve healing. The diversity of sources provides us with information on how the various physical diseases faced by the ancient Egyptians were defied. A further objective of this study is to develop, for the Post-pharaonic sources a typology of the physical diseases, and their respective methods of treatment, whether by medical or magical actions.

While investigating medico-magical artifacts, it can be noticed that the majority of healing spells did not distinguish between magic, medicine, and religion. Furthermore, some amulets contain scriptural quotations such as the incipits of the four canonical Gospels, extracts form the Psalms and The Lord's Prayer. The act of prayer was especially prevalent in the monastic communities; even the private letters between the monks often contained a request for prayer in the case of illness, namely "pray for me, for I am sick".⁸

In this study, I analyse how some illnesses, namely mental disorders or demonic possession, were treated with magical means rather than medical treatment. This may be due to the fact that mental illnesses were not acknowledged as medical diseases and being possessed meant that there was a hidden spirit or diabolical power inside the body of the affected person.⁹ I also demonstrate that there were some diseases

⁶ Till 1951a: 5.

⁷ For example, P. Ryl. Copt. 106; Ch 74; Ch 228.

⁸ Such as (O.Vind.Copt. 363).

⁹ Kropp1930: 2.207.

whose treatment was shared between medicine and magic. By providing an extensive survey of the diseases that were treated with both medicine and magic, in order to recognise the differences between these methods of treatment are highlighted.

The hierarchy of Coptic doctors was not as clearly demarcated as that of the ancient Egyptians and there were no specialists for particular diseases.¹⁰ They were training doctors and masters, as well as ophthalmologists. There were also female gender doctors, who performed medicine in the monastic communities.¹¹ Such descriptions provide us with evidence of monastic care (precursors of hospitals) in the 4th and 5th cent. CE. A more definitive explanation concerning hospitals and curative organizations, including their medical staff and the concept of the private doctors is discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine. Andrew Crislip's name appears prominently in this thesis as he is the main scholar who provides us with a comprehensive explanation of the evolution of hospitals from monastic healthcare in Late Antique Egypt.¹² Crislip divides the Egyptian monastic communities into two types – *lavra* and *coenobitic* monasticism – and illustrates the forms of healthcare provided by each community. Monasteries are depicted as the main centers of medical care in Coptic Egypt. Medical treatment was provided by charitable foundations, hospitals, and infirmaries. Professional doctors and nurses were brought to the hospitals of monasteries to treat the sick people. They were the primary caregivers who provided natural and physical therapies. Furthermore, monks, elders, and stewards provided additional physical and spiritual treatments (section 3.9).

In this study, I highlight the medical material from monastic libraries, previously underestimated, which contain important information on a number of diseases and their medical prescriptions. I focus primarily on the medical resources from the monastic libraries of the White Monastery of Shenoute, the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga, the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, and the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. An emphasis is placed on the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, since this site offers us the earliest archaeological evidence of a monastic infirmary in Egypt. This infirmary provides us with a medical handbook, as well as medical inscriptions and a dedicatory inscription with the names of physicians. Moreover, I will discuss the relationship between illness, donation and healing, whereby a monastery would receive a donation gifted by the sick, and in turn grant a miracle healing. The monastery was active in this process because it was the key center of offering forgiveness and offering healing. This investigation is expanded and improved upon by researching the healing miracles of the holy *topos* and highlighting the types of diseases and the *materia medica* of these texts.¹³

¹⁰ Richter 2016a: 38.

¹¹ Kolta 1984: 166.

¹² Crislip 2005a.

¹³ (Section 8.12).

1.1 CONTESTED ISSUES

Our evidence of Coptic medicine comes from scattered and often not easily accessible publications of medical and magical texts. There is no one inclusive and comprehensive study that has collected all the available sources. In addition, there is no chronological study of the medical sources,¹⁴ in conjunction with what was achieved in the Pharaonic period. Equally important is that no scholar has previously studied the Coptic medical texts in a comparison of Coptic texts with magical sources that deal with medicine and healing. Thus, I believe that it is mandatory to comprehensively study every medical source gather them together in one study and compare them with the literary and magical sources. In addition, I will include a chronological study of the sources highlighting all the recent discoveries. Some of the texts contain no details concerning their date and provenance, hence it is difficult to determine the scribe of the medical texts and the types of diseases that appeared in some places more than the others. Many magical names, word and signs are still unknown and discovered with no available translation.¹⁵ Furthermore, I found that the Coptic medical texts contain many unusual and unfamiliar herbs. Finally, several publications contain the translations of the Coptic text and comments without the transcriptions and without photographs.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

While addressing the above-mentioned issues, the following questions are addressed:

From the available resource material, is there sufficient information on the diseases and their treatment methods; did the Coptic physicians use empirical reasoning when prescribing remedies; to what extent was Coptic medicine based on magical versus logical, scientific and empirical reasoning; did the magico-medical texts contain specific drugs; was the Post-pharaonic pharmacology vastly different from modern-day pharmacology; was the Coptic medicine influenced by Egyptian, Greek, and Arabic medical treatments?

1.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES

Previous studies on Coptic medicine mainly presented publications of the medical texts with their respective translations in separate articles. Several of these publications are now also extremely outdated. The main, longest medical text is the Chassinat Papyrus, discovered in 1892, at Meshaiikh, near the ancient Lepidotonpolis, and preserved at the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo. This papyrus is well

¹⁴ A very comprehensive list of Coptic medical texts is provided by Richter 2016a: 47–49.

¹⁵ In the field of magical texts, *The Coptic Magical Papyri: Vernacular Religion in Late Roman and Early Islamic Egypt* at the University of Wurzburg, which aims to provide a new edition for all magical texts, and magical healing [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/>].

preserved, and contains 237 medical prescriptions regarding eye, skin and abdominal diseases.¹⁶ Taken from monastic libraries, there are two leaves of parchment, which once formed part of a book, containing forty-five prescriptions.¹⁷ From White Monastery library we have a medical papyrus bearing page numbers 214 and 215, with eleven medical prescriptions for treating pain in the breasts and the genitals.¹⁸ Emerging from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, there are six parchment leaves from the sixth century with the page numbers 103-106, 111-114, and 135-136. They were probably parts of a medical book, containing medical recipes are sorted by specific herbal drugs to treat eye disorders, some gastrointestinal diseases, and diseases of internal organs such as the spleen, and liver. These parchment leaves are now in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen.¹⁹ The remaining studies can be found in a series of publications from various collections such as the Louvre Museum, Heidelberg papyrus collections, Berlin papyrus collections, the British Museum, and the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Some of these texts have been translated into the German language without Coptic transcriptions as in the case by Walter Till.²⁰ After sixty-three years from Till's study, Richter²¹ published a new Coptic medical texts P.TT157-470 and P.Heid. G 698(c), both of them considered the earliest known evidences of Coptic medical texts, dating to 4th/5th cent. CE. In addition, he published P.Carlsberg 500 (unpublished fragments) from 5th-6th cent. CE, and P.Louvre AF 12530 dating to 9th-10th cent. CE.

Furthermore, other scholarly articles concerned themselves with the medicine referenced only in Coptic literary texts.²² Once again Crislip's study is considered the main study that deals with hospitals' beginnings in Egypt with reference to the monasticism's ascension and health care institutions in late antiquity.

It is also noteworthy that other publications concerning Coptic magic, such as Meyer and Smith, only deal with magical texts without transcriptions.²³ Hence, my thesis is the first study to put together all available texts with their Coptic transcriptions and English translations in one study and compare them with the magical texts.

¹⁶ Chassinat 1921.

¹⁷ Zoega 1810.

¹⁸ Bouriant 1888.

¹⁹ Erichsen 1963.

²⁰ Till 1951a.

²¹ Richter 2014.

²² Amundsen 1982; Crislip 2006.

²³ Meyer and Smith 1994.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study has examined all available Coptic-language sources concerning medical practices throughout the late antique period to the early medieval age and those originating in all the geographical regions of Egypt. These sources are brought together in a comprehensive and inclusive study, which also incorporates all relevant Coptic magical and literary sources. This study is the first of its kind to gather and reproduce all primary sources texts in both Coptic and English. It also highlights all necessary Arabic medicinal terminology, and a transcription of the Arabic terms is provided. To the extent feasible, I have sought to provide the equivalent Demotic, Greek, and Arabic sources. Throughout this study, where possible, I have supplied the Arabic or Greek equivalents to the anonymous Coptic words in the medical texts, in order to understand the meaning of the recipes in question as exactly and completely as possible.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Following this introduction, the thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter 2 explores all available medical texts and provides a comprehensive description of all texts in Coptic related to this study. I have collected all available witnesses written on ostraca, papyrus, parchment, leather, paper, and also on walls. I have organised them chronologically from the earliest to the latest. Every source is followed by a comprehensive description including the material, provenance, dimensions, date, palaeography, bibliography and contents. Furthermore, I have included other medicine-related sources such as private letters, excavations discoveries and literary sources.

Chapter 3 focuses on remedy types in Coptic medical texts, pharmaceutical drugs, uses and methods, doses of the ingredients, and above all, diseases which could be treated with a remedy. It explores the various components of each remedy type and the differences between them.

Chapter 4 examines the weights and measures used in pharmaceuticals, and explores every unit and its common abbreviations. I have divided the measurements into two main types: dry and liquid measures. Each unit is followed by its abbreviation, etymology and modern equivalent.

Chapter 5 examines all medical texts by investigating all prescriptions and providing a complete description of all human organs and their specific diseases. All evidence from non-literary and literary sources is presented, in order to show the means and techniques used in the corresponding treatments and their effectiveness in healing. This chapter also discusses the structure of medical recipes and the features of medical documents. I have listed all available diseases according to the organs of the human body in order from top to bottom. The list includes various diseases affecting for example the head, eye, skin, limbs, and so on. In addition, it contains general prescriptions that benefited various body parts, and several diseases that did not relate to a specific organ in the human body, in an attempt to understand the symptoms

of these diseases and the affected organs. Moreover, this chapter provides a synoptic outline of the surgery system through the presentation of medical recipes, and presents an overview of the anatomy and physiology through medical recipes.

Chapter 6 analyses the herbs, magical names, magical signs and invocings of supernatural powers in the magical recipes. I explain why patients resorted to magical means to obtain healing, and how magical treatments were applied in order to obtain the desired results. This chapter provides an explanation of the categories of healing in ritual texts such as ritual manuals, amulets, and prayers; and delivers a complete syntax for each category. It analyses the drawings of amulets and their benefits in the healing process. It also provides an overview of the type of diseases that were cured by magic, compared to those that were treated with medicine, in an attempt to discover diseases that were threatening patients during that period in time and subsequently explore if there were diseases treated with both medical and magical procedures. This chapter provides an explanation for the most common magical names in medico-magical texts.

Chapter 7 deals with the unusual or unclear ingredients in Coptic medical texts, including the uncommon ingredients that were used only once in the medical material. Some medical recipes contain one or two uncommon ingredients; hence it is occasionally difficult to understand the exact meaning of the recipe at hand. I have divided these ingredients into various categories according to their basis of either plant, animal, insect, bird supplements, reptile, mammal, mineral, aquatic organism or human. These ingredients are found in both medical and medico-magical texts.

Chapter 8 focuses on the role of monasteries in medical healthcare, whereby medical treatments have been through the medical institutions of the monasteries the inpatient care in an infirmary, and outpatient care in individual cells. This role is clearly demonstrated through donation contracts; especially those contracts that involved children being donated to the monastery as a gift of gratitude due to a miraculous healing. This chapter will also underline the role of monks as healers, who used both herbal remedies and prayers to heal patients.

Finally, Chapter 9 provides details on the healing professions presented in medical texts and gives an overview of those persons mentioned and their role in medical practices. This chapter also provides an explanations of the medical education system and the most prominent persons mentioned in medical texts.

2. SOURCES

Various sources on ancient Egyptian medicine are accessible to the researcher.²⁴ By contrast, sources on Coptic medicine are limited. Our knowledge of the practice of medicine in the post-Pharaonic period is reliant on documentary evidence in the form of medical texts written on papyrus, ostrakon, parchment, paper, and as *dipinto* on walls. Analyses of these texts reflect the nature of medicine in both a magico-religious and medical context. Further sources include mythological texts, amulets, and letters. Conserved Coptic medical texts date back to between the 5th and 12th cent. CE. The surviving material, however, is still vastly incomplete, therefore a classification corresponding to that of ancient Egyptian medicine has not yet been made possible.

For this study, various sources of medical texts which are written on ostraca, papyrus, parchment, leather, paper, and also on the walls of monasteries, have been collected. These texts were discovered in various places in Egypt and the existent sources date back to between the 4th and 11th cent. CE.

The dates provided for the sources texts, outlined in the inventory, are obtained principally from Trismegistos²⁵ unless otherwise stated. Where other studies have been provided new dates have not been mentioned in the main body of publication, or in Trismegistos, these respective dates have been indicated in the information of this chapter's corresponding sources and in the inventory.

This chapter is an endeavour to provide an inclusive description of all available sources on Coptic medical recipes provided in this study. The following compendium provides information on the relevant medical texts. The sources are chronologically organised from the earliest to the newest. In certain cases, the provenance of the source text is unknown. Notably, all the sources are in Sahidic dialect and contain many Greek and some Arabic loanwords.

2.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

2.1.1 SOURCES FROM THE FOURTH & FIFTH CENTURIES CE

P.Heid. G 698c.²⁶ Papyrus fragment, Heidelberg, Pap.-coll. inv. G 698c, 2.9 x 5.8 cm. Based on its paleography it dates back to between the 3rd and 4th cent. CE, and belongs together with BKU III 396 and P.TT157-470 as one of the earliest-known Coptic medical texts.²⁷ The provenance of the text and its discovery are unknown. Medical drugs are only detailed in the last five lines. On its verso, the first line at

²⁴ Westendorf 1999, two volumes; Grapow, Deines, Westendorf 1954–1973, nine volumes; Nunn 1996.

²⁵ Trismegistos database [<https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php>].

²⁶ Richter 2014: 164–165 (no. 2).

²⁷ Richter 2014: 165.

the right edge is lost. Under the fifth line, there are no further traces of ink, hence one can see an edge and the bottom of a sheet in front of it.

The recto has a clear border at the top; the first line starts at the height at which the fifth line of the verso ends; remnants of a second line are still visible and the lower edge is not found; it seems that the top part of the page once existed. Richter²⁸ states that:

“This relation could indicate a small, landscape-format sheet with five lines on one side and two lines on the other side, such as a label. A second possibility would be that the impression of borders is caused by spacious spaces in the midst of the text, as they are not unthinkable in a recipe text, especially since the line endings obtained are quite different in length. It is not clear if that texts of the two sides belong together, and also not sure that the hand of the |-Side and the —-Side are identical (the forms of the Ny are similar, however, see Sigma, Omicron, and Ypsilon)”.

The verso contains a noun $\eta\pi\tau$ “wine” in line 5, which is probably linked to the indefinite article $\sigma\gamma-$, the Greek $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon$ “tragacanth” in lines 2 and 4.

BKU III 396:²⁹ Papyrus, Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv.22164, 5.5 x 13 cm, 4th-5th cent. CE. It is considered the second oldest Coptic medical document, and information on its provenance is unknown. It is written in bilingual Sahidic Coptic and Greek majuscule script. It preserves medical ingredients such as rubber, fresh rose, copper and calamine, and was intended to be used for an *ophthalmic* procedure. The name of the disease is missing.

P.TT157-470:³⁰ Papyrus fragment, TT157, Fj. 470, 10.8 x 8.2 cm, 4th-5th cent. CE. It is the third oldest Coptic medical document, and its origin is well known: it was discovered in 2006 in the pile of TT157 hall, which belongs to the tomb of Nebwenenef³¹ (the high priest of Amun) in Dra’ Abu el-Naga. It preserves six medical recipes concerning eye diseases. The papyrus leaf is damaged on all four sides. The text is distributed into two columns on each side of the same hand. The verso contains two columns; the first column contains the largest part of the recipe a total of 21 lines. The second column only contains single letters of six lines, and mixed language of Greek and Coptic. On the left section of the recto, there are the ends of 18 lines in the first column, and the right side contains 17 lines.

²⁸ Richter 2014: 164.

²⁹ Satzinger 1968: 127–128; Till 1951a: 113.

³⁰ Richter 2014: 156–159 (no. 1).

³¹ The tomb belongs to the early 19th Dynasty. For more details on the construction see Hofmann 2004: 51–53.

P.Mich. MS 136 p. 2-14:³² Parchment codex, Ann Arbor, Michigan MS 136, 4.125 x 4.875 cm, 5th-6th cent. CE. The codex from al-Faiyūm,³³ contains variety magical and medical recipes from a Coptic book bearing the page numbers 2–14. In professional hand, the dialect is a mixture of Sahidic and Greek loanwords, including spellings in Old Coptic and drawings. The recipes of this text concern dental diseases, ear disorders, digestive disorders, skin diseases, gynecological problems, mental disorders or demon possession, constipation, paediatric-related diseases, and hipe pain.

P.Mich. 593b:³⁴ Codex remains, University of Michigan, inv. 593b, 7 x 11 cm, 5th-6th cent. CE, unknown provenance. The text is distributed over two columns per page, 26 lines on the recto, the right column on the verso contains 24 lines, and the left column contains 25 lines. Recipes are characterised by a crown, but not persistently. The pages bear the numbers 167 and 168, and each page deals with particular medical recipes: page 167 deals with skin diseases such as wounds, thorns, heamorrhages, and swellings, and page 168, focuses on dental diseases and digestive disorders.

P.Mich. 593a:³⁵ Papyrus, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, inv. 593a, 7.25 x 9 cm, 5th-6th cent. CE, its provenance is unclear, it may originate from the south of Asyut. A one-sided sheet with writing upon only one side, which is in good condition. The first two lines are almost complete, but the remaining 16 lines have lost about a third of their length from the right side of the page. The dialect is Sahidic with Lycopolitan influences. The papyrus contains four incomplete medical and magical recipes, and one recipe against spleen disorders.

P.Carlsberg 500:³⁶ Parchment leaves, Copenhagen, Egyptological Institute inv. 500, each page measures approximately 9-9.50 x 8-8.50 cm.³⁷ It dates back to the early 6th cent. CE, and most likely originated in the Jeremias Monastery at Saqqara. It was bought in Cairo at the beginning of the 1930s by C. Schmidt. W. Erichsen published twelve pages, twice two double-leaf halves each of four consecutive pages: fol. A + fol. B, fol. C + fol. D), a paginated double-leaf half (fol. E) and the better-preserved half of an unallocated double leaf (bifolium F/i). The medical recipes are categorised by herbal drugs that were used against various illnesses of the eye, headaches, stomach conditions, urine problems, spleen, and liver disorders. Richter published ten pages (F/i vo, F/ii ro (Fragment), F/ii vo (Fragment), G ro, G vo, H ro, H vo, I/i ro, I/i vo, Blatt I/ii ro, I/ii vo). Since the parchments have been significantly damaged, these pages do not

³² Worrell 1935: 17–37 (no. 4); Meyer and Smith 1994:83 90_83–90 (no. 43); Pernigotti 1995: 3715–3717 (no. 21).

³³ Trismegistos. [<https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=92874>], (last accessed: 29.09.2019).

³⁴ Worrell 1935:187–92 (no. 6).

³⁵ Worrell 1935: 192–94 (no. 7).

³⁶ Erichsen 1963: 23–45; Richter 2014: 141; 183–189 (no. 4); 190.

³⁷ This small size probably indicates that it may have been carried by the physician when visiting patients.

present a coherent text or complete medical recipes but have preserved some herbal names with few details about these medicinal plants, such as fol. A vo 8–12 ἰωβηκόβη ἡκρίο(ν) ἐφρητ ἕνθενμα ἐγχοσε ἐρενεφσωβε ο ν σογρε “Wild Jōbēkōb: It grows on high places, its leaves are thorny”; and fol. G vo lines 1–4: πῆϰωβε ἐγωβκ ἐρεπεγστοι [ωη]ω ἐφρητ ἕν πεκ]ρο μπερο “The pumpkin; they are small (?) and their smell is the [sa]me. It grows on the bank of the river”.

2.1.2 SOURCES FROM THE SIXTH & SEVENTH CENTURIES CE

P.Sarga 20:³⁸ Papyrus, London, BL?, 6.5 x 8.5 cm, 6th or 7th cent. CE. A one sided fragment, discovered in Wadi Sarga,³⁹ with non-literary hand consecutively. It contains fragments of 10 lines in a sloping manners and includes one medical recipe. The text is on one side only with nine lines contain incomplete medical recipes against belly, foot, and fingers conditions, along with invoking magical formulae like calling Iaô, Iaô.

P.Ryl.Copt. 109:⁴⁰ Papyrus fragment, Manchester, John Rylands Library Copt. 109,⁴¹ 5 x 10 cm, 6th-7th cent. CE. The provenance is unknown. It contains a remedy for the face made of oil and other drugs with dissimilar uncials.

SBKopt. I 006:⁴² Papyrus, Vienna, ÖNB, Pap.-coll. inv. K 5595, 28 x 8.5 cm, 7th cent. CE, provenance is unknown. The papyrus contains 70 lines pf written text on both sides, and clearly structured by dividing lines between every recipe, however due to the poor state of preservation, the papyrus presents incomplete medical recipes and remedies such as oral remedies, powder, and collyrium, against spleen, skin, and eye disorders. (no photo)

P.KölnÄgypt. 12:⁴³ Papyrus, Köln, Pap.-Coll. inv. 5948, 9 x 8.8 cm, 7th cent. CE. From Al-Faiyūm. The papyrus contains nine lines in a practiced script in the Faiyumic dialect; there is a medical recipe for skin disease in the area of forearm.

³⁸ Crum et al.1922: 51–52 (no. 20); Till 1951a: 134.

³⁹ “Wadi Sarga is located in Middle Egypt on the west bank of the Nile 25km south of the contemporary regional capital, Lykopolis (modern Asyut)”. O’Connell 2014: 122.

⁴⁰ Crum 1909: 59; Till 1951a: 132.

⁴¹ Papyri.info. [<http://papyri.info/dclp/111287>], (last accessed: 03.10.2020).

⁴² Till 1951a: 130; Till 1951b: 69–81; Hasitzka 1993: 5–7 (no. 6); Buschhausen, Horak, and Harrauer 1995: 280–281 (no. 300).

⁴³ Weber (et. al.). 1980: 113; Schenke 2002: 101–117.

P.YCtBR inv. 3353:⁴⁴ Papyrus fragment, New Haven, Beinecke Library P.YCtBR 3553, measures 6.7 x 13.8 cm, is dated to the 7th–8th cent. CE. The provenance is unknown, but the title $\pi\alpha\sigma\omicron\nu$ which appears in the text and the *materia medica* indicates that it is from a monastery.

SBKopt. I 003:⁴⁵ Papyrus, Vienna, ÖNB, Pap.-Smlg. inv. K 5504, 17 x 7.5 cm, is dated to the 6th–7th cent. CE. The provenance is unknown. It contains a treatment against knocking $\kappa\omega\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta$, and some components such as white pepper, gum, nut, pistachio, rose apple and honey (see 5.17.6).

2.1.3 SOURCES FROM THE SEVENTH & EIGHTH CENTURIES CE

BKU I 27:⁴⁶ Ostrakon, Berlin, Pap.-coll., inv. P4984, 5.5 x 10.5 cm, 7th–8th cent. CE. The provenance is Thebes. The recto and verso both contain ten lines of text, with three incomplete medical recipes.

BKU I 28:⁴⁷ Ostrakon, Berlin, coll., inv. P 880, 6,5 x 5 cm, 7th–8th cent. CE. Bought in Thebes in 1859, it contains one medical recipe for spitting blood out of the mouth.

O.Crum 487:⁴⁸ (figure 1),⁴⁹ Ostrakon, London, EEF 151, 7.3 x 8.4 cm, 7th–8th cent. CE. Originating in Deir al-Bahari, the ostrakon is somehow well preserved. It is inscribed on two sides; the recto contains nine lines, and the verso contains seven lines. Despite the clearly visible black ink, the text is not complete; as the ostrakon is broken at the top. The text contains three incomplete medical recipes: the first a drinking remedy ($\lambda\pi\omicron\tau$), which ends with the third line $\varphi\eta\mu\iota\tau\omicron\nu$ “he shall relieve”; the second recipe contains some ingredients, that ate mixed with honey, and ends with $\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ “they will be healed”; and the third recipe contains a dog’s substance and other ingredients with $\pi\rho\alpha\mu\iota\bar{\nu}\iota\bar{\varsigma}$ “the name of Jesus”.

O.Mon.Epiph. 574:⁵⁰ Ostrakon, inv. no. 12,180.79, measurements unknown, 7th–8th cent. CE. It was found among the stacks of sherds at the monastery of Epiphanius in West Thebes and contains one medical recipe against the sickness of inner organs (bowel) and bleeding.

⁴⁴ Crislip 2006: 165–167.

⁴⁵ Till 1946–7: 43–48; Hasitzka 1993: 3 (no. 3); Buschhausen, Horak, and Harrauer 1995: 280 (no. 299).

⁴⁶ [Erman] 1904: 30; Till 1951a: 113.

⁴⁷ Stern 1878: 16, 20 (no. 8); [Erman] 1904: 31; Till 1951a: 113.

⁴⁸ Crum 1902: 82, (no. 487); Till 1951a: 129 (translation).

⁴⁹ I would like to extend my gratitude to Elisabeth O’Connell for her assistance in attaining the photographs as well as to Chrysi Kotsifou for functioning as a liaison.

⁵⁰ Crum and White 1926: 117; Till 1951a: 129.

O.Mon.Epiph. 575:⁵¹ Ostrakon, Cairo formerly Eg. Mus., inv. no. 44674.130, measurements unknown, 7th-8th cent. CE., it was found at the Monastery of Epiphanius in West Thebes and contains one medical recipe against a liver disorder.

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 49:⁵² Ostrakon, London, BM inv. 27422, 7th-8th cent. CE, 21.90 x 14.80 cm. It was found among the stacks of sherds at the Monastery of Epiphanius in West Thebes. On both sides it contains 58 lines in black ink and one medical recipe to treat a swollen eye.

IFAO 13315:⁵³ Ostrakon, Cairo, inv. no. 13315, dated to 7th-8th cent. CE. From the Monastery of Elias, West Thebes. It is a catalogue taken from the monastery library, and a “doctors’ book” is mentioned on line 36 of the verso.

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 37:⁵⁴ Ostrakon, London, BM inv. 50216, 10.50 x 13.50 cm, 7th-8th cent. CE. Originating in Deir al-Bahari, it contains four recipes against skin diseases.

SBKopt. II 1043:⁵⁵ Papyrus, Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv. 3262, 9.5 x 8 cm, 7th-8th cent. CE. Originating in Al-Faiyūm, the papyrus preserves a single column with nine lines of clear handwriting. The script is written in Coptic and Greek languages, and preserves ingredients that were used to treat eye diseases.

BKU III 329A:⁵⁶ Papyrus, Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv. 22061, 19 x 16 cm, 7th-8th cent. CE. Its provenance is unknown, and it contains prescription for wounds treatment.

BKU 393:⁵⁷ Papyrus, Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv. 22190, measures 14.5 x 16.5 cm, 7th-8th cent. CE. Its provenance is unknown, and it contains an incomplete medical recipe of various ingredients that are mixed with honey, and then applied upon the diseased area.

⁵¹ Crum and White 1926: 117; Till 1951a: 129.

⁵² Hall 1905: 64–66; Till 1951a: 129.

⁵³ Coquin 1975: 207–239.

⁵⁴ Biedenkopf-Ziehner 2000a: 281–286.

⁵⁵ Stern 1885: 41, (no. 11); Beltz 1978: 91, (no. I 522); Hasitzka 2004: 135–136). Richter mentions that *SB Kopt. II 1043* is published by (Buschhausen, Horak, and Harrauer 1995, 280–281, no. 300), but no. 300 corresponds *SB Kopt. I 006* not *SB Kopt. II 1043*. Richter 2014: 190; Richter 2016a: 48.

⁵⁶ Satzinger 1968: 32.

⁵⁷ Satzinger 1968: 125–126.

SBKopt. I 004:⁵⁸ Paper, inv. nos. K5506, 16 x 12 cm, dated to 8th cent. CE., the provenance is unknown. The text consists of six incomplete lines and one medical recipe concerning sleeping problems.

O Bachit 1170+1172:⁵⁹ Ostraca, 11,8 x 9,3 cm, unknown date, discovered at Deir el-Bachit (Dra' Abu el-Naga). The ostraca discovered during the joint excavations of the German Institute of Archaeology (DAT) and Egyptological Institute of the LMU Munich at Deir el-Bachit, the largest known late antique Coptic monastery in Western Thebes, dates to between 5th-9th century CE. The excavations have already yielded many important findings, revealing the economic life there.⁶⁰ O Bachit 117+1172 two pieces preserving seven lines are written in black ink, contain a medical recipe concerning a heart condition called Ⲣⲟϥⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟϥ “Ⲣ A heart that is like a whirlpool”.

2.1.4 SOURCES DATING TO SUBSEQUENT CENTURIES

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214-215:⁶¹ Parchment leaf, Paris, BN 132,5, fol. 1, 15 x 12 cm, 9th-10th cent. CE. It was discovered at the White Monastery (Deir el-Abiad), and bears the page numbers 214 and 215. It details eleven medical recipes against breast diseases, testicular and penis disorders, and for increasing breast milk production.

CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4):⁶² Parchment leaf, 12.4 x 11.5 cm, 9th-10th cent. CE. Originating at the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red sea, it preserves some medical prescriptions in Sahidic Coptic on both sides (flesh and hair sides). The script is divided clearly and some initials punctuation, division marks are written in red ink. It contains a recipe for treating skin diseases, swelling and tumors. The author describes the remedy which may use against swelling, by saying ⲟϥⲙϥⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲟ ⲟϥⲟⲛⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ “it is [a] mystery and a wonder”.

P.Louvre AF 12530:⁶³ Papyrus strips; Paris, Louvre AF 12530, 90 x 9 cm; 9th-10th cent. CE. Supposedly originating in Sohag.⁶⁴ Its front side (I) contains sixteen recipes and the beginning of a seventeenth; and its back side (-) contains ten more recipes and the continuation of the seventeenth. The inscription of the

⁵⁸ Till 1946–7: 43–48; Till 1951a: 129; Hasitzka 1993: 3 (no. 3); Buschhausen, Horak, and Harrauer 1995, 279–280 (no. 298).

⁵⁹ The ostraca available online, Koptische Ostraka Online: Koptische nichtliterarische Texte aus dem thebanischen Raum: [<https://www.koptolys.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/showOstraka.php?id=497>], (last accessed: 30.08.2021).

⁶⁰ Burkard, Mackenzen and Polz 2003: 41—65; Eichner and Fauerbach 2005: 139—52; Burkard and Eichner 2007: 270—274.

⁶¹ Bouriant 1888: 319–320; 374–379; Till 1951a: 112.

⁶² Blid et al. 2016: 191–193.

⁶³ Richter 2014: 154–194 (no. 3).

⁶⁴ Richter 2014: 176.

Louvre papyrus was made by several hands. An accomplished hand wrote the top half of the front side (recto 1-43). The second hand described the remaining part on the front side (recto 44-87, recipes no. 11 to 16) as well as the back (verso 1-91, recipes no. 18 to 27). A third scribe added the prescription no. 17 to the papyrus strip, by filling in the lower margins left out by the scribe of the second hand. This recipe consists of eight lines. In total, the three hands followed the same type of script and inclined uncials. The text is similar to the others sources of the 9th and 10th cent. CE and contains many Arabic and Greek loanwords.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241-244:⁶⁵ Two parchment leaves, Napoli, BN IB.14.06-07, 30.5 x 23 cm, 9th-10th cent. CE, from Akhmim. Bearing numbers 241-44, it contains forty-five medical recipes against skin diseases such as scabies, psora and itching.

Ch:⁶⁶ Papyrus, Cairo, IFAO, a single roll of 248 x 27 cm, 9th-10th cent. CE. Discovered in Naga al-Meshaikh (45 km south of Sohag), it is the largest medical text that has yet discovered, contains 237 medical recipes for different diseases concerning eyes, stomach, limbs, skin, and teeth. The prescriptions are usually characterised by an ornamented initial at the beginning of a line and a closing sign in the shape of a double circle (⊙).

SBKopt. I 001:⁶⁷ Thick double parchment leaves folded vertically. The single sheet measures 11.51-12 x 12 cm. Its provenance is unknown, and it was brought to Walter Till by Professor L. Th. Lefort. It dates back to the 10th cent. CE and is well preserved. There are two holes in the fold line indicating that many of these double sheets had been stapled together. The upper edge of the parchment is slightly damaged, but only a single letter is missing. There are two hands, and the back of the second sheet is empty. The front side contains unskilled Greek writing of Psalm 150 1-3; carelessly the writer wrote the script from his memory. The front and back side of the first sheet are clearly written with experienced handwriting. It contains two medical recipes, one of which was applied as a plaster, and the other intended to treat a freshly wounded and injured head.

⁶⁵ Zoega 1810: 629-639; Champollion 1811: 30-34; Dulaurier 1843: 433-452; Champollion 1854: 333-342. Till 1951a: 135-137.

⁶⁶ Chassinat 1921; Deiber 1914: 117-121; Till 1951a: 113-129; Schenke 2002: 101-117. According to Till 1951a (Ch).

⁶⁷ Till 1952a: 159-168; Till 1952b: 159-168; Hasitzka 1993: 1-2.

SBKopt. I 005:⁶⁸ Paper, unknown measurements, 10th-11th cent. CE, unknown provenance. It contains four extensive medical recipes against haemorrhoids, which depending on the human faeces and milk mixed with other ingredients; unfortunately, the last recipe is not entirely legible.

SBKopt. I 002:⁶⁹ Paper section, unknown measurements, 10th-11th cent. CE, unknown provenance. The verso contains 5 almost complete lines, and the recto contains 25 lines. The paper encompasses two pharmaceutical recipes (no photo).

P.Ryl.Copt.108 Ro:⁷⁰ Parchment fragment, Manchester, John Rylands Library; 6.5 x 8.5 cm, 10th-11th cent. CE. Its provenance is the White Monastery (Deir el-Abiad), and it preserves a medical recipe against an eye disease.

2.1.5 MEDICAL TEXT SOURCES FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

P.Ryl.Copt. 107:⁷¹ Parchment fragment, Manchester, John Rylands Library, 9 x 4½ cm. Its provenance is the White Monastery,⁷² and it preserves a recipe against a sickness of the head and eyelids.

BKU I 26:⁷³ Paper, remains of a manuscript in a book, inv. no. P 8116/7, 28 x 29 cm; 14 x 18 cm. Its provenance is Al-Faiyūm and dates back to 11th cent. CE. The manuscript contains medical recipes along with a magical recipe to treat a possessed person.

P.Ryl.Copt. 104:⁷⁴ Paper, Manchester, John Rylands Library, 19 x 14 cm, 11th cent. CE. Unknown provenance. The paper leaf is incomplete and folded many times to compose of seven parts. It includes *voces magicae* and different spells against fever, for protection against reptile bites, and a prayer to provide protection.

⁶⁸ Turajew 1902; Till 1946–7: 49–54. Till 1951a: 132; Hasitzka 1993: 3–5 (nos. 4–5).

⁶⁹ Munier 1919: 284–286; Chassinat 1950: 9–22.

⁷⁰ Crum 1909: 59.

⁷¹ Crum 1909: 59; Till 1951a: 132.

⁷² Trismegistos. [<https://www.trismegistos.org/magic/detail.php?tm=111285>], (last accessed: 12. 08. 2016).

⁷³ [Erman] 1904: 26–29 (no. 26).

⁷⁴ Crum 1909: 53–55; Meyer and Smith 1994: 68 (translation, section 4 only); Kropp 1931: 19 (translation, section 4 only), 51 (translation, part 6 only); 52 (translation, part 7 only); Till 1951a: 131.

P.Ryl.Copt. 106:⁷⁵ Paper, Manchester John Rylands, 25 x 17 cm, 11th cent. CE, unknown provenance. The recto is composed of 29 lines of medical remedies against an unidentified malady, and the verso contains 41 lines to treat a fever.

BKU I 25:⁷⁶ Parchment leaf, Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv. 8109, 18 x 11 cm, unknown date. It includes nine medical recipes concerning sleeping difficulties, blood flowing issues, knocking, and swelling. The medical recipes were also inscribed on the walls of monasteries and provide us with evidence of many remedies. During the excavation of two monasteries following medical recipes were found on the plaster of the walls.

P.Sarga 21:⁷⁷ A *dipinto* on the plastered wall of the Monastery of Apa Thomas where the infirmary of the monastery was located. Taking from Deir el-Gandala near Asyut, it dates back to between the 5th and 7th cent. CE. The text contains nine lines and two medical recipes against fever and cataract.

I.Saqqara 103:⁷⁸ A *dipinto* in black ink on the plastered wall of room 700 D of Monastery of Apa Jeremias Saqqara, which dates back to the 7th cent. CE. It consists of two complete columns at the top and bottom totalling in 17 lines. It contains medical recipes to help with swelling, wounds, and includes figures of snakes⁷⁹ that appear to the sick person.

⁷⁵ Crum 1909: 55–59.

⁷⁶ Erman 1904: 24–25 (no. 25).

⁷⁷ Crum et al. 1922: 52 (no. 21).

⁷⁸ Thompson in Quibell 1909: 57 (no. 103).

⁷⁹ Citation from Homeric verses (Iliad, III, 33–35). See the discussion in Chapter Six.

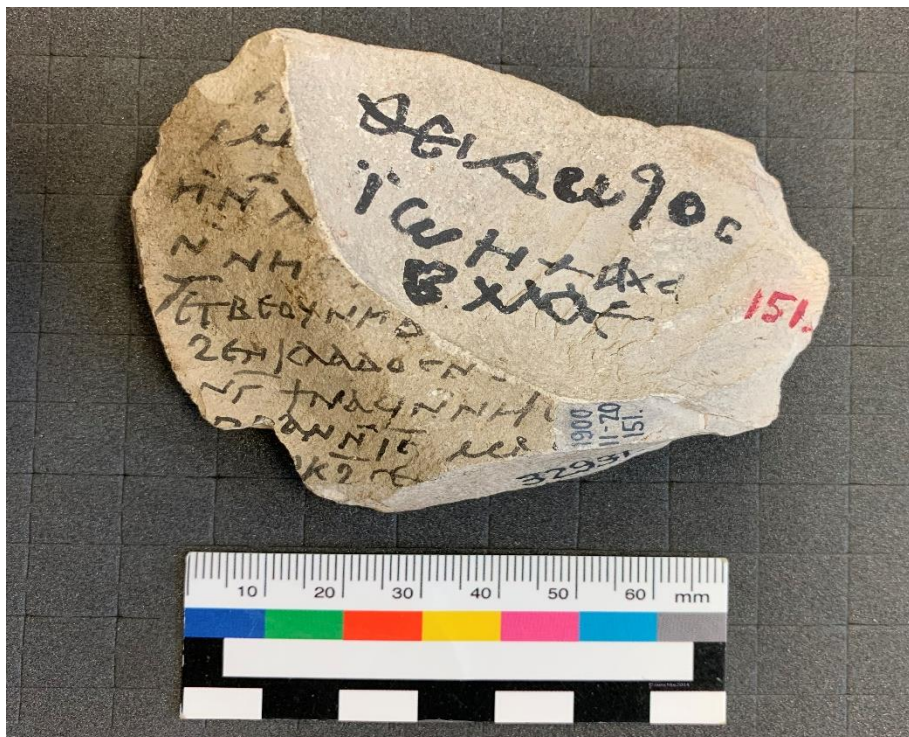
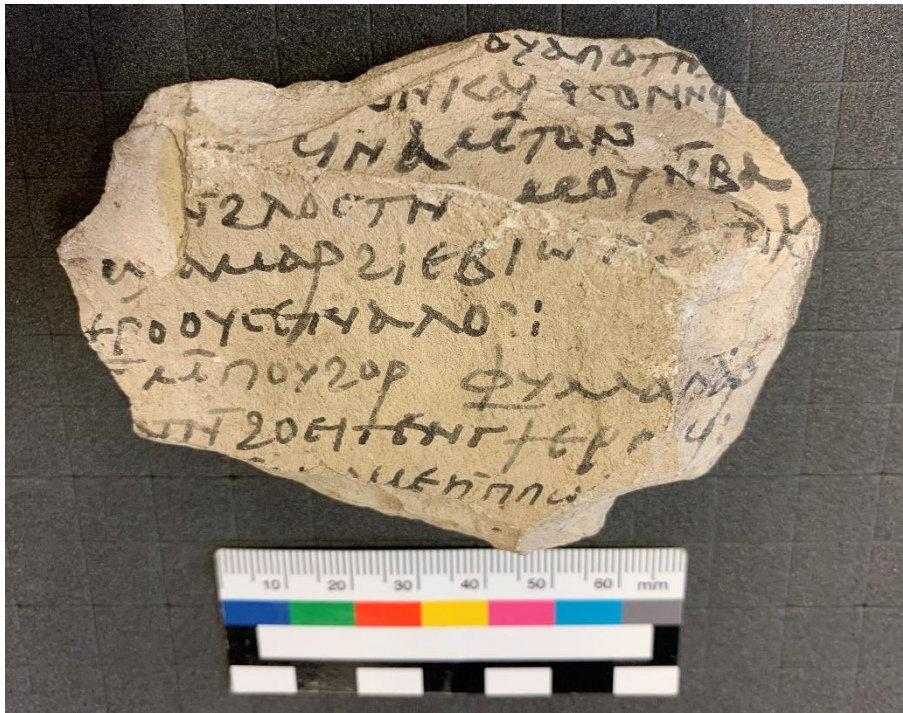


Figure 1. O.Crum 487

2.2 COMPLEMENTARY SOURCES

Miscellaneous secondary sources provide us with information on Coptic medicine including private letters (P.YCtBR inv., 3553),⁸⁰ (O.BawitFibourg 55),⁸¹ and official documents and literary texts from early monasticism such as the writings of Pachomius and Shenoute. In addition, excavation work, such as the excavations of the Monastery of Saint Antony at the Red Sea, provide us with medical substances and texts like CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4). And excavations of Deir el-Bachit on the hilltop of Dra' Abu el-Naga, Thebes, since 2001 (since 2004 with DFG funding) in cooperation with the DAI Cairo, primarily by a team of the Institutes for Egyptology and Coptic Studies at LMU Munich. The excavations of Deir el-Bachit provide us with a medical recipe for heart condition (i.e. O Bachit 1170+1172). In addition, other Arabic texts that contain references to diseases; including the writings of Arab physicians who were familiar with Coptic, like Abu al-Barakat (d.1363 CE), who recorded a list of 44 herbs in Arabic and Coptic (Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. No. 1325, fol. 117a).⁸² All of these sources provide explanations for the use of some medicines to treat diseases that patients encountered in the Coptic period.

2.3 Writing materials:

As a writing material, ostrakon, *dipinto*, papyrus, paper, and parchment were used to preserve medical texts. Papyri occupy the first category, of which sixteen out of forty-one items were preserved on papyri, including the largest medical text: papyrus Chassinat. These papyri originated in Upper Egypt, i.e., Naga al-Meshaikh (Sohag), Thebes and also Al-Faiyūm, including other unknown places. Parchment also appears as a favoured type of writing medium for medical prescriptions: nine medical texts were written on parchment. The remaining texts were found in ostrakon (seven items), paper (six items), and on walls as *dipinti* (two items).

⁸⁰ A short letter for demanding several items for a sick monk called “brother Paule”. Dated to 7th–8th cent. CE., its provenance is unknown. Published by Crislip 2006: 165–167.

⁸¹ Ostrakon, 8 x 6 cm, origination from Bawit. This letter contains a request of 4 sacks of seeds, may ne wheat seeds to the infirmary by Phoibammon the camel driver of the infirmary φοιβαμμων [πινανζαμο]γλ ηνετρωνε. Lopizzo 2016: 64.

⁸² Budge 1996: 80–83.

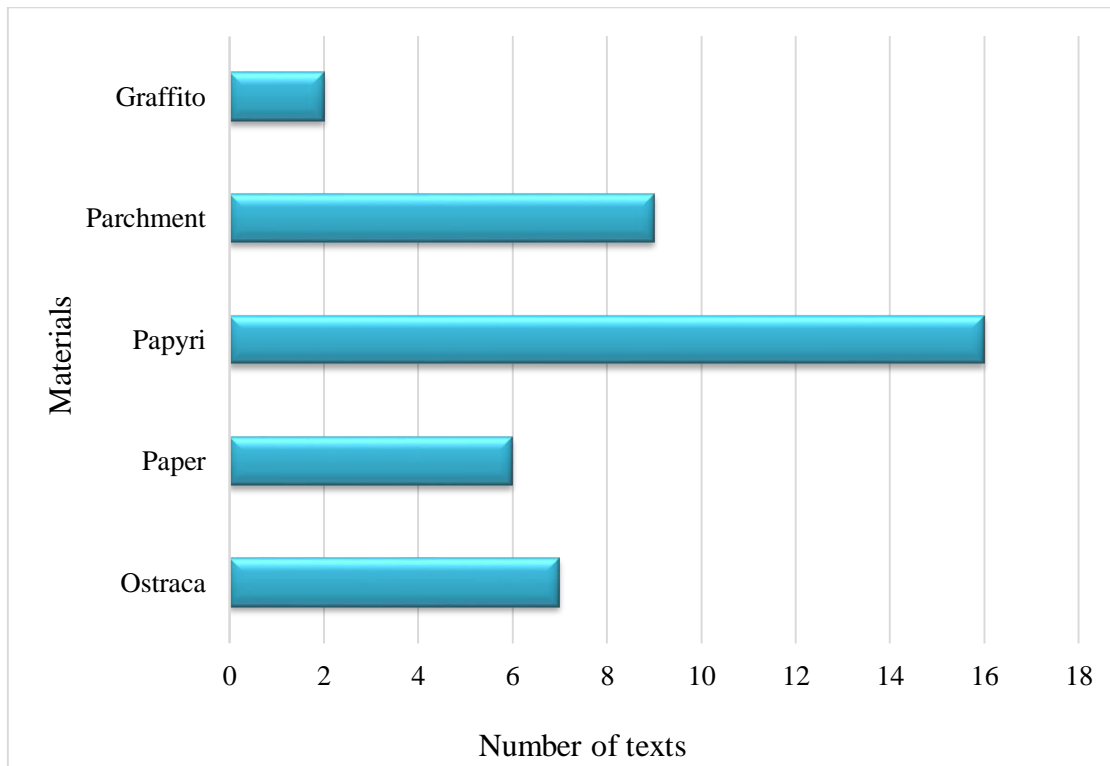


Figure 2. Coptic medical texts corpus by numbers

The majority of texts originating from Thebes, date back to between the 7th and 8th cent. CE, and comprise of eight texts, written on ostracon, and one written on papyrus. Four texts on ostraca are attributed to monasteries (Deir al-Bahari and the Monastery of Epiphanius). The only text on papyrus originating in Thebes, is considered one of the oldest-known Coptic medical texts.

The rest of the texts originated in Asyut and Al-Faiyūm and date back to between the 5th and 7th cent. CE; seven texts presenting medical prescriptions came from varying locations. Six texts written on papyrus and parchment date back to between the 9th and 10th cent. CE; two of them originate in the White Monastery, and presumably belong to its library of the monastery. They may be parts of medical manuals, which were kept in the infirmary of the monastery. Among these texts is the largest medical text, Chassinat papyrus, which dates back to ca. 9th-10th cent. CE, and originates in Naga al-Meshaikh. It is the only medical text that has been preserved in its entirety. From the same period, CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4) is considered the only text to come from the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. There are six texts out of the corpus of medical texts dating back to the late 10th-11th cent. CE, five of which are written on paper

and only one on parchment. This is due to the advent of paper and the subsequent shift to its use in the ninth century, resulting in a declined usage of existing writing materials.⁸³

Two items from the collection are sources of *dipinto*, both of which stem from monasteries: P.Sarga 21 from the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Deir el-Gandala (close to Asyut) and I.Saqqara 103 from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara. Supposedly, these dipinti were painted on the walls of the monastery infirmary. Presumably, they were drawn by the monk in charge or the physician of the monastery. Other explanations also seem possible: he may have liked to have it in front of him in order to memorise it, or he may have wished to save it from destruction. Alternatively, he may have liked to make it visible for the educated visitors of the monastery, so that everyone could read it and apply it in case of illness; especially dipinti concerning prescription for common diseases such as fever, eye diseases and wounds.

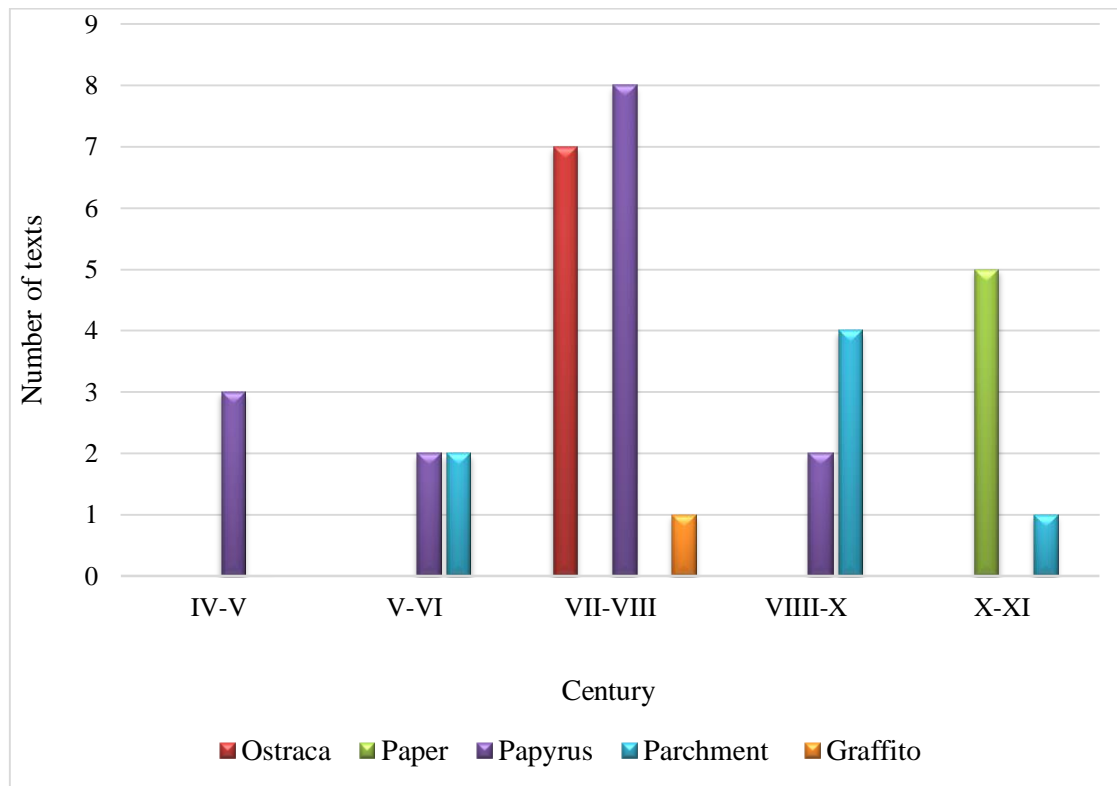


Figure 3. Medical texts by material and Century

⁸³ The commencement of using paper in Egypt was in the 9th century. Egypt brought paper from Syria in the 9th century, and Egypt itself started to produce it locally in at least the 10th century (Bloom 2001: 74).

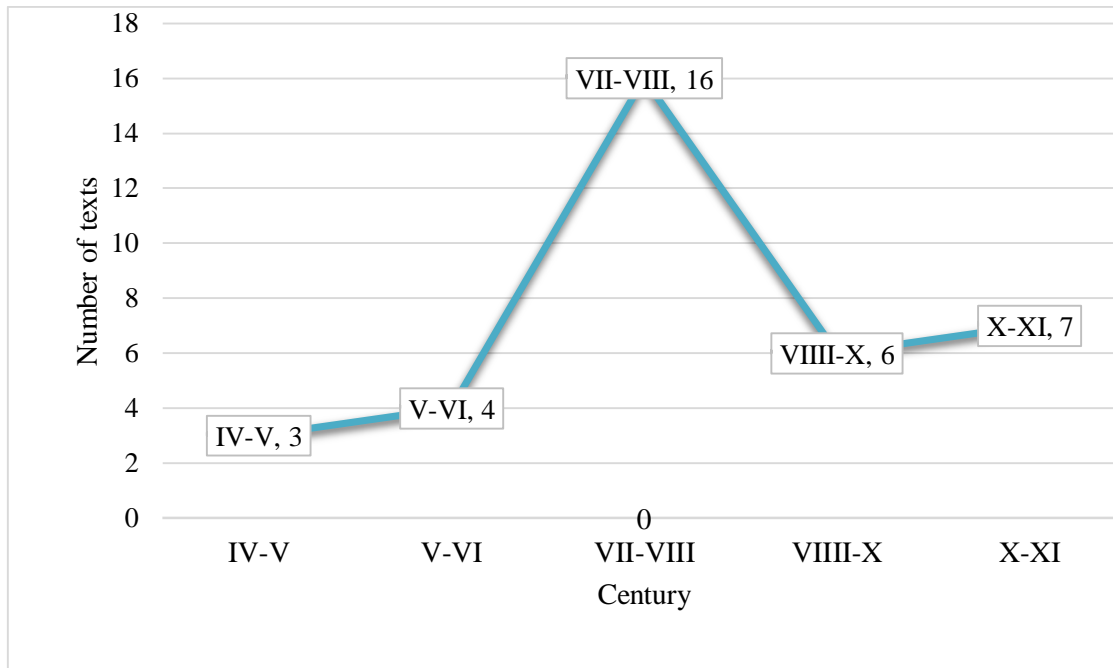


Figure 4. Medical texts by century

2.4 MEDICAL TEXTS BY PROVENANCE

This collection clearly indicates the monastery’s role in providing basic medical resources, which constitute nearly a quarter of the entire, and available, medical corpus. Thus, the monastery was considered the central place to provide medical care to treat various types of diseases, even in the gynaecological or paediatric branches.⁸⁴ This proves the extent of services and facilities provided by monastery hospitals, which opened their doors to all people, not only monks or nuns.

Given the contributions of various provenances of the medical texts, I have found that number of texts have been found to have originated in particular monasteries. In fact, illness and health were important essentials in monastic life and occupied a prime part in in ascetic and monastic writings. Eight texts were discovered in Thebes, five of which are attributed to three monasteries: 2 ostraca from the Monastery of Phoibammon (O.Crum 487; O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 37), 2 ostraca from Monastery of Epiphanius (O.Mon.Epiph. 574; O.Mon.Epiph. 575), and ostraca from Deir el-Bachit (O Bachit 1170+1172). Five medical texts were found in Sohag, three of which are attributed to the White Monastery (P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro; Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 241–244; Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 214–215).

⁸⁴ Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 214–215, from the White Monastery.

Two texts are from Wadi Sarga, one of which (P.Sarga 21) came from the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Deir el-Gandala (near Asyut). As for evidence from Saqqara, two texts (P.Carlsberg 500 and I.Saqqara 103) are attributed to the Monastery of Jeremias. In addition, the medical text (CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4)) came from the Monastery of St. Antony near the Red Sea.

This collection clearly indicates the monastery's role in providing basic medical resources, which constitute nearly a quarter of the entire (available) medical corpus. Thus, the monastery was considered the main place that provided medical care for various types of diseases, even in the gynaecological or paediatrics branches.⁸⁵ This proves the extent of services and facilities provided by monasteries' hospitals, which opened their doors to all people, not only to the monks or nuns (see Chapter Eight).

⁸⁵ Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 214–215, from the White Monastery.

Table 1. The corpus of Coptic medical texts assorted by provenance:

Provenance	Number of texts	Monastery provenance
Al-Faiyūm	4	-
Red Sea	1	1
Saqqara	2	2
Sohag	5	3
Thebes	8	5
Wadi Sarga	2	1

Out of the corpus of medical texts, five texts written on parchment bear ordinal page numbers (P.Mich. MS 136, p. 2–14; P.Mich. 593b, p. 167–168; P.Carlsberg 500, p.103–106, 111–114, 135–136; Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214–215). Evidently, these numbers are sections of an entire book, and perhaps the book is divided into parts and each part is for specific medical prescriptions. This type of texts may refer to what was mentioned in the name of “doctors’ book”, which may have been used as a reference for doctors or as an educational tool, especially since the size of these texts is approximately equal to the palm of a hand.

3. REMEDIES IN COPTIC MEDICINE

The ancient Egyptians were familiar with the pharmacodynamics of the plants that grew in their country. They knew how to extract the respective drugs from plants, as well as the knowledge of how to extract mineral substances such as copper, salt and white lead; or even horns, blood, milk, excrement and fat from animals resources.⁸⁶ They also managed to administrate them in the appropriate way in which the physician would prescribe the medicine to the patient. We have come to an understanding of the various ways in which the ancient Egyptians utilised their pharmaceutical culture as many of their practices were written down.⁸⁷ Egyptian physicians utilised ‘prescriptions’ when administering pharmaceutical drugs to patients. This knowledge was traditionally passed from father to son: $\text{CO}\bar{\gamma}\text{O NAK PA}\bar{\text{O}}\mu\text{HP}\epsilon$ “know [it] for you, my son” (Ch 49). In addition to prescribing medical recipes, physicians and herbalists would transcribe every suitable way to prepare remedies, uses and methods, doses of the ingredients, and above all, diseases which could be treated by the remedy. Often, a single remedy could be used to treat a variety of diseases.⁸⁸

Within the recipes, there are many mentioned forms of remedy administration such as oral ingestion in the form of pills, and syrup, internal application or by rectal means as a pessary or paste. External administration involved topical application powders, ointments, poultices and wrappings; and include bathing, or even fumigation (where the woman was required to sit or squat over the remedy), inhalation, or smoking. Drug preparations were usually designated by name in the respective manuscript. Drugs usually included instructions, detailing the appropriate procedure of administration to follow. Greek words such as TPOXIZKOC , KATHARTIKON “laxatives”, KOLLION “collyrium” $\text{KAPNIZ}\epsilon$ “smoke” were related to classical forms export. Only a few received Coptic wording such as $\text{CO}\lambda$ “wick”, $\text{KPM}\epsilon$ “poultice of wool”; $\text{CA}\zeta$ “suppository” or the Arabic denominations السعوط , البرود .⁸⁹

Instructions on the administration of pharmaceuticals included both the measurements and weight systems that correlated with various drug doses. Doctors realised that when comparing the effectiveness

⁸⁶ Nunn 1996: 145.

⁸⁷ There are many medical texts that have recorded a lot of information concerning the diseases, diagnoses, medical prescriptions and surgical procedures, which were written down on ostraca and medical papyri such as Kahun Papyrus (Griffiths 1898; Quirke 2002), Ramesseum Papyri, Edwin Smith Papyrus (Breasted 1930), Ebers Papyrus (Ebbell 1937; Ghalioungui 1987), Hearst Papyrus (Reisner 1905), London Papyrus (Wreszinski 1912), Berlin Papyrus (Wreszinski 1909), Carlsberg Papyrus (Christiansen/ Ryholt 2016), Chester Beatty Medical Papyrus (Gardiner 1953), and Brooklyn Papyrus (Hayes 1955).

⁸⁸ Ch 15 which recommends a plaster for any disease; Ch 93 which describes a collyrium to treat eye diseases, which may be used for different diseases such as swelling of the body, painful limbs, gout, wounds and for ankylosis Knee and P. Ryl. Copt. 106 which contains a remedy to “clean the mouth of the heart”; to treat head, eye and possibly also for heart conditions. It is also useful for a vigorously body (*papusir*) and to treat all internal complaints.

⁸⁹ Table 2.

related to varying drug doses, certain harms or benefits became apparent.⁹⁰ These systematic measurements prove that ancient Egyptians realised the relationship between dose and effect. Consequently, they seemed to have understood that some drugs were more effective or apt than others in treating specific diseases. The weight system indicated in the Egyptian recipes belongs to the Greco-Roman metrological system, albeit with slight variations.⁹¹ Greek weights are often affiliated with currency. Examples of coins that include stipulated amounts of particular metal (silver/gold) include obolo, drachma, and stater.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the administration and method of remedies, with more evident details being offered on the various ways in which they were used. In order to facilitate this in the most efficient way, the chapter is divided into the following four groups according to the medical texts that have been handed down:

- 3.1 Oral administration (ingestion).
- 3.2 External and topical application.
- 3.3 Internal application and rectal means.
- 3.4 Inhalation.

Before focusing on these groups, I will discuss the word $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$ “medicament” or “drug”, the general term used for remedies, which refers to the finished remedy. It also appears with derivatives and combinations such as $\rho\eta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$ “use drugs”, “heal”,⁹² and $\rho\epsilon\varphi\rho\eta\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$ “drug-maker, magician”.⁹³ The word $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$ derives from the ancient Egyptian noun $\overline{\text{p}}\text{hrt}$.⁹⁴ In Coptic it was usually declined as a masculine word. However, in recipes Ch 17, 117,⁹⁵ it appears as feminine word, and in SBKopt. I 001 as $\nu\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$, taking the plural form.

Traditionally, the term $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon$ was accompanied by various epithets, that referred to the efficiency of the remedy, such as the epithet $\nu\omicron\sigma$ “great” (Ch 117) (see 9.5). This also appears in other doses of medicine to express that it is a well-known and effective remedy, for example: $\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon \nu\omega\chi\eta\eta\eta \nu\omicron\omicron\sigma \nu\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ “great (and) very good garlic” (P.Ryl.Copt. 106). Furthermore, the remedy is described using the text $\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon \nu\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ “a very fine medicine” (P.Ryl.Copt. 106), or $\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon \nu\omega\pi\eta\rho\epsilon$ “a wonderful remedy” (Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 24). Till⁹⁶ argues that in Chassinat papyrus, it is often said

⁹⁰ Wilsdorf 1974: 89.

⁹¹ Chassinat 1921: 48.

⁹² Crum 1939: 282b.

⁹³ Crum 1939: 282b.

⁹⁴ Černý 1976: 131.


⁹⁵ Till 1951a: 7.

⁹⁶ Till 1951a: 7.

that the effect of the remedy will be miraculous, as in recipe Ch 151- for extracting a tooth (see 5.5.4.) and recipe Ch 222 for treating a pressure ulcer (see 5.16.14). In both recipes, the physician mentions that κηᾱρ̄ωπηε “you will be amazed!”, meaning that the doctor tried this recipe and he confident of its success. Another recipe (Ch 65) (see 5.10.2) describes the remedy by referring to its source: εϕχηζ ρνη̄χ̄ωμ̄ε̄ ἱναρχαιον “It is written in the books of the ancients”. It is likely that the remedy had been previously tested. Furthermore, some recipes mention the origin of the remedy such as παρρε νεσωω “Ethiopic remedy” (Ch 38) (see 5.16.2) and (Ch 84) (see 5.6.28).

3.1 ORAL ADMINISTRATION (ingestion)

3.1.1 ογπαρρε εσω

εσω “drinking, potation”,⁹⁷  *swr (zwr) > swi*.⁹⁸ ογπαρρε εσω “drinking remedy” was an administrative method, whereby substances were ingested through the mouth in liquid form; this technique is also practiced in modern-day medicine. This form of medicine was especially prevalent in the remedies given to children. This remedy type is found in Coptic medical texts such as P. Ryl. Copt. 106, 1. 65:

P. Ryl. Copt. 106, ll. 65-71

ογπαρρε εσω ραταλζωμμε · ογσαιπε ^{sic} μρωωμ s τερωω ωλλειν · ασσαθαρ
 λακ νωκηκηληνειν ā επογα [ογα] · οι ωελωωλογ ογωωμογ ριμοογ
 νησνααγ η̄πελ[.] ολε ταρς εογνκην ενερωτε η̄ρη · κααγ... πεκβο
 τογωοογε πωι η̄ωλκ εβογ πε ḅ ναληατκαλ. σο *πεϕυ*
 ραρογνε αγω *πεϕυ* ραωωρη αγω η̄νεκερρογο ερω.

A medicine to drink against fever; good in summer and winter: Nasturtium, thyme, *lak* (part)⁹⁹ of malabaila secacul, one (measure) of each. Throw (them) in. Shake them. Knead them with water Mix it with a jar of cow’s milk. Place it (?) to cool and dry. The amount of it to

⁹⁷ Crum 1939: 318b.

⁹⁸ Černý 1976: 147.

⁹⁹ λωκ, λακ “bowel, cup”. Crum 1939: 138a. The word λωκ (λακ) also appears alongside a soft ingredient called “bdellium” in l. 3. Crum translates it into “part”. Crum 1909: 55.

be swallowed (?) is 2 *mithkals*. Drink two-thirds thereof in the evening and its (other) third in the morning and you shall not do more.¹⁰⁰

In addition, the same remedy appears in (P.Louvre AF 12530, ro, ll. 44-45) as *τπαξρε ε... κητσο* “The remedy ... that you give to drink”. The recipe recommends giving the patient a combination of myrrh, mastic, opopanax and ammoniac, which should be ingested with honey. Another recipe in the same papyrus (P.Louvre AF 12530 recipe, ro, ll. 58-65) recommends a special remedy for every illness consisting of red myrrh, opium juice, pepper, long pepper, cassia cinnamon, water of liquid myrrh and honey, which should be consumed while hot. All aforementioned components belonging to both recipes need to be cooked in a type of fat, hence the use of honey. P.Carlsberg 500¹⁰¹ also recommends a drinking remedy against vomiting: *ετβε κηρωμε καβολ κητετροφη πεσπερμα κητειβοτανη ριμοου ρη[ρ]η ρηβιω μα[ρεφ]σω κηαλο* “For persons who vomit their food: The seed of this herb together with water and wine and honey. Let him drink, he will recover”. In addition, Ch 75 prescribes a drinking remedy *τσω* for the large intestine: *οητσω ετβε κηωσ κημαξτ* “A potion to the large intestine”, consists of: myrrh, castoreum, green vitriol, spurge, and honey. The recipe recommends to use the same ingredients without honey as a suppository (see 5.8.3).

3.1.2 τροχικός

τροχικός, τροχικός τροχίσκος¹⁰² “tablet”, “pill” is a term given to drugs composed of various dry substances that are to be crushed and agglutinated into the form of round tablets. Chassinat¹⁰³ argues that: Greek doctors distinguished between three kinds of *trochisque*: those that were administered in the form of drinks (πινόμενοι), given as an injection (ἐνιέμενοι), or applied as an ointment (χαταχρίομενοι). Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214 recommends taking a tablet against painful breasts, which can also be useful for the male human body. The recipe mentions that the pills help to preserve the medicine for a longer period, furthermore, it gives instruction on how to ingest the pills, by dissolving them in egg white (see 5.12.1).

The indicated remedy has to be made in *noumes* and applied, if necessary, with vinegar as shown in (Ch 93) (see 5.6.21). The term *κωγμεσ* was used by Shenoute as *κωμ(μ)ος* = (*nummus* “coin”).¹⁰⁴ The expression *τροχίσκος*, which literally means “cogwheels”, could just as well have been used in a transposed

¹⁰⁰ Translation: Crum 1909: 58–59, with slight modifications.

¹⁰¹ Erichsen 1963: 35. (Recipe codex, fol. C *vo* p.112, ll. 1–8) (see section 8.3).

¹⁰² Cf. *τροχίσκος* “small wheel or circle”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1829a.

¹⁰³ Chassinat 1921: 302–303.

¹⁰⁴ Amélineau, I, 1907: 256, ll. 2–3.

meaning of the word “tablet”.¹⁰⁵ The same expression τροχίσκος is used in Ch 209 in a remedy to treat a migraine, this tablet consists of: from pigeon droppings, incense, orpiment, and vinegar (see 5.2.3).

3.1.3 καθαρτικον

καθαρτικον¹⁰⁶ “Laxatives” appears as καθαρισμος, καθαρισμός¹⁰⁷ in Chassinat Papyrus recipe (Ch 74), and consists of one ounce of pepper, watercress seed, scammony and eight ounces of natron and spurge, which are to be crushed well and mixed with honey (see 5.8.2). The patient should drink it according to his strength, the gas will go from top to bottom, as the recipe states. The remedy also appears in (P.Mich. 593b, vo, ll. 5-20), and consists of a cooked salted dove, a little pepper, wine, genuine oil, and water. The patient should then proceed to follow up this recipe by drinking a small amount of stale wine and as the recipe declares “in a little while you will purge”:

P. Mich. 593b, p. 168 vo, ll. 5-20

ογκκαθαρτικον χι νογβρομπε νῆμογρ πεφσα νρογν μη παοτγ ρι νμις μῆν
ογκογι ῆπιπερ δγω ογαθ ῆηρῆ μῆν ογκογι ῆνεξ μμε ῆν ογκογι μμοογ
[ῆηη]δσῆτῆ ῆγ [...]μ[ῆ ῆ]σως ῆγσω ογκοῖ ῆηρῆ εφβαω νογωημ φακ
καθαριζε

A purgative: Take a dove, and fill its inside with salt and....., together with....And a little pepper, then a quantity of wine and a little genuine oil, and a little while you will purge.¹⁰⁸

3.2 EXTERNAL AND TOPICAL APPLICATION


3.2.1 κολλιον

¹⁰⁵ Till 1951a:10.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. καθαρτικός “fit for cleansing or purifying; promoting, purgative”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 851a-b.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. καθαρισμός “cleansing, purification, purificatory offering”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 850a.

¹⁰⁸ Translation: Worrell 1935: 191, with slight modifications.

κολλιον, κολλύριον¹⁰⁹ “collyrium”, is the most common type of remedies attested in Coptic medical texts such as Chassinat Papyrus, SBKopt I 006, SBKopt. I 004 and P.TT157-470.¹¹⁰ This type of remedy was particularly used for treating eye diseases. Many variants of these words are documented in Chassinat Papyrus such as κολλιον, and also in the abbreviated form κοκ or .

Collyrium was consistently used in liquid form (installation). It is noteworthy that, the collyrium was, not only used for eye diseases, but it was also administered as a laxative (Ch 76); as a remedy against intestinal worms (Ch 112) to treat $\eta\lambda\omega \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma; \eta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ “blood-stilling” (haemostasis) (Ch 40, Ch 137); and, in addition, to treat rheumatism (P.TT157-470, col. x+i 8-9, P. Carlsberg 500).¹¹¹ In most cases, collyrium was used for ophthalmic purposes.¹¹²

The effectiveness of a collyrium remedy was reported by using various epithets such as the general epithet $\eta\omicron\sigma$ “great” (Ch 112, Ch 122)¹¹³ or even the Greek term $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ “good” (Ch 51, Ch 94). In addition, the Greek attribute $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ is used as an epithet, like $\kappa\omicron\lambda\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ “good collyrium” P.TT157-470 col. I ll. 12–13; and $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu \eta\epsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ “a good (and) very effective ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$) collyrium” (Ch 210). In the latter, the scribe used two Greek epithets in the same recipe. In some recipes, the epithet was partly Coptic: such as $\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron \epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ “very good”, which appears in a text from Thebes (P.TT157-470, col. X+i 4).¹¹⁴

Furthermore, collyriums were also administered through the act of sprinkling: $\sigma\omega\omega\sigma\epsilon\omega$ “sprinkling, dripping” or “dripping collyrium” (Ch 59, Ch 77, and Ch 236). Similarly, $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \eta\pi\iota\rho\iota\chi\iota \epsilon\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda$ “external anointing-collyrium” literally means “eye drops to spread ($\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$) outside” (Ch 191). Two recipes (Ch 39 and Ch 211) mention a special type of collyrium used for just one day: $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu, \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ “A one-day collyrium”. Till¹¹⁵ states that “The epithet $\mu\omicron\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ perhaps say that it must be used on the same day on which it is prepared”. The one-day collyriums also appeared in Greek medical prescriptions. Maravela-Solbakk¹¹⁶ argues that the earliest evidence appears in the fourth book of Galen’s *Comp. sec. loc.* in the treatment of a particular $\acute{\omicron}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ¹¹⁷ (XII 711.6–15 K).

Some recipes used a special type of collyrium that related to its origin such as $\pi\epsilon\rho\varsigma\iota$ (فرسى) “Persian” in (Ch 92), and $\epsilon\varphi\eta\pi\iota \epsilon\rho\omega\mu\eta$ “from Rome,” literally means “it belongs to Rome” in (Ch 221). Another type

¹⁰⁹ Cf. $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ “pessary, eye-drops, eye-salve”. Liddell/Scott 1996: 972b.

¹¹⁰ Richter 2014: 154.

¹¹¹ Erichsen 1963: 38. (Recipe codex, fol. F ro & V vo p.136).

¹¹² Till 1951a: 8.

¹¹³ In Ch 122 the physician emphasized the strength of the effectiveness of the collyrium using the exceptional expression: $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma \tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\eta$ “its power is great”.

¹¹⁴ Richter 2014: 161.

¹¹⁵ Till 1951a: 8.

¹¹⁶ Maravela-Solbakk 2009: 114.


¹¹⁷ Crislip 2006: 165. A Greek medical term used in many Coptic recipes, it refers to all eye inflammation. Ophthalmological treatments considered the most important part of Coptic medicine, since the wide range of Coptic medicine about ophthalmology. It appeared in medical papyrus from Thebes P.TT157-470 (col. i, [20]; col. i, 6), is dated to the 4th–5th Century.

of collyrium used for eye rheumatism was κοληριον κλημακιον “Klémakion-Collyrium” and appears in (P.TT157-470, col. I, l. 16).¹¹⁸

Two particular collyriums can be traced back to persons who appear to be doctors. The first is ογκολλιον ντε απα κυλιος πσοφος παρχηατρος “A collyrium of the wise physician Apa Kyrillos” (Ch 56); and the second one is ογκολλιον μονορζημερον κολλογηθος αρχηατρος κυ μαρτυρος “A one-day collyrium of the chief physician and martyr Kolluthus” (Ch 211).

After examining the recipes that recommend collyrium as a remedy, I have found that the *materia medica* was almost exclusively made up of reiterated ingredients. For example, cadmium, opium, copper, pepper and gum, which were used in different quantities, were considered to be the major ingredients of each collyrium.

3.2.2 σφασεω¹¹⁹

Σφασεω “sprinkling” was an instillation for the eyes, which may have been a duplicate of Σοω, the ancient Egyptian word  \Rightarrow g^3s .¹²⁰ It is a liquid remedy that was mainly applied to the eyes is prescribed in three recipes: Σφασεω ερογν in (Ch 59) meaning “Internal sprinkling”, and which gives the same sense as κολλύριον (a meaning that is more clear in the following two recipes): Σφασεω εβαλ σαρογν (Ch 77); and κολλιον ησφασεω (Ch 236), so it as an eye drop that was introduced into the eye:

Ch 59

(120) ομεος ησφασεω ερογν κατμιας ψιμιθιον λκςχ σμηρνη καλακανθ
κομεος ρ η επογα ααγ ηικ χρω

(120) Likewise: For internal instillation: Cadmia, white lead, opium, myrrh, blue vitriol, gum, eight drachmas each; make them a collyrium; apply.¹²¹

Ch 77

(154) ογσφασεω επβαλ σαρογν ψιμιθιογ ρ α χαλκος ρ β οπιον ρ
α θνοογ ααγ ηικ χρω

¹¹⁸ Richter 2014: 159.

¹¹⁹ Chassinat 1921: 170. رش *scala* n° 44 (fol. 17).

¹²⁰ Černý 1976: 339.

¹²¹ English translation by me based on the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 170.

(154) Instillation for (inward) the eye: White lead one drachma, copper two drachmas, opium one drachma; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.¹²²

Ch 236

(619) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΝΙΣΩΩΒΕΩ ΚΑΤΗΙΑΣ ΨΗΘΙΟΝ (ΣΙΣ) ΟΠΙΟΝ ΑΡΜΩΡ ΧΙΘΙΡῚ
ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ϣ̅ Ḅ̅ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΑΑΥ ḡḡ̅ ΧΡΩ

(619) Collyrium for instillation: Cadmia, white lead, opium, myrrh, tragacanth, gum, one drachma of each; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.¹²³

3.2.3 ζΥΡΟΝ

ζΥΡΟΝ ξηρόν means “powder” (adjective “dry”). This type of remedy was often used externally and abbreviated to ζΥΡ and ζρ. It was mainly used to treat eye diseases; however, it was also used for skin diseases (Ch 121), for toothache (Ch 178) and as an astringent remedy (Ch 174, Ch 183). The following epithets were used for ζΥΡΟΝ: the most common was ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ “good” (Ch 5, Ch 11, Ch 41, and Ch 49), and ΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ “very good” (Ch 45). It could be also more accurate, and as Ch 49, which mentioned the exact use of the powder “for eye”. Or even by describing the exact use of this good powder as in Ch 87 ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΗΗ ΕΤῚḂ ḡΒΑΛ “a good powder for all eye diseases, that are in the eyes”, which is definitely used against cataract and blot “internal diseases” (see 5.6.6). Ch 142 prescribes a good powder for skin disease: ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΗῚΕ “A good powder for abscess” (see 5.16.21):

Ch 49

(92) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΕΠΒΑΛ ΣΙΝΣΙΠΙΛ¹²⁴ ϣ̅ ρΟΥΛΙΝΣΑΝ¹²⁵ ϣ̅ ΚΑΛΗΦΟΥΥΡ¹²⁶
ϣ̅¹²⁷ ΣΟΥΜΠΟΥΛ¹²⁸ ϣ̅ Ḅ̅ (93) ΕΠΟΥΑ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ † ΒΡΒΚ ḡΣΩΥ ΝΗḡ Ζ ΕΚΣΩΜ

¹²² Author's own translation.

¹²³ Author's own translation.

¹²⁴ Arabic *zanjabīl* زَنْجَبِيل. It is found also in Ch 11 and Ch 12.

¹²⁵ Arabic *kūlanjān* كَوْلَنْجَان. Chassinat 1921: 155.

¹²⁶ Arabic *qaranful* قَرَنْفُل. Chassinat 1921: 155.


¹²⁷ It is Arabic conjunction means “and”, here the author preferred to use it instead of the other usual conjunctions ḡḡ̅ or ϣ̅, which used in the other recipes. So, this recipe is a unique example of a linguistic switch between Coptic and Arabic in Coptic medical texts, since he writes ϣ̅ in Arabic script between Arabic ingredients in Coptic script.

¹²⁸ Arabic *Sonbol* سُنْبُل. Chassinat 1921: 155.

εροϋ ἄμηνε ἄνῆσως κλαϋ (94) τεϋωοογε ἰνοϋ ὠλῖ ἄρωβ νακ ἄρητῖ
ἄωωρῖ ἄν πογρε σογῶ νακ παωηρε¹²⁹

(92) A good powder for the eye: Ginger, galangal, cloves, spikenard, one drachma (93) of each of them; grind well; add wine for seven days, and stirring every day, then leave (94) to dry; grind it (again). It will work for you by itself morning and evening: (it is) wheat for you, O my son!¹³⁰

Ch 45

(82) ογζϋρον ενβαλ νανογϋ κλωσ ωεϋνεζ ακλημια¹³¹ 
ρασαρε χαρκος λογλοϋ¹³² χλ (83) μαρκωωθε¹³³ · πεσελ · ρογνπα ·
ωενκ¹³⁴ ογω]ι επο]γα ἰνοοϋ κλωσ ααγ ἄζϋρον χρω



(82) A very good powder for the eyes: Hematite, gold cadmium, silphium (?), Copper, pearl, verdet, (83) pyrite, coral, styrax (?), shell, same weight of each; grind them well; make them powder; apply.

The powder usually consisted of starch, camphor, Indian nard, myrrh, aloe and antimony in varying quantities. After initial grinding of existing ingredients, opium was sometimes added to be used as a remedy for eye diseases. Medical recipes contained different types of powder.

ζϋρον ἄτεαχαρῖον¹³⁵ was a specific type of powder called τεαχαρῖον; τιαχαρῖοϋ, literary meaning “made from papyrus” as in Ch 121 (see 7.1.2), and Ch 178 (see 5.5.1).

¹²⁹ I assume that it means “Know (it) to you my son!”

¹³⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 155.

¹³¹ ακλημια, εκλημια (Ch 46, see 5.6.28), Arabic *Aqlimia* اقليميا. It is known also as اقليميا, both words اقليميا, اقليميا are derived from the Greek word καδμεία “cadmium”. Here the word ακλημια is followed by the Arabic Alchemical sign , which is derived from the gold sign of the Greeks  as in (Ch 52, see 5.6.6). Chassinat 1921: 152.

¹³² λογλοϋ, Arabic لؤلؤ. Chassinat argues that pearls are often used in eye remedies among the Arabs. Chassinat 1921: 152. Another type of pearls λογλοϋ νατωωτῖ “unpierceable pearl” اللؤلؤ غير المنقوب appears in P. Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 20 (see 5.6.6).

¹³³ μαρκωωθε, Arabic *marqāṣīta* مرقشيتا. “marcasite/ pyrite” Chassinat 1921: 152.


¹³⁴ ωενκ, Arabic *ṣanḡ* شنج “shell”.

¹³⁵ τιαχαρῖοϋ, διά χάρτου, Abd ar-Razzaq (p. 133) said that ‘قرطاس’ (χάρτης) is Egyptian paper made from papyrus بردى. Also, in Ch165, for ‘Hieratic papyri’ χαρτης ἄριερατικον. Φαρτης, Arabic ورق الكتابه. Chassinat 1921: 242.

σιεε καλαμιε is a special powder called ογζυρον εγμογτε ερογ δε ογσιεε καλαμιε “A powder called *Sise kalamiē*” (Ch 12) (see 5.6.5). The word σιεε is may derive from the Arabic word صيصنة¹³⁶ meaning “fort, citadel, rampart”.¹³⁷ This kind of powder is described only in Chassinat Papyrus, and it was used for treating all eyes diseases and cataract. Moreover, it was very effective according to the following description of a physician.

καλιβλεφαλον, καλλιβλέφαρον¹³⁸ *kalliblepharon* is a special type of “eye cosmetic powder”, which appears in Ch 102 (see 5.6.1), Ch 103, and Ch 105, or as καλιβλεφαρον in Ch 104, and is described as ζυρον ενενογq καλωc καλιβλεφαλον “very good powder *kalliblepharon*”. Composed of cadmia, white vitriol, copper, and other various components mixed with water from the cistern, it was used for treating diverse eye diseases. Chassinat papyrus dedicated four consecutive recipes (Ch 102-105) to the “*kalliblepharon* powder”, and each recipe describes it with the epithet “good” or “very good”:

Ch 103

(205) ογζυρον ενανογq καλωc καλεβλεφαρον cτμεοc ϑ̄ η̄ κροκοc ϑ̄ δ̄
 χαλκοc , καγμενογ¹³⁹ (206) ϑ̄ κ̄ ναρτοcταχοc ϑ̄ δ̄ γθοπcφ̄ιελω̄ ≡κxτφ̄
 ϑ̄ δ̄ θνοογ καλωc φ̄λφωρογ (207) † μοογ̄ η̄cωογ̄ ρῑ τεμxαθ̄ η̄η̄ῑ ζ̄ εκcωη̄
 η̄cωογ̄ η̄μμηη̄ε κααγ̄ φ̄αντεγ̄ φ̄οογε (208) θνοογ̄ ααγ̄ η̄ζυρον̄ χρω̄
 η̄μοογ̄ [ε]τεκ† η̄μογ̄ ογμοογ̄ πε̄ η̄ 

(205) A very good *kalliblepharon* powder: Antimony eight drachmas, saffron one drachma, burnt copper (206) twenty drachmas; Indian nard a fresh white vitriol drachma a drachma; grind them well; sift them; (207) add water to them in a mortar for seven days, and mix them every day; let them dry; (208) pound them; make them powder; and apply. The water that you give is cistern water.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Perseus Digital Library.

[<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2002.02.0028%3Aentry%3DSiySaA%3D%27N>], (last accessed: 01.01.2020).

¹³⁷ Chassinat 1921: 91.

¹³⁸ “It is found in ORIBASIIUS, *Euporistes*, IV, 26, t. V, P.715, and PLINY, XXI, 73, 2; XXVIII, 67, 2.” Chassinat 1921: 219.

¹³⁹ Χεχάμενης, Arabic محرق نحاس. Chassinat 1921: 191.

¹⁴⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 222.

Ch 104

(209) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΚΑΛΙΒΛΕΦΑΡΟΝ ΚΑΔΜΙΑΣ ς ΚΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ ϙ̄ Δ̄ ΠΕΠΛΗΜΜΕΝΗΣ ϙ̄
Δ̄ (210) ΑΜΜΩΝΙΑΚΟΥ ϙ̄ Δ̄ ΠΠ ϙ̄ Δ̄ ΚΡΙΟΣ ϙ̄ Δ̄ ΟΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΛΟΥ ϙ̄ Ε (sic) Ε̄
ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ (211) † ΜΟΟΥ Ν̄ Δ̄ ΒΧ Ν̄ΣΩΟΥ ΔΔΥ Ν̄ΖΥΡΟΝ ΧΡΩ

(209) A kalliblépharon powder: Calcined and washed cadmium four drachmas, (210) ammonia gum four drachmas, pepper four drachmas, saffron four drachmas, good wine five ounces; grind them well; (211) add water from cistern; make them powder; apply.¹⁴¹

Ch 105¹⁴²

(212) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΚΑΛΙΒΛΕΦΑΛΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ̄Ε̄Ν ΝΒΑΛ
(213) ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ ς ΚΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΧΑΡΚΟΣ ΟΙΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ ΩΠΤΗΣΑΝ ΔΙΑ
ΜΕΡΙΤΟΣ (214) ΚΑΙ ΛΕΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΒΕΣΟΝ ΟΙΝΩ ΒΑΛ ΤΡΙΒΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΔΝ ΓΕΝΙΤΑΙ
ΔΝΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ¹⁴³ ΧΡΩ

(212) A kalliblépharon powder very good for any eye disease: (213) Calcined cadmium, copper; reduce the toasted cadmium into pieces (214) and dry the..... (?) in wine; pour (into a mortar); rub them again until it is dissolved; apply.¹⁴⁴

3.2.4 ΠΗΞΙΝΟΝ

ΠΗΞΙΝΟΝ, *Pyxinum*, “boxwood ointment” is known as a remedy that was used to treat the diseases of the eye. It appears in (SBKopt. I 006) and is probably πύξινον (κολλύριον). The Greek πυξίς (*Latin: pyxis*) means

¹⁴¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 223.

¹⁴² Chassinat assumes that this recipe is completely Greek, the portion of the preserved text in its original form seems to have to be transcribed as follows: Καδμείας κεκαυμένης, χαλκού οἶσον τὴν καδμείαν ὀπ.ήσαν διήσαν διὰ μερίδος καὶ λεῖα τὰς βεσον οἴνω βάλε, τρίβε μμοού (ἔως) ἄν γένηται ἀναλύομενος, χρῶ. Chassinat 1921: 225.

¹⁴³ ἀνελομενος, ἀναλύομενος, Chassinat 1921: 363.

¹⁴⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 225.

a small round box. It was named after the boxwood, i.e., the wood of the πύξος (*Latin: Buxus sempervirens*):¹⁴⁵

SBKopt. I 006, l. 49-52

]ϙ..τ. ΠΗΖΙΝΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ[] ΤΩ ΒΑΛ ΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΕ..[] ΔΡΑΚΑΣ ΓΟ Δ ΚΡΟΚΟ . [] ΓΟ
Δ ΠΙΠΕΡΩΣ ΓΟ Δ . [

.... boxwood ointment for eye it is and the ... one ounce saffron, one-
ounce pepper...¹⁴⁶

It seems that this type of ointment i.e. ΠΗΖΙΝΟΝ, was well known and required, from the contents of the damaged ostrakon O.Vind.Copt. 209,¹⁴⁷ the sender has asked the recipient to send him ΠΕΖΙΝ. Unfortunately, the contents are not clear, but it seems that it was a ready-to-use remedy, so he asked him to send it along with the other stuff: ΠΑΡΑΚΑ]ΛΕΙ ΜΟΚ ΘΕΡΜΟΥΣ¹⁴⁸ .. ΝΤ ΠΕΖΙΝ. We can read that he asked him also to send ΘΕΡΜΟΥΣ “lupine”, which used for haemorrhoid in SBKopt I 005 (see 5.10.1).

3.2.5 ΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ

ἔμπλαστρον “pavement, plaster”, is similar to our modern concept of plaster as it was applied to the body in order to stimulate healing. This type of remedy was mostly used to treat wounds and skin diseases. In ancient times it was used to protect the site of the wound from infection and bacteria by using oil. This invention was passed onto the Coptic medical recipes, which reported to mix oil with the other ingredients as it prevented bacteria from spreading.¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, it was also used for internal organs, and the stomach in (Ch 72), and for the spleen in (P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 35-38). However, there is uncommon use of a ἔμπλαστρον is found as a remedy against eye diseases (Ch 20).

The adherent plasters usually consisted of predominantly resinous substances like: spruce resin, incense, mastic, pitch, styrax, asphalt and rosin, which mixed with wax and various types of fats and oils. In addition, other substances were added, especially white lead, green span, lead, vinegar, wine, galbanum,

¹⁴⁵ Bonati 2016: 126.

¹⁴⁶ Author's own translation.

¹⁴⁷ Ostrakon, 9.5 x 4.5 cm, dates to the 8th cent. CE. Till 1960: 51; Till 1951: 10; Buschhausen, Horak, and Harrauer 1995: 279 (no. 297).

¹⁴⁸ It appears as ΘΑΡΜΟΥΣ in SBKopt I 005.

¹⁴⁹ Shah 2012: 65.

copper, salt and flour. All substances were well boiled until they became thick enough to take the shape of plaster which could then be easily applied upon the sick area or wound.¹⁵⁰

A specific type of plaster called *χωρα*, *χώρα* “country”, appears in (Ch 67 and Ch 119) as *ἡπραστρον* *ἡχωρα* “the plaster of the country”. Its name indicates its Egyptian origin, which of course makes it different from its foreign counterpart. Plasters could be distinguished by their colour, *καμε*, *κημε* “black” (Ch 149, P.Louvre AF 12530 recipe no. 18),¹⁵¹ and *ογβαω* “white” (Ch 187),¹⁵² and most likely *χρεγρον*= (*χλεγρον*) *χλωρόν*¹⁵³ “green” (Ch 132):

Ch 132

(273) ογνηπλαστρον χρεγρον καλαφονιας Ϝ χχ Ϝ Ϝ̄ δ̄ μογλαξ Ϝ Γ̄
κηνηε ἡριρ Ϝ Γ̄ παστογ χωω

(273) Green plaster: Rosin six ounce, green one ounce, wax three ounces, pork fat three ounces; cook them; apply.

Epithets commonly used to describe the plaster’s effect were: *ενανογς* “good” (Ch 232),¹⁵⁴ *δοκιμον* “proved, tested” (P.Mich. MS 136, l. 35),¹⁵⁵ and *σοεττ* “famous” (Ch 149).

3.2.6 καταπλασμα

καταπλασμα, *κατάπλασμα*¹⁵⁶ means “plaster, poultice”. This remedy appears in three recipes (Ch 70, Ch 72 and Ch 73) to treat stomach problems. In Ch 70 (see 5.7.1), the poultice is made up of sponges soaked in hot vinegar and ivy leaves. In Ch 72 (see 5.7.1), the poultice consists of three ounces wax, one ounce mastic, one ounce rosin, one ounce ceruse and one ounce styrax, which is to be mixed, cooked and then applied as a poultice. In Ch 73, it consists of two ounces crushed dates, eight ounces cucumber flour, two ounces styrax, one ounce mastic, one ounce fresh rue and one ounce saffron; which should be mixed with wine, and cooked until the appropriate consistency and then applied as a poultice (see 5.7.1).

3.2.7 σπελελιν

¹⁵⁰ Till 1951a: 9.

¹⁵¹ (See 5.16.1).

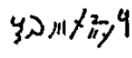
¹⁵² (See 5.17.2).

¹⁵³ Chassinat 1921: 261.

¹⁵⁴ (See 5.17.2.2).

¹⁵⁵ This recipe recommended a plaster for spleen disorders consisting of: Flower of barely, swine fat, acrid vinegar and salt.

¹⁵⁶ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 905b.

σπελελιν means “compress, poultice”,¹⁵⁷ and also appears as σπληλιν and in Demotic script as  *splilyn*.¹⁵⁸ Till¹⁵⁹ assumes that it stems from the Greek word σπληνίον “poultice”. Some of the recipes explain the methods of application such as (Cod.Med.Copt., p.244, recipe no. 37) used to treat warts, which recommends to take burnt barley, ivy, cooked lentils, mix them with milk, and to put it in a cloth, and smear it as an envelope on the belly: καταπλασσε μμοϩ νοϩσπελελιν ριχϫ ρητϩ “smear it as a poultice on his belly”. And, (P.Mich. 593b) includes that: κααϫ ριχϫοϩ ἡσπληλιν “put it upon bandages” without any indication to the ingredients used”:

Cod.Med.Copt., p.244, recipe no. 37

ΚΕΟΥΑ ΟΝ. ΙΩΤ ΕΒΡΑΚΕ ΚΥΣΑ// ΜΙΑΣ ΔΝΑ. ΘΝΟΥΓ, ΔΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΥΓ ΡΙ
ΕΡΩΤΕ, ΝΟΧϩ ΕΥΤΟΕΙϫ ΝΓΛΩΞΜ ΝΟΥΑΡΩΙΝ ΝΓΚΑΤΑΠΛΑϫϫΕ ΜΜΟΥ
ΝΟΥΣΠΕΛΕΛΙΝ ΡΙΧϫΝ ΡΗΤϩ.

Again another one: Roasted barely, and *Kysamias* in equal parts. Crush them, mix them with milk, put it in a rag, boil a lentil, and apply it on his belly as a poultice.¹⁶⁰

P.Mich. 593b, ro ll. 1-10

ἡ ἀγῆκα τοκῆϩ ἡκκααϫ ριχϫοϩ ἡσπληλιν ἡ ἡβωλῆ εβολ ριτῆ οϩκωῆτ
εϩοϩαν¹⁶¹ ἡϩ χρω ἡμοϫ πρϫ ἡμα εῆκναῶεραπεϩε ἡμοϫ’

Or something has pierced him: Place it upon poultices, or melt it by a quenched fire, and apply it to the places which you are about to treat.¹⁶²

3.2.8 *coλ*

coλ means “wick”, *ῥαϫμ* in Bohairic and in Arabic القتيله.¹⁶³ It is in a very small envelope that absorbs liquids, which is pre-soaked a little bit in the remedy. *coλ* has the meaning of *linus*, more often as the

¹⁵⁷ Crum 1939: 351b.

¹⁵⁸ Černý 1976: 159.

¹⁵⁹ Till 1951a: 9.

¹⁶⁰ Author’s own translation.

¹⁶¹ According to Worrell *οϩαν* is for *οϩῆ*. Worrell 1939: 188.

¹⁶² Translation: Worrell 1935: 190, with slight modifications.

¹⁶³ Chassinat 1921: 129.

(53) An abscess in the eyes or on the man’s penis, for that: White lead, alum, yellow vitriol (54) cinnabar; if you have not cinnabar, put ink instead. Crush them with vinegar; leave it (55) in sun for three days and then crush them again; make powder or a wick of (56) the size of the abscess, and put it on. If slow, it will remain sixty days to heal; if it heals soon (57), it will after ten days or more rise up. We have tried it and found it genuine. If you use to it (abscess), it will go away by itself.¹⁷¹

Ch 55

(109) ογσολ επκαθισμα εφλεμλωμ τωρη ©¹⁷² ϑ̄ κ̄ ογαττακ¹⁷³ ϑ̄ δ̄
 ανσαρωθ¹⁷⁴ ϑ̄ δ̄ ροσ̄μ̄ εφρωχ ϑ̄ β̄ θνοογ (110) ογοτμογ ρι μοογ ααγ̄ ν̄σολ
 † ν̄σολ † επκαθισμα τωα ρ̄ ν̄ναλαρη¹⁷⁵ εβολ̄ μ̄ν̄ ναραπριτε

(109) A wick for the anus that rots: Sulfide arsenic twenty drachmas (?) gum ammoniac one drachma, sarcocolla one drachma, calcined soda two drachmas; crush them (110) knead them with water; make them into a wick, and introduce it into the anus. It will bring down the corrupt flesh and¹⁷⁶

3.2.9 Διαρροτον

Διαρροτον διάρροδον “diarrodon; a remedy made of roses”,¹⁷⁷ etymologically derives from the Greek word διάρροδον: the Greek prefix δια “dia”, followed by the root word ροδον “rhodon” meaning pink.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 130, with slight modifications.

¹⁷² τωρη, شحم, Chassinat 1921: 163.

¹⁷³ ογαττακ, Arabic أُشُق; أُشُق, Chassinat 1921: 165.

¹⁷⁴ ανσαρωθ, from Arabic *anzarout* غَزْرُوت, Chassinat 1921: 166.

¹⁷⁵ λαρη according to the transcript mode adopted by the author (ρ = ρ or ρ̄), this word can be one of two forms as follows: الحُم̄, from حُم̄ have fever or الحَم̄ “corrupted flesh, flesh off a bad smell due to putrefaction”. The title of the formula shows that we must choose the second. This is a case of gangrene of the anus, and in medication aims to bring down bedsores. Chassinat 1921: 166.

¹⁷⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 162–163.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Διαρροτον Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C8771>], (last accessed: 13.10.2020).

¹⁷⁸ Definiciona. [<https://definiciona.com/diarrodon/>], (last accessed: 20.08.2019).

διάρροδον is a medicinal product (collyrium) prepared with roses: “The wonderful rose collyrium that I worked” (Ch 134). It can also be found in Greek medicine as well, Malapani¹⁷⁹ argues that: “The first prescription is mentioned the so-called *diarrodon collyrion* (διάρροδον κολλύριον) is in Oribasius (πρὸς περιόδυνίας, φλυκταΐνας, ἐπικαύματα, σταφυλώματα ... Syn. Eust., 3.158) and the second in Aetius Amide (*Iatr.*, 7.110). This drug considered appropriate for the treatment of tough soreness, pustules, burns and ailments of the cornea and other problems of the eyes”. Rose oil was also widely used in the medical recipes, especially to treat eye diseases, abscess, ulcers and psora.

Ch 134

(275) ΔΙΑΡΡΟΤΗΟΝ ΕΣΤΑΘΠΗΡΕ ΕΙΡΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤῘ ΟΥΗΡῘ ΕΦΛΗΚ ϩ̅ Λ ΧΑΛΚΟΣ
ΚΕΚΑΥΜΕΝΟΥ ϩ̅ Λ (276) ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ϩ̅ Δ ΗΡΠ̅ ΝΔΜΙΝΕΟΝ¹⁸⁰ ΠΕΦΡΩΩΕ Ε̅ Μ̅Ν
ΠΕΤΟΥΟῤῥ̅ ΕΠΑΙ ΗΜΟϩ̅ῤ̅ ©

(275) Wonderful rose eye drops I worked on it: Fresh rose thirty drachmas, burnt copper thirty drachmas, (276) gum four drachmas, sufficient amount of aminaion wine to which no water poured.¹⁸¹

3.2.10 εκζωτα

The word εκζωτα is borrowed from the Greek term ἔξωθεν¹⁸² and implies an externally applied remedy.¹⁸³ It appears in (Ch 6), where it is applied as an external remedy for eyes that do not have eyelashes εκζωτα ενβαλ “external (use) to eyes”. The doctor mentions that “it has been experienced by ourselves”. It consists of aloes, one scruple from starch, camphor, myrrh and antimony. The recipe recommends to ground these components into a powder in order for the eyes to heal (see 5.6.2.1).

3.2.11 ερπωρωτ

ερπωρωτ “cooling agent”, is of Arabic origin البرود and is a term denoting a form of softening eye drops used to eye diseases. After mixing it with ten drachmas from hematite, and one drachma from saffron, the remedy is ready to be used:

¹⁷⁹ Malapani 2014: 4.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. ΔΜΙΝΕΟΝ, ἀμιναιός “Aminaion, Italian.” Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C8210>], (last accessed: 14.10.2020).

¹⁸¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 262.

¹⁸² Chassinat 1921: 62.


¹⁸³ Chassinat 1921: 62.

Ch 44

(81) ΟΥΑΡΠΩΡΩ¹⁸⁴ ΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΤΩ ΝΚΩΞ̄Τ ΩΕ†ΝΕΞ † Ἰ ΠΟΛΠΧ¹⁸⁵ † Ἄ ΘΝΟΟΥ
 ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΑΔ ΝΞΥΡΟΝ ΧΡΩ

(81) A refreshing collyrium for eyes that are suffering from inflammation:
 Hematite ten drachmas, saffron drachma; crush them well; make it
 powder; apply.¹⁸⁶

3.2.12 ციოოენ

ციოოენ “bath”, Demotic  *s(t)-in* “bath-bath-tax”. It seems that ციოოენ is formed from the words ce- (or ci-) “seat, place” and აყეინ (or ოყეინ) “water-channel”.¹⁸⁷ ციოოენ was a more frequently used method of medical treatment,¹⁸⁸ which was particularly useful in treating all kinds of skin diseases:

Ch 161

(316) ΟΥΞΥΛΗ ΜΝ ΟΥΞΩΞ̄ ΖΟϸ̄Μ ΣΟΡ̄Μ ΝΑΠΑΣ ΤΑΖΟϸ̄ ΝΩΟΡ̄Π ΜΝ̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ
 ΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ ΖΙ ΖΡ̄Π (317) ΖΙ ΒΗΛΛΕ Ν̄ΣΟΟΥΞΕ ΖΙ ΝΕΞ ΜΕ ΕΠΞΑΕ ΞΙΓ̄ϸ̄ ΕΤΣΙΟΥΝΕ
 ΕΦΝΑΛΟ ©

(316) A nail and a prurigo: Natron, old vinegar dregs; first rub him (the
 patient); then clean with wine, (317) yellow of egg and fine oil; finally
 take him to the bath; he will be healed.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ ἄρπρωρῶτ, Arabic *al-baroud* البُرود (the most used spelling is بَرود), the name of a form of eye drops used for softening dry eye. Ibn-sina mentioned the component of this medicament, which also contained hematite and saffron, and is similar to this recipe: “Hematite, burnt copper, five dirham of each, socotrina aloe, armenian borax one dirham of each, verdigris, white pepper, long pepper (dar pepper), grease of bitter melon, saffron, and ajwain ½ dirham of each, rind them, crush them, and use” Ibn Sina 1593, V, 255.

¹⁸⁵ πολπχ, κλοκογ (κροκογ), κρόκος. Chassinat 1921: 150.

¹⁸⁶ Author’s own translation.

¹⁸⁷ Černý 1976: 168.

¹⁸⁸ βαλανειον, λαυτρον, περιβατου. Crum 1939: 369b.

¹⁸⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921:150.

Also, in **Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 11**

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ. ΖΑCΗ ΝΑΡΑΒΙΚΩΝ ΜΗ ΟΥΩΤ ΝΡΙΡ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ, ΤΩΖC
ΕΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΤCΙΑΟΥΝ

For the psora (pl.): Arabic natron and pork fat rub together, anoint the sick
in the bath.¹⁹⁰

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 12

ΚΕΟΥΑ. ΜΟΥΛΖ, ΛΑΜΧΑΠΤ ΕΦΘΟΝ, ΖΑCΗ, ΘΗΝ ΑΝΑ. ΧΡΩ

Another (remedy): Wax, soft pitch, baking soda, sulfur. Apply.¹⁹¹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 15

ΕΚΩΑΝΧΙ ΝΟΥΖΑCΗ ΝΤΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΛΙΒΑΝΟC¹⁹² ΜΗ ΟΥΘΗΝ ΝΑΤΩΩΜ,
ΝΓΤΑΛΟΥΥ ΖΙ ΖΧΗ ΖΙ ΕΒΙΩ ΜΗ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΗΜΟΥΛΖ, ΝΓΒΟΛΦΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΓΤ ΝΕΖ
ΝΧΑΜΕΜΕΛΩΝ ΕΡΟΥ, ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΖΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΓΤ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΝ ΤCΙΟΥΝ,
ΦΝΑΛΟ

If you take a soda from Alexandria, frankincense and unmixed sulfur, add
it to vinegar and honey with a little wax, dissolve it (melt) and add
chamomile oil, mix all of these (ingredients) together and bring it to him
in the bathroom. He will be healed.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Author's own translation.

¹⁹¹ Author's own translation.

¹⁹² ΛΙΒΑΝΟC, from the Greek λίβανος. It corresponds to Arabic *liban* لَبَان. It appears in genitive form as ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ in Ch 180. It has multiple uses in various medical prescriptions, it used for temples pain as in Ch 63 and Ch 64 (see 5.2.2), and as a remedy to treat migraine in Ch 209 (see 5.2.3). And it used for eye disorders in P.Mich. MS 136 (see 5.6.3), and Ch 56 (see 5.6.18).

¹⁹³ Author's own translation.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 25

ετβε ογρωμε ερε πεφωμα ζωκε. σταφίτης ακριας¹⁹⁴ Γοε̅̅ ρασμ Γοε̅̅
κισιρεος¹⁹⁵ Γοε̅̅ λιθαρκγρος Γοε̅̅ θην Γοε̅̅ κιμινογ Γοε̅̅, ντοογ τηρογ
θνοογ καλωσ, χιτογ νμμοκ ετσιοογν. ερωαν πρωμε † βωτε ρν τσιαογν
† επεφωμα μαρεφριτγ, μννσωσ νιγχακμεφ ρι θρηων

For a man whose body is itching: Lousewort six ounces, natron six ounces, pumice six ounces, six ounces of litharge, sulfur six ounces, cumin six ounces. Grind them all well, take them with you in the bathroom. If the person sweats in the bath, give (the remedy) to his body, let him rub it. Then bathe (wash) him with warm water.¹⁹⁶

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 43

ετβε νετό νψωρα. καροια εφωογωογ, θιογ απγρογ. βολογεβολ ρι ηρη
εφχοορ. ταρσγ ρν τσιοογν μν ογαωη ννερ.

For Psora: Dry nut, and solid sulphur; dissolve them in strong wine, anoint him in the bath with a large quantity of oil.¹⁹⁷

In Ch 225, it was also used to treat the rectum:

Ch 225

(403) ομεοσ ετβε πμερτω κενναρε¹⁹⁸ νστοϊ ρ̅̅ ζ̅̅ ραμ ρ̅̅ β̅̅ εγφορριογ ρ̅̅ β̅̅
σμηνρηνσ ρ̅̅ θνοογ (404) καλωσ τσογ ρι θερμον ρ̅̅ν τσιοογν παρτογ φναλλο ©

¹⁹⁴ Greek σταφίς αγρία (this is the sharp or lark spur), *Delphinium Staphis agria*. It is called زبيب الجبل meaning “Mountain raisins” in Ibn Al-Baitar. Till 1951a: 72.

¹⁹⁵ It is called in Arabic (فينج) فينك (خفاف), حجر شفاف (خفاف). Till 1951a: 50.

¹⁹⁶ Author’s own translation.

¹⁹⁷ Author’s own translation.

¹⁹⁸ κενναρε stands κηναρι, κενναρι for means, Arabic نبق سدر *nabaq, sidr*. It is also known by πογβε, and χρωογνι “Christ’s thorn tree- Ziziphus spina-christi”. Chassinat 1921: 317.

(403) Likewise: Concerning the large intestine: Aromatic jujube seven drachmas, *aam* two drachmas, spurge two drachmas, myrrh a drachma; grind them (404) well; give to drink with hot water in the bath. He will be healed.¹⁹⁹

It is used also as a remedy to stimulate milk secretion, to be used for three days:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 6

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΚΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΡΩΤΕ ΔΙ ΝΖΝΧΗΝ ΕΥΩΘΟΥΕ ΛΑΖΜΟΥ ΖΙ
ΑΝΚΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΚΚΟΥ ΝΓΝΖΘΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΣΙΘΟΥΝΕ

For woman's breasts to give milk: Take dry garlic, boil them in unmixed wine. Let her drink in the bath for three days.²⁰⁰

The verb $\chi\omega\bar{\kappa}\mu$ equally implies “to wash”, and was used to express washing oneself in the bath:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 41

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΖΩΚΕ ΕΦΩ ΠΚΑΤΚΕ. ΔΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΜΜΗ ΜΝ
ΟΥΖΑΧΜ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΜΧ, ΘΝΟΟΥ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ, ΔΙΤΟΥ ΕΤΣΙΘΟΥΝ, ΤΩΖΣ
ΕΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΝΖΗ// ΤΟΥ, ΦΗΑΛΟ ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΩΚΜ ΤΑΖΣΦ ΝΝΕΖ ΜΜΕ
ΖΙ ΗΡΠ.

For people whose bodies are affected by the louse: Take a little urine, soda, vinegar; rub them together, take them to the bathroom, anoint their body with them, he will be healed. After bathing, anoint him with real (good) oil or wine.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 317.

²⁰⁰ Author's own translation.

²⁰¹ Author's own translation.

There were other verbs used to express the washing or rinsing of the mouth such as εἶω, εἶω εἶωλ “wash, wash away”, εἰς ρω-εἶωλ “wash mouth” in (P.Mich. 593a).²⁰² The term ρωλ also appears in (P.Mich. 593b) within the expression ρωλ ρωκ εἶωλ “rinse your mouth”.²⁰³

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 200-201

εἴτε εἴνηααχε εἴτιτκακ οὔβοπε ἄρωτε ἄρω εἴρ[η]μ εἰα ρωκ
εἶωλ ἄμοκ ἀγω κναλο // > > >

For teeth which are painful: A cup of hot asses’ milk. Wash your mouth out with it, and they will recover.²⁰⁴

According to P.Mich. 593b, one should place chewed pigeon’s herb and its juice on the diseased tooth:

P.Mich. 593b, vo, ll. a 21-b 15

εἴτε ἄνωγρε εἴρωνε οὔν οὔντ[η]σ χε πσιμ ἄρωομπε εἴπορω. εἶωλ
εἴτε περιστερεωνος²⁰⁵ πε [η]κα οὔεσογωβω ρι τῆααχε εἴρωνε ἄκα
περμωογ ρι πσα εἴτῆμαγ νογαπρητε ἄρωλ ρωκ εἶωλ ἄογμα εἴμ ρη
να ε[ρ]ατῆ .

For diseased teeth: There is a plant, the dove-herb, it spreads out, which is vervain. You place a chew (?) upon the diseased tooth, and you place its juice upon that side for a while, and you rinse your mouth in a place to which no sun (-light) comes.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Worrell 1935: 36.

²⁰³ Crum 1939: 558a.

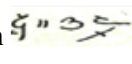
²⁰⁴ Translation: Worrell 1935: 36.

²⁰⁵ Worrell mentions that peristereon is a kind of verbena. Worrell 1935: 191. περιστερεωνος, περιστερεών “vervain (name of a plant)”. Coptic Dictionary online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?ta=C10148>], (last accessed: 13.06.2021).

²⁰⁶ Translation: Worrell 1935: 191, with slight modifications.


3.3 INTERNAL APPLICATION AND RECTAL MEANS

3.3.1 κρμε

κηλμε, κλμε or κρμε means “poultice of wool or pad”. It was piece of wool soaked in a drug, which would be applied to the painful part of the body. Acting as a kind of tampon, it would be inserted into certain cavities of the body or applied externally on the painful parts, and in case of pains on the stomach or diseased limbs. Chassinat²⁰⁷ argues that the word κλμε must certainly be close to the expression  *klme.t*, which is expressed in a recipe relating to a female issue in the medical papyri of London and Leiden (v^o, VI, 7-8). In the Ebers Papyrus, this remedy was applied by the doctors of ancient Egypt who used pessaries made from tapered linen that had been smeared with Nile mud and honey: “smear a cloth of the finest linen with it, put in her vagina for four days” (Pap. Ebers 96, 19-20). In Greek medicine, Oribasius also recommended the use of a suppository (Coll. Méd., VIII, 39, 5, II, 256).

κρμε was used as a poultice to treat painful parts of the body in Ch 213, where the recipe recommends using sparrow droppings smeared on a scrap of wool to be applied upon the painful area, or to be inserted into the body of the patient. There are other recipes that refer to κλμε as a tampon coated with the remedy and inserted into the vagina (Ch 24, Ch 123, Ch 124, and 167), or the anus (Ch 110, Ch 167). As stated in Ch 213, the material of the poultice was wool; sometimes a specific type of wool such as white wool is specified in recipes (Ch 124). It should be noted that the material was not mentioned in the remaining recipes.

3.3.2 цаг

цаг “suppository”,  .²⁰⁸ This remedy, which was probably introduced into the anus, appears in the papyrus Chassinat (Ch 75) as a treatment for a the large intestine. The recipe is prescribed as a potion τρω,²⁰⁹ consisting of: twenty-ounces myrrh, twenty-ounces castoreum, twenty-ounce green vitriol, and three-ounces spurge; these ingredients should be ground well into the shape of a suppository, and the final product should be inserted via a patient’s rectum (see 5.8.3).

²⁰⁷ Chassinat 1921: 125.

²⁰⁸ Westendorf 1977: 209.

²⁰⁹ Chassinat 1921: 188. Chassinat argued that: This word can be translated either by: potion or irrigation.

3.4 INHALATION

3.4.1 αCCΩΩΔ

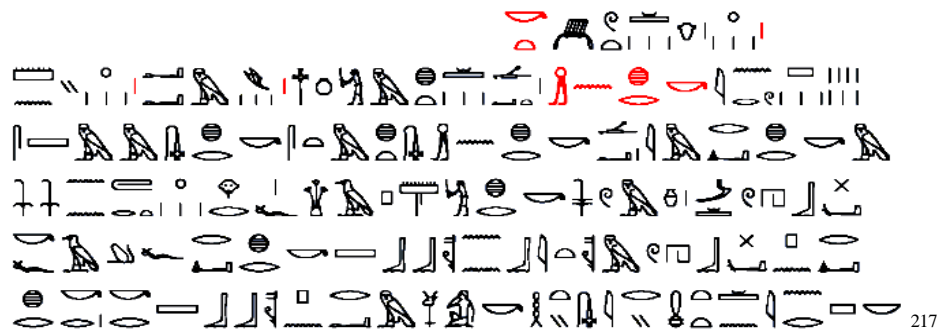
αCCΩΩΔ, “a remedy to be introduced into the nose”, derives from the Arabic term السعوط sa’out²¹³ and can be a liquid, paste, pill or powder. As in (Ch 108), it was usually used to treat rheumatism, stream and coughing. Chassinat²¹⁴ translates it into *caputpurgium*. The nature and the composition of both αρρωρωτ and αCCΩΩΔ are apparent in medical recipes; moreover, the prescriptions also provided the method on how to apply the prescribed treatment:

Ch 108

(222) ογαCCΩΩΔ ετβε περρεργμα η̄ν πμαγε²¹⁵ ετρηορω̄ εCΩτ̄μ χι νακ
 η̄ ... η̄εγφορβιογ (223) ογοθογ ρι νερ με † ερραι ρ̄ν ρεντ̄ϛ ραγλο εγο
 η̄ρηεργμα η̄σεCΩτ̄μ η̄κεCοπ

(222) *Caputpurgium* for the cold and ear that is hard of hearing: Take of ...
 euphorbia, (223) melt them in fine oil; introduce into his nose, they will
 stop having cold, and they will hear again.²¹⁶

Inhalation as a method of treatment appears in Pap. Ebers 54, in which the inhalation of fumes from a fire to expel a cough is recommended:



²¹³ Chassinat argues that the name السعوط does not indicate to the special form of the medicine, because it may be a liquid, a pasty substance, a pill or a powder; however, it refers to the way it was applied. Chassinat 1921: 229.

²¹⁴ Chassinat 1921: 10.

²¹⁵ I assume that (γ) is incorrect and it should be (μαχε), I checked the transliteration from the image of the Chassinat papyri and I found it x, so μαγε is a mistake in the transcription.

²¹⁶ Author’s own translation.

²¹⁷ Medizinische papyri. [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_liv.html], (last accessed: 19.08.2020).

To expel cough: Another: Realger: 1, mineral? Resin?, aaAm plant 1, grind together. You should bring seven stones. You should therefore heat them on a fire. You should take one of these; you should give to him (something) of this remedy. Cover it (i.e. stone) with a new Hn.w pot, its bottom was pierced. You are therefore give a reed tube into this puncture. (And) you therefore put your mouth to this tube so that you inhale the smoke from it (lit.: swallowed). (Will) also (proceed) with each (other) stone. (And) you therefore eat some fat afterwards, from fatty meat or oil/fat.²¹⁸

The following recipe used to treat sneezing was also carried out by inserting the remedy into the nose:

Pap. Ebers 90



Another [remedy] for eliminating sneezing the nj3- disease in the nose: nj3j3 plant (mint); rubbed with dates, give to the nose.²²⁰

3.5 DOSAGE AND TIMING

Some remedies contained instructions concerning the dosage and timing in order to help the patient to take the medicament in the most effective way. The patient's prescribed dose was carefully determined by the physician. To be effective, many medications needed to be given at specific times, such as every morning and three times per day...., etc. A recipe from a Coptic medical handbook related to the coenobium of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara,²²¹ mentions that the remedy should be applied every morning:

P.Carlsberg 500

²¹⁸ Westendorf 1999: 607.

²¹⁹ Medizinische papyri. [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_xc.html], (last accessed: 19.10.2020).

²²⁰ Westendorf 1999: 675.

²²¹ Erichsen 1963: 33 (fol. *B ro* II.1–7).

ΥΙΗ ΜΠΒΗΘ. ἸΩΒΗΚΩΒ ΝΑΚΡΙΘ²²² ΕΦΡΗΤ ΖΗΖΕΝΜΑ ΕΥΧΟΟΕ ΕΡΕΝΕΦΩΒΕ Ο
ΝΣΟΥΡΕ ΘΝΟΦΙ ΜΝΕΦΜΟΟΥ ΜΝΟΥΕΒΙΩ ΕΥΩΗΩ ΜΝΝΕΥΡΗΥ † ΕΝΕΒΑΛ
ΕΥΟΝΕΛΛΟΟΤΗ ΕΚΝΑΤΑΔΑΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΜΗ† ΔΥΩ ΠΕΡΙΧΡΕ²²³ ΝΩΩΡΠ ΜΗΝΕ
ΔΥΩ ΦΑΦΤΑΛΘ

Falcon herb or wild *Iobekob*: It grows in the wild, in high places and its leaves are thorny, crush it, and take its juice which honey in equal parts. Apply it to the misty eyes. You should put them in bronze vessel and apply every morning. And he will recover.²²⁴

The following recipe Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 9 recommends taking one spoonful of the remedy every day:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 9

ΕΤΒΕ ΖΗΚΙΒΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΡΕΡΩΤΕ ΔΙ ΝΕΝΜΑΖΤ ΝΕΡΟΣ²²⁵ † ΟΥΜΙΣΤΡΑΝΟΣ ΜΜΕΝΕ
ΖΙ ΖΗΚΕΙΡΠ

For breasts to give milk: Take intestines seed, give (the patient) a spoonful everyday....²²⁶

In addition, Ch 56 stats that the remedy should be used both morning and night χρω νωωρπ μν
νρωγρε φαγλο “apply morning and night, they will be healed”.

²²² ακριθ, ἄγριος “belonging to the field, wild”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 15a.







²²³ cf. περιχρίω “to smear or cover over; to pour as unguent over, to anoint”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1394a.

²²⁴ Author’s own translation.

²²⁵ Cf. σπος, Crum 1939: 832a.

²²⁶ Author’s own translation.

Table 2. Coptic remedies by etymology

<u>Greek</u>	<u>Coptic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
ΤΡΟΧΙΖΚΟ	ⲥⲠ  <i>sw</i> (<i>zwr</i>) > <i>swi</i>	البرود ⲁⲣⲡⲣⲟⲩ
ΚΑΘΑΡΤΙΚΟΝ	ⲥⲠⲠⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ  = <i>gʹs</i>	السعوط ⲁⲪⲪⲟⲩⲟⲩ
ΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ	ⲥⲡⲉⲗⲉⲗⲓⲛ ⲫⲁⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ <i>spillyn</i>	
ΖΥΡΟΝ	ⲥⲠ  <i>z</i>	
ΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ	ⲥⲠⲟⲟⲩⲛ  <i>s(t)-in</i>	
ΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΜΑ	ⲕⲣⲛⲉ/ ⲕⲗⲛⲉ  <i>klme.t</i>	
ΕΚΖΩΤΑ	ⲥⲁⲗ  <i>szh</i>	
ΚΑΠΝΙΖΕ		

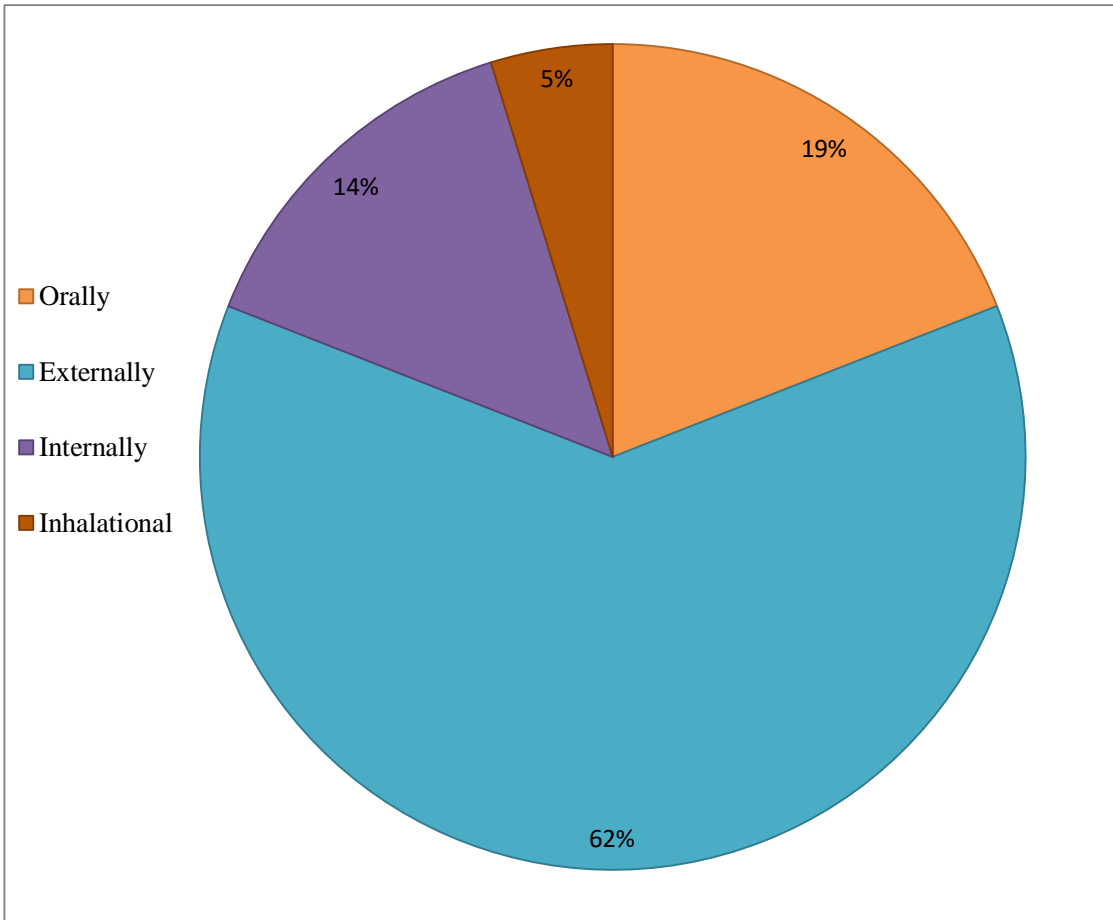


Figure 5. Remedies in Coptic medical texts

4. METROLOGY SYSTEM AND DOSAGE

A noticeable feature of some of the Coptic medical texts is the solicitude in providing accurate measurements of the recommended drugs. This was obviously of great importance in connection with the given prescriptions. The prescriptions were not just a collection of herbs and ingredients, they were carefully checked and quantified in precise quantities to ensure good treatment. A single prescription may have contained plants, minerals and animal elements which were all calculated in an accurate way. Evidence of accurate measurements and weights can be found in Chassinat papyrus, P.Mich.MS 136, P.KölnÄgypt. 12, P.Mich. 593a, P.Mich. 593b, P. Ryl. Copt. 106, and Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241–244. However, other medical documents, such as the Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214-215, the medical prescriptions are provided without any further measurements.

Most quantities in the Coptic medical recipes are represented by abbreviations or initials.²²⁷ They used this system in order to control drug doses, and they realised the benefits or harms of one treatment over another by comparing effectiveness to drug dose. Certainly, the experience of the physician may have exposed the necessity for a particular measurement of varying ingredients to achieve coveted effects. Consequently, they seem to have understood that some drugs were more effective or apt than others in treating specific diseases. They seemingly realised that some drugs were better given in small portions to avoid harmful effects caused by an overdose, while others were administered in much larger quantities. It is important to note that in their surviving medical writings there are no recommendations for the unwise use of any of the described drugs.

It is also worth mentioning that the weight system, except for slight variations, indicated in many recipes belongs to the Greco-Roman metrological system. Greek weights were often affiliated with currency since coins include stipulated amounts of a metal such as silver or gold.²²⁸ This is evident in the given units that bear the name of coins like obol, drachma, stater, etc. The other weight system followed the Arabic metrological system as $\chi\alpha\pi\epsilon$ حبه, $\Delta\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha\mu$ درهم, $\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\kappa\alpha\lambda$ المتقال.

²²⁷ Till 1951a: 11.

²²⁸ Hornblower & Spawforth 2003: 959.

4.1 DRY MEASURES

Table 3. Dry measures

Measures of dry capacity				
Unit	Greek name	Equal to	Modern equivalent	Abbreviation
λιτρε	Λίτρα	12 ounces	288 g ²²⁹	↑ ♁ ↓
σατρερε	Σατήρ	half an ounce	—	—
αλλατκαλ Al-Mithqāl (المثقال)	—	drachma or 1½ dirham	4.25 g	—
ροβολος	όβολός, όβολός	—	0.72 g (0.025 oz) ²³⁰	—
δραχμη	δραχμή	6 obols ²³¹	4.31 g (0.152 oz)	ⲁ

²²⁹ Demetris 2010: 5.

²³⁰ Hornblower & Spawforth 2003: 959.

²³¹ Smith 1870: 931.

γραμμα	γραμμάριου, γράμα	1/24 ounce	27.3 g	ϞϜ
ογκια (Liquid) Ounce	ογγία, ογία (Liquid) Ounce	—	—	Ϟ
ζαπε حبه	—	—	—	—

4.1.1 λιτρε²³²

λ, λι, λιτρε, λίτρα “pound”. The main unit of weight in ancient Roman was *libra*, which is equivalent to 12 ounces.²³³ The English word for λιτρε is pound, and the German translation is “Pfund”. In the recipes is represented by three different signs: [↑] in Ch 20, 44, [♁] in Ch 115, Ch 187, Ch 191, Ch 350 and Ch 356), and [♁] in Ch 115, Ch 244.

4.1.2 σαττερε

σαττερε, στατήρ “stater”, is equivalent to half an ounce:

P.Mich.MS 136, I. 217

²³² Till 1951a: 11–12. “The Pound (λίτρα) has to Oreibasos either 8 or 12 ounces (ογγία); 1 ounce has 8 drachmas (δραχμή) or 24 Gramma (γράμμα). 1 drachma equal to 3 Gramma or 6 obols (όβολός); 1 Gramma has 2 obols. It cannot be determined whether these ratios have validity also for the Coptic recipe texts. Even more, the transfer is uncertain in our present system of weights. Maybe the assuming that 1 ounce equivalent to around 30 grams, not far from the truth. Under this condition, 1 drachma corresponds to about 3.75 g, 1 Gramma about 1.25 g, and 1 obols about 0.75g.”

²³³ Adkins and Adkins 2004:350.

Φομτε ἡ σατεερε ἡπισιμθίου

Three staters of white lead

P.Mich. 593a, l. 17

ογσατερε λκογωια[...]ημερ ἡμε

A sateere.....of genuine oil

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 45

μογλρ σατεερε ᾶ

Wax, one staters

4.1.3 αλματκαλ

αλματκαλ is an Arabic loanword borrowed from the Arabic weight designation *Al-Mithkâl* المثقال. αλματκα= المثقال, and appears as ῃ ναλματκαλ “Two *Mithakals*” in (P.Ryl. Copt.106, l. 59). A mithkal is equal to 1 drachma or 1½ dirhams (“τερραμ, τρραμ”, Arabic درهم). P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 9-10 mentions εωι τερραμ καταγογα “5 drams of sugar”, and in line 15 †ογ εωι τρραμ “5 drams”. Also, *mithkâl* appears in P.Louvre AF 12530, which possibly originated in Sohag, and dates back to the 9th-10th cent. CE. The most interesting thing is that *Al-Mithkâl* is used in all ingredients in lines 1-43, albeit with the varying quantities of ⅓, ⅙, ¼, ½ and 7½.²³⁴

4.1.4 δραχμη

Meaning “drachma” (δραχμή) was represented by the sign ϡ,²³⁵ as shown in Ch 112, Ch 25, Ch 39, Ch 40, Ch 41, Ch 44, Ch 46, Ch 47, Ch 48, Ch 49, Ch 51, Ch 52, Ch 53, Ch 56, Ch 57, Ch 59, Ch 62, Ch 63, Ch 76, Ch 77, Ch 78, Ch 79, Ch 80, Ch 83, Ch 84, Ch 87, Ch 88, Ch 90, Ch 92, Ch 102, Ch 103, Ch 104, Ch 106, Ch 107, Ch 115, Ch 117, Ch 119, Ch 122, Ch 126, Ch 128, Ch 130, Ch 131, Cod.Med.Copt.,

²³⁴ Richter 2014: 176.

²³⁵ But it turned in the opposite direction, ϡ, in the alchemical notation of Greek manuscript No. 2327 of the National Library. Chassinat 1921: 48.

p. 244. It was usually symbolized as “<”; a ½ drachma was represented by the same, albeit reversed, symbol “>”.²³⁶

4.1.5 ΓΡΑΜΜΑ

One Scruple or gram (γραμμάριου, γράμμα) is equal to 1/24 ounce.²³⁷ It was usually represented by the acronyms with two bars ρρ as in (Ch 5, Ch 6, and Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244). The common spelling of gram in Greek medical manuscripts was γρ.²³⁸

4.1.6 ΞΟΒΟΛΟΣ

Ξοβολός, ὀβολός “obol” was a form of ancient Greek currency and weight,²³⁹ which weighted approximately 0.72 grams of silver, and was generally represented by symbol ϝ. Once by symbol ϝ in (Ch 112, Ch 240, Ch 116). As well as, by the following form ϝ in (Ch 5, Ch 11, Ch 12, Ch 15, Ch 94, Ch 114, Ch 118, Ch 190, Ch 204 and Ch 250).

4.1.7 ΔΝΑ, ΟΥΑ ΕΠΟΥΑ, ΠΩΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ

Many recipes mentioned the drugs without any indication of the amount or dose, determined by the doctor, who was the only one who had enough experience to use the appropriate amounts for every recipe. The amount was often given using simply the word ΔΝΑ (Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214–215, Cod.Med.Copt. 241–244) or ΟΥΑΙ ΕΠΟΥΑ literally meaning “one unit per one”, as is the case with these recipes (Ch 8, Ch 45, Ch 54, Ch 58 and Ch 82), or with the equivalent formula terms such as ΟΥΑ ΕΠΟΥΑ “one each one” or “one to one” (Ch 9, Ch 12, Ch 64, Ch 65 and Ch 152). Moreover, ΟΥΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ “one unit per one of them” is used in (Ch 109); and ΠΩΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ “the same level” in (Ch 101). The term ΟΥΩΝ “apart” is also expressed in (Ch 121, Ch 184, Ch 212).

4.1.8 ΩΙ

²³⁶ Chassinat 1921: 48.

²³⁷ Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C8689>], (last accessed 25.11.2020).

²³⁸ Chassinat 1921: 49.

²³⁹ Haarmann 2014: 125.

SBKopt I 005

Ⲭⲓ ⲃ̅ ⲉϣⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϣⲗⲉⲕⲕⲱⲕ ...ⲟϣⲱⲓ ⲛⲟⲃⲉⲛ...

Take 2 measures of soft dungs.... a measure of alum.

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 134-137

ⲟϣⲱⲓ ⲛ̅ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲛⲓⲥ// ⲱⲟⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲧ ... ⲛ̅ⲱⲓ ⲛ̅ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲁⲁⲙ// ⲱⲟⲛ̅ⲧ ⲛ̅ⲱⲓ ⲛ̅ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲥⲉⲗⲓⲛⲛⲛ
//ⲱⲟⲛ̅ⲧ ⲛ̅ⲱⲓ ⲛ̅ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓⲥ//

A measure of...., three measures of seed, three measures of parsley seed, three measures of dill seed.

Sometimes the “measurement units” are only expressed with corresponding figures without ⲱⲓ or any other word included (Ch 28, Ch 34, Ch 35, Ch 36 and P.Ryl.Copt. 106):

Ch 28

(59) ⲕⲁⲛⲟⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲁ̅ ⲭⲁⲣⲕⲓⲧⲉⲟⲥ ⲁ̅ ⲭⲭ̅ ⲁ̅ ⲡⲓⲗⲗⲓⲱ ⲁ̅

(59) Cantharis (Spanish fly) four (parts), white vitriol four (parts), verdigris four (parts).

Ch 34

(67).....ⲗⲛⲛⲓⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲱⲥⲁⲗ̅ⲕ̅²⁴⁷ ⲁ̅ ⲧⲣⲁ[ⲕⲁⲕⲛⲟⲥ²⁴⁸.....

(67) Someone he urinating blood: Round alum, tragacanth ...

Ch 35

(68) ⲥⲓⲗⲓⲕⲟϥ ⲁ̅ ⲗϥⲟⲁⲣⲕϥ[ⲣⲟϥ.....

Minium one (part), litharge.....

²⁴⁷ ⲟⲃⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲓⲱⲡ̅. Chassinat 1921: 134.

²⁴⁸ ⲧⲣⲁⲕⲁⲕⲛⲟⲥ, ⲧⲣⲁⲕⲁⲛⲟⲉ, ⲧⲣⲁϥⲁⲕⲁⲛⲟⲁ. Arabic: الكثيرا. Chassinat 1921: 136.

Ch 36

(69) σίλικου ἢ μογλαρ ἢ νερ μ[με

(69) Minium eight (parts), wax eight (parts), fine oil.

4.1.9 ογκία

(οὐγκία, οὐγία), ογκία, οηγία, ραογηνγία “ounce” was usually abbreviated to Ϝ (γο), as in (Ch 18, Ch 74, Ch 192, Ch 198, Ch 209 and P.Louvre AF 12530).

4.1.10 ῥαπε, ῥαπαθ

ῥαπε is derivate from the Arabic term حبه, (plural form) ῥαπαθ حبات. It appears as a weight measurement in P.Louvre AF 12530, ῥαπαθ ατταραπ *habat al-dahab* “gold slack” as a synonym for “gold-Cadmium”.²⁴⁹ The elements mentioned include saffron and musk, σαβαραν ογραπε “saffron one *habba*” in (P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 16, l. 86), and in the case of musk, the feminine numeral is ‘two’ with the word μυκ κητε νερωτ “musk two *habba*” in (P.Louvre AF 12530, Recipe no. 16, l. 85). the word ερωτ “barley grain” appears as (feminine as loan translation the weight measurements *habba*).

²⁴⁹ Richter 2014: 180.

4.2 LIQUID MEASURES

Table 4. Varying liquid dimensions in Coptic medical recipes

Liquid measures			
Unit	Greek name	Equal to	Abbreviation
ζεστης	ξέστης	approximately 0.539 litres	ζδ̄
λακ	Λακ	about 1/2 liter	—
αμοκ	—	—	—
ογαθ, ογυθ	—	a quarter of <i>lok</i>	—
αραπιω	—	—	—
μιστρανος	μύστρον	—	—
αποτ	—	—	—
βοπε	—	—	—

4.2.1 ζεστης

ξέστης meaning “a measure (sextarius)” is a unit of measurement.²⁵⁰ It also appears as the abbreviation ζδ̄ in (Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244):

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 214-215

ΟΥΖΕΤ[ΗC] ΠΝΕΖΜΕ//

A pint of pure oil

P.Mich. 593a, l. 16

ΟΥΖΕCΤΗC ΕΝΑCΚΑΛΟΝ Ε[.....]

A sextarius of asplinium [.....]

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 30

ΧΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΖΕCΤΗC ΝCΑΡΗ ΝΖΜΧ ΕΦΜΧ ΕΦΡΑΚΖ

Take a sextarius of burnt vinegar lees.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 45

ΝΕΖ ΖΔ̄

Oil one sextarius.

4.2.2 λακ

A liquid appears as λoκ in (P.Mich. MS 136, l. 190) ογλοκ $\overline{\eta\zeta\mu\chi}$ εφχνη “a lok of acrid vinegar”; and also as λακ in (P.Ryl.Copt. 5, l. 66) λακ νωκνηκηληνην “*Schkekelejn-Lak*”. Crum²⁵¹ lists λoκ as a bowl, cup, or as a measure of oil. It corresponds to both κοτύλη and ξέστης, and is also compared to the Hebrew term *log* “a small narrow necked vessel which also designates a liquid measure”.²⁵² The word λακ has already

²⁵⁰ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1189b.

²⁵¹ Crum 1939: 138a.

²⁵² Worp 2004 553.

been discussed by Worp,²⁵³ who assumes that the term *λακ*, found in two Greek papyri, refers to a measure of wine measure:

SB I 59297=SPP VIII 1160=XX 196.3 οίνου λακ 1
(V/VI^P)

SB XVIII 13930.9= P. Ross.Georg. V οίνου κόεις 400 ἀνὰ λακ 4 ἐκάστου κόεις
41, Fr. V. 3; for 13930.7 cf. BGU III

4 λακ = 1 κόεις according to SB XVIII 13930.9, as in BGU XII 2179.7: 1 λακοῦτ= 4 κνίδια.

4.2.3 *αμοκ*

αμοκ, *αμογ* is a liquid measure,²⁵⁴ and appears only once in Coptic medical texts as *αμογ* (P.Mich. MS 136, l. 159), in which the medication is administered in doses of seven *Amok*. Till²⁵⁵ mentions that “The Origin and meaning of this word are unknown to me”.

4.2.4 *ογαθ*, *ογοθ*

ογατγ, *ογοτγ*, *ογοθ* “pouring thing, cup”, corresponds to both *κοτύλη* and *κύαθος*.²⁵⁶ It is related to the term *ογωτγ* “draw”, thus meets our “scoop”.²⁵⁷ On many occasions it appears in Chassinat Papyrus as *ογαθ* (Ch 163, Ch 172, Ch 187, Ch 232 and P.Mich. 593b); and as *ογοθ* in (Ch 119). Whether it means a specific or an incidental measure, remains undecided. Also, it is mentioned in the magical papyri London-Leiden (XXIV, 12, 20; V^o, VII, 2, etc.): “Mr. Griffith believes that Demotic *outeh* may represent a quarter of *lok*.”²⁵⁸

4.2.5 *αραπω*

²⁵³ Worp 2004: 555.

²⁵⁴ Cherix 2019: 4a.

²⁵⁵ Till 1951a: 12.

²⁵⁶ Crum 1939: 499a.

²⁵⁷ Crum 1939: 498b.

²⁵⁸ Chassinat 1921: 50.

Crum²⁵⁹ mentions that it means الربع “the quarter”. The measure of capacity was used and perhaps synonymous with ραϕττροϕ (P.Ryl.Copt. 2, dry Bdellium) meaning “quarter.”

4.2.6 μιστρανος

μιστρανος, μύστρον “spoon”²⁶⁰ appears in Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215. It is doubtful, whether it is indicative of a specific or non-specific amount.²⁶¹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 9

Χι νηνημαστ νερος † ογμιστρανος

Take intestines seed, give one spoon

4.2.7 αποτ

Meaning “cup”, αποτ is a casual amount similar to our “glass” and appears in Ch 110, Ch 229 and P.Mich. MS 136:

Ch 110

(237) τεϕσωϕ τεκκαπνιζε ημοϕ ηελκο ηηαη σεηαι επεσεητ ες ηη χι
ηογεημογε (238) ηη ογερωτε ηερε ηη ογεϕιω † ογαποτ ηαϕ ηηητϕ ηη
τ πεστοϕ ηωορη

(237) He drinks (the patient), and smoke it with the tamarisk bark;
introduce them downwards the bottom, or take purslane, (238) cow milk
and honey; give a cup to him in three days. Cook them at first.²⁶²

Ch 229

²⁵⁹ Crum 1909: (footnote no. 4) 56.

²⁶⁰ Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1157a.

²⁶¹ Till 1951a: 12.

²⁶² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 234.

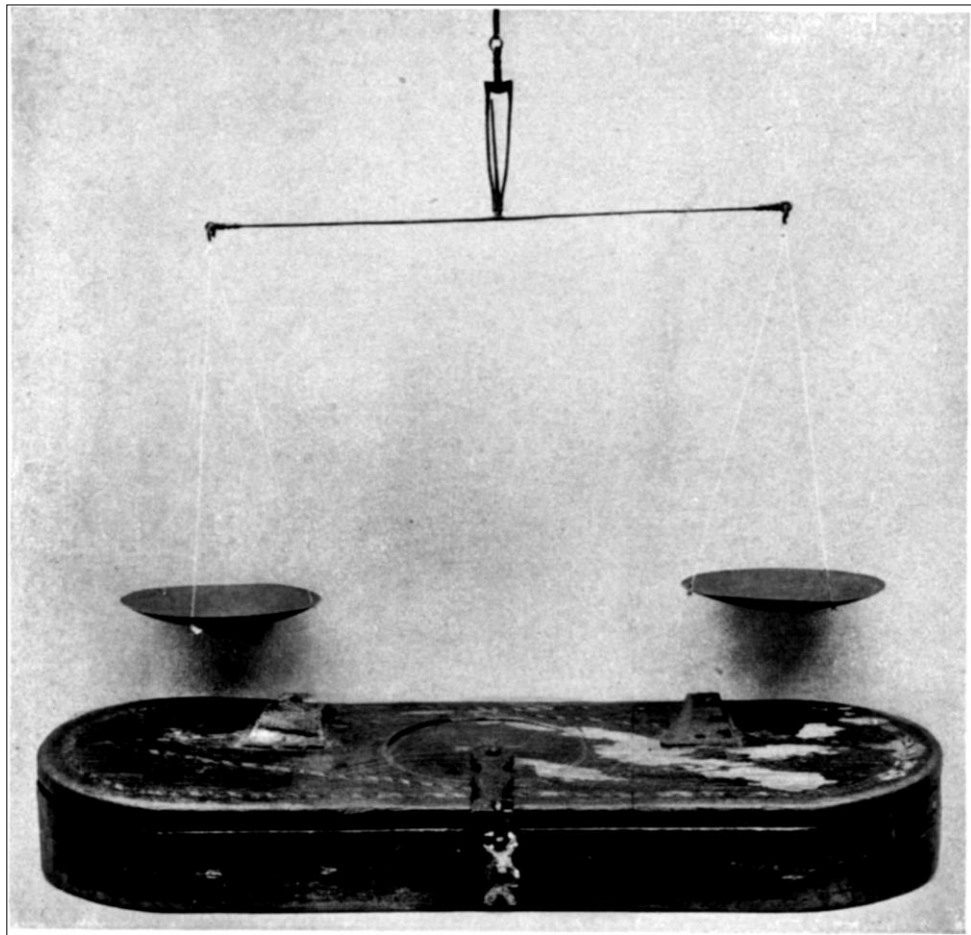


Figure 6. A small hand-balance of bronze dating from the post-Pharaonic period in the Metropolitan museum of Art (After Cartland 1917: 85)

5. MEDICAL RECIPES

Every individual medical text contains various medical prescriptions in which the diseases of various body organs are disclosed. These texts reflect a full knowledge of the human body according to a rational scientific approach.²⁷¹ From the sources texts it appears that both writers and readers of the text were physicians, and they subsequently belonged to the educated level of society.²⁷²

5.1 PRESCRIPTION STRUCTURE

Here the structure of the medical prescriptions, and how physicians recorded their administrative procedures and scientific knowledge in the form of an efficacious prescription will be described. An individual prescription contained one or more diverse remedies, including the technique of preparation, instruction for taking the remedy and possible explanatory remarks.

Each prescription mentioned one disease or complaint (sometimes a group of diseases) by using the Coptic preposition ετβε “concerning”, followed by the title of the disease or the name of the diseased part of the body, and then by the verbal structure εϕ/τ/γ †κκαϑ, ωϑνε, μοκ̄ε, ωεβε “It has pain, sick, be painful, swell”. Some prescriptions refer to the patient by using the indefinite pronoun ογα²⁷³ “someone”.

After that the physician put the remedy, which consisted of a number of ingredients usually named one by one, in writing along with instructions for its preparation: mixed, crushed, melted, pounded, and so on. Some ingredients had to first be cooked before application, therefore the recipe respectively details instructions on how to cook, boil and use the remedy: εκ̄μο ἴμοϕ κατα σοπ εκτωϑς “heat it each time you anoint”.²⁷⁴ The amount of ingredients in the healing melange were specified, and each item had certain units of volume. The amounts were marked by their respective numerals or by the terms “an equal amount, same amount of each”. Measurements encountered in the preserved texts are described as, for example, ϑοβολος “obol”, δραχμη “drachma”, and the Arabic αλματκαλ “mithkal” متقال, τερραμ/τρραμ “dirham درهم”, ζαπαε “(حبات حبه)”.²⁷⁵ In the recipes, the amount of a certain ingredient is marked by the numeral.

²⁷¹ I argue that this was expressed through some phrases that reflect the experience and experiences of the doctor, such as the following statements: “We usually call it the physician master” Ch 106; “A very good powder for all eye diseases. I examined it and I found it is correct; it has no equal in efficiency, my son. If you prepare it, (you will find) it is precious many times beyond its weight; if you prepare it, you will find that it is a wealth to keep in your treasure” Ch 109; “I examined it and I found it is genuine” Ch 26. Also, the physicians were aware of the appropriate ways of composing the ingredients with accurate measures, and of their previous medical experiences as “we have found it written in the books of the ancients” Ch 65. I discuss this in details in Chapter 7 (Medical Profession and Nursing).

²⁷² This is proven by the use of various Greek and Arabic expressions alongside their Coptic counterpart. This linguistic diversity requires knowledge of these languages. Richter argued that “these texts required well-educated readers of Coptic who had a good deal of taxonomic vocabulary from Greek and/ or Arabic technical language at their disposal” Richter 2016a: 40.

²⁷³ For example, Ch 130 (see 5.5.1), Ch 153 (see 5.5.3), Ch 199 (see 5.6.1).

²⁷⁴ Ch 218 (see 5.16.9).

²⁷⁵ See here chapter 3 (Drug Measurement in Coptic Medical Texts).

Some ingredients were more precisely defined such as white vitriol/ lead/ gum, black pomegranate/ ox/ gall of labis (fish cyprinus niloticus),²⁷⁶ red vitriol/lead, green vitriol/ pepper, and ζιλιλισ²⁷⁷ اصفر “yellow marobalan”.²⁷⁸ Other ingredients were named after their origins such as ροσμ̄ ν̄αρανικον²⁷⁹/ ροσμ̄ ν̄αραβικον²⁸⁰ “Arabia soda”, νεχε νεσωϣ “Ethiopian tooth”,²⁸¹ περσι²⁸² and ασπιριμι²⁸³ “Persian”, σαμοϣηρ σοϣρια “Syrian fennel”, and ερημ̄ ερωμη “from Rome” literally meaning “it belongs to Rome”.²⁸⁴ Some recipes mentioned tools of which were used to crush or mix ingredients like μηρε ν̄ριβωι “Ibis feather”,²⁸⁵ μηχαϣτ/μηχαθ “mortar”,²⁸⁶ βρωε “vessel or receptacle (holding a medicinal mixture)”,²⁸⁷ ειτος ν̄αβαδαειν “glass vessel”,²⁸⁸ ακκιον/αγγιον “vessel”,²⁸⁹ αλπαρμιε البرنيه “vessel made from clay”, or σορϣ “sieve”.²⁹⁰

The physician then gave instructions on how to apply the medicament and for how long the patient should use it, using the terminology, for example, κατα σματ̄ νιμ “according to each case”, ϣρω ϣν τ̄τσιοϣν “apply in the bath”, επιωμετ̄ ερωϣ “three days”, † ῥ̄ ναϣ εφ̄νανκοτε “give three to him when he goes to sleep”, or ν̄ωομη̄ντ̄ ν̄ρωϣ “three times in a day”.

Each recipe ended with the Greek verb ϣρω ϣραομαι “to apply, to use” sometimes including the abbreviation ϣω. Some recipes precisely mentioned how to use them such as ϣρω σαβολ “apply outside”, ϣρω σαβολ ϣ̄ σαρωϣν “apply on the outside or inside”, or with the Coptic verb † “give”. The effectiveness standard formula of the remedy application takes form of ϣ-να-λο “he/ it will be healed/ recover”, or ϣ-να-εμη̄τον²⁹¹ “it will be relieved”, ϣ-να-οϣ̄χαι²⁹² “he will recover”, and ϣα-ϣ-οϣ̄ραπεϣε²⁹³ “it will be healed”. Furthermore, the recipes were occasionally followed by religious words and pious phrases calling

²⁷⁶ Ch 113; Ch 194.

²⁷⁷ Ch 87; Ch 90. The word ζιλιλισ is Arabic word written with Coptic letters, Arabic *hlilj* هليلج. There are many types of myrobalan, the yellow, red, and black. Cf. Ibn Al-Baitar: 594.

²⁷⁸ The yellow myrobalan is also mentioned in Ch 47 “ζιλιλισ ασπιβαρ”.

²⁷⁹ Ch 172.

²⁸⁰ Ch 69.

²⁸¹ Ch 153 is a prescription for painful gums, (see 5.5.3) ‘Dental and oral diseases’.

²⁸² Ch 92.

²⁸³ P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 16, ll. 79–86.

²⁸⁴ Ch 221 see here eye diseases, ϣρωϣνα “flux, stream, rheumatism”.

²⁸⁵ P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 183–195. In addition, ibis feathers were used to apply the medicament. They were used in some cases of skin diseases, urethral abscesses in the anus in (Ch 212); pustules on the face (P.Mich. MS 136, l. 186); and for pustule that crust over (P.Mich. MS 136, l. 183).

²⁸⁶ Ch 148, Ch 102, Ch 109.

²⁸⁷ Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27.

²⁸⁸ Ch 8, Ch 102, and Ch 109.

²⁸⁹ Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214, recipe no. 2.

²⁹⁰ P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 1–14; Ch 11.

²⁹¹ Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 3 (see 5.16.11); P. CARLSBERG 500 (see 8.3).

²⁹² Ch 69 (see 5.7.1).

²⁹³ Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 14 (see 5.16.6).

on the aid of God's power like $\omega\alpha\alpha\lambda\omicron \xi\bar{\eta} \tau\bar{\sigma}\omicron\mu \bar{\eta}\phi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ "He will recover by the power of God";²⁹⁴ $\kappa\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron \xi\bar{\eta} \tau\bar{\sigma}\omicron\mu \bar{\eta}\pi\lambda\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ "He will recover by the power of the Lord";²⁹⁵ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron \xi\bar{\eta} \rho\omicron\gamma\omega\omega\gamma \mu\eta\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ "She/it will recover, by God's will";²⁹⁶ $\bar{\alpha} \phi\bar{\rho} \pi\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \chi\epsilon \eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma \pi\eta\alpha\lambda\bar{\rho}\epsilon \epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ "God knows how this remedy is very good!";²⁹⁷ $\bar{\rho} \epsilon \kappa\theta \chi\iota \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon$ "with God, take a flower";²⁹⁸ and beginning the recipe by mentioning the name of the god $\xi\mu\pi\bar{\rho}\alpha\eta \epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ "In the name of God".²⁹⁹ In addition, among the pure medical prescriptions, they are also invoking $\text{Ia}\hat{\omicron}$, $\text{Ia}\hat{\omicron}$.³⁰⁰ Even the medical texts contained biblical quotations such as Psalm 150, 1.³⁰¹

Some texts demonstrated punctuation marks between prescriptions,³⁰² which were occasionally marked in red ink.³⁰³ Names of drugs were usually separated in some cases by a point. Only Chassinat papyrus includes special punctuation marks between prescriptions with some endings of prescriptions marked with the sign \odot . Individual cases end with ” ;³⁰⁴ ” .³⁰⁵ The scribe sometimes marked the end of a formula with $// >>>-----$.

The medical recipes form the vast majority of the medical healing system. Coptic-speaking physicians treated almost all the possibly diseased parts of the human body, hence the following recipes are divided into subgroups to the body organs that they intended to treat:

²⁹⁴ Ch 171.

²⁹⁵ Ch 156.

²⁹⁶ Ch 125.

²⁹⁷ Ch 157.

²⁹⁸ P.Louvre AF 12530, ro, l. 88.

²⁹⁹ P.Ryl.Copt. 106.

³⁰⁰ P.Sarga 20.

³⁰¹ $\epsilon\eta.\iota\text{!}[\tau]\epsilon \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron \theta\epsilon\omicron\eta \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma \epsilon\eta\iota\tau\epsilon \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta \eta \sigma\tau\bar{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\text{†} \tau\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma \epsilon\eta\iota\tau\epsilon \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta: \epsilon\eta \tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma\text{†}\tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta \epsilon\eta\iota\tau\epsilon \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\epsilon \pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\varsigma \mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma \epsilon\eta\iota\tau\epsilon \alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta \epsilon\eta \chi\omega\zeta\alpha\lambda\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (SBKopt. I 001).

³⁰² SBKopt. II 1043.

³⁰³ CAT. NO. 137 (98: Ms4).

³⁰⁴ Ch 7.

³⁰⁵ Ch 50.

5.2 HEAD DISEASES

5.2.1 ἀνκεφολος³⁰⁶ ἐφτκας “painful brain”:

The standard of complaints related to the head was a pain that undoubtedly refers to the “headache”. Coptic medical recipes distinguished between different types of headaches system analogs to modern-day diagnoses, hence some recipes are dedicated to the general headache, while others to migraine or the lateral headache. As shown in P.Ryl.Copt. 107, the common expression used to refer to the headache was ἀνκεφολος ἐφτκας “brain that is painful”, which recommended oil and vinegar to be mixed with the egg of a hen to treat “all diseases of the head and temples”,³⁰⁷ P.Carlsberg 500 also recommends a recipe that consists of a type of herb called ὄρωπρω combined with leek seeds and milk. In addition to medical recipes, a headache was treated with magical acts like spells and amulets:³⁰⁸

P.Ryl.Copt. 107

ΝΕΩΩΝΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΠΕ ΜΗΝΣΜΑΥ *sic* ΟΥΑΝΚΕΦΟΛΟΣ³⁰⁹ ΕΦΤΚΑΣ ΧΙ
ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΣΟΥΖΕ ΜΠΑΠΟΙ ΟΥΟΠΣΙΣ † ΟΝΕΖ ΜΝΟΥΚΟΥ[Ι] ΝΖΗΜΧ ΕΧΩΣ ΤΑΖΟΥ
ΜΗΝ[Ε]Υ[ΕΡΗ]Υ ΚΑΑ[Υ Δ]ΠΕ ΚΑΑ[...]ΟΥ ΝΣΟΡΤ ΝΑ[Λ]ΔΥ ΕΧΩΦ
[...]†ϕ.ΕΝΙΑ[

All diseases of the head and temples, (for) a medulla/ brain that is painful:
Take a hen’s (?) egg; break it; add oil and a little vinegar. Mix them
together and place them . . . head. Place of white wool thereon...³¹⁰

P.Carlsberg 500, folio B vo, 106, ll. 11-14

ΕΤΒΕΝΙΩΝΧΩ ΘΝΟ ΝΤΕΙΒΟΤΑΝΕ ΜΝΟΥΕΒΡΑΤΝΣΗ ΜΝΟΥΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΕ[Ζ]ΟΟΥΤ

³⁰⁶ ἀνκεφολος, ἐγκέφαλος. Cf. ἐγκέφαλος “within the head, brain”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 472a.

³⁰⁷ Till 1951a: 13.

³⁰⁸ See ACM, 263, no. 127; Michigan 136, ll. 124–134; ACM, 304, no. 133.

³⁰⁹ ἀνκεφολος, ἀνκεφαλος, ἐγκεφαλος “contents of the head (brain)”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tl=C8862], (last accessed: 11.03.2020). Cf. ἐγκέφαλος “within the head, brain”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 472a. In Arabic it corresponds *Al-Moukh* الخ. Crum 1909: 59.

³¹⁰ Translation: Crum 1909: 59, with slight modifications.

For headaches: Crush this herb (αγορωσι) with leek seed and with male c(ow)'s milk.³¹¹

5.2.2 ΣΜΑΔΥ ΕΤΤΙΚΚΑΣ “Painful temples”:

ΣΜΑΔΥ ΕΤΤΙΚΚΑΣ “temples which are painful” the pain of temples indicates the lateral headache.³¹² The Chassinat Papyrus includes some recipes against temporal pain, which are to be placed or smeared on the head. It is clear that the temple pain was connected to eye pain as shown in recipe Ch 86 (see 5.6.15), and also connected with head and brain disorders as in the aforementioned recipe P.Ryl.Copt. 107 (see 5.2.1):

Ch 63³¹³

(123) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΝΣΜΑΔΥ ΕΤΤΙΚΚΑΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ ϖ̅ ἄ ΚΑΡΤΑΜΟΝ³¹⁴ ϖ̅ ἄ ρΙ ΜΟΟΥ
ΝΩΛΛΥΞ³¹⁵ ΧΡΩ

(123) Likewise: Temples that are painful: Incense one drachma, garden cress seed one drachma; (crush them) with water (white) of egg; apply.³¹⁶

Ch 64

(124) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΝΕΣΜΑΔΥ ΣΜΗΡΝΗΣ ΑΛΛΩΗΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ ΘΖΞΟΛ³¹⁷ ΚΜΜΕ ΟΥΑ
ΕΠΟΥΑ ΘΝΟΟΥ ρΙ ΗΡΠ ρΙ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΩΛΛΥΞ³¹⁸ ΧΡ

(124) Likewise: Temples: Myrrh, aloes, incense, starch, gum, same amount of each; crush them with wine and water (white) of egg; apply.³¹⁸

³¹¹ English translation by me of the German translation by Erichsen 1963: 34.

³¹² Till 1951a: 13.

³¹³ This recipe and the following one begins with the adverb ομεος, ὁμοίως “in like manner with, alike, equally”, which refers to the previous recipe (Ch 62) for treating head psora and recommends the same ingredients (see here head psora).

³¹⁴ Cf. κάρδαμον “cress, *Lepidium sativum*”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 877b.

³¹⁵ ωλλυξ, σογγε. Chassinat 1921: 173.

³¹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 173.

³¹⁷ θζξολ= αμελογ, ἄμυλον. Chassinat 1921: 173.

³¹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 173.

Ch 160

(315) ετβε ρενσμααγ εγτκκασ εγωδνε σαμιτ³¹⁹ ρ̄ δ̄ ογωημ νρηη̄χ
θνοογ καλ̄ χρω εροογ

(315) For painful and sick temples: Semolina three drachmas, mustard a drachma, a little vinegar; crush them well; apply for them.³²⁰

5.2.3 πργμεκρανιον “pain on one side of the head or face” or “migraine”:

πργμεκρανιον meaning “pain on one side of the head or face” and “a migraine”. ργμεκρανιον derives from the Greek word ἡμικράνιον,³²¹ and the Arabic الشقيقة scala n° 44,³²² and is a particular type of headache called a half-sided headache or migraine. Medical recipes prescribed a remedy in the form of a tablet as in Ch 209, which prescribed a tablet from pigeon droppings, incense, orpiment, and vinegar. The symptoms of this disease are described accurately in Miracle Sixteen attributed to the shrine of Apa Mena. This miracle concerns a “Samaritan woman in Alexandria”, who has suffered from this disease for three years, yet no medicine has cured her. She has spent a lot of money on trying to find a curative remedy, but to no avail. One day, some Christian women advise her to go to the shrine of Apa Mena to find the solution, and there the miracle occurs:³²³

Cod. M. 590,,f. 45 v., Col. I, ll. 14-25

Δε νεγεν ογνος νωω[νε] ρεν τεσ απε νωαγμογτε ερογ ρι[τ̄η] νε σαειν.
χε ργμικρανιον. ερε τεσαπε τκκασ. αγω εσβασανιζε επερογο νωομτε
νρομπε. ερε πτκκασ ογωμ̄ ν̄ωω

There was a great pain in her head called by doctors hemicranium and she suffered greatly for three years. The pain is eating her.³²⁴

³¹⁹ Ϭαμιτ, Arabic *samid* سَمِيد. The *samid* is a kind of semolina made from coarsely-ground wheat. It meets the Latin *similago*. Chassinat 1921: 277.

³²⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 277.

³²¹ Cf. ἡμικράνιον “pain on one side of the head or face; migraine”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 772b.

³²² Munier 1930: 160.

³²³ See chapter 8 “The Role of monasteries in the medical healthcare”.

³²⁴ Translation: Drescher 1946: 119, with slight modifications.

The incident has also been mentioned in the Bohairic life of Bishop *Apa Pisenthius of Keft*: “ἡ ἑνὴ μὲν ἡμικρανίον ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιούσῃ ἐσφίρ ντε περὶ ὄψος καὶ ἐρε περὶ ἀφῶρκ ντερε ἐβολ.... “The one was afflicted with hemicranium on one side of her face so that her eye was almost starting out...”.³²⁵

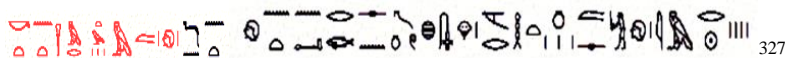
Ch 209

(376) οὐτροχικός (*sic*) εἶπε πρῆμεκράνιον κοπρος ἴβερOMPIE λιβανός
 ἀρσύνικον ἢ ἄ ἐποῦα ἄνοοῦ γι ρηῖχ χρῶ

(376) Troche for the migraine: Pigeon droppings, incense, orpiment, an ounce of each; crush them with vinegar; apply.³²⁶

The half-sided headache is detailed in one of the most-known sections in the Ebers Papyrus 250:

Pap. Ebers 250



Another [remedy] for suffering (meret) in half the head (ges-tep). The skull of a cat-fish (nar), fried in oil. Anoint the head with it over 4 days.³²⁸

The unilateral headache has also been mentioned in the Hippocratic corpus, defining it as the term hemicranias; the English word migraine most likely derives from this term.³²⁹

5.2.4 πμοϋρ ἦταπε “burning of the head”:

πμοϋρ ἦταπε literally means “burning of the head”: Ch 148 recommends an ointment made up of verdigris, rosin, calf fat and oil:

³²⁵ Drescher 1946: 119.

³²⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 302.

³²⁷ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_xlvii.html], (last accessed: 30.08.2019).

³²⁸ Science in Ancient Egypt [<http://sae.saw-leipzig.de/detail/dokument/papyrus-ebers/>], (last accessed: 30.08.2019).

³²⁹ Nunn 1997: 93.

Ch 148

(300) Ομοος πμογρ ἡταπε ὕογ ϩ̅ Γ̅ καραφονιας³³⁰ ϩ̅ Γ̅ κηνηε ἡμααε ϩ̅ ἄ
νερ πεφρωε (301) ογωθ νετληκ ἔἡ πκωρ̅τ̅ τααγ ριῶἡ νετωοογε ρι
τεμχαθ χρω ©

(300) Likewise: The burning/inflammation of the head:
Colophonian gum three drachmas, rosin three drachmas, calf fat one
drachma, oil sufficient quantity; (301) pour the soft substances in the fire;
put them on the dry ingredients in a mortar; apply.³³¹

In P.Ryl.Copt.109, three unidentifiable drugs ground with vine charcoal and other substances, which should be placed onto a fire and then used as cream. Since the beginning of the recipe is missing, the purpose of this remedy is unclear; however, it does mention that the substances should be used to anoint the face:³³²

P.Ryl.Copt. 109

]καρβωνε ενωενελοε τααβ επκωρ̅τ̅ ογ̅ ἡασμογ̅³³³ ὠαλα̅ κογ̅ω³³⁴ ἄρα
μενηρ̅ ταρ̅ς πεκρ̅ο εμμ[

Ashes of vine-wood/ charcoal put on the fire. Crush *Masmu*, *Schala*,
kostos, and oil, anoint your face (therefore).³³⁵

³³⁰ καραφονιας, κολοφονία “Colophonian gum, resin of the pine”. Cf. κολοφονιας, Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C9488], (last accessed: 03.11.2020).

³³¹ Author’s own translation.

³³² Till 1951a: 13.

³³³ Its meaning is unknown, it is also attested in a medico-magical prescription K11088: ἄσσογακκιαρ̅ ογ̅ ἡασμογ̅ αλλογ̅ς . . ο .
“Sugar (?), offering: Masmou, Salou (?) [...]”. Hevesi 2015: 58.

³³⁴ κόστος . Cf. κογ̅ω noun, kostos, koush; Saussurea Lappa (a spice). Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C9529], (last accessed: 15.04.2019).

³³⁵ Author’s own translation.

5.3 EAR DISEASES

5.3.1 μάαχε εγτικας “Painful ears”:

The main complaint relating to the ear was the earache, which was usually treated with a small amount calf gall being poured into the ear:

P.Mich. MS 136, p.13, ll. 203-5

ετβε ῥῆμαααχε εγτικκας ογϱηη ηαιϱε ῆμασε τααϱ ερογν επεϱμαααχε
αγϱ ρα ηεϱοβρε αγϱ σεναλο//

For painful ears: A little calf (or bull) gall. Put it into his ear and under his teeth, and they will get better.³³⁶

If the earache was excessively painful, then a mixture of opium, calf fat and warm milk would be poured into the ear as Ch 114 recommends:

Ch 114

(242) ογμααχε εγτικκας παρα πϱι οπιον κηηηε ῆζϱϱε ερωτε βολϱγ
εβολ ῆη ηεγερηγ (243) ϑμοογ † επμααχε ϱηαλο ῆτεγηνογ αλλα ῆπρ†παρρε
ερωμε ϱαντεκχι ῆπεκβεκε

(242) A painful ear: The same measure (from) opium, calf’s fat, milk; melt them together; (243) warm them; and apply to the ear, the pain will stop immediately. But do not give the remedy to man until you receive your wage.³³⁷

5.3.2 ογμααχε εϱϱωηε “Sick ear”:

The sick ear was an expression that may have referred to all possible complaints. Ch 173 recommends pouring cooked oregano and hyssop into the ear:

³³⁶ Translation: Worrell 1939: 36, with slight modifications.

³³⁷ Author’s own translation.

Ch 173

(333) οὔμαδε ἐφῶδνε οῤικάνον³³⁸ ἔγυσοπον παστοῦ καλῶς χρω ©

(333) A sick ear: Oregano, and hyssop; cook them well; apply.³³⁹

Ch 206

(373) οἰεος οὔμαδε ἐφῶδνε ἀμμωνιακοῦ ὀγνιαματος ἔιτῖ ἔι ἐρωτε
ἡζῖμε ἐσμοσε ἡογ[ω]ἡρε ἡζοογτ χρω ἐροϋ

(373) Likewise: Sick ear, gum ammoniac; rub it with the milk of a woman who gave birth to a male child; apply to it.³⁴⁰

5.3.3 πμαγε ἐτζοῤῶ ἐσῶτῖ “the ear that hears hardly”:

Deafness related to ρεῦμα was cured by pouring olive oil and softened *Euphorbium* in the patient’s nose, as in Ch 108 οὔασσῶαδ ἐτβε πεζρεργμα “*Caputpurgium* for the rheumatism”, Till³⁴¹ argues that it probably refers to only the temporary impairment of the hearing induced by a violent cold (see 3.4.1).

5.4 MOUTH DISEASES

5.4.1 ταπρο ἐσῶδνε “Sick mouth”:

This expression may refer to mouth inflammation or pain in general, which could be treated with alum and dill:

³³⁸ οῤικάνον, ὀρίγανον “organy”. Cf. ὀρίγανον “origanum heracleoticum”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1250b. οῤικάνον, ὀρίγανον correspondence to the Arabic مردقوش. It is known that oregano has a “healing properties, especially for an ear infection “of interest is the observation that oregano phytochemicals can suppress microorganisms associated with oral disease and ear infections”. Singletary 2010: 131. In Egypt, oregano is still used as a folk remedy against earache and hearing impairment (ingredients: one spoonful of oregano and in a cup of water, you should boil the water and add the oregano, allow them to boil for two minutes; drink two cups daily).

³³⁹ Author’s own translation.

³⁴⁰ Author’s own translation.

³⁴¹ Till 1951a: 19.

Another recipe offers a powder for teeth and gums without causing disease or complaints:

Ch 178

(339) ογζυρον ἡτεαχαρτον ετβε ἡνααχε ἡν πααα ἡἡνααχε αρσηνικον
ῥ λεπτος ῥ θιογ ἀπερογ³⁵⁰ (340) χαρτης εφρωχ ῥ μωληβογ ῥ αλος ϙ ᾶ
επογα θηοογ καλωσ χρω ©

(339) A powder of paper for teeth and gum of his teeth: Orpiment, copper mill scale, native sulfur, (340) burnt paper, lead, salt, four drachmas of each; crush them well; apply.³⁵¹

5.5.2 ναχε ρωτε³⁵² “Teething”:

For teething toddler’s, the following recipe recommends wax foam to treat the pain:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 53-55

ετβε ογκογι ἡκεκε ετρε νεφναχε ρωτε εηπεφρισε †εβνη†επ³⁵³ μογλαρ
ενεφρητε

For a little child, so that his teeth grow without trouble/suffering: put the foam from wax on his swellings.³⁵⁴

5.5.3 πααα ἡνεφνεχε †κκασ “Painful gum”:

πααα ἡνεφνεχε †κκασ literally means “the flesh of his teeth”, which refers to the gums. In this case, Ch 153 recommends applying “Ethiopian tooth” and realgar directly upon the pain:

Ch 153

³⁵⁰ Also it occurs in Ch 37, *Σείον ἄπυρον*. Chassinat 1921: 290.

³⁵¹ Author’s own translation.

³⁵² Cf. ρωτ “grow, sprout”. Crum 1909: 303b.

³⁵³ Worrell is in doubt about the meaning of this word. It is εβνητε “foam”, cf. Crum 1939: 384b.

³⁵⁴ Author’s own translation.

(307) ογα ερε πααϋ ηνεϋνεχε †κκαδ νεχε ηερωω σαηταραηη³⁵⁵ θηοοϋ
καλ χρω εροοϋ ωαγλω //

(307) Someone whose gums have pain: Ethiopia tooth, realgar; crush them well; use them; they will be healed.³⁵⁶

Another recipe offers a powder for gum pain consisting of orpiment, copper mill scale, native sulfur, burnt paper, lead and salt:

Ch 178

(339) ογζϋρον ητεαχαρ†ον ετβε ηηααχε ηηη πααϋ ηηηηααχε αρχηηικον ,
λεπιτοϑ , θιοϋ απεροϋ (340) χαρτηϑ εφρωχ , μωληβοϋ , αλοϑ ϖ Δ
επογα θηοοϋ καλωϑ χρω⊙

(339) A powder of paper for teeth and gum of his teeth: Orpiment, copper mill scale, native sulfur, burnt paper, lead, salt, four drachmas of each; crush them well; apply.³⁵⁷

Ch 179

(341) οηεοϑ ετβε πεϋρεϋμοη ηοϋηε ηζαδρ εφρωχ ρι ηοοϋ χρω ⊙

(341) Likewise: For their inflammation: Burnt root of onion and water; apply.³⁵⁸

The following three recipes are classified as ‘likewise’, therefore, we can assume that they treated the same disease:

³⁵⁵ σαηταραηηϑ, σατηρακειϑ, σαηδαράκη ‘realgar’. It appears as σατηρακειϑ in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 176–182 (see 7.1.1).

³⁵⁶ Author’s own translation.

³⁵⁷ Author’s own translation.

³⁵⁸ Author’s own translation.

Ch 180

(341) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ Ϝ̅ Β̅ ΑΜΗΛΛΟΝ Ϝ̅ Β̅ ΟΡΟΒΟΥ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΧΡΩ

(341) Likewise: Incense two drachmas, starch two drachmas, and vetch; crush them; apply.³⁵⁹

Ch 181

(342) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΧΑΡΚΙΤΕΟΣ Ϝ̅ Δ̅ ΧΑΡΚΟΣ Ϝ̅ Δ̅ ΜΙΣΕΟΣ Ϝ̅ Β̅ ΧΙΘΙΡ̅ Ϝ̅ Γ̅ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΓΙ
ΖΗΜΧ ΕΦΧΗΦ ΧΡΩ ☉

(342) Likewise: White vitriol four drachmas, copper one drachma, vitriol yellow two drachmas, tragacanth three drachmas; crush them with spicy vinegar; apply.³⁶⁰

Ch 182

(343) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΔΒΕΣΤΟΝ Ϝ̅ Δ̅ ΑΡΓΥΝΙΚΟΝ Ϝ̅ Δ̅ ΣΑΝΤΑΡΑΧΗΣ³⁶¹ Ϝ̅ Δ̅ ΧΡΩ ☉

(343) Likewise: Quicklime one drachma, orpiment four drachmas, realgar four drachmas; apply.³⁶²

5.5.4 ΝΑΧΕ ΡΟΥΑΜΟΜΕ “Gum’s gangrene”:

The gums affected by this particular affliction called *Wamome* probably refers to aphthous ulcers.³⁶³ In this case, Ch 159 recommends using ashes of wormwood branches and honey, which should be placed upon the affected area of the gums (see 5.16.15):

³⁵⁹ Author’s own translation.

³⁶⁰ Author’s own translation.

³⁶¹ Cf. ΣΑΝΤΑΡΑΧΗΣ, ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ, ΣΑΝΔΑΡΆΚΗ “realgar”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C10404>], (last accessed: 18.01.2021). It appeared also as ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ in (P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 176–182) (see 7.1.1).

³⁶² Author’s own translation.

³⁶³ Till 1951a: 21.

(354) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΛΟCΤ̄Ν Μ̄Ν ΤΕΨΩΡΑ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΚΩΡ̄Ν³⁷⁴ ΕΤΞΩΞ ΚΑΤΜΙΑC
 ♪ ἦ χαλκος ♪ Δ (355) ἀλλωης ♪ β̄ οπιον , β̄ ναρτοσταχος , β̄ ακακιαc
 , β̄ κομεοc ♪ β̄ θνοογ καλωc ααγ ἡκ̄ χρω σαρογν , σαβολ

(354) A collyrium for darkening, psora, and itchy eye corners: cadmia eight drachmas, copper four drachmas, (355) aloe two drachmas, opium two obols, Indian spikenard two obols, acacia two obols, gum two drachmas; crush them well; make them a collyrium; use inside or outside.³⁷⁵

P.Louvre AF 12530, ll. 43-58

ΤΞΑΞ̄C Ξ̄ΝΒΑΛ ΔΙ ΑCΑΠΡ ΑΛΑΠΙ F Α CΑΒΑΡΑΝ F Α ΚΑΡΑΜΒΟΥΛ F Α CΑΚΤΟΥ
 Ν̄ΓΩΔΑΡΟΥ Ν̄ΓΔΙ Ν̄ΟΥΞΕΛΜΑΝ ΕΦΞΑΜΞ̄ Ν̄ΓΩΦ ΠΕΦΜΟΥ Ν̄ΓCΑΤΦ Ν̄ΓΚΑΔΦ ΕΞ̄Ν
 ΟΥ[[.]]ΚΩΞ[[.]]Τ ΕΦΚΕΡΑ Ν̄ΓΤΩΞ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΚΩΔΑΝ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΑ<φ>ΤΦC CΙΤ
 ΝΠΑΞ̄ΡΕ ΕΞΩΦ Ν̄ΓΤΩΞ ΕΡΟΦ ΩΔΑΝ ΤΕΦΤΩΞ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ Ν̄ΓCΩ ΕΚΤΩΞ ΕΡΟΦ
 ΩΔΑΝΤΕΦΚΒΟ

The itching (?) in eyes: take thick (?) aloe juice: one (ounce) saffron: one (ounce) seasoning. Grind them and pound (?) them; and take a sour pomegranate, pressing its juice, pour it off, put it on mild fire and stir it. When you see that it has solidified, pour the drugs on it and stir it until it is mixed together, and continue stirring until it cools.

5.6.2 Tearing eyes:

Excessive tearing is a condition caused by a variety of reasons. It can be a symptom of purulent ophthalmia or glandular blepharitis, both of which cause irritation and inflammation of the eye. These affections were common in Egypt, especially the purulent ophthalmia, which particularly

³⁷⁴ κωρ̄ν is for κωλ̄ν “corner of eye”. Chassinat 1921: 295.

³⁷⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 294-295, with slight modifications.

attacked young children.³⁷⁶ Excessive tearing of the eyes is mentioned in four recipes using different expressions (“νετωγο ρμει εφχνη επεσнт” in Ch 6, “нет-трμειн” in Ch 102, ζμβал εαρχη ннрн нгмоγ” in P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro, and “μοααγ” in P.Sarga 21, ll. 7-9):

5.6.2.1 νετωγο ρμει εφχνη επεснт:

Ch 6

(15) [Ομεο]с κε εκζωτα ενβαλ ετκнк мн νετωγο ρμει εφχνη³⁷⁷ επεснт
φχ[ονт γαρ] (16) нтотен αμηραс γρ̄ δ̄ каφωρα³⁷⁸ γρ̄ δ̄ сμηρнс γρ̄ δ̄
ωφсζελω³⁷⁹ γρ̄ δ̄ αλλω[нс]³⁸⁰ (17) θноογ καλωс ααγ нζγρον χρω εροογ
ωαγλο

(15) [Likewise: other (remedy) for external (use) to eyes that have no eyelashes and for those who leave flow acrid tears; [it has been experienced] (16) by ourselves: starch one scruple, camphor one scruple, myrrh one scruple, antimony one scruple, alo[es]; (17) crush them well; make it powder; apply them. They will be healed.³⁸¹

5.6.2.2 нет-трμειн:

Ch 102

(199) ογζγρον εναноγφ φαφθεραπεγε ннβαλ εтκнк φαφтρεγκαε̄к̄
нсе̄рвоγze (200) мн нет-тρωз мн нетереneyсωπε ογοӣт мн нет-трμειн
εγμογте εροφ δε καлив(201)λεφαλον³⁸² καтμιαс ϕ̄ δ̄ χαρκιτεос ϕ̄ δ̄
θноογ καλωс ρи ноογ ρи темхаθ (202) каφ φανтеφωοογε καλωс таαφ
εγείλωс³⁸³ нδβαсееин εωт̄γ̄ еγκολλαθ³⁸⁴ нгннх (203) тωӣс πгннх

³⁷⁶ Chassinat 1921: 62.

³⁷⁷ χηϜ stands for χев, ὄξυς, *aculus, acidus*. Chassinat 1921: 62.

³⁷⁸ καθωρα, καθόρα, καθουρα, κάφουρα, κάμφωρα, Arabic كافر. Chassinat 1921: 62.

³⁷⁹ ωφсζελω, σπimeос. Chassinat 1921: 63.

³⁸⁰ αλλω[нс], ἄλoη “aloe”, it corresponds to the Arabic *šabr* صبر сапир (from Ch 51, 98), сап̄р (from Ch 12; Ch 41).

³⁸¹ Author’s own translation.

³⁸² Calliblepharium “is a dye for eyelids and eyelashes”. Sophocles 1900: 622.

³⁸³ ελωс, appears as εтос in (Ch 109, l. 232). It means “vessel”. Cf. Greek. εἶδος, Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 482b.

³⁸⁴ κολλαθ is the transcription of Arabic *qullah* قلة.

εγωθφ εφωβπ νηβ̄ ζ̄ ντ̄φ εβολ ρ̄ν̄ πρημ̄χ στοφ ετεμχαθ̄³⁸⁵ νκεσοπ (204)
 σαμ̄φ καλωσ ααφ ν̄ζγρον χρω αλλα ν̄π̄ρκαφ εταρο πρημ̄χ αλλα καφ
 εφαωε ν̄ατπε ημοφ ν̄Δ ν̄τβε

(199) A good powder it heals the bare eyes³⁸⁶ - it makes them heal and
 develop eyelids, (200) itching, and those with thickening of the eyelids and
 tearing, they call it *kallibléph(201)aron*. Cadmia one drachma, white
 vitriol one drachma; crush them well with water in a mortar; (202) leave
 until it dries completely; put it in a glass vessel; suspend it in a vinegar pot;
 (203) bury the vinegar in fresh excrement for seven days. Take it out of
 the vinegar, and return it to the mortar; (204) mix it well; make it powder.
 Apply, but do not leave it touch the vinegar; suspend it four fingers high
 over it.³⁸⁷

5.6.2.3 ΖΜΒΑΛ ΕΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΗ ΝΖΜΟΥ:

P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro

η *sic*

ΖΜΒΑΛ ΕΑΡΧΗ ΝΗΡΗΜΟΥ ΝΖΜΟΥ// ΣΝΟΦ ΕΚΩΚΩΠΑΤ ΕΦΖΗΜ// ΟΥΕΝΤΗΗΘ
 ΧΕΚΑΡΤΑΜΩΝ ΜΗΗΤΡΜΕΚΗΜΕ ΧΕΠΩΙΦΕ ΕΦΥΩΗΗ ΕΦΡΗΤ ΖΗΠΑΝΤΟΟΥ
 Ν[Θ]Ε ΝΟΥΒΩ ΝΖΕΡΜΑΝ ΕΡΕΝΕΦΩΒΕ// ΟΥΟΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΗΝΣΑΦ ΕΚΑΓΙΩ
 ΠΕΦΩΕ ΕΦΕΙΝΕ ΗΠΑΠΖΕΡΜΑΝ

Eyes that begin to exude salt water—Hoopoe’s heated blood; a herb named
cardamom, in the Egyptian tongue *shife*³⁸⁸ which is a tree that grows in
 mountain regions like a pomegranate tree, its leaves being somewhat long
 like..... Its wood is like that of the pomegranate.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ ΗΧΑΘ, ΗΧΑΖΤ “mortar”. Crum 1939: 214a.

³⁸⁶ i.e. “hairless eyes”.

³⁸⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 219, with slight modifications.

³⁸⁸ “Unknown. Or in Egyptian (it is) the blight (ομηβε, rust) of a tree.” Crum 1909: 59.

³⁸⁹ Translation: Crum 1909: 59.

5.6.2.4 ΜΟΑΔΥ:

P.Sarga 21, ll. 7-9

ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΒ† ΜΟΑΔΥ Δ. ΠΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΝΔΒ [Ω]Κ ΖΙΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΜΧΩΛ ΖΙΕΒΙΩ †ΕΙ
ΕΦ[....]ΟΥΜΟΝΕ ΟΥΚΙΩΕ ΝΒΑΜΠΕ ΖΙΕΒΙΩ Π[

An eye that waters: ... of raven's eye (8) and water of onions and honey.
Apply (them) to [it ... a goat's gall and honey ...³⁹⁰

5.6.3 ΖΡΕΥΜΑΤΙΣΕ,³⁹¹ ῥευματίζειν,³⁹² and ΖΡΕΥΜΑ³⁹³ “flux, stream, and rheumatism”:

The words ΖΡΕΥΜΑΤΙΣΕ or ΖΡΕΥΜΑ indicate a disease that affected the eye. There are some recipes for treating eye streaming or rheumatism. From the contexts of the recipe, one can assume that it was a disease that caused increased tear production and pain: “In the Coptic recipes, ῥεῦμα certainly does not mean what we mean by rheumatism today, but an illness that causes secretion, discharge or sputum”.³⁹⁴ The disease is reported as being painful:

Ch 196

(362) ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΦΒΑΚΑΝΙΣΕ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΦΟ ΝΖΡΕΥΜΑ³⁹⁵ ΟΥΑΡ† ΚΡΟΚΟΥ ΒΛΛΕ
ΝΚΟΟΥΖΕ Ν†ΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΕΖ ΝΖΡΟ†ΝΟΝ ΘΝΟΟΥ † ΕΧΩΟΥ ΩΑΥΛΟ ΕΥΒ[ΑΚΑΝΙΣΕ]

(362) An eye that suffers completely and streaming: rose saffron, yellow
egg of the day, rose oil; crush them; put on eyes; they will stop suffering.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁰ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 52.

³⁹¹ Verb means “suffer from a flux”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C11189], (last accessed: 18.03.2020).

³⁹² Richter 2014: 164. The verb ῥευματίζειν is appeared in P.Heid. G 698c (col. I, l. 9).

³⁹³ ΖΡΕΥΜΑ from ῥεῦμα. Cf. ΖΡΕΥΜΑ “flux, stream, and rheumatism”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C11190], (last accessed: 18.03.2020).

³⁹⁴ Till 1951a: 16.

³⁹⁵ Cf. ῥεῦμα “that which flows, current, stream”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1567b.

³⁹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921:297, with slight modifications.

[ε]ρευμα “flux, stream, rheumatism”:

Ch 221

(398) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΦΗΠ ΕΞΡΩΜΜΗ ΟΥΣΤΑΨΚΟΝ ΤΕ ΕΣΨΑΥ ΕΝΕ[ε]ΡΕΥΜΑ Μ̄Ν
ΨΑΘΗΣΙΣ (399) ΤΗΡ Ν̄ΒΑΛ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ ς ΚΡΟΚΟΣ ς ΟΠΙΟΥ ς Δ̄ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ς
ΙΒ̄ (400) ΑΚΚΙΑΣ ς ΙΒ̄ ΘΝΟΥ ς ΔΔΥ Ν̄Ψ ΧΡΩ ©

(398) A collyrium estimated for (its) strength: it is an astringent useful for streaming and any disease state (399) of eyes: cadmia, myrrh, saffron, opium, four drachmas of each, gum twelve drachmas, (400) acacia twelve drachmas; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.³⁹⁷

ο ν̄ερευμα “are streaming”:

Ch 220

(396) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ Ν̄ΒΑΛ ΕΤΟ Ν̄ερευμα ΤΕΥΩΒ̄Ω Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΞΙ ΝΑΚ
Ν̄ΝΕΧΑΥΛΟΣ Ν̄ΜΕΖΜΟΥΖΕ (397) ΘΝΟΥ (sic) ΚΑΛΩΣ ΩΨ ΠΕΨΜΟΥ ΚΑΔΨ Ξ̄Ν
ΤΖΑΙΒΕΣ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΩΗΜ Ν̄ΚΗΜΜΕ ΔΔΥ Ν̄Ψ ΧΡΩ ©

(396) A collyrium for streaming eyes; it stilled them immediately them: Take stems of purslane; (397) crush them well; press the juice and place it in the shade with a little gum; make it a collyrium; apply.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ “The ingredients are only boiled water mixed with honey and thick *electarium* cooking as possible. Cough, catarrh of the trachea can make the most profit from intestinal catarrh checked by adding the juice of ypoquistidos and Acacias. Meconi black seed can minced with wine drinker’s catarrh body and a flow control with water and applied as a poultice on the front and a dream seasons change.” Martinez 2018: 102.

³⁹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 315.

It occurs also as ρρευματισε (ρευματίσειν):³⁹⁹

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 195-198

ΟΥΖΑΒ[Λ]ΕΕΛΕ Ο ΝΤΕΪΖΕ ΕΣΟΥΕΤΤΟΥΩΤ ΡΟΧ̄ΞϞ ΤΝΟΣ ΖΙ Ξ̄Μ̄Χ̄ ΤΑΔΑϞ ΖΙ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ
† ΕΞ̄ΝΒΑΛ ΕΥΖΡΕΥΜΑΤΙϞΕ ΣΕΝΑΛΟϞ

A great (?) lizard: Thus: while it is fresh burn it, grind it up with vinegar, put it with incense. Apply to eyes which suffer from a flux. They will recover.⁴⁰⁰

P.TT 157-470, col. i, ll. 8-12

[ΟΥ?ΚΟΛΗ]ΡΙΟΝ ΩΔΑΤΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΛΟ ΕΦ[ΩΔΑΝΖΡΕΥΜΑΤΙϞΕ ΜΙΟ[[Υ]]ΣΩΤΙΔΟΣ?] ΣΠΗΡΜΑ (δρ.) Η ΚΩΜΕΩΣ (δρ.) . . . ΟΥ (δρ.) Δ ΚΑΔΜΙΑΣ (δρ.) Η ΨΙΜΘΙΟΥ (δρ.) ΥΔΩΡ ΧΡΩ

[A colly]rium, it makes the man recover (?), if he] has rheumatism: Mouse [ear?]-seed (Dr.) 8, gum [(Dr.) x,...] (Dr.)1, calamine (Dr.) 8, white lead, water; apply.⁴⁰¹

5.6.4 ο μοογ ξ̄ν ογβαλ “cataract”:

Cataract is an eye disease indicating the state of the eye’s tissue. A number of recipes, dedicated to this disease, use the term ο μοογ, which means “are watery”, and which Chassinat⁴⁰² translates into “cataract”. The term cataract derives from the Latin *catracta*,⁴⁰³ meaning “waterfall”, and from the ancient Greek καταρράκτης (from καταράσσω) meaning “down-rushing”.⁴⁰⁴ The Latin term *cataracta*, means

³⁹⁹ Cf. ρευματίσειν “suffer from a flux”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1568a.

⁴⁰⁰ Translation: Worrell 1939: 36.

⁴⁰¹ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 161.

⁴⁰² Chassinat 1921: 14.

⁴⁰³ Chassinat 1921: 67.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. καταρράκτηρ. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 908b.

“portcullis” and “is probably behind the medical sense describing the clouding of lens of the eye. A person’s vision is blocked by this condition as if a portcullis had been lowered over the eye”.⁴⁰⁵

Cataract nowadays refers to “An eye disease in which the clear lens of the eye becomes cloudy or opaque, causing a decrease in vision.”⁴⁰⁶ In Arabic, cataract means المياه البيضاء *miah baidaa* “white water”: “As rapidly running water turns white, so the term may have been used metaphorically to describe the similar appearance of mature ocular opacities”.⁴⁰⁷

In the medical recipes, nothing refers to the nature of the disease or the disease’s diagnosis. Accordingly, *mooy* is an eye disease that begins with the inflammation and can lead to blindness. It is noticeable that the drugs that were recommended against “water” were usually used against other eye diseases with a quite different composition, as the following recipes state:

Ch 42

(78) ογμοογ ἡν ογσιογ σιωε ἡβαμπιε ρι ερω⁴⁰⁸ (*sic*) ἡωϣϣϣ ἡγ τι ερωογ

(78) A cataract and a blot: Gall of goat and breast milk; apply them.⁴⁰⁹

Ch 89

(172) ογμοογ ἡν ογσιογ εφῆν ογβαλ κοπρος⁴¹⁰ ἡβερμπιε ἡνοογ (*sic*)
καλωδς ρι εφιδ ἡατμοογ χρω

(172) A cataract and a blot in an eye: pigeon droppings; crush them well with honey without water; apply.⁴¹¹

Ch 91

⁴⁰⁵ Cresswell 2010: p. 76.

⁴⁰⁶ Medicinenet. [<https://www.medicinenet.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=2645>], (last accessed: 19.03.2020).

⁴⁰⁷ Goes 2013: 365.

⁴⁰⁸ ερω, ερωτε. Chassinat 1921: 148.

⁴⁰⁹ Author’s own translation.

⁴¹⁰ κόπρος, Pliny (XXIX, 8, 6) recommends a gall of pigeon against waterless. Chassinat 1921: 196.

⁴¹¹ Author’s own translation.

(176) ΟΥΜΟΥ Γ̅Ν ΟΥΒΑΛ ΖΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΑΛΧΑΜΟΥΝ ΧΑΡΜΕΝΕΙ⁴¹² ΤΡΙΠΟΥ Μ̅ΜΟΥ
 ΚΑΛΩΣ ΣΟΥΤΥ ΕΒΟΛ (177) Γ̅Ν ΟΥΣΤΟΕΙΣ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΣΝΑΕΣ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̅ΖΗΤ̅Υ ΤΑΥ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΗΘΟ ΩΔΑΥΙ ΠΜΟΥ Γ̅Ν Ν̅ΒΑΛ ΟΥΤΟΚΙΜΟΝ ΠΕ

(176) A cataract: take a caraway; crush it well; filter into a cloth the juice which will come out; put it inside, it will remove the water that is in the eye. It's an experienced (remedy).⁴¹³

Ch 192

(357) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΣΙΟΥ Μ̅Ν ΠΜΟΥ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΥ Ε ̅ ̅ ΥΟΥ Ε ̅ ̅⁴¹⁴ ΑΛΟΣ
 ΑΜΜΩΝΙΑΚΟΥ Ε ̅ ̅ (358) ΑΠΟΠΑΝΑΚΟΣ Ε ̅ ̅ ΑΚΑΚΙΛΣ Ε ̅ ̅ ΚΟΜΕΟΣ Ε ̅ ̅ ΘΝΟΥ
 ΔΑΥ Ν̅⌘ κρω εροου ν̅ωωρ̅π̅ Μ̅Ν ΡΟΥΖΕ ☉

(357) A collyrium for the blot and cataract: white lead ½ ounce, copper rust eight (?) ounces, ammonia salt eight (?) ounces, (358) opopanax eight ounces, acacia ½ ounce, and gum ½ ounces; crush them; make them a collyrium, and use for these diseases morning and evening.⁴¹⁵

Ch 204

(371) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΥΞΛΟΣΤ̅Ν Γ̅Ν Ν̅ΒΑΛ ΕΣ ΕΥΟ Μ̅ΜΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΑΚΟΥ ΘΥΜΙΜΑΤΟΣ ̅
 Β̅ ΝΙΤΡΟΝ ̅ Β̅ ΕΨΙΩ Ν̅ΑΤΜΟΥ Ω
 ΧΡ

(371) Likewise: A mist in the eyes or (eyes) that are suffering from cataracts: ammonia gum two obols, natron two obols, honey without water; apply.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹² ΝΟΥΑΛΧΑΜΟΥΝ ΧΑΡΜΕΝΕΙ “cumin: Sinot”, Arabic: “الكراميه”, Greek καρμάνια, and Persian Zira زير. It is a karmani and is called باسليقون means “royal”. “Dioscorides says that cultivated (Cumin) is flavored with taste, and in particular karman.” Abd al-Razzaq (p. ١٣١٥) argues that Cumin karmany is “Carvi” and “Cardamine” الكرماني وهو الكراويا وهو الفزدمانا. In the article Cumin of Armenia (p. ١١٥١), كمون ارمنى, he points out: “the Cumin of Armenia, it is the Carvi and the Cumin karmâny”. Ibn Al-Baitar: 917.

⁴¹³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 197.

⁴¹⁴ Chassinat thought that it is regularized cursive form of the number 8. Chassinat 1921: 295.

⁴¹⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 295.

⁴¹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 300.

Ch 205

(372) ⲟⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲉϣⲓⲱ ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲥⲓⲱⲉ ⲛⲗⲉⲱⲛⲉ Ⲗⲓⲡ

(372) Likewise: Honey without water, calf's gall; apply.⁴¹⁷

Recipes Ch 204 and Ch 205 present alternative remedies for treating the darkening of the eye in recipe Ch 203, which may be the symptoms of a cataract.

5.6.5 ⲙⲟϥⲛⲗⲟϥⲛ “Inner-water/ cataract”:

A similar disease meaning “inner-water” appears in (Ch 12, Ch 56, Ch 165). Ch 12 and 56 (previously mentioned) detail remedies that were also used for other eye diseases and contain similar drugs in such cases. A special remedy is described by Ch 165, which consists of the gall of two unknown animals, papyrus ash and honey:

Ch 12

(27) ⲟϥⲗⲗⲣⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲙⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲉϣⲟϥ ⲗⲉ ⲟϥⲥⲓⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙⲓⲉ⁴¹⁸ ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲱⲉⲧⲛⲉⲗ ⲱⲓⲧⲣⲁⲟ
ⲉⲛⲧⲓ⁴¹⁹ (28) ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲓⲡⲓⲕ⁴²⁰ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲁⲧⲉⲣ ⲣⲟϥⲛⲡⲁ. ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲥ . ⲥⲁⲓⲡ ⲑⲟϥⲑⲓⲉ⁴²¹ ⲟϥⲁ
ⲉⲡⲟϥⲁ ⲕⲣⲟⲕⲟⲥ ϣ ⲃ̄ (29) ⲛⲛ ⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲣⲃⲟϥⲃⲟϥ ⲛ̄ ⲑⲛⲟⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲁϥ
ⲛⲗⲗⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲓ ⲉⲗⲟϥⲛ ⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲟϥⲛ̄ ⲟϥⲛⲟⲟⲥ (30) ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲗⲛⲧⲓϥ ⲉϥⲣⲓⲡⲁⲗⲣⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲛⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ ⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ ⲡⲙⲟϥⲛⲗⲟϥⲛ (31) [ⲛ̄ⲛ] ⲛⲉⲧⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ
ⲛ[ⲉⲧ ϣⲣⲱ ⲥⲁⲗⲟ]ϥⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲃⲁⲗ

(27) A powder called *Sise kalamié*: Antimony, hematite, Indian lepidium

(28) ginger, salt ammonia, storax (?), copper, aloes, zinc oxide, same

⁴¹⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 301.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. *cice* “term for an eye powder”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C3751>], (last access: 21.03.2020).

⁴¹⁹ ⲱⲓⲧⲣⲁⲟ ⲉⲛⲧⲓ, Arabic *šīṭaraġ hindi* شَيْطَرَجُ هِنْدِي. Chassinat 1922: 92.

⁴²⁰ For the Arabic word *zanjabīl* زَنْجَبِيل. It is found also in Ch 11 and Ch 49.

⁴²¹ ⲑⲟϥⲑⲓⲉ, ⲑⲟϥⲑⲓⲁ is an Arabic loan word *tūtīyā* توتيا. Till 1951: 67. Richter 2014: 180.

amount of each, saffron two obols, (29) pepper ½ drachma, long pepper ½ drachma; crush them well; do it in powder; apply to the interior of the eyes. There is a great power (30) in it. It heals all eye diseases and eyes with inside water (cataract), (31) [as well as] those which became dark or whose eyelids have no eyelashes and those [who are; used in the interior of the eyes.⁴²²

Ch 165

(323) ογα ερε νεφβαλ ογῆ μογῆζόγῆν ριωε ἡζητς⁴²³ ριωε ἡερσοῖ εβιω
κῆμεσ ἡχαρτης ἡηιερατικον ρϕ

(323) Someone whose eyes have cataract: Gall of ichneumon (?), gall of chicken, honey, hieratic paper ash; apply.⁴²⁴


5.6.6 ριω “spot or blot”:

ριω is an eye disease, meaning “spot” or “blot”.⁴²⁵ Chassinat⁴²⁶ translates the term into “taie” (leukom, Albugo), which is supposedly the translation of the Arabic term كوكب *kawkab* “star”. ριω presumably refers to the scars on the cornea. It is noticeable that all treatments used against the “star” were also used to treat “water” disease, like (Ch 7, Ch 42, Ch 52, Ch 53, Ch 56, Ch 87, Ch 89 and Ch 192). In addition, Ch 202, in which only “star” is given as an illness, the medicament is completely identical with Ch 89 (see 5.6.4) in which both terms “water” and “star” are given:

Ch 7

(18) ογκολλιον ετβε ἡβαλ ετω ἡμοογ ἡῆν νετω ἡρσιω κικις ρ̅ ἡ οβεν ρ̅ ἡ
καλακαν[θος ρ̅.] (19) ακακις ρ̅ ἡ ἡνοογ ααγ ἡκολλιον ρτω ”

⁴²² Author’s own translation.

⁴²³ ζητς, Crum, and Chassinat didn’t know the exact meaning of this animal. Chassinat supposed that it is derived from  ichneumon (?). Chassinat 1921: 283.


⁴²⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 283.

⁴²⁵ Crum 1939: 368b.

⁴²⁶ Chassinat 1921: 67.



(18) A collyrium for eyes with cataract and those who are affected by blot: Castor two drachmas, two drachmas alum, vitriol [blue drachma ...] (19) acacia two drachmas; pound them; make them a collyrium; apply.

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 20, ll. 22-32

ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΟΥΚΗΜΗ ΟΥΣΙΟΥ [[Γ]] ΔΩΒΡΕ ΝΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ  ΟΥΑΤΑΝΕ
Ε Α ΜΩΡ ΣΟΥΜΠΟΥΡ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ⁴²⁷ ΠΑΣΡ ΕΚΟΥΡΩΡ ΛΟΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΤΩΩΤΕ⁴²⁸ ΖΑΠΑΘ
ΑΤΤΑΖΑΠ⁴²⁹

An eyes remedy, (against) “darkness”, “star”, cold (? - or: red) ... (?) of leukemia, hematite one (ounce), myrrh, nard, zinc oxide, coral seeds (?), unpierceable pearl, gold slag.⁴³⁰

Ch 52

(99) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΞΝ ΝΒΛΑ ΕΙ ΣΙΟΥ ΕΙ ΜΟΟΥ ΕΙ ΔΑΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΚΑΤΜΙΕ
 ⤵ ἰ (100) χαλκοϋ ⤵ ε̄ ζσο ⤵ ᾱ κροκος ⤵ κ̄ οπιον ⤵ ζ̄ χερβι ⤵ ζ̄
κομμε̄ ἡαλεϋ ⤵ ε̄ (101) ἠνοοϋ καλωσ̄ ααϋ  χρω̄ εροοϋ

(99) Likewise: for all the diseases which in the eyes, blot, or cataracts, or fleshy growth: Gold cadmia ten drachmas (100), copper five drachmas, myrrh one drachma, saffron twenty drachmas, opium ½ drachma, roses ½ drachma, white gum five drachmas; (101) crush them well; make them a collyrium; apply for them (eye diseases).⁴³¹

Ch 53

⁴²⁷ θούθια, θούθιε is an Arabic loan word *tūṭiyā* توتيا Till 1951: 67. Richter 2014: 180.

⁴²⁸ λούλου Arabic لؤلؤ, λούλου νατσωτέ “unpierceable pearl” اللؤلؤ غير المنقوب. Other medical recipes used pearl Ch 46; Ch 53.

Chassinat mentioned that pearls are often found in eye remedies among Arabs as in Ibn Sina. Chassinat 1921: 152. The unpierceable pearl used in medical recipes for eye diseases: Eyeliner for tearing eyes Ibn Sina 1593, III: 252; to strengthen eyesight and for tearing Ibn Sina 1593, III: 252; it benefits as a remedy for pregnancy and uterus Ibn Sina 1593, III: 575.

⁴²⁹ Arabic *ḥabaṭ al-dahab* حبات الذهب, and it is synonym for “Gold-cadmium”. Richter 2014: 180.

⁴³⁰ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 178.

⁴³¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 158, with slight modifications.

(102) Ομοιος κεογα ον ἡτερεσ στιμεος ϑ ἱ μαρκαωαιθε ϑ ε̄ ε̄ οογθιε⁴³² ϑ ἱ
κατμιε ϑ ἄ (103) λογλογ ϑ ἱ ωετινερ ϑ ἱ πολπχ⁴³³ ϑ ἄ θνοογ καλωσ
ωλωωλογ τααγ ετεμχαθ (104) τσοογ ηρῖ ρι τεμχαθ ἡῖ κῆ κααγ
ωαντερωοογε ααγ ἡζγρον ἡῖ † εροογ (105) ἡωορῖ ἡῖ ρογρε ἡῖρκαγ
ἡσωκ μον (*sic*) ἡανογ καλωσ ἀηλοκιμζε (*sic*) ἡμογ καλωσ

(102) Likewise again another (remedy) of the same kind: Antimony ten drachmas, pyrite five drachmas, zinc oxide three drachmas, cadmia a drachma (103), pearl three drachmas, hematite twenty drachmas, and saffron one drachma; crush them well; through a sieve; put in a mortar; (104) sprinkle materials with wine in the mortar for twenty-eight days leave until it is dry; make it powder; apply to sick eyes (105) morning and evening. Do not neglect it. It is thoroughly tested. We tried it successfully.⁴³⁴

Ch 87

(168) ογζγρον ενανογ εωωνε νιμ ετῆῖ ἡβαλ εἱ μοογ εἱ σιογ ριλισ اصفر
ϑ ἱ νογωαῖρ ϑ ἱ (169) ραγλεν ϑ ἱ ἡῖ ϑ ἄ ϑ ἄ θνοογ ααγ ἡζγρον
†αρβοχ † εροογ ἡωορῖ ἡῖ ρογρε

(168) A good powder for all eye diseases, that are in the eyes,⁴³⁵ cataracts or blot: Myrobolan yellow six drachmas, ammonia salt ½ drachma (169) khulan three drachmas, pepper ½ drachma, and a long pepper one drachma; crush them; make them powder; and apply to them in morning and evening.⁴³⁶

⁴³² οογθια, οογθιε is an Arabic loan word *ḥūṭiyā* حوتيا. Till 1951: 67. Richter 2014: 180.

⁴³³ πολπχ, κλοκογ, κροκογ, κρόκος. Chassinat 1921: 154.

⁴³⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 158-159, with slight modifications.

⁴³⁵ It refers to the internal diseases.

⁴³⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 193, with slight modifications.

Ch 208

(375) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΝ ΧΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΠΙΕΙ⁴⁴⁰ ΝΤΠΑΤ⁴⁴¹ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΝΕΕΙΩ ΡΩΧΪ ΘΝΟΟϚ ΖΙ
ΕΦΙΩ ΝΑΤΜΟΟΥ ΧΡΩ ©

(375) Likewise again: Take the hoof of the right paw of an ass; burn it; crush it with honey without water; apply.⁴⁴²

5.6.7 ζλοςτῆν “Mist”:



ζλοςτῆν was an eye disease described as a “mist” in the eye or the eye being ο ἄζλοςτῆν the eye “misty/darkened”. The promise of the remedy’s success is shown in Ch 8 using the expression: ῥ ογοειν καλωϚ “beautiful light,” i.e. see well, and φηαιορϚ “He (the patient) will see (again)” (Ch 188). Crum⁴⁴³ indicates that, in a passage in an unpublished texts, μογνηρογν “internal water” is a variant of ζλοςτῆν:⁴⁴⁴

Ch 8

(19) ΟΥΖΛΟΣΤῆΝ ΖῆΝ ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΩΒ ΝΣΙΩΕ (20) ΛΚΣΛΜ⁴⁴⁵ ΟΥΩΙ ΕΠΟΥΑ
ΝΑΧΚΟΥ⁴⁴⁶ ἸΔΘΞΘΟ ΜῆΝ ΟΥΛΩΦ ΙΙΙΗΣϚ⁴⁴⁷ ΤΑΑϚ ΕΥΕΙΔΟΣ (21)
ΝΑΒΑΣΕΕΙΝ ἦ ΟΥΕΙ[ΔΟΣ Ν. ΝΓ ΤΙ] ΕΜΒΑΛ ΟΥΑΓΡΟΓΟΕΙΝ ΚΑΛΩϚ

(19) A mist in an eye: Wild lettuce milk (20) opium, even the weight of each, mixed with manna, put into a vial (21) or a glass [jar ... use] to eyes, they will be light well.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁰ εiq for εieβ, ειβ hoof, claw. The hoof of the donkey, used as well in Arabic medicine and mentioned by Ibn Al-Baitar, حمار اهلى the buried hoof of the donkey has been used for treating epilepsy. Ibn Al-Baitar: 159.

⁴⁴¹ ΠΑΤ,  (Pap. Ebers, LXXVII, 16). Calcined donkey hoof appears in Ebers papyrus (LXV, 21): . Note the use of the donkey hoof ashes mixed with donkey milk to cure cases and stain the eyes.

⁴⁴² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 302.

⁴⁴³ Crum 1939: 271b

⁴⁴⁴ Till 1951a: 18.

⁴⁴⁵ ΛΚΣΛΜ, ΟΠΠΟΝ.

⁴⁴⁶ ΝΑΧΚ for ΜΟΧϚ “mix” or “mingle”.

⁴⁴⁷ , ΟΥΗΡ ἡεieω; Arabic *sheer Asal* شير عسل. Chassinat 1921: 78.


⁴⁴⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 71, with slight modifications.

Ch 113

(241) ογα ερε νεφβαλ ο̄ ν̄ελοστεν σιω̄ ν̄οθηνω̄ π̄θ̄Ξ⁴⁴⁹ εφιδ̄ ν̄νουζε̄ μμοϋ
⁴⁵⁰ ταροϋ̄ μ̄ν̄ νεγερηϋ̄ χρω̄

(241) Someone whose eyes become misty/ darkened: Gall of black labis, sycamore robs, and fennel water; mix them; apply.⁴⁵¹

Ch 188





(352) ογ̄ελοστ̄ν̄ ξ̄ν̄ νβαλ̄ π̄εγπαρ̄ ν̄ογτρακον̄ μ̄ν̄ πεφσιω̄ε̄ μ̄ν̄ ογεφιδ̄ 
μ̄μοϋ̄ ν̄ηετοϋ̄ ν̄τ̄ π̄ιρχινε̄ ν̄νεφβαλ̄ ξ̄ν̄ πεσνοϋ̄ ν̄πετρακον̄ φ̄νᾱφορ̄ε̄





(352) A mist in the eye: The liver of a goat, its gall and honey..... to him (the sick?) with them and rubbed its eyes with the blood of the goat; he will see.⁴⁵²

Ch 194

(360) ογβαλ̄ εφο̄ ν̄ελοστεν̄ μη̄ ν̄βινελοϋ̄ σιω̄ε̄ ν̄οθηνω̄ π̄θ̄Ξ⁴⁵³ μμοϋ̄
ν̄βατωοϋ̄ω̄ ν̄ατ̄ϣ̄ ταροϋ̄ καλ̄χ̄ρω̄ ☉







(360) An eye that becomes misty: Bat's urine, gall of black labis, wild rue juice, mix them well; apply.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁹ ν̄οθηνω̄ π̄θ̄Ξ, λαβης̄ καμε̄. *Cyprinus niloticus*, *lbs*, from the Ancient Egyptian   , Arabic . Chassinat 1921:237.

⁴⁵⁰    , φ̄αμαλ̄ (φ̄αμαρ̄). Chassinat 1921: 237.

⁴⁵¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 236, with slight modifications.

⁴⁵² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1922: 294.

⁴⁵³ ν̄οθηνω̄ π̄θ̄Ξ, λαβϋς̄ καμε̄. , Hieroglyphic    which is preserved in the Coptic . Chassinat 1921: 236–237. Cf.  “fish *cyprinus niloticus*”. Crum 1939: 148b.

⁴⁵⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 296, with slight modifications.

Ch 195

(361) Ομεος σιωε ἡσινε ἡβαμπε ἕηςσ σθηζλλ⁴⁵⁵ ταρογ ἡν νεγρηγ χρω

⊙

(361) Likewise: Liquid gall (?) of goat, honey without water; mix them together; and apply.⁴⁵⁶

5.6.8 There are a number of preserved recipes that intend to strengthen one's vision. Various expressions were used to express the effectiveness of such treatment for example φαστρε πογοειν χωτε "it causes the light penetrates" and ῥ ογοειν (καλωσ) "be light/shin (well)"; or φαστρεπογοειν χωτε ηφρ ογοειν καλωσ "it causes the light penetrates and shines well", in regards to a collyrium (Ch 51). This expression gives the impression that one may have weakened eyesight due to the lack of light passing through the eye:

Ch 51

(97) ογκολλιον εηανογς καλωσ φαστρε πογοειν χωτε ἡφρογοειν καλωσ
σεραογαῆτ⁴⁵⁷ ⤵ ἱ (98) μεμιοθ⁴⁵⁸ ⤵ ἱ ωθκβρ⁴⁵⁹ ⤵ ἱ καλακανθος⁴⁶⁰ ⤵ κ
πολπχ⁴⁶¹ ⤵ κ ἠνοογ ραγ | ἡῖε χρω

(97) A very good collyrium, it causes the light to penetrate and shine well:
Aristolochia ten drachmas (98) glaucium ten drachmas, aloe ten drachmas,

⁴⁵⁵ ἕηςσ σθηζλλ, εβια ἡατημοογ. Chassinat 1921: 296.

⁴⁵⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 296.

⁴⁵⁷ σεραογαῆτ "aristolochia", Arabic زراونث. Ibn Al-Baitar mentioned that the name aristolochia derived from *Aristos* meaning "best", and *lochia* which means "postnatal", so he wanted to refer to it with "the best in the benefit to postnal" الفاضل في المنفعة للنفساء. Also, he mentioned three different types of aristolochia; the round αλιστολοχια زراوند مدحرج; the long دوقطوليطس; and قليماطيطس. Dioscorides mentioned that long aristolochia is effective against toxic substances, useful for removing the blood from uterus after birthing, and for postpartum. Ibn Al-Baitar: 249.

⁴⁵⁸ μεμιοθ, Arabic *mamitha* ماميثا. Ibn Al-Baitar: 485; °Abd Ar-razaq: 155, *calaucium corniculatum* L. This word is found in specified spelling μαμιοθ in the Bohairic scala. Chassinat 1921: 157.

⁴⁵⁹ ωθκβρ, σαπηρ, Arabic *sabr* صبر.

⁴⁶⁰ καλακανθος, χαλλκανθος.

⁴⁶¹ πολπχ, κλοκογ (κροκογ), κρόκος. Chassinat 1921: 154.

blue vitriol twenty drachmas, saffron twenty drachmas; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.⁴⁶²

Ch 54

(106) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΦΑΧΤΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΚΑΤΜΙΕ
ΣΤΜΕΟΣ ΛΑΣ ΝΕΙΟΜ ΣΑΛΕΣΟΥΝ (107) ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ ΣΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΟ
ἩΨ ΔΑΛΛΒΟΥΧΟΥ ΚΑΛΑΝΒΟΥΧ ΟΥΦΙ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΦΑΤΗΡ
(108) ΘΝΟΥΟΥ ΦΑΦΩΛΟΥ ΛΑΥ ΝΕΖΥΡΟΝ † ΕΡΟΥΟΥ ΦΑΥΛΟ

(106) Similar: it makes eyes shine good/see well: Gold cadmia, antimony, cuttlefish bones, snail, (107) white lead, royal salt, pepper, long pepper, cloves, same weight of each, ammonia salt.....; (108) crush them; sift them, make them powder; and give them, they will recover.⁴⁶³

Ch 203










































(370) ΟΥΑ ΝΤΕ (*sic*) ΝΕΦΒΑΛ ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΣΙΦΕ⁴⁶⁴ , ἄ ΑΠΟΠΑΝΑΚΟΣ , ἄ
ΘΝΟΥΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΡΗΥ (*sic*) ΧΡΩ عرفه هنس

(370) Someone whose eyes shine well:⁴⁶⁵ tar resin one obol, oporanax one obol; crush them together; apply. The experienced John.⁴⁶⁶

5.6.9 There are two important recipes expressively stating that they promote distance vision. The first (Ch 78) consists of burnt copper, hammered copper, nard and peppers. The second (Ch 88) includes dry leaves of a plant called Kos mixed with ground soda and old wine:

⁴⁶² Author's own translation.

⁴⁶³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 159, with slight modifications.

⁴⁶⁴ σιφε, σιφι, Arabic *qatran* قطران, Kircher 1643: 256. It appears as κεδρία in (Dioscorides, I, 77), Etymology:    *sft*;
                                     

⁴⁶⁵ Chassinat argues that it is not clear and he translated it into “someone whose eyes do not shine well”, as ντε is for ντα ... αν.

⁴⁶⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 300.

Ch 11

(24) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΕΝΒΑΛ ΠΑΥΡΑΚ ΑΡΜΕΝΕΙ⁴⁷¹ ὧ ἰ ΨΙΜΘΙΟΥ ὧ Ḳ ḲḲ ὧ Ḍ
ΣΙΝΣΙΠΛ⁴⁷² ὧ Ḍ (25) ΧΣΧ ὧ ἀμελοῦ ὧ Ḳ Ḳ ΝΟΥΦΑΤΡ⁴⁷³ ὧ Ḍ ΘΝΟΟΥ
ΚΑΛΩΣ Ἀλῶφωροῦ ḲḲ ΟΥΣΟΡῶ εφῶμοε (26) ḲḲ ΤΙ Εἴβαλ ετω Ḳκακε
ῶαῤῥοῦοειν καλωσ

(24) A good powder for eyes: Armenian borax ten obols, ceruse two obols, pepper one obol, ginger one obol, (25) verdure 2/3 of obol, starch two obols, salt ammonia one obol; crush them well; sifts with a fine sieve. (26) Apply to eyes that are darkened, they will be light well.⁴⁷⁴

Ch 85

(166) ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΦΟ Ḳκακε⁴⁷⁵ ΠΧῶϥ Ḳαλεῦ ριῤῥ ρι ΜΟΥῤ ḲḲ
[Ο]ΥΑΚΩΝΕ⁴⁷⁶ ΧΡῶ

(166) A dark eye: White costus; crush it with water in a hone-vessel; apply.⁴⁷⁷

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 20, ll. 22-32

ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΟΥΚΗΜΕ ΟΥΣΙΟΥ [[Τ]]ΔΩΒΡΕ ΝΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ ΕΤΑΡῶ Ε α ΜΩΡ
ῶΑΤΑΝῶ : ΣΟΥΜΠΟΥΡ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ⁴⁷⁸ ΠΑΣΡ ΕΚΟΥΡῶΡ ΛΟΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΤῶΩΤῶ ḲḲ
ΑΤΤΑΖΑΠ⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷¹ ΠΑΥΡΑΚ ΑΡΜΕΝΕΙ, Arabic بَرَقْ أَرْمَنِى. Chassinat 1921: 89.

⁴⁷² ΣΙΝΣΙΠΛ, Arabic *zanjabīl* زَنْجَبِيل. It appears also in Ch 12 and Ch 49.

⁴⁷³ ΝΟΥΦΑΤΡ, Arabic *nušādir* نُشَادِر. Chassinat 1921: 90.

⁴⁷⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 89.

⁴⁷⁵ ΠΧῶϥ, κοῦῶτ. Chassinat 1921: 192.

⁴⁷⁶ ΑΚΩΝΕ “akone-vessel”, “hone-vessel”, Greek ἀκόνη “whetstone, hone”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C8168], (last accessed: 26.03.2020).

⁴⁷⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 192.

⁴⁷⁸ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ, θούθιε is an Arabic loan word *tūṭiyā* توتيا Till 1951: 67. Richter 2014: 180.

⁴⁷⁹ Arabic *ḥabaṭ al-dāhab* حبات الذهب, and it is synonym for “Gold-cadmium”. Richter 2014: 180.

An eyes remedy, (against) “darkness”, “star”, cold (? - or: red) ... (?) of leukemia, hematite one (ounce), myrrh, nard, zinc oxide, coral seeds (?), unpierceable pearl, gold slag.⁴⁸⁰

5.6.11 ⲟϥⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲡⲉ̅ ⲁⲛ ϣⲓ ϣⲟϥⲉ “Man who does not see at evening”:

A man who does not see at evening, thus “the night blindness” it was an eye ailment. Ch 201 is a recipe prescribed to cure the night blindness:

Ch 201

(368) ⲟϥⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲡⲉ̅ ⲁⲛ ϣⲓ ϣⲟϥⲉ ⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲫⲟⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ⁴⁸¹ ⲙⲉϥ
ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲗ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ϥⲛⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ̅ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ

(368) A man who does not see in the evening: leek juice, uncorrupted urine;
filled-in his eyes frequently, he will see well.⁴⁸²

5.6.12 ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲟϥ̅ϥ̅, ϣⲟϥⲃ, ϣⲟϥⲃ, ϣⲟϥϥ “decaying of the eye”:

The expression ⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲟϥ̅ϥ̅ means “decaying, spoiled, withered eyes”, and refers to the severe form of purulent ophthalmia.⁴⁸³ Ch 20 offers a medical prescription for treating this disease:

Ch 20

(43) [ⲟϥⲛⲓⲡⲗⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧ]ⲟϥⲁⲙⲥⲓⲣ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ϣⲟϥ̅ϥ̅ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲱ ⲙⲏ ⲥⲁϩ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲙⲏⲣⲱϥ ⲛⲉϥⲏⲧⲟϥ (44) [.....] Ⲉ ⲃ ⲗⲓ[ⲟⲁ]ⲣ[. .]ⲕϥⲣⲟⲛ Ⲉ ⲃ ⲁⲗⲟⲥ Ⲉ ⲁ ⲙⲟϥⲗⲁⲗ Ⲉ
ⲙⲓⲓϥ ⲡ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲥ ⲕⲓⲓⲓϥ Ⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲟϥⲗⲉ (45) [ⲟⲛⲟ] ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟϥⲉ ϣⲓ ⲧⲉⲙⲭⲁⲗⲉⲧ ϣⲓ ϣⲏⲙⲭ
ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲛⲧ ⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲛⲧ ⲥⲁⲙⲟϥ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲏϥ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲭⲣ

⁴⁸⁰ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 178.

⁴⁸¹ ⲁⲫⲟⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ derives from the Greek ἄφθαρτος, cf. ⲁⲫⲟⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ “uncorruptible, immortalone”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C8558], (last accessed: 24.08.2020). ⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲫⲟⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ “uncorrupted urine”, and ⲙⲏⲙⲏ ⲛⲓⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ “child’s urine” (Ch 176) have a common use in medicine, as well as in alchemical operations, “it presumably acted as a source of alkaline phosphates and ammonia, resulting from the breakdown of urea.” Berthelot: 310; Chassinat 1902: 290.

⁴⁸² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 299.

⁴⁸³ Chassinat 1921:108.

(43) [A plaster for] melanose, and decaying of the eye, vesicular rash, and every uncorrupted sore (44) two ounces, litharge (?) two ounces, salt an ounce, six ounces wax, oil a pound; cook with oil wax; (45) [pound] the dray materials in a mortar with good vinegar; add them (in oil and the wax) (46); mix everything well together; and apply.⁴⁸⁴

5.6.13 ΟΥΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΒΑΛ “Pterygium of eyes”:

ΟΥΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΒΑΛ is an eye disease. ΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ⁴⁸⁵ derives from the Greek word πτερόγιον.⁴⁸⁶ Chassinat⁴⁸⁷ argues that there is no equivalent remedy in Greek medicine. If the text was correct, it would be a sort of small plaster. But he rather suspected that the passage was corrupt and should instead ΟΥΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΖΕΝ ΝΒΑΛ “Pterygium (πτερόγιον) in eyes”. In this case, it would refer to an infection of the conjunctiva, which is known as a pterygium:

Ch 128

(267) ΟΥΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ ϙ Β ΜΑΡΑΒΑΘΡΟΝ⁴⁸⁸ ϙ Δ̄ ΔΛΟC
ΑΜΜΟΝΙΑΚΟΥ ϙ Δ̄ ΧΑΛΚΟC ϙ Δ̄ ΧΡΩ

(267) A pterygium for eyes: cadmium two drachmas, malabathrum leaf of Cinnamonum Tamala four drachmas, ammoniac salt one drachma and copper one drachma; apply.⁴⁸⁹

5.6.14 ΒΑΛ ΕΤΠΟΡ̄Ξ “wounded” or “injured eyes”:

Ch 143

⁴⁸⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 105.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. πτηρικον “pterygium” (disease of the eye when a membrane grows over it from the inner corner). Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C10377>], (Last accessed: 21.03.2020).

⁴⁸⁶ cf. Πτερόγιον “small wing; anything like a wing”. Liddell/ Scott 1996: 1547a.

⁴⁸⁷ Chassinat 1921: 257.

⁴⁸⁸ it occurs as μαλαβαθρον in Ch 143 (see section 5.6.14).

⁴⁸⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 257.

(290) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΕΤΠΟΡ̄⁴⁹⁰ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΟ ΝΚΑΚΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΚΗΚ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ
 ⲛ̄ ἄ χαλκος ⲛ̄ ἄ (291) κροκος ⲛ̄ ἄ ΝΑΡΤΟΣΧΟΣ ⲛ̄ Β̄ ΛΗΓΙΟΝ⁴⁹¹ ⲛ̄ Γ̄ ΣΜΗΡΝΗΣ
 ⲛ̄ Β̄ ΖΘΟΘΗΘΑΡ̄ΛΠ⁴⁹² ⲛ̄ ἱ ς-μεος ⲛ̄ ἄ (292) ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ⲛ̄ Β̄ ΘΝΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ
 (?)
 ΚΑΛΩΣ ΑΑΥ Ν̄ⲕⲟ ΧΡΩ ΕΡΟΥϞ ☉

(290) A collyrium for wounded eyes, for those with darkness and those who have no eyelashes/bareness: cadmia one drachma, copper one drachma, (291) saffron one drachma, lemon grass two drachmas, lycium three drachmas, myrrh two drachmas, leaf of Cinnamomum Tamala three drachmas, antimony one drachma, (292) and gum two drachmas; crush them well together; make them a collyrium: use for them.⁴⁹³

5.6.15 ΒΑΛ ΕΤ-†ΚΚΑΣ “Eyes that give/have pain”:

Some patients also complained about eye pain, and some recipes recommended remedies against eye pain, without further description or mentioning of symptoms of the disease such as Ch 95 which prescribes the trickling of human milk and donkey milk into the eyes (see 7.9.2). Also, Ch 48 recommends trickling the painful eyes with triturated saffron-root crushed with water, copper, and opium, and Ch 86 prescribes an ointment composed of opium, acacia and water, which could also to be used against temple pain and all painful eye diseases:

Ch 48

(90) ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΗΤΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΣΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΝΕ Ν̄ΠΟΛΠΧ⁴⁹⁴ ⲛ̄ ἄ ΕΚΖΙ Μ̄ΜΟΥ
 ΖΙ ΜΟΥϞ (91) ΧΑΡΚΟΣ ΕΚΖΙ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΖΙ ΜΟΥϞ ⲛ̄ ἄ ΟΠΙΟΝ ΕΚΖΙ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΖΙ ΜΟΥϞ ⲛ̄ ς †
 ΕΒΑΛ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΕΤ-†ΚΚΑΣ

⁴⁹⁰ πορ̄ε for πωλ̄ε “wound”.

⁴⁹¹ ληγιον, λύκιον “dyer’s buckthorn, lycium, Rhamnus petiolaris”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1064b.

⁴⁹² ετπορ̄ε ζθοθηθαρ̄λπ, μαλαβαθρον, μαλάζαθρον (Dioscorides, I, 12). Chassinat 1921: 268. Cf. μαλάβαθρον “leaf of Cinnamomum Tamala” or “albiflorum”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1076b; Cf. μαλαβαθρον, “leaf of Cinnamomum Tamala”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C9694], (last accessed: 18.01.2021).

⁴⁹³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 268, with slight modifications.

⁴⁹⁴ πολπχ, κλοκοϞ (κροκοϞ) κρόκος. Chassinat 1921: 154.

(90) A remedy that is administered in the eye: A bulb of *Crocus sativus* one drachma crush it with water, (91) copper, crush it with water, one drachma, opium, and crush it with water, ½ drachma. Apply to any diseased and painful eyes.⁴⁹⁵

Ch 86

(167) ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΥΤΚΚΑΚ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝCΜΑΥ ΟΠΙΟΝ ΔΙΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΩΟΝΤΕ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΟΥΟΦΜΟΥ
ΖΙ ΜΟΟΥ ΛΑΛΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΦΑΥΛΟ

(167) An eye and temples that suffer from pain: Opium, acacia pods nilotica; grind them; knead them with water; anoint them, they will recover.⁴⁹⁶

5.6.16 ΖΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΥΦΩΩΥΤ ΕΒΟΛ “Closed eyes”:

The verb εϋφωωϋτ (ϋφωϋτ) with or without εβολ means “hindered” or “impeded”,⁴⁹⁷ especially in the sense of movement; one could imagine it as some sort of paralysis.⁴⁹⁸ Chassinat⁴⁹⁹ translates it into “*clos*”, and assumes that ΖΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΥΦΩΩΥΤ ΕΒΟΛ means “eyes closed to the outside”. The diagnostic sign drawn by this sentence immediately suggests a symptoms of glandular blepharitis. We know that in this condition, during the inflammatory process, the hair glands of the eyelids and the meibomian glands abundantly secrete a thick, yellowish material that attaches to the eyelashes and binds them together. The adverb εβολ attaches to φωωϋτ in Ch 97. In this case the occlusion occurs externally, which is, in fact, a consequence of the discussed catarrhal flow of which “the secreted humor, drying out in the air, forms a crust and prohibits the free play of the eyelids”:⁵⁰⁰

Ch 97

⁴⁹⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 154-155.

⁴⁹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 193.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. φωωϋτ, Crum 1939: 377b.

⁴⁹⁸ Till 1951a: 19.

⁴⁹⁹ Chassinat 1921: 208.

⁵⁰⁰ Chassinat 1921: 208.

(190) ρενβαλ εγωωωτ̄ εβολ χι νακ̄ ἡογκογῑ ἡπρξξω⁵⁰¹ ριτογωω ἡογρρω
ἡαω (191) ἡγ̄ ααα ἡκ̄ ἡγ̄ πιριχε ἡμοογ̄ σεναλο ταχη

(190) Closed eyes: take some ashes from the hearth (?) of a furnace; (191)
make it a collyrium; stretch it around the eyes, they will be healed
quickly.⁵⁰²

5.6.17 ρωτ̄ βογρε “growing eyelids”:

According to Crum,⁵⁰³ the meaning βογρε is “eyelid” and corresponds to the Greek term βλέφαρον subsequently “eyelash”. Various recipes were prescribed for helping the eyelids “βογρε” to grow “ρωτ̄”; the effectiveness of the remedy appears in various results described as ρωτ̄ ἡκεοπ “grow again” (Ch 101), ῥ βογρε “develop eyelids” (Ch 102 (see 5.6.2.2)) and ρωτ̄ βογρε “bring forth/grow eyelids” (Ch 107):

Ch 101

(197) (ετβε ρενβογρε εγο ἡλεπσελεπισε⁵⁰⁴ εκογωω τρεγρωτ̄ καλωσ
εγφορβιογ̄ (198) ρι κηνηε ἡωτ̄τ̄ σμηρνησ ρι ρλωβξ⁵⁰⁵ πιωι ἡογωτ̄ ἡγ̄
ρλ-ογ̄⁵⁰⁶ ἡγ̄ ἡνοογ̄ χρω σεναρωτ̄ ἡκεοπ

(197) For eyelids that are broken/cracked,⁵⁰⁷ you wish to cause them to
grow well. Spurge (198) and goose fat, myrrh and soda in equal parts. Burn
it, rub it, and apply them. They will grow again.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰¹ πρξξω, κρμεс. Chassinat 1921: 208.

⁵⁰² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 208, with slight modifications.

⁵⁰³ Crum 1939: 48a.

⁵⁰⁴ λεπσελεπισε, such term is not found elsewhere, it supposed to be related to λεπεσε “fragment, small portion”. The following sentence εκογωω τρεγρωτ̄, and the given remedy indicates that it is a disease that cause the lashes to fall or break because of eyelids ptilosis, which has called the apparent condition κακβαλ, βαλ ετκηκ, βαλ κηκ. Chassinat 1921: 217.

⁵⁰⁵ ρλωβξ, ροσηη. Chassinat 1921: 218.

⁵⁰⁶ ρλ-ογ̄= ρλκ. Chassinat 1921: 218.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. λεγ̄ε, Crum 1939: 144a.

⁵⁰⁸ My English translation from the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 216-217, with slight modifications.

Ch 107

(220) ογα ερε νεφβαλ κηκ εκουωω ετρεγρωτ βογζε καλμιας ϕ
ⲓϣ αρμενιογ⁵⁰⁹ ϕ ⲁ (221) χαλκος ϕ ⲕ εγφορβιογ εφβηχ καλωσ ϕ ⲁ
ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΔΓ Ν̄ΞΡΟΝ † ΕΡΟΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΡΩΤ

(220) Someone who has hairless eyes, if you want eyelids to bring forth eyelash: cadmium sixteen drachmas, azurite⁵¹⁰ one drachma (221) copper twenty drachmas, leafy that grilled well one drachma; crush them well; make a powder; apply them, they will grow.⁵¹¹

In contrast, recipes Ch 99 (see 7.2.9), Ch 100 (see 7.3.1) and Ch 200 (see 7.4.2)⁵¹² treat eyelids that have grown inwards as a result of scar formation. In addition, Ch 98 recommended a remedy from the skin of snake for the eyelids which do not produce eyelashes (see 7.5.1).

5.6.18 Some recipes of eye illnesses mention the verb κωκ “to peel” or “to become bare”. The qualitative term κηκ refers to being peeled or a similar action as in Ch 102, which recommended a good powder for this condition (see 5.6.1). In a similar way, Ch 107 prescribes a remedy to treat eyes that have become bare “κηκ” or “if you want eyelids to bring forth eyelash”. Eyes may have become bare due to an illness, hence they especially lost their eyelashes (see 5.6.17).

In the aforementioned recipe Ch 102, the powder used helps the bare eyes to “become smooth”; it was also used to heal wounds. The author suggests that the disease, which caused the bare eyes, could also cause eyelashes to fall out and attack the skin of the eyelid. According to Chassinat,⁵¹³ the described disease is blepharitis, an eye condition that causes inflammation of the eyelid.

The relevant recipes (Ch 4, Ch 6, Ch 12, Ch 56, Ch 102, Ch 107 and Ch 143 (see 5.6.14)) prescribe a collyrium and powder to treat βαλ ετκηκ, which are also used for treating other eye diseases. The drugs

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Ἀρμένιον “copper carbonate, azurite”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 243a.

⁵¹⁰ ἀρμενιογ Azurite or a blue copper carbonate. Dioscorides (V, 105) and Pliny (XXXV, 28) indicated it as a favorable drug for growing eyelashes. Dioscorides said it was smooth, blue, stone-free and easy to break; and its action was the same, though less powerful than that of chrysocolle. Pliny wrote: “*Armenia mittit quod ejus nominé appellatur. Lapis est hic quoque chrysocolloé modo infectus: optimumque. est, qui maxime vicinum est, communicato colore cum coeruleo*”. Arabic Lazord لازورد. Chassinat 1921: 227.

⁵¹¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 226, with slight modifications.

⁵¹² Till 1951a: 14.

⁵¹³ Till 1951a: 14.

that often recur in these recipes are gray antimony, copper, calamine, saffron, aloe, gum and myrrh, which are then added to various other substances:

Ch 4

(10) ογπαρρε ετβε νβαλ ετκηκ⁵¹⁴ κ[..... (11) φθα ≡φρσγ⁵¹⁵ ρ̄ δ̄ κομεος ρ̄
[..... (12) σιωε ν̄τρε σιωε ν̄αβογκ ≡ησ[σ⁵¹⁶ (13) σιωε
ν̄φισαο⁵¹⁷ ηοογ ν̄ησε⁵¹⁸ ≡η[λσφ⁵¹⁹

(10) A remedy for bare eye [.....? (11) burnt lead an ounce, ounce
gum ...?, (12) kite gall, raven gall, honey..... (13) vulture gall,
leek juice [fresh.....⁵²⁰

Ch 6



(15) [Ομεο]ς κε εκζωτα ενβαλ ετκηκ η̄ν νετωγου ρμει εφχην⁵²¹ επεσнт
φχ[οντ γαρ] (16) ν̄τοτεν αμηρας γρ̄ δ̄ καφωρα⁵²² γρ̄ δ̄ σμηρνης γρ̄ δ̄
ωφισζ⁵²³ λω⁵²³ γρ̄ δ̄ αλλω[ης]⁵²⁴ (17) η̄νοογ καλωσ ααγ ν̄ζγρον κρω εροογ
ωαγλο


(15) [likewi]se: other (remedy) for external (use) to eyes that have no
eyelashes and for those who leave flow acrid tears; [it has been
experienced] (16) by ourselves: starch a scruple, camphor a scruple, myrrh

⁵¹⁴ “The condition called νβαλ ετκηκ should be fairly widespread in Egypt, as it is repeatedly mentioned in the manuscript. The same is designated as the κακβαλ in the Coptic translation of Bohairic Lévitique (XXI, 20), where it takes place among the diseases or infirmities that among Jews, rendered unfit functions of priest.” Chassinat 1921: 57.

⁵¹⁵ φθα ≡φρσγ, ταθ ετρωκ, for τατγ ετρωκγ. Chassinat 1921: 58.

⁵¹⁶ ≡ησ, εβιω. Chassinat 1921: 58.

⁵¹⁷ σιωε ν̄φισαο⁵¹⁷, σιωε ν̄τνογλε (νογρε,  ). The gall of vulture is used in the composition for eye drops on an eye pillow. Chassinat 1921: 58.

⁵¹⁸ η̄σε: πρασα. πρασον (πράσον). η̄σε, in Arabic it is called الكراث (scala n° 44, fol. 82, r°, r^{re} col., ll. 7-8; scala n° 43, fol. 57, ro, l. 6); and η̄σι, Kircher 1643: 196. From the Ancient Egyptian  . Chassinat 1921: 58.

⁵¹⁹ ≡ησ[σ φ], εβ[ογωτ] for εσογωτ. Chassinat 1921: 58.

⁵²⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 56.

⁵²¹ χηφ for χεβ, ὄξυς, *aculus, acidus*. Chassinat 1921: 62.

⁵²² καθωρα, καφόρα, καφουρα, κάπφουρα, κάμφωρα, Arabic كَثُور. Chassinat 1921: 62.

⁵²³ ωφισζ⁵²³ λω, στιμεος. Chassinat 1921: 63.

⁵²⁴ αλλω[ης], ἀλόη, aloe, often it corresponds to the Arabic *şabr* صبر σαγηρ (from Ch 51 and Ch 98), σαγῖρ (from Ch 12 and Ch 41).

a scruple, antimony a scruple, alo[es]; (17) crush them well; make them powder; apply for them. They will heal.⁵²⁵

Ch 56

(111) ογκολλιον ντε απα κυλιλος πσοφος ν̄αρχηατρος ετβε πμοογ μ̄ν
πσιογ μ̄ν πμογρογ (112) μ̄ν περλοστ̄ν ε̄ν ν̄βαλ μ̄ν νετκηκ αγτοκιμαζε
μ̄μος ριτ̄ν ογνος ν̄αρχηατρος⁵²⁶ (113) θογθια⁵²⁷ ϳ̄ κ̄ χαλκος ϳ̄ γ̄ ψιμιοιον
ϳ̄ Δ̄ ρελθιο⁵²⁸ ϳ̄ γ̄ χαρ̄ε εφρημ ϳ̄ κ̄ λας νειομ (114) ϳ̄ κ̄ μηρ̄ε ανδρανι
ϳ̄ κ̄ οπιον ϳ̄ κ̄ λιβανος ϳ̄ κ̄ θοοσβω ϳ̄ κ̄ κομεος ϳ̄ κ̄ (115) εκεινε μ̄μος
ερογν̄ ν̄μοσφ̄ε ϳ̄θζλο⁵²⁹ ααγ̄ ϳ̄κ̄ χρω ν̄ωωρ̄ι μ̄ν ν̄ρογρε ωαγλο

(111) A collyrium for Apa Cyrille, the clever official physician, for cataract, pillowcase, inflammation, (112) the darkening of the eyes and ptilosis. It was experienced by a large official physician: (113) Zinc oxide twenty drachmas, copper three drachmas, white lead four drachmas, asafoetida three drachmas, ammonia gum pieces twenty drachmas, cuttlebone (114) twenty drachmas, salt anderany twenty drachmas opium twenty drachmas, incense twenty drachmas, aloe twenty drachmas gum twenty drachmas; (115) put in camel milk; make them a collyrium; use morning and night, they will be healed.⁵³⁰

5.6.19 ρενβογρε εγο ν̄λεπσελεπσε “Broken eyelids”:

Eyes could also suffer from partial lashes failure. ρενβογρε εγο ν̄λεπσελεπσε, λεπσε ωηιζη means “fragment, small portion”, hence, ρενβογρε εγο ν̄λεπσελεπσε literary means “eyelashes, which are only fragmentary available”. This condition is treated in Ch 101: “If you want them to grow properly again, one has to apply

⁵²⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 62.

⁵²⁶ Cf. ἄρχιατρός “official physician”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 252b.

⁵²⁷ θογθια, θογθιε is an Arabic loan word *tūṭiyā* طوتية Till 1951: 67. Richter 2014: 180.

⁵²⁸ ρελθιο, Arabic *hiltīl* حلتيت, asafetida. Till 1951: 97; Richter 2016b: 157.

⁵²⁹ ν̄μοσφ̄ε, ϳ̄θζλο, ερωτε (ερωτε) σαμογλ. Chassinat 1921: 169.

⁵³⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 166, with slight modifications.

the following remedies: Euphorbium, goose fat, myrrh and soda in equal parts to be fired and pulverized” (see 5.6.17).

5.6.20 $\sigma\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\omicron\mu\bar{\iota}\tau$ “Thick eyelids”:

In recipe Ch 102 the expression $\sigma\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\omicron\mu\bar{\iota}\tau$ means “Thick eyelids” may refers to the swollen eyelids, and it accompanied by tearing and itching. This condition was treated with powder of calamine and white vitriol, which was prepared in a special vial (see 5.6.2.2).

5.6.21 $\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ “swollen eyes”:

There are two recipes (O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 49 and Ch 93) that treat the swollen eye; the first is unfortunately a fragmentary recipe:

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 49, ll. 1-8

$\sigma\pi$ [.....] [τ] $\sigma\alpha\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ω [.....] [ρ] $\rho\iota\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ [.....] [$\tau\varsigma$] $\delta\beta\omicron$ $\omega\delta\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\epsilon$ [.....] (5)
 ρ] $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$ [.....] [ϵ] $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\chi\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\rho\bar{\iota}\pi$ [.....] ρ] $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\lambda$
 $\epsilon\gamma\omega\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\bar{\iota}\omega$ [.....] [τ] $\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\rho\bar{\iota}\mu$ [.....]

[...] It to dry [...] in (?) Eyes when swollen or [...] are [...] He will be healthy, so [God willing (?).]..... (5) Swollen eyes... [...] they will recover, by [(?)....swollen eyes...them they will be healed....⁵³¹

Ch 93 also recommends a collyrium, which is used among other things for swollen eyes:

Ch 93

(180) $\sigma\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\omega\delta\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\mu$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\pi\omega\delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$
 $\pi\bar{\iota}\kappa\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (181) $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\pi\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\eta\kappa\eta\varsigma$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\eta\pi\lambda\gamma\tau\eta$ $\mu\bar{\eta}\eta$ $\eta\kappa\omega\lambda$ $\eta\pi\alpha\tau$
 $\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\gamma\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$ ⁵³² $\sigma\pi\omicron\eta$ ς $\mu\omega\pi$ ς $\alpha\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\alpha$ ς (182) $\kappa\eta\eta\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\omega\eta\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon$ ς $\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon$
 $\omega\theta\omicron\sigma\eta\delta$ $\eta\omega\eta\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon$ ς $\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ς $\gamma\theta\omicron\pi\lambda\omega$ ς $\rho\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon\eta$ ς $\kappa\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ $\eta\omega\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\alpha\chi\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$

⁵³¹ Author's own translation.

⁵³² $\eta\kappa\omega\lambda$ $\eta\pi\alpha\tau$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\gamma\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$, literally meaning “knee joints that are gathering together”. Chassinat translated it into ankyloses: “that is to say the complete immobilization of the joint knees, ankylosis; possibly arthritis, which causes pronounced stiffness of the limb and leads, in an acute state, to ankylosis” Chassinat 1921: 205.

ς (183) ρμογ ν̄ογωμ ς σαῖπρ ς κροκογ ς ἀναρζορ ς σιλικογ ς μοογ ν̄ωλλ-ς
 (184) μοογ ν̄περνογχε⁵³³ ϖ̄ κ̄ κατὰ ογα ἑνοογ δ̄ δ̄ ογοφμογ ρι μοογ
 ν̄ωλλ-ς̄ ῑε μοογ (185) ν̄περνογχε δαγ ν̄νογμεσ ριτογ ρι ρηῑχ̄ † εφωνε
 ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΤ̄Κ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΑΤ ΝΙΜ

(180) A collyrium for swollen eyes and for any disease (eye), to swelling of the body, pain in limb, (181) gout, wounds, knee ankylosis: opium, myrrh, acacia, (182) nilotica gum acacia, acacia pods nilotica, incense, copper, lycium, *Kouhe* wood ash, (183) edible salt, aloe, saffron, realgar, red lead, egg white, (184) conyza juice, twenty drachmas each; crush them separately; knead them with egg white or juice (185) of conyza; divide them into equal portions, and rub them in vinegar. Administer to any patient who comes to you, according to each case.⁵³⁴

5.6.22 τραχομα, τράχωμα “Trachoma”:

τραχομα is a disease of the conjunctiva. According to Chassinat⁵³⁵ τράχωμα is equivalent to ξηροφθαλμία, σκληροφθαλμία and the Arabic word جشا الاجفان.⁵³⁶ It occurs only in recipe Ch 138 as a ογτραχομα ν̄τας “protracted trachoma”. The verb ω̄κ̄ means “delay”, “continue” or “be prolonged”,⁵³⁷ and Chassinat⁵³⁸ translates it into “*Trachome rebelle*”. The disease appears to be long lasting, as Galen (129–216 AD) indicates that it is an incurable disease.⁵³⁹ Till⁵⁴⁰ assumes that it could be a skin disease that makes the skin rough, since this is the only time it is mentioned in combination with other skin diseases. Trachoma seems to not only be common in Coptic medical resources. Hippocrates identified this disease, and his corpus proposes several ways to cure the eyes afflicted with trachoma including “scraping and cauterizing the eyelid follicles”.⁵⁴¹ Also, Discorides (1st cent. AD), recognised that trachoma could be treated using an ointment made of thin honey, and then by utilising a hot poultice to ease the eyelids. Also, myrrh was included in recipes treating trachoma as it was common in remedies treating many eye diseases: “The

⁵³³ Cf. περνογχε “conyza”, Arabic برنوفر. Crum 1939: 269a.

⁵³⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 204.

⁵³⁵ Chassinat 1921: 266.

⁵³⁶ Ibn Sina 1593, III: 345.

⁵³⁷ Crum 1939: 530b.

⁵³⁸ Chassinat 1921: 265.

⁵³⁹ Trompoukis and Kourkoutas 2008: 872.

⁵⁴⁰ Till 1951a: 15.

⁵⁴¹ Trompoukis and Kourkoutas 2008: 871.

smoke from its burning, or the burning of incense, fills the ulcers of the eyes and removes leucom and anything that causes blurring of the pupils, and it eliminates trachoma, and is thus suitable for the above diseases”. Also, he recommended using rust or shavings of copper or iron. Galen (129–216 AD) was more precise in determining this disease, he categorised it as a violent, external eye disease afflicting the inner eyelid. He recommended treatments in the form of drops to work as an anti-inflammation, which were to be used with eye drops made of wine to wash out the eyes.⁵⁴² This variety of prescriptions indicates the severity of such a disease and the search for several ways to treat it and prevent its spread.

Ch 138

(281) οΥΤΡΑΧΟΜΑ⁵⁴³ ΝΤΑΩΩΚ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΙϚ̄Τ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΩΩ⁵⁴⁴ Μ̄Ν ΝΒΟΥϚ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΧΟΥϚ̄
 Μ̄Ν †ΑΘΥϚ̄ΙϚ̄ ΝΙΜ (282) ΑΜΜΩΝΙΑΚΟΥ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΟΣ Ϝ̄ Β̄
 ΟΒΕΝ Ν̄ΛΑϚ̄ Ϝ̄ Γ̄ ΚΟΜΕΟΣ Ϝ̄ Β̄ ΘΝΟΥϚ̄ ΖΙ [ΜΟ]ΟΥ ΛΑΛΕ ΕΡΟΥϚ̄

(281) A prolonged trachoma, nails, vesicular rash, swellings, burnings (heats) and any condition: (282) gum ammoniac two drachmas, alum shale three drachmas, gum two drachmas; crush them with water; anoint them.⁵⁴⁵


5.6.23 ααϚ̄ ν̄ζΟΥϚ̄ “much meat”:

ααϚ̄ ν̄ζΟΥϚ̄ literally means “much meat” or “abundant meat” and is mentioned in (Ch 52, p. 112). Chassinat⁵⁴⁶ states that it means “extra flesh”, which corresponds to the Arabic term زيادة لحم الموق “Canthus” Ibn Sina states that its decrease and increase causes eye problems such as blinding and tearing of the eye.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴² Trompoukis and Kourkoutas 2008: 872.

⁵⁴³ †ΡΑΧΟΜΑ is a disease of the conjunctiva, which under its action, dries and shrinks. “It seems that this is not an Egyptian eye disease. This recipe mentioned materials which also used for warts, psoriasis, tumors and overheating. τράχωμα related to τραχύς “rough” and could have been just as well being the name of a skin disease. The Egyptian eye disease seems not to have been known to Coptic-speaking physicians by the name τράχωμα. It is otherwise strange that this disease, which is already so frequent in Egypt (ninth century), is not often mentioned in recipes, especially since Chassinat is concerned extensively with all possible eye diseases. It seems rather as if Coptic-speaking physicians acknowledged it with varying names such as [οϚ̄βαλ εϚ̄ο ν̄βοϚ̄Ϛ̄, οϚ̄βαλ εϚ̄κν̄κ] and probably others.” Till 1951a: 15.

⁵⁴⁴ Chassinat translates it into “*eruption vésiculeuse*”; he assumes that it is similar to an infantile, external illness

( in Berlin papyrus 3027). Pemphigus afflicted newborns and is characterised by the production of bubbles on the skin (Chassinat 1921: 110). I propose that the word νεωω is more suitable than ωω “sand”, because sand could not cause any infection to the skin but rather problems to the kidney and bladder. It appears as an internal disease, unlike the case here which recommends an external remedy for a group of diseases. πωω ν̄μη “the sand in urine” in Ch 6 (section 5.6.2.1) and P.Mich. MS 136, l. 133 (section 5.11.1).

⁵⁴⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 265.

⁵⁴⁶ Chassinat 1921: 158.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn Sina 1593, III, 341.

5.6.24 βαλ ετω ν̄κωζτ “Fiery eyes”:

The expression βαλ ετω ν̄κωζτ means “fiery eyes” and may be referring to conjunctivitis or inflammation, against which αρπωρωτ “cooling agent”, consisting of hematite and saffron, would have been prescribed:

Ch 44

(81) ογαρπωρω⁵⁴⁸ ενβαλ ετω ν̄κωζτ φετνεζ ρ̄ ι πολπια⁵⁴⁹ ρ̄ ᾱ θνοογ
καλωδσ ααφ ν̄ζγρον χρω

(81) A refreshing collyrium for eyes that are suffering from inflammation: Hematite ten drachmas, saffron drachma; crush them well; make it powder; apply.⁵⁵⁰

5.6.25 πρωκε νβαλ, πρωκε ρ̄ν̄νβαλ⁵⁵¹ “Itchy eyes”:

πρωκε νβαλ or πρωκε ρ̄ν̄νβαλ “itchy eye” or “the itching in the eyes” is an eye condition mentioned the medical texts without any reference to its causes or symptoms:

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 21, ll. 33-42

πρωκε νβαλ ωτ̄ αλπαινητ⁵⁵² εγεινε νναλσάλλοογσ ταγριαζ ταρβογρβορ
καδμιαδσ σαγρι ογωῑ ν̄ογωτ̄ ν̄γσακτογ ν̄γτσογ̄ π̄αλακητ̄ ν̄φωοογε
ρ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄αιβεσ

The itchy eye: Fat, the painite, bring the hazelnuts? ,

⁵⁴⁸ αρπωρωτ, Arabic *al-baroud* البُرود (the most used spelling is بُرود), name of a form of eye drops used for softening dry eye. Ibn Sina mentioned the component of this medicament, which also contain hematite and Saffron, similar to this recipe: “Hematite, burnt copper, five dirhams of each, socotrina aloe, armenian borax one dirham of each, verdigris, white pepper, long pepper (dar pepper), grease of bitter melon, saffron, and ajwain ½ dirham of each, rind them, crush them, and use” Ibn Sina 1593, V, 255.

⁵⁴⁹ πολπια, κλοκογ (κροκογ), κρόκος. Chassinat 1921: 150.

⁵⁵⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921:150.

⁵⁵¹ Often this disease appears on the skin (skin diseases, section 5.14), and there are many recipes for skin diseases that mentioned this disease and its treatment methods. But only in this document (Louvre AF 12530), this disease was linked to the eye, and there are two recipes in the same document treating this disease.

⁵⁵² αλπαινητ may be stands for the Arabic البانيت (painite mineral).

long pepper, calamine, ... (each) one part, crush them and soak them; the thickened should dry in the shade.⁵⁵³

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 27, ll. 82-91

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΚΕ ΖΗΝΒΑΛ ΧΙ Ν̄ΝΒΗΡΒΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΛΜΑΝ ΕΥΖΑΜΧ̄ Ν̄ΓΤΑΥ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ
Ν̄ΓΚΑΥ ΕΤΙΩΤΕ Ν̄ΓΧΙ Μ̄ΠΜΟΟΥ Ν̄ΓΤΙ ΔΣΟΟΥΧΑΡ' ΟΥΑ' ΣΑΠ̄ Ν̄ΓΠΑΣΤ̄Υ Ν̄ΓΤΙ
ΝΖΗΤ̄

For itchy eyes: Take the seeds of sour pomegranates, give it to water, leave it (until?) for morning dew, take the water and add sugar (edge gloss: and) aloe juice (to it); boil it and give it away.⁵⁵⁴

5.6.26 παηρ “Air”:

Some medical recipes mention παηρ as an eye disease such as in P.Louvre AF 12530, recipes no. 13, 16 and 24.⁵⁵⁵ Such a disease only appears in P.Louvre AF 12530 and is not found in any other medical text. The ingredients used in these recipes, for example myrrh, saffron, camphor, aloe and musk, were usually used to treat eye diseases. Richter⁵⁵⁶ states that it perhaps the same disease as ελοστ “mist”, which appears in Ch 4, Ch 56, Ch 113, Ch 190, Ch 193 and Ch 204. Recipe no. 17 of the third hand does not specify any medical prescription; however, it states that the remedy should be applied on the skin and nose:

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 13, ll. 66-69

ΟΥΤΩΡ̄Ξ ΕΠΑΗΡ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ Ϛ ΜΩΡ Δ ΚΡΟΚΟΣ Α Κ̄ΜΕ Δ

An ointment (?) against “air”: zinc oxide: 6, myrrh: 4.
Saffron: 1; gum: 4.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵³ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 178.

⁵⁵⁴ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 179.

⁵⁵⁵ παηρ “air”. cf. ἀήρ. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 30b.

⁵⁵⁶ Richter 2014: 175.

⁵⁵⁷ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 177.

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 16, ll. 79-86

χωρῖ ἀσπιζενι⁵⁵⁸ μ̄ χαβωλ ς γ' σαρταρ⁵⁵⁹ ἑφογααα' β {σαρταρ β}
σαρνηω⁵⁶⁰ εφταρῶ α σαπῖ σκοτιρε β μικκ σηντε ἡεῖωτ σαβαραν ογρραῖε
επαηρ ἡἡωωνε νηη

Persian cabbage: 40, camphor: ½/3, pure thyme: 2, {Thyme: 2}, red arsenic: 1, aloe juice ∴ 2, musk: two *habba*, saffron: one *habba*. Against air and every illness.⁵⁶¹

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 24, l. 68-76

ογπαρρε μπαηρ ἡἡχι ἡἡελμαν εφραμῶ κκαμε δγω ογον εφρολῶ ἡἡχι
πεγμοογ ἡἡτι εχωφ νογεβιω ἡἡταδγ εχην κκωεῖτ ἡἡβι ἡἡεφρβητε τηρε

A remedy for air: Take sour, black pomegranate and one that is sweet and take their juice and put some honey on it and put them on the fire and take all its foam.⁵⁶²

5.6.27 λεγκωμα,⁵⁶³ λεύκωμα⁵⁶⁴ “Leucom”:

Leucom, is a white, dense corneal opacity,⁵⁶⁵ this disease was treated with collyrium, and powder:

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 19, ll. 10-21

⁵⁵⁸ ἀσπιζενι from Arabic *isbahāni* أصفهاني. Richter 2014: 180.

⁵⁵⁹ σαρταρ is Arabic *ša'tar* صَعْتَر, زَعْتَر. Richter 2016b: 157. Here Richter translates it “oreganium”. Richter 2014: 177. But I argue that σαρταρ means “thyme” which is the Arabic word زَعْتَر. Ibn Al-Baitar mentions that the thyme strength the weak eyesight from humidity. Ibn Al-Baitar: 84. But the word “organy”, or “origanum heracleoticum” in Coptic language known as ορικανοη, ὀρίγανον (Ch 173). Cf. ὀρίγανον Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1250b. ορικανοη, ὀρίγανον corresponds to the Arabic مردقوش, and different from σαρταρ thyme, which is in Arabic *ša'tar* زَعْتَر. Hence, I prefer to translate it thyme instead of oregano. For differences between oregano and thyme [https://www.earthtokathy.com/%EF%BB%BFunderstanding-the-differences-between-oregano-sweet-marjoram-and-thyme-essential-oils/], (last accessed: 17.01.2021).

⁵⁶⁰ σαρνηω, Arabic loan word means “Arsenic”. Richter 2014: 168. σαρνηω from the Arabic word *zernikh* زرنیک.

⁵⁶¹ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 177, with slight modifications.

⁵⁶² English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 179.

⁵⁶³ Cf. λεγκωμα “Leucom; white spot in eye”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?fla=C9621], (last accessed: 11.03.2020).

⁵⁶⁴ “white-board; white spot in eye”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1042b

⁵⁶⁵ Venes 2017: 1392.

ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΕΝΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ ΛΑCΑΡΙΟΝ⁵⁶⁶ Ε Σ ΧΑΡΖ' Ε Η CΙΝCΑΛ Ε Η ΑΛΜΩΡ
Ε Δ ΑCΣΑΜ̄Κ Ε Δ ΤΙ ΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΑΡ̄Ζ Μ̄Ν ΠΚ̄ΜΕ ΦΑΝΤΕΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΓΝΟΥΧ
ΠΚΕCΕΠΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ Ν̄ΓΑΔΥ Ν̄ΚΟΛΛΗΡΙΟΝ Ν̄ΓΤΙ ΕΝΒΑΛ

An eye remedy for leucom: Asafoetida (ounces) ½, ammonia (ounces) 8, verdigris (ounces) 8, myrrh (ounces) 4, gum (ounces) 4, add water to the ammonia and gum, until they dissolve, throw in the rest, make it a collyrium and give (it) to the eyes.⁵⁶⁷

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 20, ll. 22-32

ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΟΥΚΜΗΜΕ ΟΥCΙΟΥ [[Τ]]ΔΩΒΡΕ ΝΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ ΕΤΑΡΩ
ΦΑΤΑΝ̄Σ : Ε Α ΜΩΡ CΟΥΜΠΟΥΡ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ ΠΑCΡ ΕΚΟΥΡΩΡ ΛΟΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΤCΩΤ̄Ξ
ΞΑΠΛΘ ΑΤΤΑΖΑΠ⁵⁶⁸

An eye remedy, (against) “darkness”, “star”, cold (? - or: red) ... (?) of leukemia, hematite one (ounce), myrrh, nard, zinc oxide, coral seeds (?), unpierceable pearl, gold slag.⁵⁶⁹

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 25, 26 ll. 77-81

ΛΕΥΚΟΜΑ ΖΑC ΝΟΥΖΟΡ ΑΛΜΙCΚ ΑΛΛΟ ΕΒΡΕ ΝΒΑΦΟΥΦ

(In) leukemia: Dog droppings, musk, another: rue seeds.⁵⁷⁰

5.6.28 ΕΝΕΒΑΛ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ “sick eyes”:

⁵⁶⁶ λάσαρον, Cf. Till 1951a: 108. It appeared in Ch 45, in a recipe for eye powder as πασαρε.

⁵⁶⁷ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 178.

⁵⁶⁸ Arabic *ḥabaṭ al-dahab* حَبَلَت الذهب, and it is synonym for “Gold-cadmium”. Richter 2014: 180.

⁵⁶⁹ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 178.

⁵⁷⁰ English translation by me of the German translation by Richter 2014: 179.

For the sick eyes two remedies recommend powder and collyrium:

Ch 46

(84) [ΟΥ]ΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ Ξ̄Ν ΣΙΝΩΩΝΕ ΝΙ[Μ ΣΤΙ]ΜΕΟΣ ΘΟΥΘΙΕ
ΑΜΛΑΘ⁵⁷¹ ⚡̄ κ̄ ΕΠΟΥΑ [...] (85) ΜΑΜΙΡΑΝ ⚡̄ ΕΚΛΗΜΙΑ γ̄ ΠΟΛΠΧ̄
ΕΙΩΜΕΧ | ⚡̄ (?) ΕΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΦΩΡ ⚡̄ ΘΝΟ †ε̄ ΝΑΛ [Ν̄ΖΙ] (86) ἸΒ̄ ΛΙΛΙΘ̄
ΤΑΑΥ ΕΠΙΜΟΥΨ ΔΑΝΤΟΥΡΩΚ ΣΩΤ̄Ψ ΠΙΜΟΥΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΣΩ ΠΙΠΑΞΡΕ ΔΑΝΤΕΥΣΩΩΨ
(87) ΚΑΑΨ ΔΑΝΤΕΥΨΟΥΨΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ Ν̄Θ̄ ΘΝΟΥΨ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΑΨ Ν̄ΖΥΡΟΝ ΧΡΩ

(84) A powder for eyes which are sick in any state of sickness: anti]mony, zinc oxide, emblic, twenty drachmas of each, (85) long turmeric 2/3 of a drachma, gold cadmie, saffron, *eismekh*, seven (?) of each, camphor 1/12 of a drachma; grind five drupes of myrobolan; (86) put them in water until they soften; filter the water, sprinkle the medicament until it is soaked; (87) let it dry completely; grind well; make powder; apply.⁵⁷²

Ch 84

(165) ΟΥΚ[ΟΛΛΙΟΝ] ΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ Ξ̄Ν ΣΙΝΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΧΧ⁵⁷³ ⚡̄ δ̄ ΠΑΞΡ[ε
Ν̄]ΕΣΩΨ ⚡̄ δ̄ ΘΟΥΘΙΑ ⚡̄ δ̄ [ΔΑΥ] ἸΒ̄ ΧΡΩ

(165) A collyrium for sick eye in state of any ailment: copper rust one drachma, remedy [from] Ethiopia one drachma, zinc oxide one drachma; [make them] an collyrium; apply.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷¹ ΑΜΛΑΘ Arabic *Amlag* (أملج نبات). Chassinat 1921: 154.

⁵⁷² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 153, with slight modifications.

⁵⁷³ ΧΧ, ΥΟΥ. Chassinat 1921: 289.

⁵⁷⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 192, with slight modifications.

Ch 90

(173) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΕΒΑΛ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ Ζ̄Ν ΣΙΝΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΖΙΛΙΛΙΣ اصفر † Ζ̄ ΘΟΥΘΙΕ
‡ Ζ̄ ΘΝΟΟΥ (174) Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΤΑΔΥ ΕΥΡΙΚ ΤΑΔΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΑΡΦΩΛ̄Μ⁵⁷⁵ ΚΑΔΥ
Ν̄Ρ̄ Δ̄ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΓΩΡΑΖ (175) Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΘΝΟΟΥ † ΚΗΜΜΕ Ν̄ΩΟΝΤΕ † Δ̄ ΘΝΟΟΥ
† ΜΟΥΥ Ν̄ Δ̄ ΘΖΘΟ⁵⁷⁶ ΕΡΟΥΥ Ν̄Ρ̄ Ζ̄ ΧΡΩ Ν̄ΖΡ̄

(173) A powder for the sick eyes in state of any ailment: yellow myrobolan seven drachmas, zinc oxide seven drachmas; grind them (174) together; put them (then) in an oil vase that you will place in a stone pot; leaves for a day and a night; (175) (then) remove (the materials from the vase), crush them (again); adds acacia gum, a drachma; grind (once more and) pour over (the ingredients) fennel water for seven days; apply as powder.⁵⁷⁷

Ch 94

(186) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ Ζ̄Ν Ν̄ΒΑΛ ΣΤΕΠΤΕΡΙΑ ΔΜΕΛΟΥ ς Δ̄
ΕΚΑΡΕΛΖΩΛΟΥ ΕΧ̄Ν (187) ΠΜΟΥΥ ΕΤΚΗΥ Ν̄Γ ΤΑΔΥ ΕΡΟΥΥ ΦΗΑΡΩΩΕ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ
ΕΠΕΒΟΤ ΕΦΗΑΦΙ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΠΒΑΛ

(186) A good collyrium for all eye diseases: alum six (sic), starch four obols; sprinkle them on (187) cold water; (and) give it to the him (patient). It will be enough once a month, it will remove any eye disease.⁵⁷⁸

5.6.29 General Eye diseases

Several remedies are prescribed to treat common eye diseases in general, without any indication of the symptoms of the diseases. In many cases, it is mentioned that this recipe will help with any eye diseases, such as: Ch 12, Ch 41, Ch 45, Ch 46, Ch 47, Ch 49, Ch 50, Ch 57, Ch 58, Ch 59, Ch 77, Ch 79, Ch 80, Ch

⁵⁷⁵ αρφωλ̄μ Arabic word *Al-bram* البرام “stone cooking pot”. Chassinat 1921:197.

⁵⁷⁶ Δ̄ΘΖΘΟ, φάμαλ (φάμαρ).

⁵⁷⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 196.

⁵⁷⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 207.

81, Ch 82, Ch 83, Ch 84, Ch 87, Ch 94, Ch 96, Ch 103, Ch 104, Ch 105, Ch 109, Ch 122, Ch 191, Ch 221, Ch 235, Ch 236 and SBKopt I 006. These recipes encompass remedies mainly externally applied on the eyes, and contain the following drugs: galmei, copper, alum, saffron, pepper, ginger, parts and products of acacia, gum, opium, myrrh, aloe, camphor, vine and vinegar, decoction or juice of plants.

5.7 STOMACH DISEASES

The Greek word *στόμαχος* refers to the stomach in all medical recipes in the Chassinat Papyrus, which comprises a series of consecutive recipes for stomach. Complaints that relate to the stomach, for example, are *βωθε* “leap” (Ch 68) and *τεμτωμ ἡτηγ* “heavy with gas” (Ch 69), which refer to stomach bloating. In addition, *εφνογχα καω εφκημ εφραι εῖε εφωβε* “throw up black bile or is swollen” is included in (Ch 70). These recipes recommend various remedies in liquid form for drinking, including poultice and plaster.

5.7.1 ογστομαχος νταφωθε “Stomach that leaps”:

Ch 68

(133) ετβε ωωνε νιμ ετξ̄ν πεστομαχος (134) ογστομαχος νταφωθε
ναρτοσταχος⁵⁷⁹ φ̄εκημ̄ε ἡστοῖ ἑνοογ καλωσ τσοφ φηαλο

(133) For all diseases that is in the stomach. (134) Stomach that leaps:
Indian spikenard, cumin, aromatic wine; grind them well; make the sick
drink, he will be cured.⁵⁸⁰

Ch 69

(135) Ομεος ογστομαχος εφτεμτωμ ἡτηγ ερε τεφλο νιβε τεπ̄ν ἡη
βαωογω ωσ̄ηοκ̄ε (136) ροσ̄μ ἡαβαβικον εφω ἑνοογ καλωσ † ναφ
ἡφουωμ φηαογχαῖ

⁵⁷⁹ ναρτοσταχος, *ναρδοσίλαχος*, Arabic سنبل هندي; ناردین طیب. Chassinat 1921: 176.

⁵⁸⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 175.

(135) Likewise: Stomach heavy with gas, so that it stops blowing: Cumin, pepper, rue, mustard, (136) Arabic natron, honey; crush them well; give him to eat it; he will recover.⁵⁸¹

Ch 70

(137) Ομεος ογτομαχος (sic) εφνογχ σαω εφκηνι ερραι ετε εφωοβε μμιν νιμ χι νακ ν̄ρεν (138) σφονγος οη̄ς εγρημ̄χ εφποσε μ̄ν̄ ρενσωβε ν̄κιςσος ετε πεσμιλαζ⁵⁸² πε ν̄τ (139) λαρμογ ρι ηρ̄π ν̄τ λαγ ν̄καταπλασμα ριχωφ ν̄τ επετωωνε ογ ογτροφη (140) εσασιωογ ετε ογσοογρε δε τεφσως ε̄ι ογρδαλικνη⁵⁸³ ε̄ι ογηρ̄χ ε̄ι ογογρητε ν̄χηρας⁵⁸⁴ (141) ε̄ι ρ̄ναφγ φασιανος⁵⁸⁵

(137) Likewise: Stomach that produces/throw up black bile or is swollen in any way: take (138) sponges soaked in vinegar that cooked with ivy leaves, which is the bindweed; (139) boile them with wine and make them a poultice that you will apply upon it. Give the patient (who is sick) a light food (140), which is an egg to swallow, fatty poultry broth, chicken or pig's leg, (141) or pheasant flesh.⁵⁸⁶

Ch 71

(141) Ομεος ογστομαχος εφτκκας τεπ̄ν εφσηνχ ζς† θνοογ ρι ωλκ>≡ χρω

(141) Likewise: Stomach that have pain: Toasted cumin, celery; crush them with: with egg; apply.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 176, with slight modifications.

⁵⁸² Cf. σμιλαζ “bindweed, yew”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996:1619b.

⁵⁸³ This noun is without an equivalent.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. χοῖρος “young pig, porker”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996:1996b.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. Φᾶσιανός “the Phasian bird, pheasant”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1918b.

⁵⁸⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 177, with slight modifications.

⁵⁸⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 184.

Ch 72

(142) ΟΥΝΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΜΟΥΛ̄Ϟ ƒ ġ ΜΑΣΤ̄ΧΕ⁵⁸⁸ ƒ ᾶ
ΚΑΛΑΦΟΝΙΑΣ⁵⁸⁹ ƒ ᾶ (143) ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΥ ƒ ᾶ ΣΤΗΡ̄Ξ⁵⁹⁰ ƒ ᾶ ΜΟΧΚΟΥ ΤΑΔΥ ΖΙΧΩ
ΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ Μ̄Ν̄ΣΩΣ ΤΕΚΠΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΧ (144) ΩΑΝΤΕΥΧΗΝΖΙΣΤΑ⁵⁹¹ ΤΑΔΥ
ΕΧΩϞ Ν̄ΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΦΝΑΛΟ

(142) A plaster for the stomach: Wax three-ounces, mastic one-ounce, rosin one-ounce, (143) white lead one-ounce, storax one ounce; mix them and apply them to the patient (who is sick) after that cook them well until (144) they thicken. Apply them on him as a poultice, he will be healed.⁵⁹²

Ch 73

(145) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΒΗΝΝΕ ΕΦΤΑΞ ƒ Ḃ ΝΟΕΙΤ Ν̄ΔΩΧΕΞ⁵⁹³ ƒ Ḃ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ ƒ ᾶ
ΣΤΗΡΑΞ ƒ Ḃ ΖΘΩΦΙΣΥΞ ƒ ᾶ (146) ƒ ᾶ (*sic*) ΒΑΩΟΥΩ ΕΦΛΗΚ ƒ ᾶ ΚΡΟΚΟΣ ƒ
ᾶ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΜΑΧΚΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΗΡ̄Π̄ ΝΑΡΑΣ (147) ΠΑΣΤΟΥ ΩΑΝΤΟΥΣΕΝΖΙΣΤΑ
ΚΑΛΩΣ ΚΑΔΥ ΖΙΧΩϞ Ν̄ΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΦΝΑΛΟ

(145) Likewise: Two ounces crushed dates, eight ounces cucumber flour, one ounces white lead, two ounce styrax, one-ounce mastic, (146) fresh rue one ounce, saffron one ounce; grind them well; mix with old wine; (147) cook until desired consistency; apply them as a poultice; he will be healed.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁸ ΜΑΣΤ̄ΧΕ, μαστίχη, and corresponds to Arabic مصطكى “mastich”. Chassinat 1921: 185.

⁵⁸⁹ ΚΑΛΑΦΟΝΙΑΣ, κολοφονία, and corresponds to Arabic قفونيه. Chassinat 1921: 185.

⁵⁹⁰ ΣΤΗΡ̄Ξ, στύραξ. Cf. στύραξ “storax”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1658a. it corresponds to Arabic اسطرقس.

⁵⁹¹ ΣΗΝΖΙΣΤΑ (also as in Ch 18; Ch 121; Ch 127; Ch 198), ΣΗΝΖΙΣΤΑ (Ch 15), ΣΕΝΖΙΣΤΑ (Ch 150) is from the Greek word συνιστάω “to combine, associate, unite. Sophocles 1050b; Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1718b. [ΣΗΝ]ΖΙΣΤΑ, συνισιάναι, “Thicken, take consistency, hardening”. Chassinat 1921: 103. Cf. ΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ, ΣΕΝΖΙΣΤΑ, ΣΗΝΖΙΣΤΑ “to unite, to thicken”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tlā=C10645], (last accessed: 27.01.2021).

⁵⁹² My English translation adapted from the French translation of Chassinat 1921: 184–185.

⁵⁹³ This word ΩΩΒΕ has different meanings “cucumber”, “gourd”, and corresponds to Greek σίκυς, and Arabic قشاء, قفوس, بطيخ الاصفر. Crum 1939: 581a; Till 1951: 63.

⁵⁹⁴ My English translation adapted from the French translation of Chassinat 1921: 185.

5.8 INTESTINE DISEASES

5.8.1 𐤆𐤇𐤕𐤓 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤓 “painful belly”:

For abdominal pain, Ch 167 recommends using rough seeds and oil. In addition, Ch 168 prescribes a tampon impregnated with oil, fat, and starch, which should be inserted into the anus. The same means can be introduced into the vagina, or used against uterine pain:

Ch 167

(325) 𐤓𐤕𐤓 𐤈𐤓 𐤆𐤇𐤕𐤓 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤓 𐤏𐤈 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 (326) 𐤕𐤈𐤓 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤏 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 𐤈𐤓𐤕𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 ©

(325) Someone whose belly has pain: Dodder seed oil, grease, storax of aromatic reed juice; cook them together; (326) soak a tampon and lay it down on him. Give it also to the painful matrix of a woman, it will be healed.⁵⁹⁵

Ch 168

(327) 𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤈𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓⁵⁹⁶ 𐤆𐤓 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓⁵⁹⁷ 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓

(327) Likewise: Seed of rocket and oil; anoint (the diseased parts) they will be healed.⁵⁹⁸

5.8.2 𐤈𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 “trouble to pass stool”:

“(Someone) who has troubled to pass stool” indicates that a patient is suffering from constipation. Various recipes recommend a purgative and laxative remedy for treating this ailment:

⁵⁹⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 284.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓, 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓 “rocket (plant)”, it corresponds to Greek εὐζωμον, and Arabic *Jarjeer* جَرْجِير. Crum 1939: 824b.

⁵⁹⁷ 𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤓. Chassinat 1921: 285.

⁵⁹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 285, with slight modification.

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 205-207

ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΜΟΧΖ ΕΕΡΜΗΘΕΙΚ ΛΑΛΕ ΖΗΤῚ ἦΔΗ ΤΗΛῚ ἦΗΔΕ ΔΥΩ ΦΗΔΛΟ//

A man who is troubled to pass stool: Smear his belly with calf (or bull) marrow (?) and he will recover.⁵⁹⁹

Another recipe (P. Mich. 593b, p. 168 ll. 5-20) recommends that a person, who is suffering from constipation, should eat a pigeon that has been prepared with certain ingredients, and then drink some cups of wine (see 3.1.3).

P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 51-64 contains a variety of ingredients that have gone through multiple stages and are applicable in treating various internal diseases. The recipe also works as a laxative (αφακαθαριζε μπρο μπεκρητ) “it is also clean the mouth of your heart”, the expression “mouth of the heart” may be directly referring to the bowels (see 4.1.8).⁶⁰⁰

Ch 74

(148) ΟΥΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΣ ἢ ἢ ὠΛΑΕΙΝ ΣΑΚΑΜΟΓΝΙΑ⁶⁰¹ ƒ ἄ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΝΙΤΡΟΥ ƒ ἦ
ΕΥΦΟΡΒΙΟΥ ƒ ἦ (149) ΘΗΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΟΥΩῶΜ ΖΙ ΕΦΙΩ ΤΣΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΥΣΟΜ
ἦἦΕΥΤ⁶⁰² ΣΝΔΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ

(148) A purgative: Pepper, cress, scammony, an ounce of each, natron eight ounces, eight ounces spurge; (149) crush them well; bake with honey; drink according to the strength of the patient, the gas will go to the bottom.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ Translation adapted from Worrell 1935: 36.

⁶⁰⁰ Till 1951a: 24.

⁶⁰¹ σακμωνία (Dioscorides, IV, 170), Convolvulus scammonia, scala Bohairic: Arabic *sakamonia* سقمونيا وهي المحموديه. Chassinat 1921: 187; Till 1951: 86.

⁶⁰² Cf. νεϋτ “blow, and breath”. Crum 1939: 239a.

⁶⁰³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 187.

Ch 76

(153) οΥΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΣΑΠ̄⁶⁰⁴ ⲛ̄ ⲉ̄ ΠΑΘΑΜΟΥΝ⁶⁰⁵ ⲛ̄ ⲕ̄ ΣΑΚΑΜΟΥΝΙΑ
ⲛ̄ ⲁ̄ ΘΝΟΥΥ ΔΔΥ ⲛ̄ⲕ̄ [ΧΡΩ]

(153) A good purgative: Aloe ten drachmas, dodder twenty drachmas, scammony one drachma; crush them; make them a collyrium; [apply].⁶⁰⁶

5.8.3 μερτο ὠφνε “Sick intestine”:

μερτο/πνος ἡμαξ̄τ means “great intestine” and refers to the rectum or colon. To treat a sick intestine, some recipes recommended various remedies such as drinking, suppositories, or even magical elements. Ch 75 recommends a medicament that can either be used as a liquid remedy, which the patient can drink directly, or be crushed in the form of a suppository. The remedy in both forms is composed of myrrh, castoreum, green vitriol and spurge:

Ch 75

(150) ΟΥΤΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΣ ἡμαξ̄τ ΣΜΗΡΝΗΣ ⲉ̄ ⲕ̄ ΚΑΣΤΩΡ⁶⁰⁷ ⲉ̄ ⲕ̄ ΔΝΙΓΑΜ ⲉ̄ ⲕ̄
ΕΥΦΟΡΒΙΟΥ ⲉ̄ ⲉ̄ (151) ΘΝΟΥΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΔΥ ἡσαρ ταδϩ ερραι ξ̄ν πκαθισμα
εκαδανοϩωϩ τω οϩϩ̄μ ϩι εϩω (152) ΤΣΟΥΥ ΚΤΑΤΑ ΤΕΥΣΟΜ

(150) A potion to the large intestine: Myrrh twenty ounces, castoreum twenty ounces, green vitriol twenty ounces, spurge three ounces; (151) crush them well, make a suppository and insert it down in to the rectum. If you want, administer a little-potion with honey; (152) drink according to the strength of the patient.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁴ Arabic *sabr* صبر.

⁶⁰⁵ ΠΑΘΑΜΟΥΝ, *Cuscuta epithimum* L. Chassinat thought that is transcription of Arabic أفثيمون, أفثيمون is Greek origin plant, means the ‘madness drug’, known as Thyme, Abd Ar-razzaq 1321 Hegira, 15. Chassinat 1921: 188.

⁶⁰⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 188.

⁶⁰⁷ κάστωρ, Arabic *ḡundbāstar* جاندبادستر. Chassinat 1921: 188. Cf. κάστωρ, καστόρειον “castoreum”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?fla=C9317>], (last accessed: 20.08.2020).

⁶⁰⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 187-188.

Ch 225 prescribes a liquid remedy consists of: Aromatic jujube, *aam*, spurge, myrrh, to be drunk with hot water in the bath (see 3.2.12).

Ch 224 recommends a remedy, to be precise a magical instruction, against a sick intestine:

Ch 224

(402) ογα ερε πεφμερτο ωωνε ογορβε (*sic*) ἡογωνῶ τας εγωαρ
ἡογωνῶ μορ̄ς εχ̄ν τεφρελπε φναλο

(402) Someone whose great intestines is sick: A wolf's tooth; put it in wolf's skin; attach it to the patient's navel; he will recover.⁶⁰⁹

Ch 226 recommends a special remedy made from the dung of the wolf. Chassinat⁶¹⁰ argues that this remedy was a part of medico-magical prescriptions. Wolf teeth and skin appear as ingredients in a number of cases (see Pliny, XXVIII 78). Also, wolf dung was used against intestinal pain:

Ch 226

(405) Ομεος πμερτο ετ-κκας κοπροσ ιλκηκος εφρωχ εφθνηγ ρι ιιι
ναλαγ ογοωμογ ρι εφιδ τσογ αλλα χι πβε (*sic*) ἡωορ̄π̄ι ογδοκιμον πε

(405) Likewise: The great intestine that has pain: Burnt wolf droppings, crushed with white pepper; knead them with honey, drink it, but take your salary first, it is tested.⁶¹¹

5.8.4 ζελμικ, ἔλμικ⁶¹² “Intestinal worms”:

Against intestinal worms, the following recipes are recommended:

⁶⁰⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 316, with slight modifications.

⁶¹⁰ Chassinat 1921: 316.

⁶¹¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 317, with slight modifications.

⁶¹² Cf. ἔλμικ “worm”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 537a.

The medical recipes Ch 110 prescribes a remedy against specific type of worms called τμος κωοειω “the dust-*Mos*”,⁶¹³ in which the meaning of μος is unknown.⁶¹⁴ The recipe recommends three remedies against worms: firstly, a suppository of fresh blue vitriol and wine which will cause the worms to exit the body; secondly, smoking blue-vitriol with wheat broth to make the worms move towards the bottom; and, lastly, drinking one cup of purslane, cow milk and honey for three days:

Ch 110

?

(235) ογα ερε ρενμικ ν̄ρητ̄ϗ ωαγμογτε εροογ δε τμικ ωοειω δι
 ν̄ογανιγαν εφογωτ (236) θνοογ (*sic*) ρι ηρη φ̄ ογκλμε ναϗ σεναει επεσητ
 ε̄ς τεκτι πανικαμ εγχελλος ν̄σογω (237) τεϑσωϗ τεκκαπνιζε μ̄μοϗ
 ν̄ελκο ν̄ναμ σεναει επεσητ ε̄ς ν̄τ̄ δι ν̄ογερμογρε (238) μ̄ν ογερωτε ν̄ερε
 μ̄ν ογεϑιω † ογαποτ ναϗ ν̄ρητ̄ϗ ν̄η̄ι ρ̄ πεστογ ν̄ωορπ

(235) Someone who has worms inside him to which is called to dust (?):
 Take fresh blue vitriol; (236) crush with wine; administer as a suppository,
 introduce them downwards the bottom. Or put vitriol in a wheat decoction;
 (237) he drinks (the patient), and smoke it with the tamarisk bark;
 introduce them downwards the bottom, or take purslane, (238) cow milk
 and honey; give a cup to him in three days. Cook them at first.⁶¹⁵

Ch 111 recommends lettuce seeds to be drunk with warm water so the patient will vomit the worms:

Ch 111

(239) Ομεος εβρεωϗ⁶¹⁶ θνοϗ τεϑσωϗ ρι θερμων ϗ̄νακακαβολ ν̄νερελμικ

(239) Likewise: Lettuce seed; crush it; He (the patient) drink it with hot
 water, he will vomit worms.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³ Crum 1939: 184b.

⁶¹⁴ Till 1951a: 24.

⁶¹⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 234.

⁶¹⁶ μωβ, Arabic *alkhas* الخس. Chassinat 1921: 235.

⁶¹⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 235.

Ch 112 consists of vitriol, aloe and onion juice is to be taken at bed time:

Ch 112

(240) Θμεος καλαθανο ς δ̄ αλλωης γ̄ ῑ̄ θνοογ ογοωμογ ρι μοογ ἡρτιτ
ααγ̄ ἡνοσ̄ ἡ̄κ̄ † ῑ̄ ναγ̄ εφνακκοτε

(240) Likewise: Blue vitriol an obol, aloe three drachmas; crush them; knead them with onion juice; make them a great collyrium; administer-in three to him (the patient) when he goes to sleep.⁶¹⁸

Ch 166 recommends a drinking remedy consisting of chamomile, mastic, rue and wine:

Ch 166

(324) ογᾱ ερε̄ ἡ̄ρελμικ̄ ἡ̄ρητ̄ϛ̄ χαμαμελλον̄ μασ†χε̄ βαωογω̄ ηρ̄π̄ι θνοογ̄
ταρογ̄ μ̄η̄ πηρ̄π̄ι τ[co]ϛ̄

(324) Someone who has worms inside him: Chamomile, mastic, street, wine; crush them; mix them with wine; and let him drink.⁶¹⁹

In Ch 227, the patient should drink the decoction of raisins and the unknown drug *nédjmê*:

Ch 227

(406) ομεος̄ ογᾱ ερε̄ ἡ̄ρελμικ̄ ἡ̄ρητ̄ϛ̄ ρ̄η̄ τεφλοχο̄ς ἡ̄χη̄η̄ ρῑ ελολε̄ ωοογε̄
λορ̄μογ̄ τσοϛ̄ οεγ̄μοογ̄ σενᾱς

⁶¹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 235.

⁶¹⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 283.

(406) Similar: Someone who has worms inside him, in his *lodjos*: *Nedjmê* and raisin; crush them; (make the patient) drink the juice, the worms will go away.⁶²⁰

5.8.5 πωρεβε ἡπεσωμα “swelling of the body”:

Ch 14

(34) [ΟΥΑ ΕΡΕ Π]εφσωμα τηρ̄ϗ ωρεφε βαωουγ[α]ξημ]ηχ εφθηηγ
μογλαρ (35) σαπτελ⁶²¹ παστογ ρ̄η ογκωξ̄τ̄ μ̄η ογ[.....] τωξ̄ς πεφσωμα
τηρ̄ϗ ωααλο

(34) [Someone whose whole body is swollen: rue, vinegar, ground
cumin, wax, (35) sandalwood; cook them in fire with; (and) smear
his body completely, he will be healed.⁶²²

Additionally, Ch 93 provides a collyrium which is also good to sooth a swollen body (see 5.6.21). Also, P. Mich.MS 136, ll. 56-59 attests that gold, immersed and grinded with oil and smeared on the swollen person, can help to treat swelling:

P. Mich.MS 136, ll. 56-59

ετβε ογρωμε εφωαφβε ρμογ νογνογβ πιη εωαγωᾱη μ̄ηνογβ ἡρητ̄ϗ τ̄ηνοα
ρι νεξ τωξ̄ς εροα φαη τ̄ϗλο // >>>----

For a man who becomes swollen (inflamed): Salt of a piece of gold: that
in which pieces of gold are quenched. Pulverize with oil. Anoint him till
he recovers.⁶²³

⁶²⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 318.

⁶²¹ σαπτελ, صنتل, σανδάλ. *Santalum album* L. Chassinat 1921: 102, Till 1951a: 92.

⁶²² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 102.

⁶²³ Translation: Worrell 1935: 30.

5.8.6 A spell for abdomen disease:

P.Sarga 20 is a highly multi-layered recipe against abdomen disease; it also contains a spell which plays a role in the treatment:

P.Sarga 20

+ ετβε ογα ερεζητ [] νεφογερητε ηφωω [] ντηη]βε ντεκσιλ ογαρογ [...]
ν]Γχοοο χείλαω ïαω [5] η̄ωνε ετφνηητφ [ο]γ ασφαλτον μη []. λβοϊ τααγ
εραϊ ρ[] ετβεπεχαλλκιον [] μπογποοπε

Concerning someone whose (?) belly [] his feet and he ... [] fingers of the hand; lay them [] and say: Iaô, Iaô [] the sickness wherein he is [] bitumen and []; place them on []. Concerning the cauldron [] they have not changed [or been moved].⁶²⁴

5.8.7 μαζ̄τ μοοωε:

In P.Mich. 593b, p. 168, ll. 16-25 the editor proposed to read the missed word as the verb μοο[ωε]? “go” for as much as the bowels run, may be refers to the diarrhea:

P.Mich. 593b, p. 168, ll. 16-25

ογα ερε νε[φ] μαζ̄τ μοο[ωε] ογζερμαη̄ ν̄τ̄ωογωφ [ε]βολ ν̄τ̄μα[χσφ]
ν̄βλλε ν̄σ[οογ]ζε ν̄τ̄κολσ[φ] ν̄[τ]θαβ ν̄τ̄χ[ε]γχωφ μ̄ν ν̄σωσ ν̄τ̄κωκ

Someone whose bowels run (?): A pomegranate. You pour it(s contents) out, and you mix it with the whites of eggs, and you rub it to dough, and you cook it. Afterwards you peel.....⁶²⁵

5.8.8 ογα εφωογ νσνοφ εραϊ σαραϊ ημοφ “someone who pours blood under himself”:

⁶²⁴ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 51–52.

⁶²⁵ Translation: Worrell 1935: 192.

“Someone who pours blood under himself” refers to bleeding from the anus. To treat this disease, Ch 228 recommends eating as much boiled vegetable porridge as possible:

Ch 228

(407) ογα εφωου νσνοφ ερραι σαρραι μμοφ νοστ ἡσωτ νοστ ἡσογσ ἡροκε
ελολογορε πεστοφ νοοφω ἡφωμ (sic) ἡςετκοκ

(407) Someone bleeding from below: Barley flour, husked safflower meal, scorpion grape; cook in gruel. That the patient eats according to his strength.⁶²⁶

The medical recipe O.Mon.Epiph. 574 states: ογα εφωωνε επεφσα ηρογν εφνανεχ σνοφ ερραι “one who is sick in his interior, where blood throws down”. Spitting up blood is not implied here, but rather “casting up blood”, which refers to the intestine. This corresponds to the expression νετωωνε ενεφμαστ “who is sick in his bowels/intestines”. A sulfur ointment should be rubbed on the patient three times a day:

O.Mon.Epiph. 574

[ε]τβε ογα εφωωνε επεφσα ηρογν εφνανεχ σνοφ ερραι ομο ογκογι ἡνεξ
ἡσιμ ἡτνεχ ογκογι ἡθιν εροφ εαφχι κωστ ἡτογωγσπ ογσοογζε μπαπαἰ
επνεξ ἡτωεσ πετωωνε ενεφμαστ νωομντ ἡσοπ επεροογ φναμτοη

Concerning someone who is sick in his inward parts, (and) casting up blood: Heat a little radish oil and cast there into a little burnt sulfur; and break a hen’s egg into the oil and anoint the sick in his bowels, three times for the day. He shall have relieved (of sickness).⁶²⁷

⁶²⁶ The text may be truncated and you have to read † ηαφ ἡφωωμ ἡεετκοκ. Chassinat 1921: 318.

⁶²⁷ Author’s own translation.

BM 527 (2)⁶²⁸ includes the expression λεπεα καρι † αναα “whose belly bleeds” or “giving blood” in a treatment involving raven blood. It is not mentioned whether the remedy should be drunk or if it should be smeared.⁶²⁹

5.9 LIVER DISORDERS

For the sick liver, the following recipes are prescribed:

O.Mon.Epiph. 575

ετβε πρηπαρ ετφωνε ητεπεφβολ χηα ερεπρωμε κωλε̄ χεεμεφω̄βω̄ χι
φωμτε ηκαροια⁶³⁰ η †ε η̄να.χογ επακρατων ηηφωμτε ηβλιβιλε ηπιπερ
η †ε η̄κογ.χογ η̄τααγ εγρβος η̄να.χς ερωα +

For the sick liver, which is burning outside, the man, who is knocking, so that he cannot sleep: Take three or five nuts, add them to unmixed wine and three or five peppercorns, and roast them, and put them in a garment, and put/lay it thereon.⁶³¹

P. CARLSBERG 500, folio D ro, ll. 10-14

ετβεγρηπαρ εφωφνε ογλοι[ζε γηπιμοογ πτ[ειβοτανη γιεφῑω μαρεφω....

For a sick liver, excrement in the juice of this plant, with honey. Let him drink.⁶³²

⁶²⁸ Magical recipe. Till 1951a: 113.

⁶²⁹ Till 1951a: 25.

⁶³⁰ Förster 2013: 381.

⁶³¹ Translation: Crum and White 1926: 298, with slight modifications. Crum’s translation: “Concerning the liver that aileth and whose outer (part) burneth, the man that he should not sleep. Take 3 nuts, or 5, and cast them into unmixed wine, with 3 peppercorns, or 5; and roast them and place them in a cloth and lay it thereon”.

⁶³² English translation by me of the German translation by Erichsen 1963: 36.

Jaundice is also a symptom of a liver condition. The skin's display of elevated bilirubin is known as jaundice. The most common cause of jaundice is liver disease. The skin turns yellow, as do the whites of the eyes. Jaundice is treated by medical and magical means as well, the black and the yellow kind appeared in (P.Macq. I 1, p. 15, ll. 3–7), and the black jaundice appeared in (ACM, 305, no. 133) see 6.5. Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 28 recommended an oral remedy for jaundice consisting of: Greek bean and natron (see 5.16.19):

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 42

κεογα. κορπος πδρομπε εφονηγ ρι ηρη. σωλω επετρε περσωμα ω
νκατκε,⁶³³ φναλο. φραφταλσο δε οη μπωνηκτερος.⁶³⁴

Another: Pigeon droppings rubbed with wine. Smear on the one whose body is (affected by) lice. He will be healed. But it also heals the jaundice.⁶³⁵

5.10 ANAL DISORDERS

5.10.1 αλπεσογρ “Haemorrhoid”:

A haemorrhoid is one of the most common ailments that afflict the anus area. A remedy against haemorrhoids (αλπεσογρ الباسور)⁶³⁶ is prescribed in SBKopt I 005. The actual remedy consists of soft human faeces and a certain kind of burnt alum. Before applying this remedy, the haemorrhoids are coated in fig milk (Juice of the fig tree) or unmixed wine depending on their condition. In addition, human milk, shrub roots crushed capers, and lupines are used for the treatment:

SBKopt I 005

ογαλπεσογρ ρι β̄ εωι νκοπροσ εγλεκλωκ ρη ογμα η̄ μη η.. χεην...[.η
ογωι νοβεν η̄σιρ εφροχ μο[χκογ̄ μη νεγερηγ̄ εωωπ̄ ογαλπεσογρ ερ νοχ

⁶³³ Cf. κατκε “Ious”, Arabic *qaml* قمل. Crum 1939: 102a

⁶³⁴ εικτερος, ἴκτερος. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 827a.

⁶³⁵ Author's own translation.

⁶³⁶ Till 1951a: 25, with slight modifications.

ΤΑΡΣ ΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΚΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ Νῆ̅ ΝСОП ΜΜΗΝΕ ΝΓСРΟΦΡΕϚ ΕΧΩС ΜΠΙΠΑΖΡΕ
 ΠΕСΓΩΔΑССΩΛΙΠ — ЕСΩΔΑΝСΩΛῖ̅ ΘΙ ΘΑΡΜΟΥС⁶³⁷ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕСТΗМ СРΟΦΡΕϚ
 ΕΧΩС — ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΧΟΡΟС ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΡС ΝΑΓΡΑΤΩΡ ΝΓСРΟΦΡΕϚ ΕΧΩС
 ΝΠΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕСЕР ΝΟС· †ΕΡΩΤΕ ΝСΖΙМЕ ΕΧ.Ν ΟΥΠΟСЕ ΝΩЕ
 ΝΝΟΥΖЕ. ΝГ.. ΕΧ.Ν ΤΠΟСЕ ΝΝΟΥΖЕ (Recto) ΝΟΥΑΠЕ ΝΚЛЕВΙΝ ΩΑῖΝΤЕϚ ΧΡΟ.
 ΝΓΤΩΖС ΕΡОВ ΖΙΩΩϚ — ΩΑ]СЕР ΝΟС Тε(?) ΚСΟΛС ΖН ΠЕНТАΚΧООϚ ΕΤЕ
 ΠΕΡΩΤЕ ΝΚЕНТЕ ΠЕ ΕΩΩΠЕ ΔСΠΩӨЕ ΔСЕР СНОϚ ΝΠΑТЕΚӨНТС ΧΙ ΝΖННОУНЕ
 ΝΚЕΠΑРИС· Θ/ΩΕΛΩΩΛΟΥ· СРΟΦΡΕϚ ΕΧΩΟΥ Ⲡ̅

A haemorrhoid: Take 2 units of soft faeces from one abortion ... one unit
 of burnt greasy (? Or: streaky) alum, mix them together. If a hemorrhoid
 gets bigger, anoint it twice daily with fig milk, and smear the remedy
 (listed above) on it for the third time. It will break. When it is broken, crush
 lupine like stibium, and administer on it. If you want to make them
 disappear, spread them with unmixed wine and smear the remedy on them.
 If you want it to be bigger, put a woman's milk (lit. breast milk) on a
 sycamore-shaped wood and an ax-head to the sycamore patch until it (the
 milk) becomes thick, and anoint it with it. It will get bigger. And (?)
 bring/make it burst with the aforementioned, namely, with (with) the “fig-
 milk”. If it is broken and bleeding before you found it, take the capper root,
 crush it, and put it on it. Apply.⁶³⁸

5.10.2 ἄωνε εβολ ḡḥ̅ πκαθισμα “The stones from the anus”:

The following recipe details how to expel stones from the anus:

Ch 65

(125) ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΩΔΑΦΘΕΡΑΠΕϚΕ ΝΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΕΠΕΓΝΟΕΙΩ ΝΤΑΝῸῖΝῖῖ̅ ΕϚСНΖ
 ḡḥ̅ ḥ̅ΧΩΩМЕ (126) ἡ̅ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΩΑΣΕϚΦΕΡΕΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ἡ̅ΝΕΝΤΑΝΕϚΜΕРОС ΩЛЕК
 ḥ̅ḥ̅ ΠΕϚСΩМА ḥ̅ḥ̅ ΠΩΩ ΝΜΗ (127) ΩΔС ἡ̅ΤΑΝΕΖΙΟМЕ ḡḥ̅ ΟΥΜΟТНЕС

Ⲡ̅

⁶³⁷ θαρμούс, θερμός, and Arabic *taramus* ترمس. It is found as θερμούс in O.Vind.Copt. 209 (see 3.2.4).

⁶³⁸ English translation by me of the German translation by Till 1951a: 132, with slight modifications.

Ϡας ἡἡ᠒νε εβολ ἕἡ πκαθιμα σαγ᠒᠑᠑ (128) σμηρ᠑᠑ πλ· β᠑⁶³⁹ ογ᠒ ε᠑ογ᠒
᠒᠑οογ ᠑᠑᠑ πεγ᠑᠒᠑᠑ ἡεβ᠑᠒ † ᠑᠒᠒ ἡ᠒ογ᠒᠑᠑ ἡε᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ ḡ᠑ ᠑᠑᠑

(125) A remedy to treat those who suffer from the spleen, (126) we have found it written in the books (126) of the ancients. It is also useful for those whose limbs or body are curved and for sand in urine (127) it causes the easy flow of menses in women and expels the stones in the anus: Oporanax, (128) myrrh, gentian, same amount of each; grinding them with a sufficient amount of honey; give him to eat as much as possible with wine.⁶⁴⁰

Ch 55 uses the term λελ᠑᠑᠑⁶⁴¹ to describe the pathological condition of the anus: επκαθιμα ε᠑λε᠑᠑᠑᠑ “anus that rots”, also, the result of the treatment clearly describes the case, as it shows that: † ἡ᠑᠒᠒ † επκαθιμα Ϡ᠒᠒ ἡ᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑⁶⁴² εβολ “It will bring down the corrupt flesh” (see 3.2.8).

Other expressions such as π᠑᠒ ἡ᠑᠑᠑᠑ ᠑᠑᠑ “place of making big-excretion”⁶⁴³ in (Ch 212) (see 5.16.21), and π᠑᠒ ᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ “seat place” as in (P.Mich. MS 136, p. 12) are used in medical recipes, which most likely refers to the buttocks:

P.Mich. MS 136, p. 12, ll. 198-200

ογ᠒᠑᠑᠑ ἡ᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ ᠑᠑᠒᠒᠑ ε᠑ογ᠒᠑᠑᠑ ᠑᠑᠑᠑ † ε᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ εγ᠒᠒᠑᠑᠑᠑ ḡ᠑
π᠑᠒᠒᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ ... [ḡ᠑ εβ᠑᠒ ᠑᠑᠑]

A little fresh fat from a sow: Crush it up. Put it on sores that have appeared at the anus, along with real honey.⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁹ πλ·β᠑᠑, for κογ᠒᠑᠑᠑, Arabic *kousht* كوشط. Chassinat 1921: 174.

⁶⁴⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 173-174.

⁶⁴¹ It is probably from λ᠑᠑᠑, wither, fade. Crum 1939: 142b.

⁶⁴² λ᠒᠒᠒᠑᠑ according to the transcript mode adopted by the author (ḡ = ḡ or ḡ), this word can be one of two forms as follows: الخُم, from خُم have fever or الخَام “corrupted flesh, flesh off a bad smell due to putrefaction.” The title of the formula shows that we must choose the second. This is a case of gangrene of the anus, and in medication aims to bring down bedsores. Chassinat 1921: 166.

⁶⁴³ ᠑᠒ ᠑᠑ ᠑᠑᠑ and ᠑᠒ ᠑᠑᠑᠑᠑ also be used for “abortion”.

⁶⁴⁴ Translation: Worrell 1935: 36, with slight modifications. Worrell translates ᠒᠒᠒ into “wound”.

5.11 BLADDER DISEASES

5.11.1 ⲩⲱ ⲛⲙⲏ “urine sand”

The main disease related to the bladder was ⲩⲱ ⲛⲙⲏ “urine sand”, and there are two Coptic recipes against this condition. Ch 65 recommends a remedy of opopanax, myrrh, costus and honey to be consumed with large amounts as of wine (see 5.10.2). P.Mich.MS 136 recommends ingesting seeds of several plants with honey and wine or beer. This recipe is combined with special techniques of therapeutic exercise such as the patient performing certain movements or taking a hot bath. This procedure should be repeated on three consecutive days:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 133-168

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲛⲟϩⲙⲏ // ⲟϩⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲛⲓⲥ // ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲁⲁⲙ // ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲥⲗⲓⲛⲏ // ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓⲥ // ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ
ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉϩⲉⲣⲏϫ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲧⲁⲗϩ ⲉⲟϩ ⲉϩⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ϩ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ ⲙ̄ⲏ ⲟϩⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲏⲣ̄ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓ.]ϩⲁⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲓⲃⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲙ̄ⲏ' ⲛⲉϩⲉⲣⲏⲟϩ . ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲁⲗϩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲕⲓ ⲟϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲕ
ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲱϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲟϩ ⲩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲡⲁϩⲧ̄ⲕ̄ ⲉ̄ⲕ̄ⲛ̄ ⲩⲏⲧ̄ⲕ̄
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲟϩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲡⲁϩⲟϩ ⲉ̄ⲕ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲣⲁ. ⲧ̄ϩ̄ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲩⲱϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲕ
ⲙ̄ⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧ̄ϩ̄ⲙⲛⲉ [ⲟⲥ[ϩⲏ . ⲟⲥϩⲏ . ⲟⲥϩⲏ . ⲓⲟⲥϩⲏ . ⲓⲟⲥϩⲏ ⲃⲓⲃⲓⲟϩ.
ⲃⲓⲃⲓⲟϩ . ⲃⲓⲃⲓⲟϩ . ⲓⲁⲥⲁⲃⲁⲩⲱⲟ̄ ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁⲓ . ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̄ⲕ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉϩⲧⲟⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲩ̄ⲛ̄ ⲩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲉⲓⲟϩⲁⲩⲱϩ̄ . ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ . ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲏⲗⲏ ⲏⲗⲏ ⲧⲁⲭϩ̄ ⲧⲁⲭϩ̄
ⲧⲁⲭϩ̄: ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲉ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩⲱϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧ̄ ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲙⲏⲟⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϩ ⲩ̄ⲙⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲉ ⲕⲉⲥⲁ
ⲩⲱϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲟϩ . ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲉ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩⲱϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲟϩ . ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ ⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲏⲏ ⲉⲕⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄

For the urine sand:⁶⁴⁵ A measure of, three measures of seed, three measures of parsley seed, three measures of dill seed. You put honey on them, and you rub them with one another, and you add them to a cup of

⁶⁴⁵ Worrell translates it into “the fire (?) disease). Worrell 1935: 33.

beer and a cup of wine, and you rub them well with one another, and you make it into three parts, and you take a part with you daily for three days, and you drink seven cups in the..., and you stretch yourself out upon your belly, and they seize your feet, and they stretch them out upon your.... (?), and they take seven turns with you. Then you go down to the warm (bath).

Osphe, Osphe, Osphe, Iosphe, Iosphe, Iosphe, Bibiou, Bibiou, Bibiou, Iasabaoth! Adonai, that ruslest over the four corners of the world, in anything that I desire! I am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so. Straightway, straightway, quickly, quickly!

And you drink seven more cups, and you go to the swimming bath of warm water, and you drink seven more cups, and you come up and drink seven more cups, and you do this daily for three days, drinking (?)....⁶⁴⁶

5.11.2 μη ἴσνοϋ “bloody urine”:

For μη ἴσνοϋ means “bloody urine” Ch 34 recommends treating the patient with a particular variety of alum and tragacanth. It is presumed that this recipe contains other drugs, however the recipe is unfortunately incomplete:

Ch 34

(67) οϋα εϋρμη ἴσνοϋ ληϣϣ ἡωϛδϣ⁶⁴⁷ δ̄ τρα[κακανθης⁶⁴⁸

(67) Someone who urinates blood: Round alum, tragacanth ...⁶⁴⁹

A seventh century letter from the priest Gennadios to Pesynthius⁶⁵⁰ (the well-known Bishop of Copts) contains similar symptoms of the disease, however the name of the medicinal plant is not included in the recipes, Till⁶⁵¹ assumes that the complaints probably concerned a bladder catarrh or something similar: “Since I wrote the first letter, I have remembered that in the first letter you wrote that you suffer from your

⁶⁴⁶ Translation: Worrell 1935: 33-34, with slight modifications.
⁶⁴⁷ ληϣϣ ἡωϛδϣ, οβνε ἴσιϋπ. Chassinat 1921: 134.
⁶⁴⁸ τρακακκθης, τρακανθε τραγακανθα. Arabic الكثيرا. Chassinat 1921: 136.
⁶⁴⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 143.
⁶⁵⁰ Revillout 1900: 160 (no. 24).
⁶⁵¹ Till 1951a: 26.

ΧΕΛΟΣ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΣΖΕΙΜΗ. ΚΑΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΑΚΚΙΟΝ ΝΤΑΖΤ. ΝΓΣΟΥ [Ν]ΚΟΛΘ ΕΡΟΥ
ΩΑΝΤΟΥΛΟ. ΚΩΑΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΚΑΦ ΕΥΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΓΑΥ
ΝΤΡΟΧΙΚΟΣ ΝΓΚΑΥ ΩΑ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΖΗ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ ΒΕΛ ΝΕΤΡΟΧΙΣΧΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΜΟΥ
ΝΣΑΥΖΕ ΧΡΩ

For breasts that have pain – also it is useful for the male human body (i.e penis): Take the plant called cat’s eye, white lead, litharge, lead and opium in equal amounts; crush them well, add a little vinegar, (and) mix it with the juice of female grapes, and put in a lead vessel and let it rest, rub in the diseased parts until healing. If you want to keep it (the medicine), mix it up, take it, make them pills and leave them until using; to use it, dissolve the pills in the white of egg (and) apply.⁶⁵⁶

Penis afflictions were classified alongside the debilitated breast in the medical recipe Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214, recipe no. 3: ΟΥΚΙΒΕ ΕΣΜΟΧΕ . . . ΩΑΦΕΡΩΑΥ ΟΝ ΝΧΟΕΙΤ ΜΗ ΝΒΑΖ ΕΤΜΟΧΕ “a sick breast . . . It also employs for sick (painful) testicle and penis”, the recipe recommends to rub the penis with breast milk (see 7.9.2).

5.12.2 ΟΥΜΗΖΕ Ζ̄Ν ΝΒΑΛ Η Ζ̄Ν ΠΩΜΑ ΝΠΡΩΜΕ “An abscess in the eyes or on the man’s penis”:

Like the eye, the penis could also be affected by abscess. Ch 26 recommends a remedy to remove the abscess from the penis (see 3.2.8).

5.12.3 ΖΥΛΗ, ΖΥΛΕ, ΖΗΛΕ, Η̄ΛΟΣ “wart, callus”:⁶⁵⁷

The words ΖΥΛΗ, ΖΥΛΕ, ΖΗΛΕ are used in a changeably manner and refer to the nail of the man’s penis. A Vatican manuscript provides a remedy for treating this condition, which remarkably contains the same ingredients as the Chassinat Papyrus and also dates back to the 9th-10th cent. CE:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27

⁶⁵⁶ Author’s own translation.

⁶⁵⁷ ΖΗΛΕ, Greek Η̄λος “wart, callus”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 769b. Also, it found in Ch 161, Ch 219.

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΛΗ ΝΩΔΑΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΩΜΑ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ ΜΗ ΝΕΣΑΩ ΜΗ
 ΝΕΤΗΗΒΕ ΝΩΔΑΥΝΟΥΧΕΒΟΛ.⁶⁵⁸ ΩΔΑΡΩΔΑΥ ΟΝ ΝΝΕΚΟΛΟΤΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΖΩΖ ΖΙ//.
 ΔΕΝ ΤΕΥΚΕΖΤΕ . ΙΑΔΥΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΡΟΠ ΖΙ ΘΡΜΩΝ, ΒΑΩΟΥΩ ΕΦΛΗΚ ΣΡ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΥ ΣΤ
 ΛΙΘΑΡΚΗΡΟΝ **sa** ΝΕΖ ΗΜΟΡΣΥΝΑ, ΘΝΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΓΝΟ// ΔΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΔΥ
 ΝΒΡΒΕ, ΝΓΧΡΩ.

For a nail that occurs on man's penis, psora (pl.), sores and finger that cast forth, it is useful also for abscesses and itching on their lions. Wash it first with warm water. Fresh diamond, 100 obols; white lead, 300 obols; litharge, 6 obols; myrtle oil crush them together, put them in receptacle, and apply.⁶⁵⁹

Ch 219

(393) ΟΥΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΖΗΛΕ⁶⁶⁰ ΖΝ ΠΕΥΩΜΑ Η ΜΕΧΠΩΝΕ ΕΣ ΨΩΡΑ ΜΝ ΝΣΑΩ
 ΝΚΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΗΒΕ (394) ΩΔΑΡΩΔΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΛΩΤΕ⁶⁶¹ ΜΝ ΖΩΖ ΕΧΝ
 ΝΕΥΚΕΖΤΕ ΩΔΑΡΩΔΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΙΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕΡ(395)ΜΟΝ ΝΩΟΡΠ †
 ΠΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΩΔΥΛΟ ΒΑΩΟΥΩ⁶⁶² ΕΦΛΗΚ Ζ Ρ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ (*sic*) Ζ Ρ **III**Ϟ
 ΞΖΟΩΒ**III**Β⁶⁶³ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΧΡΩ

(393) Someone who has nails on the body, lichen or scabies, sores on the dorsum of the hands and fingers; (394) is also useful for hardness and itches on their loins; it is useful for all these ailments. First wash the patient with hot water (395) apply the remedy to them, they will heal: fresh rue hundred drachmas, white lead hundred drachmas, and myrtle oil; crush them together; apply.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁸ That cast forth or swell. Crum 1939: 249a.

⁶⁵⁹ Author's own translation.

⁶⁶⁰ ΖΗΛΕ, Greek ἦλος, "nail", also, it is found in Ch 161; 219.

⁶⁶¹ ΛΩΥΤΕ may be for ΛΩΩΤΕ, means "hard, callous of skin, be wounded". Crum 1939: 145b.

⁶⁶² ΒΑΩΟΥΩ, rue, Arabic *sezab* سذاب, Greek *πηγανον*. Rue has been used to treat many ailments, including epilepsy, eye strain, multiple sclerosis and heart conditions. It has also been used as a uterine stimulant to encourage onset of menstruation.

⁶⁶³ **III**Ϟ ΞΖΟΩΒ**III**Β, ΝΕΖ ΗΜΟΓΛΣΗΝΗ (μυρινέλαιον, Dioscorides, I, 39). Cf. ΜΟΡΣΥΝΑ from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27, and ΜΟΡΣΙΝΑ from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 33; ΜΟΥΡΣΙΝΕ from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 35; ΤΜΟΥΡΣΥΝΗ ,الاس(scala n° 43, fol. 56, ro, l. 13); ΤΜΟΥΡΣΙΝΗ الاس(scala n° 44, fol. 81, vo, 1^{re} col., l. 16). Chassinat 1921: 315.

⁶⁶⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 314.

5.12.4 χοεττ φωνε “Sick testicles”:

The main complaints related to the testicles were usually φωνε “be sick”, φεφε “be swollen” and μοχλ “be painful”. Ch 169 is a recipe treating testicles that are sick κατὰ ωρ. σορ means moon, which could perhaps mean “every month”. However, the recurrent testicular disease is unknown:

Ch 169

(328) ογα ερε νεφχοεττ φωνε κατὰ ωρ θνω ρενσωβε ν̄ταφνε φλωωλογ
ογοφμογ ρι εβιω τσοογ ρι σελρω

(328) Someone whose testicles are sick permanently: Crush stack of laurel leaves; shake them in sieve; mix them with honey; make him drink with hot water.⁶⁶⁵

Ch 170

(329) ομεος ον ρητ̄φ̄ ν̄τωρε βαωογφ εφληκ θνοογ ρι βρβκ⁶⁶⁶ ν̄τ
τσοογ σεηαλο ☉

(329) Likewise again: Willow’s heart, fresh rue; crush them with wine; make the sick drink, they will heal.⁶⁶⁷

Ch 171

(330) ομεος ον μελιτον ογηρ̄τ̄ κλομ ν̄φελλετ θνοογ τσοφ ρι ηρ̄π̄ι φαφλο
ρ̄ν̄ τ̄βομ ν̄φινουγτε

⁶⁶⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 285.

⁶⁶⁶ βρβκ, ηρηπ. Chassinat 1921: 287.

⁶⁶⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 286.

(330) Likewise again: Sweet clover, rose, crown-of-bride;⁶⁶⁸ crush them; make the patient drink with wine; he will recover by the power of God.⁶⁶⁹

Ch 172

(331) ομεος ογα ερε νεφχοειτ ωωνε ς εγωερε ογσοογρε ντε περοογ μν
ογαθ νηρπ (332) νασκαλον μν ογμμμς ζζ⁶⁷⁰ τσογ νςςτκος⁶⁷¹ φναλο ☉
μν ογωημ νροσμ ναρανικον⁶⁷² ☉

(331) Likewise: Someone whose testicles are sick or swollen: Egg of the day, a spoonful of wine (332) Ascalon, fine oil; make him drink following (his) strength; he will be healed. And a little Arabia soda.⁶⁷³

Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 3 recommends an externally-applied remedy consisting of liniment from breast milk (see 7.9.2).

5.12.5 ογκογντ̄φ νογρωμε εφωωνε “Man’s testicle that is painful”:

A general expression used for the genitals was κογντ. Crum⁶⁷⁴ mentions it as a genital part deriving from the word κογν “bosom”, with the suffix. It rarely appears with the suffix “κογντ̄φ” like in the following recipe ογκογντ̄φ is therefore, to be reproduced analogously with “testicle of a man”:

Ch 140

(285) ογκογντ̄φ νογρωμε εφωωνε εροφ εβιω νατμοογ βαλ ναβογκ
εφωηη καλωσ (286) ογοωμογ μν νεγερηγ χρ^ω☉

⁶⁶⁸ “Euphorbia marginata”, corresponds to the Arabic اكليل العروس. Chassinat 1921: 287.

⁶⁶⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 287.

⁶⁷⁰ ογμμμς ζζ, νερ μνε. Chassinat 1921: 288.

⁶⁷¹ τκος, εςτκος. Chassinat 1921: 288.

⁶⁷² αρανικον stands for αραβικον. It is found also in Ch 69 “ροσμ ναραβικον”.

⁶⁷³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 288.

⁶⁷⁴ Crum 1939: 111 b.

(285) A testicle of a man that is painful: Honey without water, well crushed Greek bean; (286) knead them together; apply.⁶⁷⁵

5.12.6 οτε εκτακασ ορ μητρα εκωδνε εκτακκασ “Painful matrix/womb”:

In Coptic medical texts the words οοτε ορ οτε, which included the term μητρα, were used to refer to a woman’s womb. In most cases, the complaint details “hurt” or “suffering”. In the Chassinat papyrus, the disease is always treated with remedies that are introduced by means of κλ̄νε “tampon”:

Ch 24

(49) [ΟΥΣΡΙ]Μ[Ε ΕΤΩ]ΩΝΕ ΕΤΕΣΟΤΕ ΕΚΤΑΚΑΣ ΞΡΟΔΙΝΟΝ [.....]ΙΣ ΟΥΗΡ̄Τ
ΕΦΟΚΕΜ (50) [ΚΗΜ]Ε ΝΩϚ̄Τ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΖΙ ΕΦΙΩ ΟΥΘΟΥ Ξ̄Ν ΟΥΚΩϚ̄Τ ΧΡΩ Ξ̄Ν
ΟΥΚΗΛΜΕ⁶⁷⁶

(49) A sick woman whose matrix is painful: Oil of roses..... wilted roses
(?), (50) goose fat; crush them with honey; melt in the fire; apply in
tampon.⁶⁷⁷

Ch 123

(259) ΟΥΑ ΜΗΤΡΑ ΕΚΩΔΝΕ ΕΚΤΑΚΚΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΤΟΣ⁶⁷⁸ ϙ̄ ᾱ ἀκακίας ϙ̄ ᾱ τὰαϚ
ΕΠΝΕΖ Ν̄ϙ̄ Γ̄ † ΟΥΚ̄ΛΜΕ ΝΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΛΟ

(259) A sick and painful womb: *Triatos* one drachma, acacia one
drachma; put them in oil for three days; apply in tampon to the matrix;
she will be healed.⁶⁷⁹

The medical recipe Ch 124, recommended a remedy to treat the pain of matrix, hands and feet: ουμητρα
εσμαχ μ̄ν ζενσιχ μ̄ν ζενπατ “A matrix that is painful, hands with feet” see (5.14.2).

⁶⁷⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 267.

⁶⁷⁶ Ch 24.

⁶⁷⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 123.

⁶⁷⁸ Unknown drug.

⁶⁷⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 244.

Ch 125

(262) ΟΥΜΗΤΡΑ ΕΣΟΡ̄Χ̄⁶⁸⁰ ΔΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥϕ̄κ̄λλ̄⁶⁸¹ ΝΓ ΡΟΖΜΕϕ ΜΑΡΕΣΖΜΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΕΧΩϕ ΣΝΑΛΟ Ζ̄Ν ΠΟΥΩϕ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ⁶⁸²

(262) Matrix occlusion: Take cumin; crush it; let the woman sit on it; it/she will recover, by God's will.⁶⁸³

In addition, Ch 167 recommends a tampon “the painful matrix of a woman” consists of dodder seeds, oil, grease, storax of aromatic reed juice storax (see 5.8.1).

5.12.7 κεζ̄τε “lion” or “hip”:⁶⁸⁴

There are two recipes prescribe for the itchy lions, Ch 219 recommends a remedy for itchy lions, which associated with nails, lichen and scabies (5.12.3), also in Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27 the itchy lions associated with nails, psora, and sores as following:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27

ϖΑΣΡΩΔΥ ΟΝ ΝΝΕΚΟΛΟΤΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΩΖ ΖΙ// ΔΕΝ ΤΕΥΚΕΖΤΕ ΙΔΔΥΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΟΡΠ
ΖΙ ΘΡΗΩΝ, ΒΑΩΟΥϕ ΕϕΛΗΚ Ρ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΥ ̄Τ ΛΙΘΑΡΚΗΡΟΝ [̄]ΣΙΛ̄ ΝΕΖ ΜΜΟΡΣΥΝΑ,
ΘΝΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΓΝΟ// ΔΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΔΥ ΝΒΡΒΕ, ΝΓΧΡΩ

It is useful also for abscesses and itchy on their lions: Wash it first with warm water. Fresh diamond, 100 obols; white lead, 300 obols; litharge, 6 obols; myrtle oil crush them together, put them in receptacle, and apply.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁰ ορ̄χ̄ stands for ωρ̄χ̄, means “be firm, be secure, be fastened” Crum 1939: 530a.

⁶⁸¹ ϕ̄κ̄λλ̄, τεπ̄με. Chassinat 1921: 247.

⁶⁸² ان شاء الله. Chassinat 1921: 247.

⁶⁸³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 247, with slight modifications.

⁶⁸⁴ Chassinat 1921: 314.

⁶⁸⁵ Author's own translation.

5.13 PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS

5.13.1 Insomnia:

There are two recipes to treat sleeping disorders such as insomnia; unfortunately, they now appear only as fragments. The first recipe BKU I 25 consists of some plant leaves with honey, and is prescribed to those who cannot sleep. The same plant is also used in the second recipe, SBKopt. I 004. As for the drug names, only the unidentified Azaboaz is obtained. The third recipe, O.Mon.Epiph. 575, is recommended to treat a sick liver, however, it seems that the treatment was not effective in treating insomnia, but rather caused it (see 5.9):⁶⁸⁶

BKU I 25, ll. 6-8

[...ε]τῶνε εμεῦτῶνα [..] [.....]τῶνε. ἄμ-πιβοταῖς ...] οὐγ † ναρ
τῶνα

Sick, who cannot sleep. [...] leaves....., with honey;
apply to him. He will sleep.⁶⁸⁷

SBKopt. I 004

ετβε πρῖνηβ ἄϊ [ο]γτῶνε ντ[.]φη ἡκαδγ[.]η ετε ναῖ [νε] αζαβοαζ
[4...]* μαλετ[.....]πετογ ..[β]κασειε[

For sleep: Take a sheet of the [..]p^{he} and make [...]
that [are] these: Azaboaz [.....]⁶⁸⁸

5.14 LIMBS DISEASES

5.14.1 πᾶτ

πᾶτ has many comprehensive meanings and can be translated into “knee”, “foot”, “leg”, “the lower leg” or thigh”.⁶⁸⁹ A variety of recipes have been prescribed for knee complaints. Ch 13 prescribed a remedy to treat the painful feet; and Ch 93 is for ἡκωλ⁶⁹⁰ ἡπᾶτ (see 5.6.21):

⁶⁸⁶ Till 1951a: 42.

⁶⁸⁷ Till 1951a: 112.

⁶⁸⁸ Author's own translation.

⁶⁸⁹ Crum 1939: 273b.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. κλλε, κλ, “joints”. Crum 1939: 103b.

Ch 13

- (32) [ογα ερε νεφσιλ] $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ νεφπατ †κκαε ε[.....] ω[.....]
(?)
(33) [....]λφε ογωθ πεχαρβανε [$\bar{m}\bar{n}$βα]ω[ογ]ω [ε]φθηη εφωηλ
εχ[ωογ]

(32) [Someone whose hands] and feet have pain.....(33)..... melt
galbanum [and] crush and sieve th[em].⁶⁹¹

Ch 214

- (386) ογα ερε ρενωοντε $\bar{z}\bar{n}$ νεφσιλ $\bar{e}\bar{s}$ νεφπατ $\bar{e}\bar{s}$ πεφωμα τηρ \bar{q} ογβηβ
 $\bar{n}\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{x}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{e}$ ⁶⁹² $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ογβιθ, μμοογ θνοογ ρι ρημχ εφχηη λαλε εροογ
ωαγρε

(386) Someone who has thorns in the hands and his feet or any part of the
body: A sparrow's nest and water *bithos*; crush them with hot vinegar;
anoint them; they will fall away.⁶⁹³

5.14.2 σιλ

The following recipe was prescribed to treat painful hands and is associated with feet and matrix
pain:

Ch 124

- (260) Ομεοε ογμητρα εσμαχ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ρενσιλ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ρενπατ οπιον θνοφ $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ογμ \bar{z}
μποε (261) $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ ογμ \bar{z} μχβρβφι σεπ ογκλμε $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{t}$ $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{y}$ ταεε ερραι
 $\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ εναλο ©

⁶⁹¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 98.

⁶⁹² $\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{x}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{e}$: The swallow is usually called $\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{i}$ / $\bar{b}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{i}$, it must be reproach the Bohairic $\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{x}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{w}\bar{i}$ سنونوا (KIRCHER, p. 169),
 $\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{x}$ $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{w}\bar{i}$ عصفور الجنة سنونه وهو. Chassinat 1921: 305.

⁶⁹³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 305.

(260) Likewise: A matrix that is painful, hands with feet: Opium, crush it with shrew oil (261) and oil of roses; soak wool pessary and apply to the matrix; it will be healed.⁶⁹⁴

In addition, in Ch 65, treatments for painful limbs are combined with other different maladies (see 5.16.2).

5.14.3 τογερντε ετρωνε “Painful foot”:

The following recipe prescribes to treat the painful foot and depends on a technique of therapeutic exercise:

P. Mich.MS 136, ll. 233-40

τογερντε ετρωνε τσιχ ετ̄ιμαγ̄ τ̄εεωαστᾱε̄ς [ε]μῑκωαδε̄ ν[γ]ρ̄ ωομη̄τ̄
τε̄ η̄νογ̄ω: εγ̄τωρ̄ μμοκ̄ μῑκωαδε̄ εμπ̄κιμμοκ̄ ελᾱοῡ η̄γ̄τιρογ̄τ̄ εβολ̄γογ̄
ογ̄τω̄η̄ε̄λ̄η̄κοτ̄ε̄ρῑοῡ [.] οογ̄ν̄ε̄ρε̄οῡτ̄ωβε̄ε̄ [.....]

The foot that is diseased: It is that hand which anoints it, without your having spoken. And you make three exclamations (?), anointing yourself, without having spoken, without having moved for any reason.....⁶⁹⁵

5.12.4 π̄εσχ̄ιον⁶⁹⁶ ε̄μφε̄λεκ̄μα “Inflamed hip”:

BKU I 25, ro, l. 16 is a magical recipe prescribed to treat an inflamed hip. It contains the title “[ετ]βε̄ π̄εσχ̄ιον ε̄μφε̄λεκ̄μα”. The subsequent recipe BKU I 25, vo, ll. 4-7 apparently medically treats “the same thing”. However, the names of the drugs in this recipe are missing. The recipe mentions that the remedy should be drunk by the patient “another (means) for the same thing. [- - -] give it to him with [...] drink. He will get well”.

P. Mich.MS 136 is also prescribed for hip problems. The cure is half magical and half medical and consists of aloe, overcooked radish oil and vinegar. This hip ointment is smeared under certain magical rules:

P.Mich.MS 136, ll. 221-241

⁶⁹⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 244.

⁶⁹⁵ Translation: Worrell 1935: 37.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. Greek ισχίον “hip-joint”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 843a.

[ε]τβε πεςχιον τοκιμον ογονπιᾱ ἡμογλαρ ογονγιᾱ ἡμ̄χας ογοτ̄ε̄ ἡνερ
 ηλσιμ εφμοκεε̄ γρμᾱ σναγ̄ ἡαλλων. β[λ] βᾱ ε̄μ̄ ογ̄ β̄ινη̄ εμφο[γ]† πενιπε
 ερος̄ ε[νερ̄ εμ]προγ̄ε̄ βᾱ ἡρητ[ε̄]ἡτ̄ο̄ ε̄χ̄ ρεωε̄ ρηλ[.....]λαγ̄
 εγεγλιε̄ νταλοο̄ ε̄χωοῡ ἡτ̄ωρ̄ ἡμοοῡ ε̄μ̄ πβᾱ φαντ̄γβαλ̄ εβολ̄
 τογερητε̄ ετφωνε̄ τ̄ειε̄ ετ̄ιμαγ̄ τ̄εεφασταρ̄ε̄ [ε]μη̄κωᾱδε̄ η[γ]ρ̄ φομη̄τ̄
 τε̄ ἡνογ̄ω̄ : ετ̄ωρ̄ ημοκ̄ μη̄τ̄ωᾱδε̄ εμ̄κιμμοκ̄ ελᾱοῡ ἡγ̄πρωγ̄τ̄ εβολ̄γογ̄
 ογ̄τω̄ἡε̄ληκο̄τ̄ε̄ριοῡ [.] οογ̄νε̄ρε̄ογ̄τ̄ωβε̄ρ̄ [.....]

For the hip, an approved remedy: An ounce of wax, an ounce of aged vinegar. Melt with turbid vegetable oil. Two grams of aloes. Loosen branches in a date palm to which iron has never been applied, (that is), in which branches have not been gathered, and you are to be have above pieces of wood, upon... fresh... and you put it upon them, and you mix them with the palm branch till they dissolve.⁶⁹⁷

5.14.5 παννικρῆς “gout”:

According to Chassinat,⁶⁹⁸ παννικρῆς is associated with the Arabic term النقرس and refers to the various articulation of diseases such as gout, arthritis, limb diseases and arthralgia accompanied by swelling. Ch 93 prescribes a collyrium for treating gout (see 5.6.21), it is also treated magically in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 10–20 (see 6.6.9). The following recipes were prescribed to treat gout:

Ch 118

(250) ογ̄ἡπραστλον̄ ἡπασιη⁶⁹⁹ καῑ ποτακ̄ρ̄ λιθ[αλ]κγρον̄ , ρ̄ αλοο̄
 , ρ̄ πιτη̄νε̄ , ασφ̄ε̄ ον̄ , κ̄ ελεοῡ χρ̄ω

⁶⁹⁷ Translation: Worrell 1935: 37.

⁶⁹⁸ Chassinat 1921: 205.

⁶⁹⁹ Crum mentions this example, and it may be a variant spelling of ασκ. Crum 1939: 18a.

(250) A plaster for the periodic fever or gout: Lith[ar]ge hundred obols, salt hundred obols, pine resin sixteen obols, bitumen twenty obols, oil; apply.⁷⁰⁰

5.14.6 ἡνεντανεγμερος ωλεκ ἡν πεγσωμα “curved limb and body”:

Among other maladies this complaint is mentioned in Ch 65 (see 5.10.2), and means “persons whose limbs (μέλος) and body (σῶμα) were curved”. ωλ(ε)κ, ωλκ means “to be bent”, and ancient people would say “to bend” from the limbs as opposed to using the word stretching.⁷⁰¹

5.15 BREAST DISEASES

The Bouriant parchment is the only medical text dedicated to breast disorders. It prescribes different prescriptions for breast issues such as pain and inflammation, and even provides solutions for small breasts and breastfeeding issues. Other medical texts provide one or two recipes against breast diseases. Coptic-speaking physicians seem to have been partly of the opinion that the beneficial remedies of the breasts, which are typically sexual characteristics belonging to females, had an effect on the male sexual characteristics such as the penis and testes.⁷⁰²

5.15.1 ηκίβε εγ†κας ορ μοχρ “Painful breasts”:

for the painful breast or the breast that has pain Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214, recipe no. 2 prescribes a salve consisting of: cat’s eye, white lead, litharge, lead and opium, vinegar, female grape juice. The recipe also provided another way to preserve the same remedy in the form of pills, which must be dissolved in egg whites before using them (see 5.12.1). Also, Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 3 (see 7.9.2), and Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 4, recommended for the pain of the breasts:

Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 4

ετβε ογκίβε εκ[†κας] χι νογαμαλε ην ογωτ [ηριρ?] ην ογνεζ νογερτ
αν[α ονογ ην νεγρ]ηγ † εροογ σε[ναλο...]

⁷⁰⁰ Author’s own translation.

⁷⁰¹ Till 1951a: 29.

⁷⁰² Till 1951a: 21.

For a breast that has pain (or sick breast): Take almond, [lard] fat and pink oil in equal amounts; crush them together, apply to them (and) they will be healed.⁷⁰³

5.15.2 κίβε εγφλεκματίστε “Breast inflammation”:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 5

..... ΜΗ ΟΥΝΕΞ ΝΟΥΕΡΤ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΛΑΛΟΣ ΨΑΓΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΟΝ ΕΠΧΟΥΦ

... And rose oil, crush them, smear her with it. It is also useful for the burning.⁷⁰⁴

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 8

ΕΤΒΕ ΖΗΚΙΒΕ ΕΓΦΛΕΚΜΑΤΙΣΤΕ ΧΙ ΝΟΥΖΜΟΥ ΖΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΓΑΥΖΕ ΜΗ[ΟΥ]ΝΖ ΘΝΟΟΥ
ΖΙ ΟΥΣΟΠ ΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΣΕ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΛΩ

For inflamed breasts: Take the salt, egg and oil, crush them together, (use as) a poultice (and) they will be healed.⁷⁰⁵

5.15.3 [ετε κκ]ίβε χν νεγερνος “The breasts which are not big”:

Having small breasts is one of many complaints, which Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, and recipe no. 11, have fragmentary preserved.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 11

[ετε κκ]ίβε χν νεγερνος χι νογφα.....ΟΗΝ ΝΧΕΘ ΕΜΟ..... ΝΚΙΒΕ
N

⁷⁰³ Author's own translation.

⁷⁰⁴ Author's own translation.

⁷⁰⁵ Author's own translation.

For breasts, so they do not become great: Take.....purple....
the breast.....⁷⁰⁶

5.15.4 ΝΙΚΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΡΡΩΤ “breasts of a woman, so they have milk”:

The most important recipes related to the breasts were those that helped to increase a woman’s breastmilk, as breast feeding was very important in ancient Egypt and a mother was keen to breastfeed her child. The Bouriant Parchment contains some prescriptions that helped to aid breast feeding, in order to produce enough milk for a young child:

Cod.Med.Copt., p.215, recipe no. 6

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΚΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΡΡΩΤΕ ΧΙ ΝΖΝΧΗΝ ΕΥΦΘΟΥΕ ΛΑΖΜΟΥ ΖΙ
ΔΗΚΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΣΣΟΥ ΝΓΝΖΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΣΙΟΥΝΕ

For woman’s breasts to give milk: Take dry garlic, boil them in unmixed wine. She should drink in the bath for three days.⁷⁰⁷

Cod.Med.Copt., p.215, recipe no.7

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΚΙΒΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΡΩΤΕ. ΧΙ ΝΖΝΒΑΛΛΑΒΩΚ ΛΑΖΜΟΥ ΜΑΡΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΕΥΜΟΥ
ΝΦΟΡΠ ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΝΣΕΟΥΩΜ ΝΙΚΟΥΕ ΕΥΦΑΝΣΟ ΕΥΟΥΩΜ ΦΑΡΕ ΠΟΚΕ ΕΙΡΕ ΕΟΝ
ΝΤΖΕ ΕΦΦΑΝΣΟ ΕΥΟΥΩΜ

For breasts, so they have milk: Take Greek beans, crush them; may you drink their water firstly, and then eat some (little food). If they continue eating, the sesame will do the same, if it is continued to be eaten.⁷⁰⁸

Cod.Med.Copt., p.215, recipe no.9

⁷⁰⁶ Author’s own translation.

⁷⁰⁷ Author’s own translation.

⁷⁰⁸ Author’s own translation.

ΕΤΒΕ ΖΝΚΙΒΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΡΕΡΩΤΕ ΔΙ ΝΖΝΜΑΖΤ ΝΒΡΟϚ † ΟΥΜΙΣΤΡΑΝΟϚ ΜΜΕΝΕ ΖΙ
ΖΝΚΕΙΡΠ ΝΕϚϚΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΔΑϚϚΕ ΟΝ ΝΚΙΒΕ ΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΙΠΔΖΡΕ ϚΕΝΑΜΟΥΖ

For breasts, so they have milk: Take the juice of herbs give every day to drink a spoonful of this juice in wine; and also anoint the breasts with this remedy, they will be filled.⁷⁰⁹

Cod.Med.Copt., p.215, recipe no.10

ΚΕΘΥΔ̄ ΟΝ ΔΙ ΝΖΝϚΩΒΕ ΝΒΑΝΤΕ ΟΜ[Ϛ]ΟΥ Μ[Ν ΟΥ]ΖΜΟΥ ΝΟΧΟΝ ΕΧΝ ΝΚΙΒΕ
[Ϛ]Ε[ΝΔΕΙΡΕ Ε]ΥΜΕΖ ΝΕΡΟΤΕ

Another again: Take cucumber leaves, dip them in salt, sprinkle on the breasts, and they will be filled with milk.⁷¹⁰

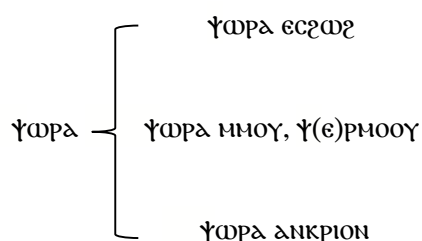
5.16 SKIN DISEASES

5.16.1 ΨΩΡΑ, ΨΩΡΑ “psora”

⁷⁰⁹ Author’s own translation.

⁷¹⁰ Author’s own translation.

Psora was one of the most common skin diseases and generally indicated to various skin conditions. It could affect various parts of the human body. One of the Coptic medical texts mentions that: οὐν οὐωοειω ναιει ε.χ.ν τηγτην εβολ εην τη[ε μ]η ηκαε ηη[ε]ωλ.χ. ενετηνωμα ηθααγ ηψωρα “From heaven and from the earth dust will come upon you, will lay down on your bodies and make them sick with *psora*”.⁷¹¹ Here, the excitation of psora is defined by the word dust.⁷¹² The Coptic medical recipes recorded different types of psora:



There are some general remedies prescribed to treat psora in such as Ch 43, Ch 162, Ch 190, Ch 219 and Cod.Med.Copt., pp. 242, 243, 244. The most common drugs used for this purpose were various types of oils or fats, sulphur, white lead, litharge, soda, wax, rue, and calamine. Also, substances of plant origin were presented as constituents of such agents. Such drugs had to be mixed with wine. In some recipes, a bath is required:

Ch 43

(79) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΝ ΖΙΛΙΛΙΣ ἦκαμε ἰνοογ καλωε παετογ ἡν ογἡρῖ ενανογϥ
 εἰν ογκωεῖτ εκκερα (80) κααγ ωαντεγ.χρο κααγ ωαντεγ.χρο κααγ
 τεγωοογε καλωε † ογκογι ἡμικῶ⁷¹³ εροϥ ἰνοϥ ἡζγρῶ † ενετηκηκ ἡν
 τεψωρ[α]⁷¹⁴

(79) Likewise again: Black myrobalan;⁷¹⁵ crush them well; cook them with good wine over low heat; (80) leave them until they become strong;

⁷¹¹ Wessely 1860: 51.

⁷¹² *Psora* referred to in Coptic recipes, not what understands by today’s medicine. Till 1951a: 29.

⁷¹³ μικῶ Arabic *misk* مسك, and Greek μόσχος.

⁷¹⁴ This is probably the psorophthalmia ψωροφθαλμία (Orbasius, *Euporistes*, IV, 28; t. V, 716) ringworm of the eyelids; the remedy is for eyes. Chassinat 1921: 148 (footnote 4); 295.

⁷¹⁵ هليلج هندي = هليلج اسود.

dry well; add a bit of musk; crush it into powder; apply to those whose eyes are stripped of eyelashes and psora.⁷¹⁶

Ch 190

(354) ΟΥΚΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΛΟΣΤΗ ΜΗ ΤΕΨΩΡΑ ΜΗ ΝΚΩΡΗ⁷¹⁷ ΕΤΖΩΖ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ
ϕ ἡ χαλκος ϕ ᾶ (355) ἀλλωης ϕ ἄ οπιον ϑ ἄ ναρτοσταχος ϑ ἄ ακακιας
ϑ ἄ κομεος ϕ ἄ θησοϑ καλωσ δαϑ ἄ κω κρω σαροϑν ϑ σαβολ

(354) A collyrium for darkening, psora, and itchy eye corners: Cadmia eight drachmas, copper four drachmas, (355) aloe two drachmas, opium two obols, Indian spikenard two obols, acacia two obols, gum two drachmas; crush them well; make them a collyrium; use inside or outside.⁷¹⁸

Both Ch 43 and Ch 190 refer to the eyes since all the other diseases mentioned in these recipes concern eye conditions. According to Chassinat,⁷¹⁹ they concern “psore ophthalmia”:

Ch 162

(318) ΟΥΨΩΡΑ ΜΟΥΡῚ Ε ᾶ ΣΑΝΤΕΛ Ε ᾶ ΘΕΝ ΕΦΟΥΩΤ Ε Ὶ ΕΦΩΟΟΥΕ
ΗΘΩΧΩ ΝΕΖ ΝΣΙΜ ΠΑΞΤΟΥ⁷²⁰ ΚΑΛ κρω

(318) A psora: Wax one ounce, sandalwood one ounce, sulfur six ounces fresh, dry rue, oiled radish; make them cook them well (?); apply.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 148.

⁷¹⁷ κωρη is for κωλη, “corner of eye”. Chassinat 1921: 295.

⁷¹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 294-295.

⁷¹⁹ Chassinat 1921: 148.

⁷²⁰ Chassinat thought that the verb παστ it was written by mistake, and must be written παστ “cook”.

⁷²¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 278.

The following recipes Ch 219 (section 5.12.3), and Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27 (see 5.12.2) are almost identical: both of them recommend anointing the patient after a bath with diamonds, white lead and myrtle:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 11

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ. ΖΑΧΗ ΝΑΡΑΒΙΚΩΝ ΜΗ ΟΥΩΤ ΝΡΙΡ ΘΝΟΥΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ, ΤΩΞϸ
ΕΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΖΗ ΤϸΙΑΟΥΝ

Against psora (pl.): Arabic natron and pork fat rub together, smear the sick in the bath.⁷²²

Additionally, Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242 recommends dog excrement to be bound to the diseased part:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 18

ΕΚΩΑΝΧΙ ΝΤΞΑΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΞΑΡ ΝΓΜΟΡϸ ΝΟΥϸ ΤΟΙϸ ΝΞΒΟΟϸ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ,
ΜΕΡΕ ΦΛΕΚΜΑ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΞΗΤΟΥ

If you take dog excrement, put them in a cloth, and apply them on the psora, and inflammation, they will disappear.

5.16.2 ογαπε εσο ν̄φωρα “head psora”:

Psora could affect various body parts, especially the head,⁷²³ and could be treated with the following recipes:

Ch 60

(121) ογαπε εσο ν̄φωρα  οΞϸϸϸ⁷²⁴ ωαλλτημ⁷²⁵ θνοουϸ ζι ζημ̄χ̄ χρω

⁷²² Author's own translation.

⁷²³ Till 1951a: 30.

⁷²⁴ ωλειν, ωλαειν. Chassinat 1921: 171.

⁷²⁵ It is appeared in the scala Bohairic as ωελταμ= سلجم Kircher: 194, and ωελτεμ = خردل in the scala n° 43 (fol. 57, vo, 1, 1). Chassinat 1921: 171.

(121) A head that afflicted with psora: Seed garden cress, mustard; scrambled with vinegar; apply.⁷²⁶

Ch 61

(122) ομεος ρηρε ωοντε ρι μοογ ρι ἰωλκ·ς≡ κρω

(122) Likewise: Acacia flowers Nilotica and egg white; apply.⁷²⁷

Ch 62

(122) ομεος λιβανος ρ̄ ἄ μισεος ρ̄ ἄ ἠνοογ ρι μοογ ἰωλκ·ς≡ κρω

(122) Likewise: Incense one drachma, yellow vitriol one drachma; crush them with white of the egg; apply.⁷²⁸

The following recipe prescribes to treat psora on the head and body of a young child:

Ch 38

(72) ογαπε ἰογκογι ἰωρηε εω ἰψωρα ερωτε ἰνογρε ρι κθηρ̄≡ ≡≡|ςω
† εροογ ωαγλο

(72) A head of a small child affected with psora sycamore milk and remedy from Ethiopia; apply it, the evil will cease.⁷²⁹

Ch 231

⁷²⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 171.

⁷²⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 172.

⁷²⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 172.

⁷²⁹ English translation from the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 145, with slight modification.

(410) ογκογῖ ἡφῆρε ερε τεγαπε ω ἡσάω ρι ψωρα ἡν πεφωμα ρωχ
ρηνσάβε ἡθογρε χι (411) ἡπογκῆρμεσ ρι νερ ἡεροῖνον † εροογ ααγλο
τογωοογε ☉

(410) A small child whose head and body are affected with sore and psora:
Burnt willow leaves; take (411) their ashes and rose oil; apply on them;
they will be healed by desiccation (dry).⁷³⁰

5.16.3 ψωρα εερωε “Itching Psora”:

Itching psora is a kind of psora that appears in Ch 127, which did not seem to present any particular symptoms:

Ch 127

(265) ογγωρα εερωε ρωχ χωφισπβζζ⁷³¹ ἡτ ἠνοφ καλωσ ἡν ογρηνῆ
εφχωφ ωαντεφχηνρicta (266) καλωσ λαλωφ κααφ ῆν παηρ ειαφ εβολ
ἡμοογ εφρην φηαλο ☉ εκωαντεφ ετογαμcip οη σναωοογε

(265) An itchy psora: Roasted black cumin; crush it well with spicy
vinegar until it thickens well (266); anoint him (the sick with this mixture),
leave it in the air; (then) wash it with hot water; he will be healed. If you
apply it as a gnawing ulcer, it will dry.⁷³²

5.16.4 ψωρα εερωε εματε “greatly itching psora”:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 13

ετβε ἡψωρα εερωε εματε. χι νογρμηχ ἡπαετφ καλωσ ἡπωετ
ἡεαρῆσop ριχῆ πετωωνε, φηαλο

⁷³⁰ Author’s own translation.

⁷³¹ χωφισπβζζ ῆ, ογστικῆμη. Chassinat 1921: 257.

⁷³² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 257, with slight modifications.

For psora that is itching greatly: Take good boiled vinegar, pour several times upon the disease, it will recover.⁷³³

5.16.5 ΨΩΡΑ ΔΗΚΡΙΟΝ⁷³⁴ “wild psora”:

The wild psora seems to have been a special kind of psora; however, it was treated with the same drugs as the common psora:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 16

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ ΔΗΚΡΙΟΝ. ΤΑΠΕΝ⁷³⁵ ΣΔ ΛΙΘΑΡΚΥΡΟΝ ΓΟΔ̄ ΘΗΝ ΝΑΤΩΩΜ ΓΟΔ̄,
ΧΡΩ.

For wild psora (pl.): Cumin 1 obols; litharge one ounce, quicklime sulfur one ounce, apply.⁷³⁶

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 17

ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΝΖΝΩΒΕ ΟΝ ΝΚΝΤΕ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΖΙ ΕΒΙΩ ΖΙ ΖΑΧΗ ΖΙ ΘΗΝ ΝΑΤΩΩΜ,
ΝΓΤΩΖC ΝΝΕΤὸ ΝΨΩΡΑ, ΜΕΦΛΕΚΜΑ ΖΟΛΟC ΖΙΩΩC

If you take wild fig leaves, honey, baking soda and unquenched sulfur, and smear the psora with it, it cannot be inflamed.⁷³⁷

5.16.6 ΨΩΡΑ ΜΜΟΥ, Ψ(Ε)ΡΜΟΥ: “watery psora”

Watery psora was a kind of psora like an oozing eczema.⁷³⁸ It is worth noting that the treatments used against it were insignificantly different from other psora prescriptions. In this respect, the following five recipes described how to treat this disease:

⁷³³ Author’s own translation.

⁷³⁴ Cf. ἄγριος “belonging to the field, wild”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 15a.

⁷³⁵ ΤΑΠΕΝ is for ΘΑΠΕΝ ‘cumin’. Zoega 1810: 628.

⁷³⁶ Author’s own translation.

⁷³⁷ English translation by me of the German translation by Till 1951: 135.

⁷³⁸ Till 1951a: 30.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 14

ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΠΙΟΝ ΝΓ// ΘΜΟΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΜΟΓΛΕ, ΩΔΑΦΟΥΡΑΠΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΨΩΡΑ
ΜΜΟΟΥ.

If you take opium and heated it with wax, the water psora will be
healed.⁷³⁹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 30

ΕΤΒΕ ΖΗΨΡΜΟΟΥ. ΔΙ ΝΖΝΣΩΒΕ ΝΟΚΕ, ΘΝΟΟΥ, ΣΩΛΣ ΕΡΑΥ, ΑΛΛΑΛΑΖΜΟΥ.

For watery psora: Take sesame leaves, crush them into small pieces, and
smear them.⁷⁴⁰

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 31

ΚΕΟΥΑ. ΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΖΑΧΗ ΔΝΑ, ΘΝΟΟΥ, † ΕΡΟΟΥ, ΣΕΝΑΛΟ

Another: Purple Iris, soda in equal parts. Crush them, and apply to them.
They will be cured.⁷⁴¹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 32

ΚΕΟΥΑ ΟΝ. ΑΤΡΙΟΣΤΑΦΙΓΗΣ ΝΕΖ ΖΜΧ, ΝΑ// ΣΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ, ΣΩΛΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ.

Another again: Lousewort, oil and vinegar boiled together, and smear
them.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 33

⁷³⁹ Author's own translation.

⁷⁴⁰ Author's own translation.

⁷⁴¹ Author's own translation.

κεογα ον ετβε νεφερμοογ λιθαρκγρογ ψιμιθιον θιογ απγρογ ανα Γοβ̄,
μογλγ σατεερε δ̄, πρωωε μνεεζ μμογρσινα. χρω.

Another again (remedy) against the watery psora: Litharge, white lead,
dignified sulfur, two grams each; wax one stater and enough myrtle, and
apply.⁷⁴²

5.14.7 μεχπωνε “Ulcer”:

μεχπωνε, meaning “ulcer” or “eruption”,⁷⁴³ derives from the ancient Egyptian word [mSpn.t],⁷⁴⁴ and corresponds to the Greek term λειχήν and the Arabic word *qub* قوب. It may also refer to the word “lichen”.⁷⁴⁵ It is striking that the term μεχπωνε occurs only in Chassinat Papyrus Ch 155, Ch 198, Ch 216 and Ch 219 (see 5.12.3):

Ch 155

(309) ογμεχπωνε ογωημ ν̄κρημεε ν̄σανταλ ν̄απαε ογωημ ν̄ωολ⁷⁴⁶ μ̄ν
ογωημ ν̄ηρ̄π̄ι σωλε εροογ

(309) An ulcer: A little old sandalwood ash, a little myrrh and a little wine;
anoint them (affected areas).⁷⁴⁷

Ch 198

(365) ογμεχπωνε οημ ε̄ δ̄ κομεοε ε̄ δ̄ β̄λ̄χε ν̄τριρ⁷⁴⁸ ε̄ δ̄ οηοογ ρι ρημ̄χ
εφχηηφ ωαντεγχηηριετα χρω

(365) An ulcer: Sulfur one ounce, gum one ounce, oven shard one ounce;
crush them with spicy vinegar until they thicken; and apply.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴² Author's own translation.

⁷⁴³ Crum 1939: 231b.

⁷⁴⁴ Černy 1976: 101.

⁷⁴⁵ Chassinat 1921: 274.

⁷⁴⁶ Chassinat translates it “onion”, and I argue that ωολ means “myrrh”. Chassinat 1921: 274.

⁷⁴⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 274, with slight modification.

⁷⁴⁸ β̄λ̄χε ν̄τριρ, it is Greek ὄστρακα, Arabic خزف, and خزف التور. Chassinat 1921: 298.

⁷⁴⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 298.

Ch 216

(389) ογπαρρε ετςγρ̄ξ ετςαβολ⁷⁵⁰ μ̄ν̄ ν̄μεχπωνε φᾱρ̄ραγ δε ον επλγτη
νιμ ετςοξ̄μ̄ γ̄ογ̄ ϕ̄ δ̄ ρη̄μ̄χ̄ ρ̄ δ̄ ρ̄η̄ς̄ ν̄ηβιιιιι⁷⁵¹ πεφωδε παστογ
φαντογ̄μ̄ραγ χρω σαβολ ς σαρογν

(389) A remedy for external fistula and ulcers, it is also appropriate for any infected wound: Copper rust four drachmas, (390) slate stone four drachmas, vinegar one ounce, honey dates sufficient quantity; cook them until they turn dark-hued; apply outside or inside.⁷⁵²

5.16.8 μεχπωνε εσω νσαω “lichen ulcerated”:

μεχπωνε εσω νσαω means “lichen that is sore”. Chassinat⁷⁵³ uses the expression ‘*eczéma impétigineux*’.

Ch 163

(319) ογμεχπωνε εσω νσαω ϩΘΔΧΔ⁷⁵⁴ ετληκ ϕ̄ δ̄ ριθαλκγρον⁷⁵⁵ ϕ̄
δ̄ ογαθ ν̄ρη̄μ̄χ̄ νεζ πεφωδε χρω

(319) A lichen ulcerated: Fresh rue one drachma, litharge four drachmas, a spoonful of vinegar, enough oil; apply.⁷⁵⁶

5.16.9 μεχπωνε νροογτ “male ulcer”:

μεχπωνε νροογτ literary means “male ulcer” corresponds to the Greek word λειχήν ἄγριον, i.e., “the wild lichen”:⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁰ Literally means “external flesh”.

⁷⁵¹ δ̄ρ̄η̄ς̄ ν̄ηβιιιιι, εβιω ν̄βρηνε “honey of dates”, Arabic *dibs* ديبس. Chassinat 1921: 307.

⁷⁵² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 307.

⁷⁵³ Chassinat 1921: 275.

⁷⁵⁴ ϩΘΔΧΔ = βατογω.

⁷⁵⁵ ριθαλκγρον, (λιθαρκγρον), λιθαργύρος. Chassinat 1921: 279.

⁷⁵⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 279.

⁷⁵⁷ Chassinat 1921: 275.

Ch 217

(391) ογμεχπωνε ἄροογτ νογνε ἄχνη ρημ̄χ εφχηφ κοπρος ἄωλλχ⁷⁵⁸
θνοογ καλωσ χρω ☉

(391) A wild ulcer: Thorny spurge roots, spicy vinegar, sheep dung; crush them well; apply.⁷⁵⁹

Ch 218

(392) ομεος αλκερε ἄτηγτ πεστ̄φ ρι ρημ̄χ ρι νερ τωρ̄ς εροογ εκομο ἄμοφ
κατα σοπ εκτωρ̄ς

(392) Likewise: Fish ash; cook it with vinegar and oil; anoint them (diseased parts). Heat it each time you anoint.⁷⁶⁰

5.16.10 νσηφε ετκηκ: “bareness shins”:

νσηφε ετκηκ refers to a disease that destroys the skin,⁷⁶¹ which was related to psora and affect one’s eyelashes:

Ch 185

(347) ογα ερε νεφσβε κηκ λιβανογ ς σιλκογ ς γιμιογ κατνιας ρ̄ ᾱ
επογα θνοογ καλωσ χρω ☉

(347) Someone whose shins become bare: Incense, red lead, white lead, cadmia, one drachma of each; crush them well; apply.⁷⁶²

Ch 186

⁷⁵⁸ ωλλχ= εσοογ.

⁷⁵⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 279.

⁷⁶⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 311.

⁷⁶¹ Till 1951a: 31.

⁷⁶² English translation by me of The French translation by Chassinat 1921: 292.

(348) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΝ ΝΗΨΕ ΕΤΚΗΚ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥΣ Ξ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ Ξ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ Ξ
ΛΥΘΑΛΑΚΥΡΟΝ Ξ Δ̄ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΘΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΧΡΩ

(348) Likewise again: Bareness shins: incense, red lead, white lead,
cadmia, one drachma of each; crush them well; apply.⁷⁶³

5.16.11 ρωξ and ρωκ: “itching”

These two terms refer to a type of itching that affected the whole body, including the nails and loins:

Ch 219

(393) ΟΥΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΡΗΛΕ⁷⁶⁴ ρ̄Ν ΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ Η ΜΕΧΠΩΝΕ Ε̄ ΨΩΡΑ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΣΑΩ
Ν̄ΚΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΗΒΕ (394) ΩΑΦ̄ΩΔΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ Ν̄ΛΩΤΕ⁷⁶⁵ Μ̄Ν Ν̄Ρ̄ΩΡ̄ Ε̄Χ̄Ν
ΝΕΥΚΕΡΤΕ ΩΑΦ̄ΩΔΥ ΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΙΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΘΕΡ(395)ΜΟΝ Ν̄ΩΡ̄Π̄ †
ΠΙΠΑΡΡΕ ΕΡΟΥΣ ΩΑΥΛΟ ΒΑΩΟΥΩ⁷⁶⁶ ΕΥΛΗΚ Ξ Ρ̄ ΨΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ (*sic*) Ξ Ρ̄ ΙΙΙΞ,
ΞΞΟΩΒΙΙΒ⁷⁶⁷ ΘΝΟΥΣ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΧΡΩ

(393) Someone who has nails on the body, lichen or scabies, sores on the
dorsum of the hands and fingers; (394) is also useful for hardness and
itches on their loins; it is useful for all these ailments. First wash the patient
with hot water (395) apply the remedy to them, they will be healed: fresh
rue hundred drachmas, white lead hundred drachmas, and myrtle oil; crush
them together; apply.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶³ English translation by me of The French translation by Chassinat 1921: 293.

⁷⁶⁴ ρηλε, Greek ῥηλος, “nail”, also, it is found in Ch 161; 219.

⁷⁶⁵ λωγτε may be for λωατε, means “hard, callous of skin, be wounded”. Crum 1939: 145b.

⁷⁶⁶ βαωουω, rue, Arabic *sezab* سذاب, Greek *πηγανον*. Rue has been used to treat many ailments, including epilepsy, eye strain, multiple sclerosis and heart conditions. It has also been used as a uterine stimulant to encourage onset of menstruation.

⁷⁶⁷ ΙΙΙΞ ΞΞΟΩΒΙΙΒ, νεξ ἡμογλσνη (μυρινέλαιον, Dioscorides, I, 39). Cf. μορσγνα from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 27, and μορσνα from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 33; μορσνε from Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 35; τμογρσνη , الاس (scala n° 43, fol. 56, ro, l. 13); τμορσνη الاس (scala n° 44, fol. 81, vo, 1^{re} col., l. 16). Chassinat 1921: 315.

⁷⁶⁸ English translation by me of The French translation by Chassinat 1921: 314.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 3

ΕΤΒΕ ΤΨΩΡΑ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΖΩΚΕ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΕΤΖΩΚΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΨ ΔΩΚΗ ΖΗ
ΟΥΖΜΧ ΝΟΡ// ΜΩΝ, ΦΗΔΕΜΤΟΝ

For psora and scrape that are itching in all over his body: Wash it with hot vinegar, it will be relieved.⁷⁶⁹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 4

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΖΩΚΕ. ΔΙ ΝΟΥΑΚΕ ΕΨ// ΨΟΥΩΟΥ ΝΓΠΑΣΤΨ ΖΙ ΜΟΥΨ ΖΙ ΝΕΖ
ΝΟΥΗΡΤ ΝΓΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΣΣΕ ΝΝΕΟΥΕΡΗ// ΤΕ ΕΤΖΩΚΕ.

For legs that are itching: Take dry ake (= sesame?), Boil it with water and rose oil, and use it on the legs that are itching.⁷⁷⁰

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 5

ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΕΛΗΛΖΜΧ⁷⁷¹ ΝΓΘΝΟΥ ΖΙ ΧΑΜΕ// ΜΕΛΟΝ ΝΓΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ,
ΨΑΥΛΟ.

Also, if you take a sour grape, rub them with camomiles and smear them (= the legs), they will heal.⁷⁷²

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 6

ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΜΠΒΛΛΕ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΕ ΖΣΘΝΘ ΖΙΧΝ ΖΗΧΒΒΕΣ ΝΓΛΑΛΩ ΝΕΟΥΡΗΤΕ
ΕΤΖΩΚΕ, ΨΑΥΩΦΕΛΕΙ

⁷⁶⁹ Author's own translation.

⁷⁷⁰ Author's own translation.

⁷⁷¹ ΕΛΗΛΖΜΧ stands for ΕΛΕΛΖΜΧ "unripe, sour grape".

⁷⁷² Author's own translation.

Taking the cooked white of egg (or: yolk) on the embers, and smearing it on the itchy legs, they will help.⁷⁷³

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 7

ΕΚΨΑΝΧΙ ΝΟΥΨΩΒΕ ΝΓΛΑΖΜΕΨ ΝΓΚΑΤΑΠΛΑΨΕ ΝΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΨΩ//ΚΕ,
ΣΕΝΑΕΜΤΟΝ.

If you take a cucumber, cook it, and smear it on the itchy legs, they will be relieved.

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 8

ΕΚΨΑΝΧΙ ΗΠΕΧΥΛΟΣ ΠΤΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΛΛΩΔΙΟ ΤΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΤΝΖΟΥΝ
ΝΟΥΛΟΜΩΠΕΠΟΝ ΝΓΤΑΨΟΥ, ΣΕΝΑΕΜΤΟΝ.

If you take the juice of a squill, that is the aloe, and rub the inside of a cucumis melo and anoint them (i.e. the sick legs), they be relieved.⁷⁷⁴

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 25

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΨΩΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΨΩΚΕ. ΣΤΑΦΙΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΙΑΣ⁷⁷⁵ ΓΟΕ΄ ΨΑΣΜ ΓΟΕ΄
ΚΙΣΙΡΕΟΣ⁷⁷⁶ ΓΟΕ΄ ΛΙΘΑΡΚΥΡΟΣ ΓΟΕ΄ ΘΗΝ ΓΟΕ΄ ΚΙΜΙΝΟΥ ΓΟΕ΄, ΝΤΟΥΨ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΘΗΟΥΨ ΚΑΛΩΨ, ΧΙΤΟΥΨ ΝΗΜΟΚ ΕΤΣΙΟΥΨΝ. ΕΨΩΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ † ΒΩΤΕ ΨΗ ΤΣΙΑΟΥΨΝ
† ΕΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΜΑΡΕΨΨΙΤΨ, ΜΗΝΨΩΨ ΝΓΧΑΚΜΕΨ ΨΙ ΘΡΜΩΝ .

For a man whose body is itching: Lousewort six ounces, natron six ounces, pumice six ounces, six ounces of litharge, sulfur six ounces, cumin six ounces. Grind them all well, take them with you in the bathroom. If the

⁷⁷³ Author's own translation.

⁷⁷⁴ Author's own translation.

⁷⁷⁵ Greek σταφίς αγρία this is the sharp or lark spur, *Delphinium Staphis agria*. It is called زبيب الجبل literally 'Mountain raisins' in Ibn Al-Baitar. Till 1951a: 72.

⁷⁷⁶ It is called in Arabic (فينج) قينك (خفاف) حجر شفاف. Till 1951a: 50.

person sweats in the bath, give (the remedy) to his body, let him rub it. Then bathe (wash) him with warm water.⁷⁷⁷

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 29

ετβε ογρωμε εφρωκε καλωc νχιn τεφαπε ωα νεφογερητε. χι νακ
νογεζcτηc νcαρμ νρημ εφρακε μn ογλιτρα νραcμ μn ογλδ̄ νcκαμογλιαc
μn ογζδ̄ νακριαcταφic, κογκε νλιβανoc γοῆ ιερεcιλλικηc⁷⁷⁸ γοῆ ρμη Ω,
νεζ ενεφρωδε. χρω ρn τciοογn.

For someone who is itching completely from his head to his feet: Take one xestes dregs of burning vinegar, one pound of natron, one pound of scammony, eight ounces, one xestes lousewort, frankincense tree, eight ounces; illyrian iris eight ounces, vinegar; enough oil. Apply it in the bath.⁷⁷⁹

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 13

ετβε ηψωρα ετρωκε εματε. χι νογρημ νρηναcτq καλωc νρηωρετ
νραρηncοπ ριχn νετωωνε, φναλο.

Against the violently itchy psora (pl.): Take vinegar, cook it well, (and) pour it many times over the sickness. He will be healed.⁷⁸⁰

It is interesting that expressions such as ογρωμε εφρωκε καλωc νχιn τεφαπε ωα νεφογερητε “a person who is itching violently from his head to his legs, or πετρωκε ρμ πεφωμα τηρq “who scrapes in all over his body” certainly imply the same denotation of ογρωμε ερεπεφωμα ρωκε “a man whose body scrapes/itches” and πεφωμα ρωκε “body itch” (Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244 recipe no. 26).

⁷⁷⁷ Author's own translation.

⁷⁷⁸ ιερεc ιλλικηc, ιερεoc, ιερωc, Arabic ايرسا. Till 1951a: 94.

⁷⁷⁹ Author's own translation.

⁷⁸⁰ Author's own translation.

5.16.11 σώμα ἐφῶ κατκε/ ὦ πκατκε “The body which affected by louse”:

The body which affected by louse, the using of word κατκε⁷⁸¹ refers to a special kind of insect that affects the body:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 41

ετβε νετερε πεγσωμα ζωκε ἐφῶ πκατκε. Χι νογκογι μμη μν ογζαση μν
ογζμηχ, ἑθοογ ριογσοπ, χιτογ ετσιοογν, τωρς επεγσωμα νζη// τογ,
φναλο μμησα ετρεφχωκμ ταρςφ ννεζ μμε ρι ηρη.

For people whose bodies are affected by the louse: Take a little urine, soda, vinegar; rub them together, take them to the bathroom, anoint their body with them, he will be healed. After bathing, anoint him with real oil or wine.⁷⁸²

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 42

κεογα. κορπος πβρομπε εφῶνηγ ρι ηρη. σωλς επετρε πεγσωμα ὦ
νκατκε, φναλο. φαφταλβο δε ομ ηπῶνεικτερος.⁷⁸³

Another: Pigeon droppings rubbed with wine. Smear on the one whose body is (affected by) lice. He will be healed. But it also heals the jaundice.⁷⁸⁴

5.16.12 παφε, παιφε, πεφε “pustule”:

These terms were interchangeably used to express the skin condition called pustule, which in Arabic *hab*, *habah* حب, حبة.⁷⁸⁵

It affected the face or hand and could be painful and cause a burning sensation:

⁷⁸¹ Cf. κατκε, “louse”, Arabic *qaml* قمل. Crum 1939: 102a.

⁷⁸² Author’s own translation.

⁷⁸³ εικτερος, ἴκτερος. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 827a.

⁷⁸⁴ Author’s own translation.

⁷⁸⁵ Crum 1939: 278b.

Ch 215

(387) ογπαωε εστωαζ νκωζτ εστκκαε χι νακ νρενωβε νθογρε ζι
μεζμογρε ζι μοογ νελολε (388) νογωνω ζι κροκος ζι μοογ νωλλ-ς⁷⁸⁶ μν
ογκογι νλκ-ς⁷⁸⁷ θνοογ μν ογκογι νανκρατωρ χρω

(387) A pustule that is burning as fire and has pain: Take willow leaves,
purslane, the nightshade juice (388), saffron, egg white and a little opium;
crush them with a little pure wine; apply.⁷⁸⁸

P.Mich. MS 136, I. 186-193

ετβε ογπαειωε εε ζμ φο νπρωμε ογλιβανος νzenikon σαωγ νβαπατ
ζιαογσοογ νκαμε ογταπ νπεσοογ εφροχζ ογ μημοογ νκογι αφθαρτος
ογλοκ ν ζμ-ς εφχνη τααγ εογοκε νβρε εσχηρ παστογ μη νεγερηγ
περιχρια νμοογ νογμηρε νζιβω!

For a case of the pustule in the face of the man: Some imported incense,
seven palm branches (?), with a black sheep, (or rather) a burnt horn of the
sheep, a little uncorrupted urine, a *lok* of acrid vinegar. Put them into a
new, burnt (?) ... (?), bake them one another. Apply them with an *ibis*
feather.⁷⁸⁹

O. CrumST 297

O. CrumST 297 is a letter that mentions a remedy in the form of an orpiment to treat hand pustules:

⁷⁸⁶ ωλλ-ς, σοογρε. Chassinat 1921: 307.

⁷⁸⁷ λκ-ς, οπιον, οπιου. Chassinat 1921: 307.

⁷⁸⁸ Author's own translation.

⁷⁸⁹ Translation: Worrell 1935: 35.

ρ ἰακωβ ετσαῖ ἡπερ μεριτ ἡειωτ δε χαου οαχα ἡηαρσενικων⁷⁹⁰ [η]αῖ
χετασῖχ ο ἡπιωε †ωῖνε ερωτη ημ πχοεισ⁷⁹¹

+ Jakob who writes to his beloved father send 70 measures⁷⁹² of the
orpiment to me because my hand produces a pustule, I greet you in the
Lord.⁷⁹³

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 183-186

ετβε τπαιωε ετκακουκε ογκλαδος ἡανηω ἡπρη φτο σατεερε ἡροσῃ
ἡαρ σενικον τποου ἡἡ νεγερηγ περιχρια ἡμοου νογμηζε ἡριβωι >>>

For the pustule which leaves a crust: A branch of artemisia (?), four
staters of arsenical soda. Grind them up with one another. Apply them
with an ibis feather.⁷⁹⁴

5.16.14 ασχαρα, ἐσχάρα “Scab, eschar”:

Ch 222

(400) ογασχαρα⁷⁹⁵ ελκο ηνομ θνοουγ (sic) ααγ ἡζρηῖ ογωῳἡ (401) ηῖ εβω
ἡῖ † ερωφ κηαρῳπηρε ©

(400) A scab: Tamarisk bark, crush it; make them powder mixture or (401)
with honey; apply to it, you will be amazed.⁷⁹⁶

5.16.15 αμον, ογαμονε, μονε “Gangrene”:⁷⁹⁷

For gangrene Ch 121 recommends a powder (see 7.1.2). In addition, the following recipes Ch 144 and Ch
159 recommended remedies for gangrene:

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. ἀρσενικόν “arsenic, yellow orpiment”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 247b.

⁷⁹¹ Unpublished letter. Crum 1921: 80.

⁷⁹² Cf. ρχα, οαχα “vessel, measure”. Crum 1939: 743a.

⁷⁹³ Author’s own translation.

⁷⁹⁴ Translation: Worrell 1935: 35, with slight modifications.

⁷⁹⁵ ασχαρα, ἐσχάρα.

⁷⁹⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 315.

⁷⁹⁷ Greek: γάγγραινα. Crum 1939: 255a.

Ch 144

(293) ογαμονε αρσυνηγον ϑ̅ Δ̅ σαντραχης ϑ̅ Δ̅ χαλκιτεος ϑ̅ Δ̅ αρεστου
εβιω ἡμε κρω εροου φαγλο

(293) Gangrene: Orpiment four drachmas; realgar four drachmas; white vitriol four drachmas, quicklime, pure honey; use to them; they will heal.⁷⁹⁸

Ch 159

(314) ογα ἡτα πααϷ ἡνεφναχε ρογαμονε⁷⁹⁹ χι ζ̅ ἡκρατος ἡρατος
ἡαρτιμεσις εφρωχ ἡἡ ογεφω κρω εροου

(314) Someone whose gums have gangrene: Take seven burnt ambrosia branches and honey; use for them.

5.16.16 ογαμφαρ, αμφαρ “Ulcer, phagedena”:⁸⁰⁰

Ch 35

(68) ογαμφαρ ετρεσκαζ̅κ̅ σιλικου Δ̅ λγαρκυ[ρω].

(68) Gnawing ulcer, to cause it heal: Minium one, litha[rge].....⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 269.

⁷⁹⁹ The term ρογαμονε “gangrene” appears in the New Testament 2 Timothy 2:17: αγω πεφναχε ναρογαμονε ἡθε ἡογαττραινα. και εγεβολ ἡρητοϷ πε Ϸυμεναιος ἡἡφιλητος “And their talk will spread like gangrene. Among them are Hymenaeus and philetus”.

⁸⁰⁰ Chassinat 1921: 108.

⁸⁰¹ Author’s own translation.

5.16.17 σιρ “Melanodermia”:

Ch 22

(47) ογσιρ εφραμαζε ρι κεντε ρι κομμε ρι εφιδ † ναγ νεικ†κος τεγουωμ
αλλα σογ μοογ ηκεντε εχωϋ

(47) A melanoderma: Flax seed, fig, gum, honey; give them food
according to his strength, but pour fig juice on them.⁸⁰²

5.16.18 ογαμσιρ⁸⁰³ “Melanose”:

Ch 20

(43) [ογνηπλαστρον ετβε τ]ογαμσιρ μη πβαλ ροχϋ μη νεωω μη σαω νιμ
εμηρωω ηρητογ (44) [.....] F B λι[θα]ρ[.]κγρον F B αλος F δ μογλαρ F
⏏ϋ ↑ δ πις κ⏏ϋ μη π ϋλϋ (45) [θνο] πετωοογε ρι τεμχαρτ ρι ρημχ
καλωσ ητ ταρογ ητ σαμογ μη νεγερηγ καλωσ ϋρ

(43) [A plaster for] melanose, softening of the eye, vesicular rash, and
every uncorrupted sore (44) two ounces, litharge (?) two ounces, salt
an ounce, six ounces wax, oil a pound; cook with oil wax; (45) [pound] the
dray materials in a mortar with good vinegar; add them (in oil and the wax)
(46); mix everything well together; and apply.

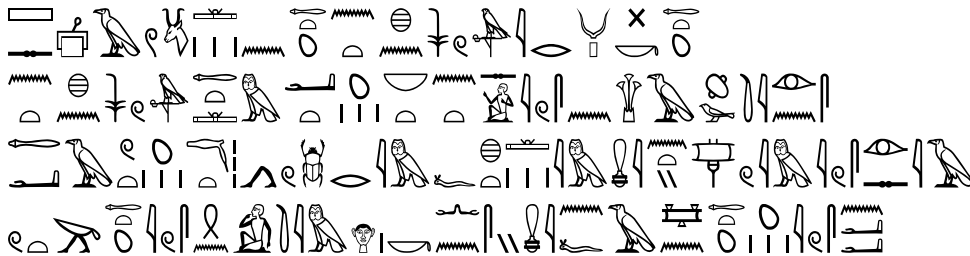
Ch 177

⁸⁰² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 111.

⁸⁰³ ογαμσιρ, αμσιρ “Melanose, melanic accidents causing softening and destruction of normal (simple melanosis) or pathological (melanin tumors or cancer) tissues”. Chassinat 1921:108.

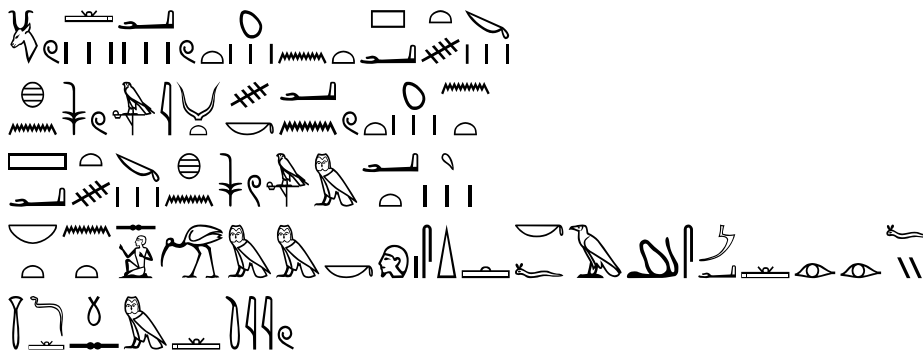
Proof of disease in the Early Dynastic Period remains dubious, nevertheless a Coptic Christian mummy (6th cent. AD) from El Bigha in Nubia, discovered by Elliot Smith and Derry (1910), demonstrates evidence of leprosy:⁸¹¹ There is evidence for leprosy in the medical papyri ‘aat net Khonsu’:

Pap. Ebers 874



“Instructions for a tumour of Khonsu. If you examine a large tumour of Khonsu in any part of a man and it is terrible and it has made many swellings. Something has appeared in it like that in which there is air. ... Then you shall say concerning it: It is a swelling of Khonsu. You should not do anything against it.”⁸¹²

Perhaps a somewhat different type of Khonsu’s tumour (anut) features in Ebers 877:



⁸¹¹ Cockburn and other 1998:42.

⁸¹² Nunn 1997: 75.

“Instructions for an anut-tumour of the slaughter of Khonsu. If you examine an anut-tumour for the slaughter of Konsu in any part of a man and you find its head pointed and its base (?) is straight; his two eyes are green (wadj) and burning; his flesh is hot under it...If you find them on his two arms, his pelvis and is thighs, pus [being] in them, you should not do anything against it.”⁸¹³

The word leprosy stems from the ancient Greek *λεπρα* which appears in the medical writings of Hippocrates and in the works of several Roman authors under the term *ελεφαντιασις*/ *elephantiasis* “elephant disease”.⁸¹⁴

5.16.20 *caṯ*, *ṯeṯ* “sore”:

Both of *caṯ* (Sahidic) and *ṯeṯ* (Faiyumic) mean “sore”. They refer to a type of skin diseases that appear over various parts of the body and could specifically affect the anus (P.Mich. MS 136), forearm (P.KölnÄgypt. 12), and the dorsum of the hand (Ch 219, section 5.12.3). On two occasions it corresponds to the skin condition “psora” in Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243; Ch 219; and Ch 231, which prescribes a remedy against psora on the head and body of a young child (see 5.16.2). In Ch 197 *caṯ* “a sore” can be scattered and opened:

P.Mich. MS 136, p. 12, ll. 198-200

ΟΥΩΗΜ ΝΚΗΝΕ ΝΕΩΩ ΕΦΟΥΩΤ ΤΝΟΥ † ΕΞΝΣΑΩ ΕΓΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΙ
ΠΜΑΝΕΖΜΟΟΣ ... [ΖΙ ΕΒΙΩ ΜΜ//

A little fresh fat from a sow: Crush it. Put it on sores that have appeared at the anus, along with genuine honey.⁸¹⁵

P.KölnÄgypt. 12

ΠΙΣΙ ΜΝ ΤΕΠΝΕ ΖΙ ΞΙ ΝΕΨΤΕΛ ΜΝ ΝΕΨΖΩΒΙ⁸¹⁶ ΞΙ ΟΥΣΑΤΗΗΛΙ ΕΒΑΛ ΜΜΑΨ ΜΝ
ΟΥΣΑΤΗΗΛΙ ΟΥΧΑΣ ΝΖΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΣΑΤΗΗΛ Β̄ ΜΜΗΣΕΟΣ ΜΝ ΣΑΤΗΗΛ Β̄ ΝΧΑΛΚΟΣ ΜΝ
ΟΥΜΕΧΗΛ ΝΤΕΠ ΚΑ ΜΙΝΙ ΝΤΣΙΑΟΥΝ ΜΑΙΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΑΠ ΜΑΙ ΕΠΩΕΩ ΜΠΜΕΖΙ

⁸¹³ Nunn 1997: 75.

⁸¹⁴ Schelberg 2001: 57–58.

⁸¹⁵ Author’s own translation.

⁸¹⁶ Cf. *ζωβ* (Sahidic), *ов; ζωβι, οβι, οββι* (Faiyumic), “horn”. Crum 1939: 696a.

Cook with caraway and take its branches and horns. Take one stater of it and one stater salt and two staters vitriol and two staters copper and ashes of horn. Prepare the bath daily; give them to the lichen of the forearm.⁸¹⁷

Ch 197

(363) ογσαω ετρεαωωρε εβολ ε, τεφογων μογρ̄ε ƒ δ̄ σαητελ ƒ β̄
κηνηε η̄εωω ηατρημογ ƒ δ̄ (364) μοογ η̄πεν ετπωω ƒ δ̄ παστογ η̄η
νεγερηγ χρω εροογ ©

(363) A sore that disperses/scattering and opens: Wax one ounce, sandalwood two ounces, unsalted pork fat one ounce, (364) decoction of split mouse an ounce; cook them together; apply for them.⁸¹⁸

5.16.21 ογμηζε “Abscess, Tumor”:

ογμηζε was a skin disease that affected the eye (see 5.10.2). The word μηζε indicates that it was a painful collection of pus under the skin. It affected the skin and also appeared on penis and anus. Many recipes have been prescribed for treating the abscess using different remedies types such as a powder (Ch 142), (Ch 26 see 3.2.8), a wick (Ch 25, Ch 26), or an ointment, of rose oil, copper and alum. The success of the remedies promised by recipes were: σναει μαγας “it will go away by itself”, σναει ερρ[αι] “it will come down”, σαωσε ερραι “it will leap down”, and ωασπορεζ “it will open”:

Ch 27

(58) Οηεοσ οη κενηζε γ̄ογ̄ δ̄ χαρκος δ̄ στεπτεριας δ̄ πβζζΞ̄ ῥ̄ θηοογ̄ καλωσ
χρω

(58) Likewise again: Other abscess: Copper one (part), alum one (part), alum one (part), gum ½ (part); grind them well; apply.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁷ Author’s own translation.

⁸¹⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 297, with slight modifications.

⁸¹⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 131.

Ch 28

(59) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΝ ΚΕΜΗΖΕ ΚΑΝΘΑΡΙΣ ᾶ ΧΑΡΚΙΤΕΟΣ ᾶ ΧΧ ᾶ ΠΛΞΞΛΩ ᾶ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΖΙ
ΖΗΜᾶ ΣΕΖΩΖΟΥ ᾶΤΣΟΤ ᾶΤΜΗΖΕ ΣΗΔΕΙ ΕΖΡ[ΔΙ]

(59) Likewise again, another abscess: Cantharides four (parts), white vitriol four (parts), copper four (parts); crush them with vinegar; rub it in the area of the abscess; it will come down.⁸²⁰

Ch 29

(60) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΗΖΕ ΚΑΔΜΙΑΣ ϙ ᾶ ΔΗΚΑΜ⁸²¹ ΕΦΟΥΩΤ ϙ ᾶ
ΧΑΡΚΙΤΕΟΣ ΕΦΟΥΩΤ ϙ ᾶ ΥΟΥ ϙ ᾶ (61) [.....†
ΕΡΟ]Σ ΣΑΒΩΣΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ

(60) A powder for abscess: Cadmia four drachmas, fresh blue vitriol two drachmas, fresh white vitriol two drachmas, copper two drachmas, (61); [apply it], it will leap down.⁸²²

Ch 25

(51) [ΟΥΜ]ΗΖΕ ΕΠΟΡΕΖ ΚΑΛΑΚΑΝΘΟΥ ϙ ᾶ ΧΑΡΚΙΤΕΟΣ ϙ ᾶ ΛΕΠΙΤΟΣ ΧΑΡΚΟΥ
ϙ ᾶ ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ϙ ᾶ (52) ΔΙΦΡΥΓΟΣ⁸²³ ϙ ᾶ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΖΙ ΖΗΜΗΧ ΔΑΥ ᾶΣΟΛ † ΕΡΟΟΥ
ΩΔΣΠΟΡΕΖ

(51) An abscess, so that it opens: Blue vitriol four drachmas, white vitriol four drachmas, copper scales four drachmas, gum four drachmas, (52)

⁸²⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 131.

⁸²¹ Cf. ΔΗΚΑΜ, “kind of vitriol”. Crum 1939: 12a.

⁸²² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 131.

⁸²³ Cf. ΔΙΦΡΥΓΟΣ “diphryges: a special kind of clay, (or) slag of copper-melting furnaces (unpure calamine), (or) iron oxid”. Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?ila=C8808>], (last accessed: 26.01.2021).

diphryges four drachmas; crush them with vinegar; make them into a wick, apply it, it will open.⁸²⁴

Ch 142

(288) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΗΞΕ ΨΑΦΚΑΘΑΡΙΞΕ ΜΗΟΥ ΝῆΜΑΞΟΥ⁸²⁵
ΜΙΣΕΟΣ ΕΦΟΥ[ΩΤ] ϙ̄ Ἀ. (289) χαλκίτεος ϙ̄ Ἀ. ἀλιστοροχίας ϙ̄ Γ̄ στρωρίτης
Γ̄ ἰλεπίτος ϙ̄ Ἀ. ἄνοου μῆν νεγερῆς χρῶ ἡζυρον

(288) A good powder for abscess, it cleans them and fills them: Fresh yellow vitriol four drachmas, (289) white vitriol four drachmas, aristolochia three drachmas, ten ounces, scales (of copper) four drachmas; grind them together; use in powder.⁸²⁶

Ch 150

(304) ογμῆξε κανθαρίς ϙ̄ Ἀ γού ϙ̄ Ἀ χαρκίτεος Γ̄ ὅ ερεού ρροῖνον ἄνοου
ψαντογσενρίστα κα (sic)⁸²⁷ χρῶ

(304) An abscess: Cantharides one drachma, copper one drachma, ½ ounce white vitriol, rose oil; grind them until they thicken; apply.⁸²⁸

Ch 152

(306) ογμῆξε κατῆας χαλκού γού ρμού ἡτοού ογα επογα ἄνοου καλωσ
χρῶ σναε, ερραι

⁸²⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 126.

⁸²⁵ μαξ is a qualitative form of μογε “to fill”. Cf. μογε “fill”. Crum 1939: 208a.

⁸²⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 268.

⁸²⁷ κα is for καλωσ. Chassinat 1921: 272.

⁸²⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 272.

(306) An abscess: cadmia, copper, copper rust, mountain salt, same amount of each; grind them well; use; it will come down.⁸²⁹

Ch 175

(335) ΟΥΜΗΡΕ ΣΤΑΚΜΑ ΧΑΛΚΟΣ Ϝ Β ΚΕΡΗΤ ΝΟΣΟ Ϝ Β ΧΧ Ϝ Ϝ ΧΡΩ ©

(335) An abscess: Copper liquor two drachmas, pork *keret* two drachmas, copper six drachmas; apply.⁸³⁰

Ch 176

(336) ΟΜΕΟΣ ΟΥΜΗΡΕ ΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ Ϝ Δ ΜΙΣΕΟΣ Ϝ Δ ΧΧ Ϝ Δ ΟΖΗΣ Ϝ Δ ΧΙΘΙΡΩ Ϝ Δ ΧΑΚΙΤΕΟΣ (*sic*) Ϝ Δ (337) ΜΗΜΗ ΝΚΟΥΓΙ ΜΩΗΡΕ Ϝ ΛΔ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΜΝ ΤΜΗ ΝΓ † ΕΡΟΥ ΟΥΑΥΛΟ ©

(336) Likewise, an abscess: Cadmia one ounce, yellow vitriol one ounce, copper one ounce, vinegar one ounce, tragacanth one ounce, white vitriol one ounce, (337) small child's urine thirty-four drachmas; grind them well with urine; apply them, they will heal.⁸³¹

Ch 212

(382) ΟΥΜΗΡΕ ΕΣΩΝ ΠΜΑ ΝΡΝΟΣ ΜΜΗ⁸³² ΚΑΛΑΚΑΝΘΟΥ⁸³³ ΖΙ ΣΩΒΕ ΝΖ†Τ ΜΝ ΟΥΩΝ ΝΕΥΦΟΡΒΙΟΥ ΕΦΘΗΣ (383) ΖΙ ΣΩΒΕ ΝΜΟΛΟΧΗ ΝΑΓΡ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΖΙ ΝΕΖ ΝΖΡΟ†ΝΟΝ † ΕΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΡΕ ΝΖΒΟΥΙ ΔΙ ΠΒΕΚΕ ΝΩΡΠ

(382) A urethral abscesses:⁸³⁴ Blue vitriol, cabbage leaf, with part of roasted spurge, (383) wild mallow leaf; grind them well together with rose oil; give them an ibis feather. Take your wage in advance.⁸³⁵

⁸²⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 273.

⁸³⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 273.

⁸³¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 289.

⁸³² Chassinat translated it "Abces de l'uretre". Chassinat 1921: 304. Perhaps it refers to the anus.

⁸³³ Cf. Χάλκανθον "solution of blue vitriol (copper sulphate), used for ink and for shoemaker's blacking". Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1972b.

⁸³⁴ Literary: Abscess where urine becomes great.

⁸³⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 304.

5.17 DISEASE OR CONDITION THAT AFFECTS MULTIPLE ORGANS

5.17.1 ϩαϥε “Swellings”

ϩαϥε or ϩαβε refer to swellings; under this idiom one may think of all kinds of tumours. The Coptic medical texts mentioned this complaint using the expression ϩαϥε νιμ “all sorts of swellings”, against which there were three recommended recipes to use. The following remedy consists of liniments with an existing form of purslane and lard ointment:

BKU I 25

[ετβ]εϩαβε νιμ θνοϥ ρι-μερμο[γ] [ρε].ρι κ[εν]νε νριρ. † εροοϥ ϩα[ϥλο]

For any swellings. Rub it (*sic*) with lard and purslane, apply to them. [It] will [heal].⁸³⁶

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 1 recommends a particular type of salt, wax, pine resin, white lead, litharge and olive oil; additionally, one can use vitriol when it is at hand:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 1

ετβε ϩαβε νιμ. ρι ηπερμοϥ νϩαγμοϥτε εροϥ ρε ωλγκτοϥ⁸³⁷ ρι, μογλε
γοϥ πεϱηνε ροϥ ϣιμιθιοη ροϥ ηηρ μεε γλοϥ λιθαρκγροϥ ροβ, βολ
πμοϥλαρ εβολ ηη πεϱηνε ρη πνερ, θνο πσεεπε ετϩοϥωοϥ, παρτοϥ
εχωοϥ. εϩωπε οϥητακ καλκανθνε⁸³⁸ ημαγ, θνο οϥκοϥι ρι ρηχ, νοχϥ
νημαγ, χρω

⁸³⁶ Author's own translation.

⁸³⁷ Cf. ὀρυκτός “that which was dug; a kind of salt”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1257a.

⁸³⁸ It appears in Ch 34 τρακακάνθη, τραγάκανθα “tragacanth”, Arabic الكثيرا.

For every swelling: Take the salt that calls ὄρυκτός (that which was dug), 10 obols; wax, ½ ounce, spruce resin ½ ounce, white lead ½ ounce, olive oil 30 ½ ? ounces, litharge 2 ounces, solve the wax and resin in oil, rub the remaining, the dry (ingredients) and pour them. If you have tragacanth. Crush a little with vinegar, sprinkle it with that; and apply.⁸³⁹

BM 527 (1), an incomplete recipe, prescribes a liquid remedy comprising of raven’s blood and vinegar, which should be taken early in the morning on an empty stomach. Chassinat papyrus (Ch 135; Ch 138)⁸⁴⁰ differs in this case, even though φραγε, including other forms of the word, repeatedly occurs. Chassinat Papyrus uses the term σογσ to refer to swelling, which has the same meaning φραγε:

Ch 135

(277) ΟΥΠΙΛΥΓΗ ΝΤΑΣΡ̄ΣΙΛΕΦΕ ΚΕΠΕΛΕΟΣ ϙ̄ Η ΣΕΠΤΕΡΙΑΣ (sic) ϙ̄ Δ̄
 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΡΟΧΙΑΣ ϙ̄ Δ̄ ΚΙΚΙΣ ϙ̄ Δ̄ (278) ΘΝΟΟΥ ΠΑΣΤΟΥ ΖΙ ΕΦΙΩ † ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΤΧΗΡΑΖ
 ΣΝΑΦΟΟΥΕ ΟΥΩΦ̄Μ̄ ΖΙ ΕΤΑΦΟΥ ΤΑΦ ΕΝΣΟΥΣ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΣΙΡΕΦΕ

(277) An wound that forms scab: Caper eight drachmas, alum four drachmas, Aristolochia four drachmas, castor four drachmas; (278) crush them; cook them with honey; give on the meet, it will dry up. Knead (the drug) with l'étaphos, and place it on swelling and scab.⁸⁴¹

5.17.2 Injuries

5.17.2.1 πληγη, πληγή “wound”:⁸⁴²

πληγη was a common term used for “wound”. The expected successful result of wound treatment was usually expressed by the word φσοογε “be dry” (Ch 18, Ch 37 and Ch 135 (see 5.17.1)) or κεγκωζ “be

⁸³⁹ Author’s own translation.

⁸⁴⁰ Ch 138 (see 5.6.22).

⁸⁴¹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 262-263.

⁸⁴² Cf. πληγή “blow, stroke, impact, injury, wound”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1417b.

smooth” (Ch 15, P.Mich. 593b, p. 167). Sometimes it simply said the remedy will θεραπευε “cure” it (Ch 187):

Ch 18

(40) [ΟῩΝ̄ΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΕΩΔΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΠΛΗΓΗ ΕΤΜΟΚ̄Ξ̄.....ΕΦ]ΛΗΚ Ε
ΛΙΒ̄ Ψ̄ ΙΣ Ε [..... Ψ̄ .) [..... ΠΑΣΤΟΥ Ξ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΚΩΞ̄Τ̄ ΣΑΝΤΕΥΣΗ]ΝΖΙΣΤΑ ΚΑΛΩΣ
† [Ε̄Ν̄ΠΛΗΓΗ Ε]ΤΜ[Ο]Κ̄Ξ̄ ΩΔΥΩΟΟΥΕ

(40) [A plaster which is employed for painful wounds] fresh six ounces, six ounces incense..... (41)..... [cook them in fire until they thicken well; give [to painful sores], they will dry.⁸⁴³

Ch 37

(70) [ΟῩΠΛ]ΗΓΗ Ν̄ΑΣ ΕΤΡΕΣΩΟΟΥΕ ΒΑΩΟΥΩ ΕΦΩΟΟΥΕ Ν̄ΕΦ[.....] Ξ̄
ΛΙΘΑΛΚΥΡΟΝ Ψ̄ Δ̄ [..... (71) ΟῩΝ̄ ΑΠΕΡΟΝ Ψ̄ Β̄ ΘΝΟΟΥ ΚΑΛΕΣ ΖΙ ΖΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄
ΧΡ[Ω ΕΡΟ]ΟΥ ΩΔΥΩΟΟΥΕ

(70) An old wound, to dry: Dry rue eight....., litharge four drachmas, (71) native sulfur two drachmas; crush them well with wine; use for old wounds, they will dry.⁸⁴⁴

P.Mich. 593b, ro, ll. a11-b5

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΕΩΔΥ ΩΣΚ̄ ΕΚΑΖΚ̄Ξ̄ Ξ̄Μ̄ ΠΛΥΗΓΗ ΝΙΜ ΚΑΔΜΕΙΑΣ ΓΟΔ ΛΕΠΙΔΟΣ ΚΥΠΡΙ
ΟΥ. Γ[Ο]Δ [Χ]ΑΛΚΟΥ ΚΕΚΑΥ ΜΕΝΟΥ ΓΟΔ [Χ]ΑΛΑΓΑΝΘΟΥ ΓΟΔ Ψ̄. [ΧΑ]ΛΚΙΤΕΩΣ

⁸⁴³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 104.

⁸⁴⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 139.

ΓΟΔ ς. [ΟΜΟ]Υ ΕΕ [Κ]ΗΡΟΥ † Δ ΡΖΟΔΙΝΟΝ † ς ΒΩΛ ΠΜΟΥΛΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΖΡΟΔΙΝΟΝ
Ν̄ΓΝΕΧ ΝΕΤΩΟΥΟΥ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΥΘΝΗΥ Ν̄ΧΡΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΙΕ.

For those who are slow to heal in the case of every wound: Calamine, 1 oz; copper scales, 1oz; calcined copper, 1oz; vitriol, 1½ oz; rock alum, 1½ oz. Together, sum, 6 oz. wax, 1 lb. Rhodion ½ lb. Melt the wax, together with the rhodion, and cast the dry (ingredients) upon them, (previously) pulverized, and apply it thus.⁸⁴⁵

Ch 187

(349) ΟΥΜΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΕΣΟΥΑΒΩ̄ ΕΦΑΣΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ Ν̄ΝΕΠΛΥΓΗ Ν̄ΤΑΥΩΣΚ Μ̄Ν
Ν̄ΡΩΞ ΝΟΥΖΟΡ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΡΩΞ (350) Ν̄ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΑΘ ΕΦΡΩΧ Ε Η̄ ς
ΜΟΥΡΩ̄ † Β ΝΕΖ † Δ ΠΙΤΗΝΗΣ † Β ΗΡΠΙ (351) ΕΦΝΟΤ̄Η ς̄ Ῑ ΝΟΥΑΘ (sic) ΒΑΛΟΥ
ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΠΚΩΖ̄Τ ΧΡΩ ©

(349) A white plaster to treat protracted wounds, dog bites and human bites, it is very good: Burnt lead eight ½ ounces, wax two pound, oil one pound, pine resin two pound, wine sweet ten spoonful; melt on fire; apply.⁸⁴⁶

Ch 129: this recipe indicates that the remedy fills the wound:

(268) ΟΥΠΛΗΓΥ Ν̄ΑΣ ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΜΟΖ̄Σ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΣΟΥΣ Ν̄ΑΠΑΣ

≡κ ΔΛΛ≡ ΚΑΤΗΙΑΣ ΘΝΟΥΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΖΥ (269) ΡΟΥΡΕΥ ΕΧΩΣ † ΟΥΦ̄ΣΩ
ΕΧΩΣ Ν̄Γ ≡ΔΣΟ ΜΟΡΕΣ ΣΝΑΛΟ ©

(268) An old wound you want to fill it up: Old dry safflower, cadmia; crush them together; (269) pour on the wound (?); cover it with a linen strip you bind (?); it will be healed.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁵ Transltion: Worrell 1935: 190-191.

⁸⁴⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 293.

⁸⁴⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 260.

The expression ἀγῆκα τοκῆ “something has pierced him” indicates to a wound or some kind of injury. P.Mich. 593b ro, ll. 1-10 also recommends a remedy in the form of plaster as the previous prescriptions:

P.Mich. 593b, ro, ll. 1-10

ἢ ἀγῆκα τοκῆ νῆγκαας ριχωοῦ νῆπληαιν ἢ νῆβολῆ εβολ ριτῆ οὔκωῆτ
εφοφαι νῆτ χρω ἦμος προς ἦμα εῆτκναθεραπεγε ἦμοοῦ

Or something has pierced him: Place it upon bandages, or melt it by means of a dying fire, and apply it to the places which you are about to treat.⁸⁴⁸

5.17.2.2 πληγη νημ “Every wound”:

A wound is sometimes reported on without adding further symptoms or complications, therefore, it is perhaps referring to minor wounds only, Ch 15 recommends plaster, and Ch 93 recommends collyrium for treating such wounds (5.6.21):

Ch 15

(36) οὔνηπραστρον εωασβωκ εωωνε νημ μ[.....] λαμχετπ νῆτ ε δῆ σφ
μοσο⁸⁴⁹ ε δῆ (37) χαρβανε ῥ β παστοῦ καλωσ φαν[τεῦχην]ριστα †
επληγη νημ φασκερκωρς

(36) A plaster which is used for any disease dry pitch, pork fat ½ ounce (37) galbanum two obols; cook them well until they thicken; apply to any wound, it will disappear.⁸⁵⁰

Wounds could also be “painful” (Ch 131; πάθος Ch 232) or be contaminated as in (Ch 216 and Ch 232):

⁸⁴⁸ Translation: Worrell 1935: 190.

⁸⁴⁹ σφμοσο= ωτ ἦλα (ριπ). Chassinat 1921: 103.

⁸⁵⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 103.

Ch 131

(271) ΟΥΝΠΡΑΚΤΛΟΝ ΕΩΔΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΠΛΗΓΗ ΕΤΜΟΚ̄ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΕΣΘΟΜ
ΛΙΘΑΛΚΥΡΟΝ ̄ Κ ΜΟΥΛ̄ (272) ̄ Η ΓΙΜΙΘΙΟΝ Β̄ (*sic*) ΚΗΝΕ ΝΟΣΟ⁸⁵¹ ΝΤΑΥΓΙ
ΠΕΥΣΧΗ⁸⁵² ΝΒΡΡΕ ΟΥΩΘ ΠΚΗΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΗΝ ΠΜΟΥΛΑΖ ΠΑΖΤΟΥ ΕΤΕΜΧΑΘ ΧΡΩ

(271) A plaster which are employed for painful wounds; it is of very powerful: Litharge twenty drachmas, wax (272) eight drachmas, white lead two (drachmes), fat of a pig, its *hubš* was recently removed; melt fat and wax; pour them in a mortar; and apply.⁸⁵³

Ch 232

(412) ΟΥΝΠΡΑΚΤΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΖΩΖ ΝΣΑΩ Μ̄Ν ΠΑΘΟΣ⁸⁵⁴ ΝΙΜ ΝΠΛΥΓΗ
ΕΡΓΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ⁸⁵⁵ ̄ Ὶ ΝΕΖ ̄ Ὶ (413) ΟΥΑΘ ΝΖΗΜ̄Χ ̄ Ὶ Ὶ ΤΑΛΟΟΥ ΕΠΚΩΞ̄Τ ΠΑΣΤΟΥ
ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΑΞ̄Υ ̄ Ν ΟΥΒΟΪ ΕΦΚΗΚ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΠΛΥΓΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΧΟΞ̄Μ⁸⁵⁶

(412) A good plaster for itching ulcers and for every kind of wound complication: slag three silver drachmas oil three drachmas (413) distilled vinegar three drachmas; cooking on the stove, cook them well and mix with fresh date-palm. Good for any infected wounds.⁸⁵⁷

For the “old” wounds, special recipes are prescribed (Ch 37, 129, and 189):

Ch 129

(268) ΟΥΠΛΗΓΥ ΝΑΣ ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΜΟΞ̄Σ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΣΟΥΣ ΝΑΠΑΣ

⁸⁵¹ οσο, λιλ (πιρ).

⁸⁵² ρχη, ργβω.

⁸⁵³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 260.

⁸⁵⁴ παθος, πάθος. παθος νιμ νπλυγη literally means “any disease of wound”. Chassinat 1921: 321.

⁸⁵⁵ εργισματος, ἔλκυσμα.

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. χωξ̄η “uncleanness, pollution”. Crum 1939: 798a.

⁸⁵⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 320.

ⲙⲕⲓⲗⲗ ⲙⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲓⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲑⲛⲟⲟϩ ⲙⲏ̅ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣϩϩ (269) ϣⲟⲩⲣⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲥ † ⲟϩⲫⲓⲥⲱ
ⲉⲗⲱⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ ⲙⲓⲁⲥⲟ ⲙⲟⲣⲉⲥ ⲥⲛⲁⲗⲟ ⲙⲟ

(268) An old wound you want to fill it up: Old dry safflower, cadmia; crush them together; (269) pour on the wound (?); cover it with a linen strip you bind (?); it will be healed.⁸⁵⁸

Ch 189

(353) ⲟϩⲡⲁⲗⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲓⲗⲓⲛⲏ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲣϥⲉϩⲗⲟ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲗ̅ⲕ̅ ⲕⲏⲏⲛⲉ ⲗⲗⲑⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲟϩⲣ̅ⲗ̅
ⲉⲓⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲡⲟⲥⲉ ⲭⲣⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟϩ ⲱⲗⲁϩⲗⲟ ⲙⲟ

(353) A remedy for old wounds which cause them to heal, and smooth:
Veal fat, wax, cooked honey; use for them; they will be healed.⁸⁵⁹

Wounds that had not healed for a long time were expressed by the term “ⲱⲥⲕ”, which means “delay, be prolonged” Ch 187; P.Mich. 593b, ll. a11-b5 (see 5.17.2): These recipes mostly describe an ointment mainly made of mineral and plant substances, which was often mixed with oil, grease or wax.

5.17.2.3 ⲟϩⲡⲓⲗⲓⲛⲏ̅ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲣ̅ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓⲉⲓⲉ “Wound that forms scab”:

A wound that has become a ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓⲉ⁸⁶⁰ “wound, sore, or scab”, Ch 135 provided a remedy consisting of: caper, alum, Aristolochia, castor, and honey (see 5.17.1).

5.15.2.4 ⲁⲗⲥⲛⲟⲩ/ ⲱⲗⲥⲛⲟⲩ “staunch, mop up blood”:

ⲁⲗⲥⲛⲟⲩ, ⲱⲗⲥⲛⲟⲩ, means “staunch, mop up blood”.⁸⁶¹ There are several hemostatic medical recipes against the bleeding resulting from wounds: (Ch 3, Ch 9, Ch 10, Ch 40, Ch 137, Ch 174 and P.Mich. 593b, P. 167). They usually contained sticky materials such as gum and resinous substances, and also pepper, white lead and litharge:

Ch 3

⁸⁵⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 260.

⁸⁵⁹ Author’s own translation.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. ⲥⲓⲗⲉⲓⲉ, ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲓⲉ “wound, sore, or scab”. Crum 1939: 357a.

⁸⁶¹ Crum 1939: 348a.

(8) ογαλκνοϋ νανοϋ[σ.....(9) ηρ̄τῑ ν̄αϑ κρω̄ η̄μοϑ σα[βολ].

(8) A good hemostatic: (9) old wine; apply it outside.⁸⁶²

Ch 9

(22) [ογα]λκν[οϋ] ενανοϋϑ σαντρακηϑ ~~α~~ οΞϑ⁸⁶³ ηη⁸⁶⁴ κομεοϑ οϋ[α]
επογα κρω̄ σαβολ

(22) A good hemostatic: Realgar, cress seed, pepper, gum, same amount of each; apply outside.⁸⁶⁵

Ch 10

(23) ογαλκνοϋ σανταρακηϑ ϑ ϑ̄ ηη ϑ̄ κομεοϑ ϑ̄ β̄ κρω̄ σαβολ

(23) A hemostatic: Realgar six ounces, pepper three (ounces?), gum two ounces; apply outside.⁸⁶⁶

Ch 40

(75) ογκολλιον̄ ν̄ωλκνοϋ καρϑοϑ ϑ̄ ᾱ οπινιον̄ ϑ̄ ᾱ ηη β̄ (*sic*) σμηρηνηϑ ϑ̄
ᾱ ααγ̄ η̄κ̄ κρω̄ σαβολ

(75) A hemostatic collyrium: Copper one drachma, opium one drachma, pepper two (drachmes), myrrh one drachma; doing in collyrium; apply outside.⁸⁶⁷

Ch 137

⁸⁶² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 56.

⁸⁶³ ~~α~~οΞϑ⁸⁶³, Ωλειη.

⁸⁶⁴ ηη, πεπεριη, πεπερε, πεπεροϑ. Chassinat 1921: 86.

⁸⁶⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 81.

⁸⁶⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 89.

⁸⁶⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 143.

(280) ογκῶλ· ἡάλσνοϋ λιβανος ϙ̅ β̅ ψιμιθιοϋ ϙ̅ ζ̅ λιθαλλκγρον ϙ̅ ζ̅ εγφορβιοϋ
ϙ̅ ζ̅ κομεος ϙ̅ ζ̅ ααγ ἡ̅κ̅ χρω

(280) A hemostatic collyrium: Incense two drachmas, white lead half drachma, litharge ½ drachma, spurge ½ drachma, gum ½ drachma; make them a collyrium; apply.⁸⁶⁸

Ch 174

(334) ογζγρον εϋωλσνοϋω ἡ̅σιμε εϋρωx ἡ̅ββες ϙ̅βε⁸⁶⁹ ἡ̅μοοϋ ἡ̅ν νεγερηϋ
† ριῶ̅ν πμα ετωογο σνοϋ

(334) A hemostatic powder: Burnt woman’s hair, coal; crush them together; put on the place where blood flows.⁸⁷⁰

P.Mich. 593b, ro, ll. b 6-12

ετβε ἡ̅ογσοϋ ρε ερραῖ ἠνο ογβωνε ρι εβιω ἡ̅ κααϋ ριῶ̅ν πμα ἡ̅τσοϋρε
ϋναντ̅ς ερραῖ

For every hemorrhage or every wound: Rock alum, pulverized and... Put it upon the wound and it will be removed at ounce.⁸⁷¹

5.15.2.6 ἀγλη “scars”:

Healed wounds sometimes also needed medical treatment if disfiguring scars (ἀγλη, οὐλή) were to be removed. As the below recipe recommends, to remove any scar, anoint it with a mixture of pig fat and fuller’s earth:

Ch 133

⁸⁶⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 265.

⁸⁶⁹ For ϙ̅βε, cf. τρίβω “to rub, wear out, waste”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1817a. Also, written as ϙ̅ρε Ch 136, and τριποϋ Ch 91.

⁸⁷⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 289.

⁸⁷¹ Translation: Worrell 1935: 191.

(274) ογαγλη ετρεσλο κηνηε ν̄ριρ ογαμ ν̄ραξ̄τ ογαθογ ν̄γ λαλωε

(274) A scar to make it disappear (lit. leave): Pork fat, fuller's earth; melt them; anoint it.⁸⁷²

Sometimes the location of the scar becomes hairless, and in this case Ch 23 recommends using burnt goat horn and olive oil in order for the scar to look hairy:

Ch 23

(48) [ογ] αγλη εκογωω τεσρωτ ταπ ν̄ηοζκ≡ ερω[χ] ρι νεζ με ν̄γ †
ερωογ ωαγρωτ

(48) [A....] scar, if you desire it to grow with hair: Calcined goat horn and fine oil; give them, they will grow.⁸⁷³

Scars sometimes left a dark coloured (κμη “black”) mark; therefore, Ch 154 prescribes a remedy of onion triturated with wine to treat these dark spots and give them skin colour again:

Ch 154

(308) ογ̄ναγλη⁸⁷⁴ εκκμη ετρεσ̄ριπαγαν ν̄πσωμα ν̄πρωμε ν̄χωρ
ν̄αρμο[....]ν̄ ονογ ρι βρκ⁸⁷⁵ χρω ερωογ ωαγλο

(308) A black scar, to make it take color (skin) of the body of man: Onion; crush it with wine; apply them; they will recover.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷² Author's own translation.

⁸⁷³ Author's own translation.

⁸⁷⁴ αγλη, οὐλή. Chassinat 1921: 262.

⁸⁷⁵ βρκ, ηρι. Chassinat 1921: 273.

⁸⁷⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 273.

5.15.2.5 ρωξ⁸⁷⁷ “bite, pierce, stab”:

Ch 187

(349) ΟΥΜΠΛΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΕΣΟΥΑΒΩ ΕΩΑΣΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ΝΗΝΕΠΛΥΤΗ ΝΤΑΥΩΣΚ ΜΝ
 ΝΡΩΞ ΝΟΥΧΟΡ ΜΝ ΝΡΩΞ (350) ΝΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΑΘ ΕΦΡΩΧ Ε ΗΨ
 ΜΟΥΡΡΕ † Β ΝΕΖ † Δ ΠΙΤΗΝΗΣ † Β ΗΡΠΙ (351) ΕΦΝΟΤΗ Ψ Ι ΝΟΥΑΘ (*sic*) ΒΑΛΟΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΞΝ ΠΚΩΞΤ ΧΡΩ ©

(349) A white plaster to treat protracted wounds, dog bites and human bites
 (350), it is very good: Burnt lead eight ½ounces, wax two pound, oil one
 pound, pine resin two pound, wine sweet ten spoonsful; melt on fire;
 apply.⁸⁷⁸

Human bites appear to have been a sufficient problem in ancient Egypt; it deserved four paragraphs of the Ebers Papyrus. The section on human bites commences at paragraph 432 (parallel to Hearst 21):

Hearst 21



“Remedy for the bite of mankind. A measure of dough, which is in a jar and a leek. Pound and make into one mass, and bandage with it”.⁸⁷⁹

Pap. Ebers 433



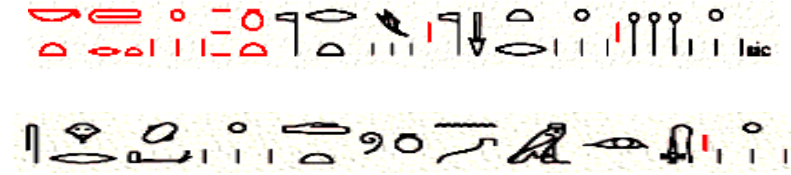
⁸⁷⁷ Cf. λωκς, λωξ “bite, pierce, stab”. Crum 1939: 139b.

⁸⁷⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 293.

⁸⁷⁹ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusHearst/html/kolumne_2.html], (last accessed: 02.11.2020).

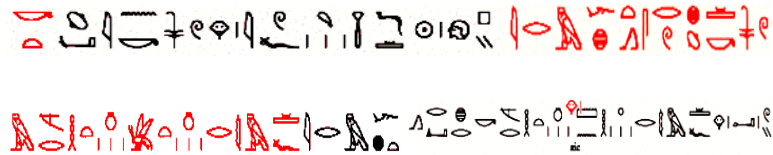
“Another, second cure: incense 1, yellow ocher 1, bile of the goat 1, make a uniform mass, and connect with it”.⁸⁸⁰

Pap. Ebers 434



“Another third remedy: *ntrt* plant 1, incense 1, onion 1, boil, make to a uniform ointment, connect with it”.⁸⁸¹

Pap. Ebers 435



“Another [remedy]: You shall combine it with fresh meat on the first day. As for the following: You treat him with oil and honey, so that it is better. As for the following: You shall give him oil on wax so that it will be better for him immediately”.⁸⁸²

Nunn⁸⁸³ notes that the Grundriss (IV 2, 161) considers that *remetj* as a mistake for rear meaning “pig”, although the writing is the same in both Ebers 432 and Hearst 21.

The following recipe mentions the scorpion. It presumably refers to the scorpion’s sting; however, it is unfortunately incomplete:

O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 49, ll. 12-14

⁸⁸⁰ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiv.html], (last accessed: 02.11.2020).

⁸⁸¹ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiv.html], (last accessed: 02.11.2020).

⁸⁸² Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiv.html], (last accessed: 02.11.2020).

⁸⁸³ Nunn 1997: 190.

[Ο]ΜΙΟΣ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΟΥΩΞΕ[.....] ΠΣΙΜ ΝΤΟΥΩΞΕ ΠΕ ΝΡ[.....][..]ΝΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ
ΜΑΧΕ Ν[.....]

Likewise again because of the scorpion [- - -] the scorpion's grass - - -]

....⁸⁸⁴

5.17.3 σΟΥΡΕ or ΦΟΝΤΕ “Thorn”:

σΟΥΡΕ and ΦΟΝΤΕ both mean thorn, which could afflict in hands and feet as in Ch 214 (see 5.14.2), and also any part of the body.

P.Mich 593b, p. 167, ll. b 7-12

ΕΤΒΕ ΝΟΥΣΟΥΡΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΘΝΟ ΟΥΒΩΝΕ ΖΙ ΕΒΙΩ ΝΒ̄ ΚΑΑQ ΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΜΑ ΝΤΣΟΥΡΕ
ΦΝΑΝΤ̄Σ ΕΞΡΑΙ

For bringing up a thorn: Crush an earth-nut (?) with honey, and put it upon the place of the thorn. It will bring it up.⁸⁸⁵

5.17.4 ΟΥΑΥΤΩΜΑ “Gash, incision”:

Ch 156

(310) ΟΥΑΥΤΩΜΑ⁸⁸⁶ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΩΥΕ Θ[ΗΝ] ΛΑΜΧ̄Π̄ ΝΖΥΡΟΝ
ΝΕΖ ΝΣΙΜ ΘΝΟΥQ (311) ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΤΑΑΥ ΕΧ̄Ν ΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΦΝΑΛΟ
ΖΝ̄ ΤΣΟΜ ΝΠΧΟΕΙC ©

(310) A cut that extends and remains separated:⁸⁸⁷ Sulfur, dried pich, horseradish oil; (311) grind them together; apply to the diseased part of the individual. It (the cut) will be healed by the power of the Lord.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁴ Author's own translation.

⁸⁸⁵ Translation: Worrell 1935: 191.

⁸⁸⁶ ΟΥΑΥΤΩΜΑ, Chassinat assumed that it is for ΔΑΥΤΩΜΑ, έντομή. Chassinat 1921: 275. Cf. έντομή “incision, gash”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 576b.

⁸⁸⁷ It refers to the opened wounds that is deep and cannot be healed.

⁸⁸⁸ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 275, with slight modifications.

5.17.5 RHEUMATISM

ῥεῦμα, ῥεῦμα⁸⁸⁹ is a disease appeared in Coptic recipes meaning “flux, stream, rheumatism”.⁸⁹⁰ This meaning is different to what is today understood by the term rheumatism. ῥεῦμα refers to a disease that caused a secretion, discharge, or expectoration.⁸⁹¹ ῥεῦμα in Ch 108 (see 3.4.1) clearly indicates a cold that has caused impairment of hearing, which is treated by placing a combination of euphorbium and olive oil in the nose.⁸⁹² Ch 221 prescribes a treatment for rheumatism and all eye diseases:

Ch 221

(398) οὔκολλιον εϋηπ εϋρωμμη οὔσταϋκον τε εϋρωαυ ενε[ρ]ρεῦμα μῆν
ϋαθησις (399) τηρς ἡῖβαλ κατμιας ϋ σμηρηνς ϋ κροκος ϋ οπιου ϋ ἄ
επογα κομεος ϋ ἰβ (400) ακακιας ϋ ἰβ ἠνοου ααυ ἡκς χρω ©

(398) A collyrium estimated for (its) strength, it is an astringent useful for fluxions and any disease state (399) of the eyes: Cadmia, myrrh, saffron, opium, four drachmas of each, gum twelve drachmas, (400) acacia twelve drachmas; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.⁸⁹³

Rhinitis is mentioned in Ch 106 in which an astringent collyrium in powder form is described to help against all acute and chronic (ῥεῦματα):

Ch 106

(215) [οὔκολλιον ἡστατικον παν]καλλ[ιο]ν πετωαυμοϋτε ερω ϋ ε πσαρ
ἡρϋατ[ρος] (216) ϋασβωκ ενερρεῦμα ἡμ ἡας ἡν ἡβρε κροκος ϋ
καδμιας ϋ κἄ χαρκος ϋ ἄ (217) οπιον ϋ ϋ τρακακανης ϋ ἄ
ϋ ϋ ἡκς

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. ῥεῦμα “that which flows, current, stream”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1567b.

⁸⁹⁰ Coptic Dictionary Online. [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C11190>] (last accessed: 20.11.2020).

⁸⁹¹ Till 1951a: 42.

⁸⁹² Till 1951a: 42.

⁸⁹³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 325.

ΩΣΒΟΠΠΩ ϩ̅ ΕΠΕΠΣΘΩ ϩ̅ ΚΔ̅ ΚΟΜΕΟΣ ϩ̅ Θ̅ (218) ΘΝΟ ΠΧΑΡΚΟΣ Μ̅Ν
 ΠΚΑΤΜΙΑΣ Μ̅Ν ΠΟΠΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΩΣ † ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ (219) ΦΑΝΤΟΥΡΩΚ ΤΑΞΟΥ
 Μ̅Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΑΥ ΝΓ̅ ΧΡΩ

(215) [A good astringent collyrium] that we usually call it the physician master. (216) it is used for all the old and recent fluxions: Safran six drachmas, cadmia twenty-four drachmas, copper four drachmas, (217) opium six drachmas, tragacanth a half drachma, myrrh six drachmas, acacia twenty-four drachmas, gum nine drachmas; (218) crush the copper, cadmia and opium good; put the rest in water (219) until they are softened; mix it all; make them a collyrium; apply.⁸⁹⁴

5.17.6 THE THROB

Medical prescriptions do not contain any accurate information on the meaning of this disease κωλξ (κωλαξ), the symptoms, or which part of the body is affected by this condition; however, some literary resources contain some references to this disease and its symptoms.⁸⁹⁵ A Homily on the Virgin Mary mentioned ΝΤΕΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΦ ΘΩΛΞ “and thy hole body be agitated”, as an indication of the state of a sinner immediately before his or her death.⁸⁹⁶ Also, Mich. MSS inv. 158, fol. 39⁸⁹⁷ from the White Monastery states that the head of a sick patient knocking so he demands a pillow “κωλξ εροφ”.⁸⁹⁸ Moreover, this disease also appears in the magical text, P.Mich.inv. 597, vo,⁸⁹⁹ (ε)ΤΒΕ ΟΥΑ ΕΚΩΛΞ Μ̅ΝΑΥ ΝΜ “For one he is always knocking”. There were various recipes prescribed to treat this malady such as BKU I 25, ll. 11-12, which uses types of grains with honey. In addition, O.Mon.Epiph. 575 offer a remedy of externally applicable means (see 5.9):

BKU I 25, ll. 11-12

[ε]ΤΒΕ-ΠΚΩΛΞ. Δ̅Ι ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΚΟ[ΥΙ...][..]ΕΒΡΑ. † ΝΑΥ Ζ̅ΙΕΒΙΩ. ΩΔΑΛΟ

⁸⁹⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 225.

⁸⁹⁵ Till 1951a: 41.

⁸⁹⁶ Till 1951a: 41; Worrell 1923: 273.

⁸⁹⁷ Unpublished text. It is part of White Monastery manuscripts, has been mentioned in Husselman 1965: 79.

⁸⁹⁸ Crum 1939: 106b.

⁸⁹⁹ Unpublished text, it is part of the Coptic hoard codex; Worrell classified it in the Group (B). The image of the papyrus is available in, Advanced Papyrological Information System, UM [https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3656/597V.TIF?chaperon], (last accessed: 12.05.2020).

For the throb, take a little seed. give him honey, he will recover.⁹⁰⁰

P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 1-14 also prescribes a remedy against knocking, which consists of bdellium, tragacanth, gum, radish or nut oil and various other substances:

P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 1-14

Ζημπραν ^{sic} επινοτε · νεπαιριε ρεπκωλαρ Δι νακ ογραφτοογ ηλιουορε
φωοογε κααφ επιλωκ φαντεφλωκ εσαιε // λεξ.φ τη · σοπι πεφει επεσντ
(αλοφ επκωρτ Δ.[....]) 5 εμμοφ † σοφτη ριπκολεφ σατ νεφκογκ εβολ ·
ταλο πεφωφει επεσντ ριπκολφ αλοφ επκωρτ † πασωχαρ⁹⁰¹ ηαιαταπρεσ
μεπαλ χιοιρε ηεμπκημε νφοντε · ηρωπεσσογς // μεσρωκεσογς † εφι
τερρην καταγοφα · θενοοφ φελωφωλς τααφ ετβαλαρτ · ηηπνεξ εσιμ //
καν νεξ καιρε // ακητ εμοοφ ριχωπσαρτε · τααφ εγαπαρμιε⁹⁰² · ογωμ
νακ ηπατεκογωμ ογλααφ ηρωξε εκαλω εκογωμ :-⁹⁰³

In the name of God. The remedies for knocking: Take a quarter of dried bdellium, make it soften until it becomes quite soft, take the dregs from it, put it on the fire, put it on the sieve, throw away its rind (pl.) (?),⁹⁰⁴ put what come down on the ground in the sieve, place it on the fire, give *Aiatepres* sugar, tragacanth, gum Arabic, acacia nilotica, *mropessus*, *mesrwkesous*, give five drachmas for each one. Grind them, strain it, and put them in the pot, with radish oil⁹⁰⁵ at least nut oil. Let it thicken on the fire. Put them in a clay pot. Eat it in the evening before you eat anything. If you eat it, you will get well.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰⁰ Author's own translation.

⁹⁰¹ φωχαρ, Arabic *sokar* سكر.

⁹⁰² αλαπαρμιε stands for Arabic *Alpārmih* البُرْنِيَّة. Crum 1909: 56. αλαπαρμιε بُرْنِيَّة means "vessel made from clay".

⁹⁰³ "and eaten fasting in the evening". Crum 1909: 58. It means that the patient must fast before taking the medicine.

⁹⁰⁴ Crum 1939: 100b.

⁹⁰⁵ Or "sesam" according to Crum 1909: 58.

⁹⁰⁶ Author's own translation.

P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 15-26

Ⲫ ⲡⲕⲱⲗⲁⲗ ⲟⲛ ϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲡⲏ[... ⲛ]ⲁⲗⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲟϥ ⲉⲟⲓ ⲧⲣⲉⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲱⲗⲱⲗ ⲉϥⲱⲛⲏⲉ
ⲧⲁⲁϥ ... ⲛⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲟⲟϥ // ϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲛⲟϥⲁⲣⲁⲡⲱ ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲱⲧ
ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲕⲁⲗⲉⲥ // ⲟⲓⲡ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲁⲱⲉ ⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲡⲥ[ⲁⲗⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲟϥⲁⲗϥⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲗ
ⲉⲣⲡⲓ ⲉ[.....]ⲓ ⲛⲧⲟ ⲛⲓⲟϥⲓ ⲗⲓⲛⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲡⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲉϥⲕⲟⲟϥ
ⲗⲓⲧⲑⲏⲧⲉ⁹⁰⁷ ⲧⲉϥϥⲟ ⲡⲕⲉ[.] ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁⲗⲧⲉ ⲗⲓϫⲱⲥ ⲗⲉⲛⲗⲱⲛ ⲉⲉϥⲁ . ⲁ . ⲛ .
ⲕⲟⲧⲉⲛⲏ ⲱⲁ . . . ⲗⲓⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲕⲥⲁⲧ ⲟϥⲗⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲗⲓ. ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲉ
ⲛⲟϥⲕⲟⲟϥⲗⲉ ⲛⲓⲟϥ ⲉϥⲧ . ⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲁ.ⲡⲥ // ⲱⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲕⲥⲡⲟⲧⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲙⲉⲧ
ⲉⲗⲟⲟϥ ⲉϥϥⲱ ⲛⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲕⲥⲓⲧⲉ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥⲱ ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓ ⲧⲉϥⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲛⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲡⲓⲱⲙⲏⲧ
ⲉⲛⲗⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲛ ⲱⲁⲕⲥⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲙⲏⲧ ⲉⲛⲗⲟⲟϥ

The knocking: Take white [pepper (?)], 5 drams, sieve and measured. Give it to you [in a jar (?)] Until you drink it. Take a quarter of pure milk/ *Akhales* Milk- Take half of it, put it on the fire until it gets hot, and then put it away (?). The first ingredient is to be divided (?) into . . .3 parts and one of them added to the milk. Add one of these parts in half, he should drink it with the plate and drink the [...] unheated milk on it [- - -]. Put something (of it) on (?) your heart, like an egg. Take it ... spit it with your lips for the three days. Drink it and spit it out, and take your *hike* daily on the three days, then you will certainly (?) spew on the three days.⁹⁰⁸

SBKopt I 003 recommends white pepper, gum, nut, pistachio, rose apple and honey as a treatment against knocking:

SBKopt I 003, ll. 8-19

Ⲫ ⲉⲧⲑⲉ ⲡⲕⲱⲗⲁⲗ * [...] ⲥⲁⲱⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲕⲉ * [ⲟ]ϥ ⲛⲟϥⲛⲏⲥ ⲗⲁ ⲑ* [...] ⲛⲡⲡⲉⲣ
ⲛⲗⲉ[ϥⲕⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲱⲑⲉ ⲛⲓⲧⲟ! [...] ⲛⲕⲉⲙⲱⲥ ⲱⲙ ** [...] ⲟϥ[ⲛⲟ]ⲥ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲟⲓⲁ ⲱ[...]
ⲛⲓⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲁϥⲱ ⲡ[...]ⲡⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲕⲟϥⲱⲧ ⲱ[...] ⲛⲕⲗⲏϥⲕⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲣ [...]
ⲟϥⲛⲏⲗⲁ ⲛⲟϥⲏⲧⲣ ⲁϥ[...] ⲛⲉⲑⲓⲱ[

⁹⁰⁷ “λεπις, so scale-like plate of metal”. Crum 1905: 45b.

⁹⁰⁸ Author’s own translation.

Against the knocking [- - -] seven of Sesame (?) [- - -] one tablet on [- - -] wh[ite] pepper [- - -] seven of smell [- - -] of gum, 3 (?) [- - -] one [big] nuts [- - -] of pistachio and [- - -] plant pods [- - -] of must ... [- - -] a rose apple [---] (?) – of honey [- - -]⁹⁰⁹

5.17.7 BLOODY SPUTUM

Bloody sputum is mentioned as a disease in some recipes but its causes are not mentioned. Nevertheless, the common phenomenon among the three recipes is that blood flows out of the mouth, which is often evidence of a dysfunction of the upper respiratory tract or food tract.⁹¹⁰ The recipes recommend oral remedies to cure blood sputum. Three recipes are prescribed for treating the bleeding. In order to express the symptoms of the diseases, each recipe uses a different verb to express this phenomenon: $\nu\omicron\gamma\chi$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ (Ch 233) and $\epsilon\iota\tau$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ (Ch 237) literally means to “throw up”, and $\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ (BKU 16) means to “eject”.⁹¹¹

Ch 233

(414) $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\epsilon\varphi\nu\omicron\gamma\chi$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ $\rho\omega\varphi$ $\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ $\&$ $\bar{\beta}$ $\kappa\omicron\gamma\kappa\epsilon$
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\mu}$ ⁹¹² $\&$ $\bar{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ ⁹¹³ (415) $\&$ $\bar{\alpha}$ $\zeta\rho\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}$ $\&$ $\bar{\alpha}$ $\zeta\rho\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\sigma}$
 $\&$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\zeta\iota$ $\epsilon\varphi\omega$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\varphi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}$

(414) Someone who throw up blood by his mouth: Acacia nilotica pod two drachmas, pomegranate rind one drachma, hazelnut (415) one drachma, chicory two drachmas, wild rue one drachma, safflower flower six drachmas; crush them, and mix with honey. He eats according to his strength.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁹ Author's own translation.

⁹¹⁰ Till 1951a: 22.

⁹¹¹ Till 1951a: 22.

⁹¹² $\bar{\nu}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\mu}$, $\zeta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}$, $\kappa\omicron\gamma\kappa\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\bar{\nu}$ Arabic *qeshr al-roman* قشر الرمان, *scala* n° 43, fol. 56, vo, l. 15; n° 44, fol. 81, vo, 2° col. l. 16. Chassinat 1921: 321.

⁹¹³ $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ corresponds to the Greek Κάρυον Ποντικόν *Corylus avellana* L. and Arabic بندق. Chssiant 1921: 321.

⁹¹⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 321.

Ch 237

(420) ογα εφσιτ σνοφ ερραι ξ̄ν ρωφ αρχιθ̄ρ⁹¹⁵ τααφ επιρ̄π̄ι ωαν̄τ̄φλωκ
τοξ̄φ⁹¹⁶ ρ̄ι εφιδ † ναφ τεφουωμ

(420) Someone who coughs up (throw up) blood by his mouth: Tragacanth;
put it into the wine until it softens; mix it with honey; and give him his
food.⁹¹⁷

BKU I 28

ετβε ογα εφταγο σνοφ εβολ ξ̄ν̄ ἡρωφ χ̄ι νσοογξ̄ ν̄τ̄ ωλκκωλσ μ̄ν̄ νογ̄ῑ νσιφε
ν̄φσασ φναλο

For someone who spits blood from his mouth: Take (an) egg and mix it
with a little tar resin. He should drink it. He will be healed.⁹¹⁸

5.18 INTERNAL DISEASES

The recipes prescribed to treat internal diseases deal with the diagnosis and treatment of conditions related to the internal organs, of which the causes were often unclear. The Coptic medical texts preserved some recipes for treating various kinds of internal diseases. Other recipes provide general remedies for the internal diseases in general φωνε εσαξουγν ξ̄ν̄ σινωωνε νιμ.

5.18.1 ρ̄μωμ “Fever, be hot”:

A fever can be a temporary increment in body temperature, often due to sickness. Having a fever may be a sign that something out of the ordinary is going on inside the human body. But in some cases of febrile diseases, it appears it was better to turn to a magician than to a physician. This is the reason why there are very few remedies against fever in Coptic medical prescriptions.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁵ αρχιθ̄ρ̄ is an Arabic loanword *Alkatira* الكثيراء.

⁹¹⁶ τοξ̄, ταξ̄, τωξ̄ “*miscere*”. Chassinat 1921: 323.

⁹¹⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 323, with slight modifications.

⁹¹⁸ Author's own translation.

⁹¹⁹ Till 1951a: 40.

Various Coptic expressions refer to the a fever, the usual one being ϣⲙⲟⲙ, which as a nominalized verb means to “be hot”.⁹²⁰ In P.Sarga 21 the word ϣⲙⲟⲙ is accompanied by two epithets ϣⲁⲃⲉ and ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ. ϣⲁⲃⲉ⁹²¹ meaning “to be swollen” makes no sense here. The word ϣⲟⲃⲉ (qualitative form of ϣⲁⲃⲉ) would be possible as it means “bad, evil”. In addition, ⲟⲉⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ perhaps relates to θέρως “summer” so θέρειον “summery”. If both assumptions are correct, the entire expression would mean “the evil, summer fever”.⁹²² ϣⲙⲟⲙ is cognate with ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲙⲙⲉ (fem.), and reflects the Arabic الحمى in P. Ryl. Copt. 106. The recipe mentions “summer and winter” (perhaps a summer fever) (see 3.1.1):

P.Sarga 21, ll. 5-7

ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲙⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲟⲉⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ ..] ⲁⲓⲟⲉ ϣⲓⲛⲣⲓⲓ ϣⲓⲛⲉⲗ ⲙⲉ ⲛⲓ ⲉϣⲟⲃ

the] fever which (5) the medicaments and wine and olive oil (6). Apply (7) them to it....⁹²³

5.18.2 ⲁⲥⲓⲕ “periodical fever”:⁹²⁴

ⲁⲥⲓⲕ is a term referring to a certain kind of fever, “periodical fever”: to be precise:⁹²⁵

Ch 118

(250) ⲟⲘⲛⲓⲡⲣⲁϢⲤⲖⲞⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲁϢⲓⲕⲏ⁹²⁶ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲗⲓⲟ[ⲁⲗ]ⲕⲘⲣⲞⲛ ⲉ ⲉ ⲡ̄ ⲁⲗⲟϢ ⲉ ⲡ̄ ⲓⲣ̄
ⲡⲓⲧⲏⲛ̄Ϣ ⲉ ⲁϢⲒⲁⲗⲤⲞⲛ ⲉ ⲕ̄ ⲉⲗⲉⲟⲘ ϣⲣⲟ

(250) A plaster for the periodic fever or gout: Litharge hundred obols, salt hundred obols, pine resin sixteen obols, bitumen twenty obols, oil; apply.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁰ Crum 1939: 677a

⁹²¹ Cf. ϣⲁⲃⲉ “swell”. Crum 1939: 610a.

⁹²² Till 1951a: 40.

⁹²³ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 52.

⁹²⁴ Cf. ⲁⲥⲓⲕ “a periodic malady, fever, or ague”. Crum 1939: 18a.

⁹²⁵ It is also treated magically (see 6.6.7)

⁹²⁶ Crum mentioned this example, and it may be a variant spelling of ⲁⲥⲓⲕ. Crum 1939: 18a.

⁹²⁷ My own translation.

In this recipe, ποτακῖ is used with the subsequent strange sign ϩ;⁹²⁸ one could consider it to be the reformation of ποδάγρα “feet gout”.⁹²⁹ This equilibrium, however, cannot be considered certain in regards to the fever. This word appears alongside ακικ, which seems to be a term for “fever” or a certain type of condition associated with a fever.⁹³⁰ A plaster of bleach, salt, spruce, asphalt, and oil is prescribed; this suggests a rheumatic disease.

Another sort of fever called πῤαχ mentioned in P.Ryl. Copt. 104 sect.3, was treated by using the magical plant παρωω εφληκ “moistened rue”:

P.Ryl. Copt. 104 sect.3

πῤαχ σοπ πταπεν θανοφ ριηπαωω εφληκ τσοφ ριηρ εσομ εωομητ
ερωοφ φαφλο.

The fever. Take the cummin; pound it with moistened rue; soak it with
for three days. He will cease.⁹³¹

5.18.3 χογφ “burning, ardour”.⁹³²

χογφ literary means “burning, ardour”,⁹³³ and may refer to the overheating as a result of inflammation and the like. The medical recipe Ch 138 listed χογφ together with other diseases such as trachoma, nails, vesicular rash, and swellings, and recommended an ointment consists of: Gum ammoniac, alum shale, gum, to be mixed with water (see 5.6.22).

5.18.4 φενεωαγ “Swine disease”:

φενεωαγ means literally “swine disease” and probably refers to the scrofula:⁹³⁴

Ch 223

⁹²⁸ Chassinat, couldn’t translate it and he said that: “The meaning of these two words escape me, and that of the sign that accompanies them.” Chassinat 1921: 240.

⁹²⁹ Till 1951a: 29.

⁹³⁰ Till 1951a: 41.

⁹³¹ Translation adapted from Crum 1909: 54.

⁹³² Crum 1939: 796a.

⁹³³ Crum 1939: 796a.

⁹³⁴ Till 1951a: 40.

(401) ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΕΝΩΔΥ ΚΙΚΙΣ , ΧΙΘΙΡ̄ , ΖΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΟΣ ΖΡΙΝΟϞ
Τ
ΘΝΟΥΥ † ΕΡΟΥΥ Ν̄ΖΥΡΟΝ

(401) A remedy for *Šénéšau*: Castor, tragacanth, royal salt, chicory; crush them; apply in powder.⁹³⁵

5.18.5 ογα ν̄ταγ† ογαποτ ν̄φαρμαγια “An emetic remedy”:

If someone is given a mug of poison (φαρμακεία), it is usually an emetic, such as beer as it was easily accessible:

Ch 229

(408) ογα ν̄ταγ† ογαποτ ν̄φαρμαγια ναϞ ςΘΩ⁹³⁶ ν̄χδχ ν̄βηνε
ΤΣΟΥ ΖΙ ΖΕΝΚΕ ΦΗΑΚΑΒΟΛ Ν̄ΠΖΙΚ

(408) Someone who was given a cup of poison: Let him drink dung to swallow with beer; he shall vomit the magic (the poison).⁹³⁷

5.18.6 General internal diseases

There are two recipes that mention internal diseases in general without further clarification.⁹³⁸ The first is Ch 234, which states ογα εϞΩΩΝΕ ΕΠΕϞΑΖΟΥΝ Ζ̄Ν ΣΙΝΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ “someone who suffers from any illness in his inner parts”:

Ch 234

⁹³⁵ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 316.

⁹³⁶ ςΘΩ, ςδϞ. Chassinat 1921: 319.

⁹³⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 319.

⁹³⁸ Till 1951a: 41.

(416) ογα ερωδνε επεφσαρογν⁹³⁹ ε̄ν σινωδνε νιμ σμηρνης ϑ̄ δ̄ αραβικον
 ϑ̄ ε̄ κακιας (*sic*) ϑ̄ δ̄ (417) κογστ̄ ϑ̄ δ̄ ηθα χ̄δ̄ ν̄αγρ̄ ϑ̄ ῥ̄ θνοογ ογοωμογ
 εφιδ † ναγ ρι μοογ εφρημ ©

(416) Someone who suffers from any ailment in his inner parts (i.e. internal diseases): Myrrh one drachma, gum Arabic five drachmas, acacia four drachmas, (417) costus one drachma, wild rue four drachmas; crush them; knead them with honey; apply to him (the patient) with warm water.⁹⁴⁰

The second recipe is P. Ryl. Copt. 106, ll. 30-64, which contains many complicated drugs used to clean the mouth of the heart, i.e. stomach. Additionally, it recommends a remedy called “very good garlic drug”, which must be taken in the morning on an empty stomach over a period of some time.

5.19 GENERAL RECIPES

Many cases do not mention the precise purpose of the prescription, the diseases or the complaints for which the prescriptions should be used. These prescriptions have been used to treat common diseases, and a few of them were effective in treating all diseases, as the physician indicates in the prescription. The medical recipe Ch 15 recommends a plaster for treating any wounds, and also for any disease as mentioned below:

Ch 15

(36) ογ̄ν̄πραστρον εφασβωκ ερωδνε νιμ μ[.....] λαμχετ ν̄ξ̄ δ̄ς
 σφ̄μοσο⁹⁴¹ ϑ̄ δ̄ς σφ̄ μοσο ϑ̄ δ̄ς (37) χαρβανε ϑ̄ β̄ παστογ καλωσ
 φαν[τεγρ̄ν]ριστα † επληγη νιμ φασκερ̄κωρ̄ς

⁹³⁹ Cf. ρογν “inward parts”. Crum 1939: 686b.

⁹⁴⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 322, with slight modifications.

⁹⁴¹ σφ̄μοσο=ωτ̄ ἵλιλ (ριφ). Chassinat 1921: 103.

(36) A plaster which is used for any disease dry pitch, pork fat ½ ounce (37) galbanum two obols; cook them well unt[il they thi]cken; apply to any wound, it will disappear.⁹⁴²

Recipe (Ch 41) offers a powder for treating every type of eye diseases. It is considered to be a significant and extraordinary powder that can treat all widespread and varied eye diseases. There are many remedies used to treat eye diseases, but this prescription provides a remedy with only one form of treatment “powder” and describes it as “good” ενανοϋϣ. This indicates that it was used to treat various eye diseases, and this is evidence of the efficacy of this treatment:

Ch 41

(76) οϣζϣρον ενανοϋϣ εϱωϱνε νιμ ετῚν̄ νβαλ κρογοϣ ϩ̄ ϣ̄
 μαῖρηματινι ϩ̄ ᾱϣ̄ ϣωρελ αγλαν⁹⁴³ (77) ϩ̄ ᾱ ακακια ϩ̄ ᾱ ζϣρ ϩ̄ ᾱ ϣαρπι ϩ̄
 ᾱ ακϣλιϣ ϩ̄ ᾱ ϣιϱε νῆϣλαϣ· ϩ̄ ≡ Ηϣολαϣ≡ ϩ̄ ϣ̄ ααγ νζϣρ· ϣρ εϱωϱνε νιμ

(76) A good powder for all eye diseases: saffron ½ drachma *mahrématini* a drachma ½, kohl Khulan (Lycium) (77) one drachma, acacia one drachma, myrrh one drachma, aloes one drachma, opium one drachma, dried bull gall ½ drachma; make them powder; (and) use for all diseases.⁹⁴⁴

Another recipe Ch 93 (5.6.21) prescribes a significant remedy for treating various diseases such as eye and body swelling, painful limbs, gout, general wounds, and knee pain caused by joint stiffness due to bone fusion:

In cases of pain, most recipes refer directly to the organ un question. On the other hand, some recipes are prescribed for pain in general, such as Ch 115 which prescribes a plaster against any pain, consisting of spruce resin, green pepper, veal mark, pig fat and vinegar, to be used to treat any pain. Also, a far simpler remedy is offered in Ch 213, for someone to put the dung of the sparrow in a piece of wool and place it on the painful body; moreover, P.Louvre AF 12530 recommends a hot drinking remedy for every type of sickness:

⁹⁴² English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 103.

⁹⁴³ ϣωρελ αγλαν, كحل خولان. It is clear that ϣωρελ is an Arabic name كحل, and αγλαν refers to the Arabic خولان after replacement of ح for خ as it was appeared in Ch 87 (here p. 86). كحل خولان و هو الخضض. it is appeared in Ibn Al-Baitar: 78.

⁹⁴⁴ My English translation adapted from the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 147.

ἡν ποπιον καλωσ † πεσεπε επιμοου (219) φαντογρωκ ταροϋ ἡν
νεϋερηϋ ραϋ ἡν χρω

(215) [A good astringent collyrium] that is called the master physician.
(216) it is used for all the old and recent fluxions: Safran six drachmas,
cadmia twenty-four drachmas, copper four drachmas, (217) opium six
drachmas, tragacanth a half drachma, myrrh six drachmas, acacia twenty-
four drachmas, gum nine drachmas; (218) crush the copper, cadmia and
opium good; put the rest in water (219) until they are softened; mix them;
make them a collyrium; apply.⁹⁵³

Ch 221

(398) οϋκολλιον ερηπ ερωμμη οϋστα†κον τε εσρωαϋ ενε[ρ]ρεϋμα
ἡν †αθησις (399) τηρσ ἡνβαλ κατμιας ρ σμηρνης ρ κροκος ρ οπιου
‡ Δ. επογα κομεος ‡ ἡβ (400) ρκκιας ‡ ἡβ θνοου ραϋ ἡν χρω ©

(398) A collyrium estimated for (its) strength: it is an astringent useful
for fluxions and any disease state (399) of the eyes: Cadmia, myrrh,
saffron, opium, four drachmas of each, gum twelve drachmas, (400)
acacia twelve drachmas; crush them; make them a collyrium; apply.⁹⁵⁴

P.Louvre AF 12530, recipe no. 16, ll. 79-86, is used to treat παηρ “air” and every type of illness (see 5.6.26).

⁹⁵³ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 225.

⁹⁵⁴ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 315.

5.20 SURGICAL PROCEDURES

Contrary to ancient Egyptian medicine, surgical instruments and operations are described in a very limited extent. The surgical procedures were scantily mentioned throughout Coptic medical texts, the sole mention of surgical operation is in Chassinat papyrus, which mentioned two recipes of surgical procedures for removing a molar tooth by placing a herb has extraction and calming properties called hellebore and gall Ch 151 “A tooth to be removed without pincers or iron: hellebore of good quality and gall; apply on the part of the cheek where is the molar, that you want to extract, you will be amazed!”, this recipe pertained hellebore ερεβορογ from the Greek ἐλλέβορος⁹⁵⁵ ψανθος خريق in the scala Bohairic.⁹⁵⁶ The Greek and Arab physicians distinguished two types of the hellebore the white and black. The calming effect of hellebore on the teeth is reported by both Greek and Arab medicine, Pliny (XXV, 21, 5) mentions the narcotic properties of the two species of hellebore. Also, Oribase recommends the application of a mouthwash composed of black hllébore and vinegar against dental pain. Oribase indicates some other preparations that were used to extract teeth painlessly. Ibn Sina mentioned that it is used as strong purgatives and emetics, and when it is cooked with vinegar it is useful for painful ears and tooth, obsessive and epilepsy.⁹⁵⁷ This plant has a multiple utilization, in the Hippocratic writings drinking the hellebore reduce spleen growth,⁹⁵⁸ according to Hippocrates, it is used in treating the fluid of the brain, pain in the muscle of the skull, and pain in the eye cavity,⁹⁵⁹ its properties as extraction and luxation,⁹⁶⁰ the black hellebore used for removing the nose tumor.⁹⁶¹ According to Dioscorides IV, it used for madness, for menstruation and abortion. Also, it is recommended for removing the hard fistula in two or

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. ἐλλέβορος “hellebore”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 535b

⁹⁵⁶ Kircher 1643: 184.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibn Al-Baitar, II, 523

⁹⁵⁸ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Affection 20, 35.

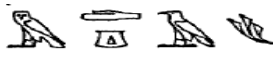
⁹⁵⁹ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Diseases II 15, 218.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibn Al-Baitar, II, 322

⁹⁶¹ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Diseases II 33, 249.

three days according to Gallienus II.⁹⁶² The roots of the white hellebore mixed with honey or to be mixed with lentils doctrine⁹⁶³ to treat the diseased lung,⁹⁶⁴ it benefits in treating the swelling of diaphragm.⁹⁶⁵

The second recipe of extracting tooth without instrument is Ch 184: “Tooth or molar to remove without the iron: decoction of the plant called malabathrum, the water of Nilotica acacia leaves, part of cantharide, mouse citrus milk, wild rue; rub them well; put on the root of the molar or tooth; leave a moment; then take the tooth between the finger and the thumb; it will leave quickly.” Here the recipe adopted a plant named ΝΤΗΘ, ΕΝΤΗΘ “plant, herb, weed”,⁹⁶⁶ Greek: ζιζάνια, Arabic: زوان, *Lolium temulentum* L. From the

ancient Egyptian  *m-dg³ > ndg³*.⁹⁶⁷ It has been mentioned in the Scala Bohairic two times as ΠΙΚΟΥΚΛΟΣ and ΝΙΕΝΤΗΧ الزوان.⁹⁶⁸ It was growing with wheat, and it has extraction power, it mixed with radish peels and salt in from of poultice for removing the malignant sores, it is very powerful, and can open the tumors, according to Dioscorides II. If it is baked it becomes soporific and hypnotic drug, as stated in Ibn Sina: 99. It is used as sedative and hypnotic medicament before the surgical operations.⁹⁶⁹ This plant mentioned many times in literature texts Matthew 13:25, 13:26, 13:30, 13:36, 13:38, 13:40; Jeremiah 27:24. Another medical recipe P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro “a recipe for tearing eyes” stated that it is called *cardamon* and in the Egyptian tongue named *Shife*: ΟΥΕΝΤΗΘ ΔΕΚΑΡΤΑΜΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΜΕΚΗΜΕ ΔΕΠΩΙΦΕ ΕΡΩΦΗΝ ΕΡΗΤ ΖΗΠΑΝΤΟΥ Ν[Θ]Ε ΝΟΥΒΩ ΝΕΡΜΑΝ ΕΡΕΝΕΦΩΒΕ // ΟΥΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΕΝΣΑΦ ΕΚΑΓΙΩ ΠΕΦΩΕ ΕΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΑΓΕΡΜΑΝ “a herb named cardamom, in the Egyptian tongue *shife* which is a tree that grows in mountain regions like a pomegranate tree, its leaves being somewhat long like its wood is like that of the pomegranate”.⁹⁷⁰ In addition, this recipe used the Nilotica acacia, which considered a cooling and its leaves used as anitmutagenic, anti-bacterial, and anti-inflammatory.⁹⁷¹ It seems that the Coptic doctors preferred this wonderful technique more than the painful operations with the pliers since there is no evidence of any teeth operative treatment in any Mummies of the Pharaonic period.

Monastic medicine, as verified in Shenoute’s were pointed out that minor surgery was regularly performed, predominantly by virtue of the monks and doctors such as thorns removing, wounds, and bleedings cauterized.

Furthermore, complicated surgical procedures had been achieved in the monastics community and the surgery procedures which had been done in some of the monastic texts indicate that monasteries presented

⁹⁶² Ibn Al-Baitar,II, 322

⁹⁶³ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Diseases II 51, 287.

⁹⁶⁴ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Diseases II 48, 277–279.

⁹⁶⁵ Hippocrates, Vol. V, Diseases II 72, 327.

⁹⁶⁶ Crum 1939: 233a.

⁹⁶⁷ Westendorf 1977: 129.

⁹⁶⁸ Kircher 1643: 197.

⁹⁶⁹ Zenl& Abbas 2016: 274.

⁹⁷⁰ (see section 5.6.2.3)

⁹⁷¹ Ali et al. 2012: 1493.

“They came to circumcise the child”.⁹⁷⁵

Matthew 19:12

ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΑΑΥ ΝCΙΟΥΡ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ

“Those who make themselves eunuchs”.⁹⁷⁶

Acts 7:8

ΑΥΩ ΑΦ† ΝΑΦ ΝΟΥΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝCΒΒΕ. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΠΕΙCΑΑΚ. ΑΦCΒΒΗΤΩ ΖΗΠΜΕΖΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΖΟΟΥ. ΙCΑΚ ΔΕ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ. ΙΑΚΩΒ ΔΕ ΝΠΗΝΤCΝΟΟΥC ΝΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC.

“And he gave him the covenant of circumcision. And so Abraham became the father of Isaac, and circumcised him on the eighth day, and Isaac became the father of Jacob, and Jacob of the twelve patriarchs.”⁹⁷⁷

Rom. 2:25

ΠCΒΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΡΠΝΟΜΟC. ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΚΟΥΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗC ΝΤΕΠΝΟΜΟC ΑΠΕΚCΒΒΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΗΝΤΑΤCΒΒΕ.

“For circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law, but if you break the law, your circumcision becomes uncircumcision.”⁹⁷⁸

Romans 2:26

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΡΩΑΝΤΗΝΤΑΤCΒΒΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC. ΕΝCΕΝΔΕΠΤΕΦΗΝΤΑΤCΒΒΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥCΒΒΕ.

“So, if a man who is keeps the precepts of the law, will not his uncircumcision be regarded as circumcision?”⁹⁷⁹

Romans 2:27

⁹⁷⁵ STEP Bible. [<https://stepbible.org/?q=version=ESV|reference=Gen.1|reference=John.7.22&options=VHNUG>], (last accessed: 13.10.2019).

⁹⁷⁶ Kolta 1984: 164.

⁹⁷⁷ Bible Hub. [<https://biblehub.com/acts/7-8.htm>], ((last accessed: 05.04.2020)

⁹⁷⁸ STEP Bible. [<https://stepbible.org/?q=version=ESV|reference=Rom.2.25&options=HVNUG>], (last accessed: 13.10.2019).

⁹⁷⁹ STEP Bible. [<https://stepbible.org/?q=version=ESV|reference=Rom.4.10|reference=Rom.2.26&options=HVNUG>], (last accessed: 13.10.2019).

“But a Jew is one inwardly, and circumcision is a matter of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the letter. His praise is not from man but from God.”⁹⁸⁴

Colossians 2:11

ΠΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΥCΒΒΕΤΗΥΤἸ ἸΖΗΤῸ ἸΝΟΥCΒΒΕ ΔΧἸΓΙΧ ἸΜΠΚΩΚΑΖΗΥ ΜΠCΩΜΔ ἸΤCΑΡΞ ἸΜΠCΒΒΕ ΜΠΕΧC.

“In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ.”⁹⁸⁵

Philippians 3:30

ΔΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ CΒΒΕ ἸΝΕΤΩΜΩΕ ἸΜΠΕΠἸΔ ἸΠΠΟΥΓΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΕΤΩΟΥΩΟΥ ἸΜΟΟΥ ἸΜΠΕΧC ἸC.
ΔΥΩ ἸΤἸΚΩ ἸΖΤΗΝ ΔΝ ΕΤCΑΡΞ.

“For we are the circumcision who worship by the Spirit of God and glory in Christ Jesus and put no confidence in the flesh.”⁹⁸⁶

5.20.1 SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

There is an evidence of using surgical instruments from the post-Pharaonic period in Ange-Pierre Leca and Dawson. These instruments can be dated approximately to the Sixth and Twelfth centuries. They might have been used for surgery operations, particularly for ophthalmological surgery. The contents of the box are: a strong center of wood, an octagonal in the segment. Every single box’s face it is divided into subsections and parts that include tools and small drug packages.

The items were held in place with slipping wood panels, precisely placed in grooves (figure 9). A locker-bar was carried across the middle of the interior part by a transverse groove that kept these two side panels

⁹⁸⁴ STEP Bible. [<https://stepbible.org/?q=version=ESV|reference=Rom.2.29&options=HVNUG>], (last accessed: 13.10.2019).

⁹⁸⁵ STEP Bible. [<https://stepbible.org/?q=version=ESV|reference=Rom.2.29|reference=Col.2.11&options=HVNUG>], (last accessed: 13.10.2019).

⁹⁸⁶ Biblehub. [<https://biblehub.com/philippians/3-3.htm>].

in place, was pressed in to hold them, and stretched out to set them free. Another evidence Heid. Äg. Slg. Inv.-Nr. 491 from Qarara (Ezbet Karara) various forceps which could be used for pulling out the thorns (figure 10).⁹⁸⁷

The use of surgical instruments in the post-Pharaonic period appeared in the texts as $\varsigma\omicron\tau\beta\upsilon$ $\eta\tau\mu\eta\eta\tau\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ or $\eta\varsigma\omicron\tau\beta\upsilon$ $\eta\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ which mean medical instruments or physician instruments.⁹⁸⁸

In another text, the use of the $\tau\omicron\kappa$ “knife or razor” is also has been reported $\pi\alpha\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$... $\omega\omega\omega\tau$... $\zeta\eta\mu$ $\eta\tau\tau\omicron\kappa$ “The doctor ... cuts with the knife”.⁹⁸⁹ Another passage reported that the wound was cutting with the $\pi\theta\omicron\kappa$ “knife”.⁹⁹⁰

5.21 ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

Anatomy is the study of body parts and organs. Physiology is a science concerned with the function of body parts. The available sources prove the modest anatomy knowledge, corresponding texts as they are demonstrated by the ancient Egyptians Papyrus Ebres 854 and are not available from the Coptic medical sources. However, the presence of the major internal organ systems of the body organs in Coptic medical texts throw light on their understanding of the body structure, location, and function of these organs. Some prescriptions provided an anatomical perception of certain organs of the human body. It could be beneficial to summarize the names of the main internal organs mentioned in Coptic medical texts.

The brain was known by two words used interchangeably in medical prescriptions $\alpha\eta\kappa\epsilon\phi\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\eta\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ “contents of the head (i.e. brain)” in P.Ryl.Copt. 107. It corresponds to the Arabic word *Al-Moukh* $\alpha\lambda\mu\chi$.

The lung was known by $\pi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\omega\eta$, $\pi\eta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\omega\eta$ in P. CARLSBERG 500, folio C ro, ll. 8-11: $\mu\epsilon\eta$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\pi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\omega\eta$ $\pi\alpha\varsigma\tau\upsilon$ $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu\eta$ “and when someone is sick in his lungs, cook it, and let him eat it”.

The heart is known by $\zeta\eta\tau$ in medical texts and the word $\zeta\eta\tau$ “heart” appeared only in two recipes and refer to a heart condition. The first medical recipe preserve a heart condition symptom called $\pi\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\zeta$. Although the recipes did not mention that this symptom is related to the heart, P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 15-26 (see 5.17.6) prescribed a remedy against knocking and recommended to “put something (of it) on (?) your heart, like an egg”. The second recipe preserve a heart symptom called “A heart that is like a whirlpool”:

⁹⁸⁷ Bárány, Müller and Willer 2011: 24

⁹⁸⁸ MSS an der Bibliothéque nationale. Paris. Crum’s copies: 44; 94. Kolta 1984: 164.

⁹⁸⁹ The opening of the wound has already been described in pharaohs at the time of the treatment of snake bites, as in the Brooklyn papyrus. Behlmer 1996: 280.

⁹⁹⁰ Devis 1922: 1. 148.

The liver was known by *ζηπαρ*, and the main complaints that related to it were “sick liver”, “burning outside”, “knocking” O.Mon.Epiph. 575 (5.7); P. CARLSBERG 500, folio D ro, ll. 10-14 (see 8.3). In addition, jaundice is a symptom of a liver condition and the medical recipe Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 28 (see 5.16.19), and Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 42 (see 5.9) prescribed for jaundice, the first recommended an oral remedy and the second recommended an ointment. I have discussed these conditions in details see (5.9 Liver disorders).

The kidneys were known by *σλοοτε* (pl.), the medical recipe Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 28 listed kidneys with liver and other skin diseases, and recommended an oral remedy to treat these disorders (see 5.16.19). It is worth mentioning that the important organ found in this formula namely the “kidney” didn’t found in ancient Egyptian sources.⁹⁹⁴

The stomach was known by *στομαχος, στόμαχος*, I have discussed every stomach conditions in section (5.7). The stomach was known also by the compound words: *προ ηπεκζητ* “the mouth of the heart” in P. Ryl. Copt. 106, ll. 61.

Intestines were known by *μαζτ*, and the medical recipe Ch 75 mentioned a specific type which is: *πνοσ νμαζτ* “the great intestines”, which was known also by *μεζτο/ω* in (Ch 224 and Ch 225) (see 5.8).

Physiology

No data are available about any physiology book in Coptic medical texts. The Coptic medical texts indicate that there was simple information about physiology. The Coptic medicine lose the description of the heart, the pulse, or the vascular system. The causation of many diseases (pragmatism) was not clear in the medical texts, the cause must have been unknown, and classical symptoms of infection are pain, swelling, and fever. In Ch 216 and Ch 232 there is a remedy for infected wound *επλγηη νηη ετ.χοξ̄μ*. Another recipe O.Mon.Epiph. 575 mentioned that the sick liver which especially knocks, that the patient cannot sleep. They were aware of the human digestive system, so they invented many remedies and laxatives for constipation Ch 74 and P.Mich. 593b. Moreover, they aware of the urinary problems and bladder dysfunction caused by urine sand, and they found remedies to remove these sands from the bladder.

⁹⁹⁴ Kolta 1984: 161–162.

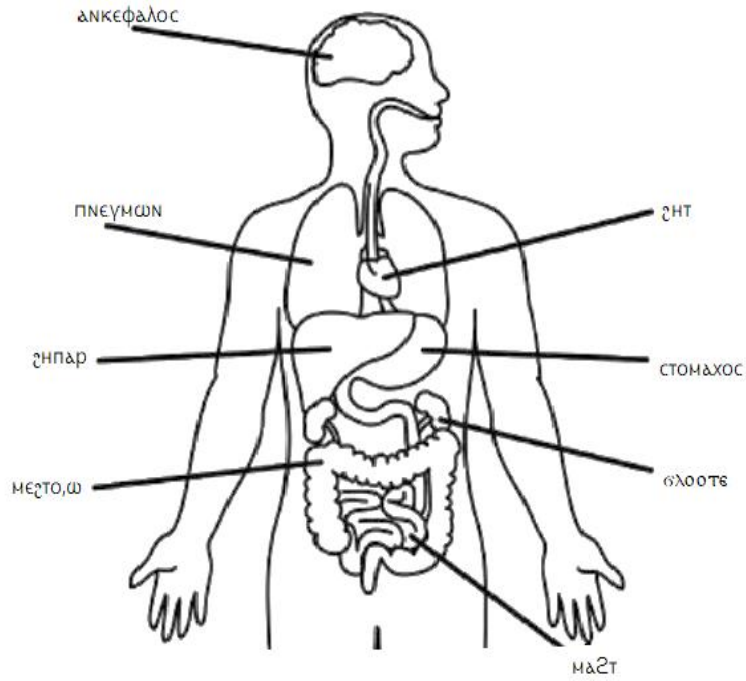


Figure 7. Internal organs of human body

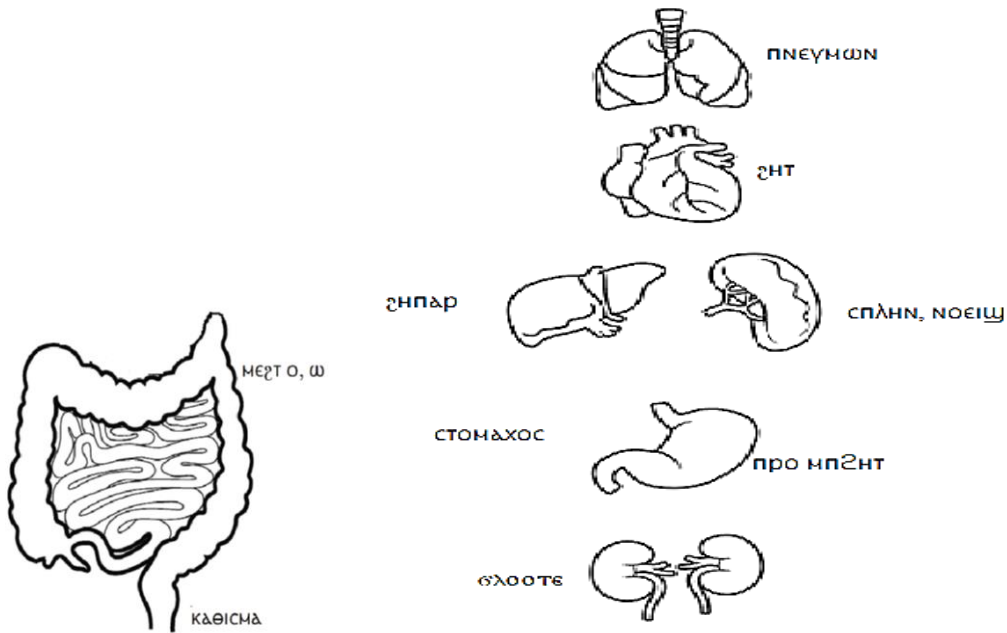


Figure 8. Anatomical organs

Table 5. Diseases of the internal organs

ANATOMIAL DESTINATION	ORGAN DISEASE IN MEDICAL RECIPES	TRANSLATION	REFERENCE
BRAIN	ογανκεφολος εφτκασ	Brain that is painful.	P.Ryl.Copt. 107
LUNG	εωωπε ογνογα φωνε επεφπνεγμων	When someone is sick in his lungs.	P. CARLSBERG 500, folio C ro, ll. 8-11
HEART	κσατ ογλααγ ερραι ρι. ηεκηητ ηθε νογσοογρε	Put something (of it) on (?) your heart, like an egg.	P.Ryl.Copt. 106, ll. 15-26
	† ογρηητ εφοηβερω	† A heart that is like a whirlpool	O Bachit 1170+1172
SPLEEN	ογπαρρε εωαφθεραπεγε ηνετωωνε επεγνοειω	A remedy to treat those who suffer from the spleen.	Ch 65, l. 125
	ετβεογρωμε ερεπεφνοϊω φωνε	For someone whose spleen is diseased.	P. CARLSBERG 500, folio D ro, ll. 1-2
	προς ςπληηη δοκιμον εμπλαςτροη	For (a disorder of the) spleen: a proved plaster.	P.Mich. MS 136, l. 34
	ετβε ογρωμε ειφνοειω φωνε	For a man whose spleen is diseased.	P.Mich. 593a, ll. 15-18

LIVER	ετβε πρηνπαρ ετφωνε ητερεφβολ χηφ	For the sick liver, which is burning outside.	O.Mon.Epiph. 575
	ετβεγρηπαρ εφωνε ογλοι[ζε ρηπμοογ πτ[ειβοτανη ριεφιω μαρεφω.	For a sick liver, excrement in the juice of this plant, with honey. Let him drink.	P. CARLSBERG 500, folio D ro, ll. 10-14
KIDNEYS	ετβε φωνε ηημ πωβαρ ηη ηρωκε ηη πρηπαρ ηη πωηικτεροσ αγω νεσλοοτε	For all diseases, the leprosy, itching, the liver, jaundice, and kidneys.	Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 28
STOMACH	ετβε φωνε ηημ ετξ̄η̄ πεστομαχοσ ογστομαχοσ ηταφωσε.	For all diseases that is in the stomach. Stomach that leaps.	Ch 68, l. 134
	ογστομαχοσ εφτεμτωμ ητηγ ερε τεφλο ηβε	Stomach heavy with gas, so that it stops blowing.	Ch 69, l. 135
	ογστομαχοσ (sic) εφνογχ σαω εφκηη ερραι ε̄ε εφωβε ηηηη ηημ	Stomach that produces/throw up black bile or is swollen in any way.	Ch 70 l. 137
	ογστομαχοσ εφτκκασ	Stomach that have pain.	Ch 71
INTESTINES	ογτωσ ετβε πποσ ημαξ̄τ̄ σμηρηησ	A potion to the large intestine.	Ch 75, l. 150
	ογα ερε πεφμερτο φωνε	Someone whose great intestines is sick.	Ch 224, l. 402
	[ε]τβε ογα εφωνε επεφσα ηρωγ̄η̄ εφηαηεχ σποφ ερραῑ	Concerning someone who is sick in his inward parts, (and) casting up blood.	O.Mon.Epiph. 574

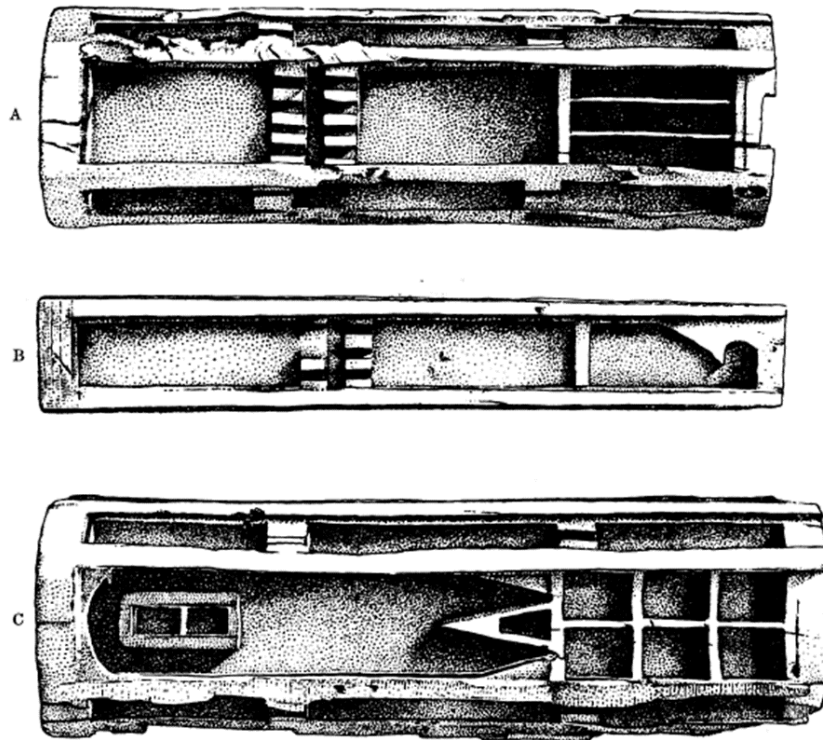


Figure 9. A COPTIC SURGICAL INSTRUMENT CASE.

(After Dawson 1923: 57).



Figure 10. Heid. Äg. Slg. Inv.-Nr. 491. Tweezers, from Qarara.

(After Bárány, Müller and Willer 2011: 24).

6. MAGIC AND MEDICINE IN COPTIC SOURCES

6.1 ETIOLOGY AND THERAPY

The use of magic for medicinal purposes has a long tradition since the beginning of the Pharaonic period. The Edwin Smith papyrus, dated ca. 1550 BC,⁹⁹⁵ is one of the oldest documents of medical treatment (especially concerning surgical purposes), and is considered the most systematic and scientific medical papyrus. There is only one spell within its medical prescriptions.⁹⁹⁶ Widespread beliefs among ancient Egyptians consider evil deities and demons to be responsible for conjuring up diseases. Usually, evil persons invoked these deities in order to bring the illness and disaster to the adversary.⁹⁹⁷ Similarly, in post-Pharaonic period pagans and Christians believed that illness was a punishment from a god or the retaliation of an evil spirit. According to this belief, if the cause of the disease was thought to be supernatural, it was also reasonable to look to the supernatural for its cure when traditional medical practice proved powerless. Thus, the incantations were directed to disease-demons, summoning them to leave the victim's body.⁹⁹⁸ Horstmanshoff and Stol argue that not only people but also divine beings, due to their supernatural power, utilised magic to dispose of disarray and those deities responsible for bringing and also repelling the diseases.⁹⁹⁹ In particular, the lioness-headed goddess Sekhmet, was capable of causing lethal sicknesses, which healed only with the help of one of her priests. The Sekhmet priest held the role of the physician in terms of treating diseases but, in this case, he used magic. Nevertheless, in certain cases the magic performed by the Sekhmet priest had to be combined with medicine in order to repel diseases. Papyrus Ebers (No. 3) states that "The magic is effective with the remedy; the remedy is effective together with the magic".¹⁰⁰⁰ The same concept is transmitted into the Coptic texts in Byzantine Egypt which testify to a similar interweaving of magical and medical treatments, but instead of depending on the goddess *Sekhmet*, people relied on prayers that invoked God and his power to provide healing.¹⁰⁰¹

Kropp argues that the Coptic magical texts of healing are closely related to its medical counterpart since their users lacked obvious exegesis about etiology and the therapy of the diseases affecting them. It seems

⁹⁹⁵ Nunn 1996: 25.

⁹⁹⁶ Nunn 1996: 96. An alternative interpretation identifies eight spells (against air contaminated by infection, fever, mental breakdown, a swallowed fly, and diseases caused by demons). Strouhal, Vachala, Vymazalová 2014:23.

⁹⁹⁷ Magic can be divided into two categories: The first: that which is used for beneficial purposes such as protecting, love, healing, business; the second: that which is used to reinforce the outrageous acts and artifices, cause disasters, and to bring the diseases to those who went against them.

⁹⁹⁸ Nunn 1996: 96.

⁹⁹⁹ Horstmanshoff and Stol 2004: 134.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Schenke 2002: 101.

¹⁰⁰¹ Schenke 2002: 101.

that the sick people sought the cause of a disease (somatic etiology) because they needed the correct medical remedies (prescription therapy). Also, they believed that the cause of the body affliction may have been due to the interference of gods, ghosts, and demons (demonic etiology). In this case, instead of the useless medical treatment, the magical therapy would have to take place. And in many cases, they linked the two ways to achieve the desired result.¹⁰⁰² Certainly, if the disease was thought to be caused by a hidden power or witchcraft, it was also reasonable to use supernatural ways to treat it. This thought was even more applicable in treating mental and internal diseases,¹⁰⁰³ as the reasons of these diseases were not so clear, dissimilar to the external, visible diseases treated with medicine. The supernatural ways appeared in invoking specific deities, or in reciting incantations to drive out the demons by using magical characters and signs.¹⁰⁰⁴

Moreover, a segment of people believed that the diseases were a punishment for human misconduct. This concept is clear in the private letter O.Vind.Copt. 261, l. 4–10,¹⁰⁰⁵ which states:

O.Vind.Copt. 261, l. 4–10

ΕΤΡΕΚΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΝΕΖ ΝΩΛΗΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΘΥΙΑΣΤΗΡ/ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΥΩ
 ΝΓΤΒΖ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΡΕΥΠΑΖΤΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΪ ΝCΕΤΒΖ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΧΝ
 ΤΑΜΝΤΡΕΦΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΟΝ †ΖΟΡΩ ΕΜΑΤΕ †ΩΩΝΕ ΔΕ ΧΝΝ CΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΥΙC
 ΝΑΘΩΡ

That you may send a little prayer oil from the altar of the saints and pray to the holy brethren, that they may prostrate themselves before me (and) pray to God for my sinfulness, for I am in a very bad condition. Since the 29th Hathor I am sick.¹⁰⁰⁶

Here we can see that the sick person has connected his illness with his sins, thus his relationship with the God.¹⁰⁰⁷ Magical texts in many cases invoked God and contained prayers in religious terms, and some

¹⁰⁰² Kropp 1930: 3.174.

¹⁰⁰³ For example: BKU 26, ll. 25–28; Michigan 136, ll. 169–175.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Nunn 1996: 96.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ostrakon, 9.5 x 13 cm, dates to the 7th cent. CE. Till 1960: 64.

¹⁰⁰⁶ My English translation, adapted from the German translation by Till 1960: 64.

¹⁰⁰⁷ This sentiment is reflected explicitly in the New Testament, for example, in James 5:13–16, where prayer for an ill person was often recommended as a way to recovery. James 5:13–16: “Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. Is anyone cheerful? Let him sing praise. Is anyone among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith will save the one who is sick, and the Lord will raise him up. And if he has committed sins, he will be forgiven. Therefore, confess your sins to one another and pray for one another that you may be healed. The prayer of a righteous person has great power as it is working.”

magic texts contained quotations from the Bible, Psalms, and the Gospels. The same belief was applied to the illness of innocent children, as their illness was seen as a punishment for their parent's wrongdoing. The so-called children's donation documents show that the disease of their child was regarded as a punishment for their own sins. According to these documents, children were handed over to a monastery by their parents in gratitude for their recovery, as shown in P.KRU 80, l. 12–21.¹⁰⁰⁸

P.KRU 80, l. 12–21

28 ΠΤΡΕΠΝΑΗΤ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΣΕΧΠΟ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΑΒΡΑΑΗ ΑΡΙ
 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΑΩΔΑΙ ΝΝΑΔΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΑΙΑΔΥ ΔΙΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΑΔΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΤΟΠΟΣ ΖΑ
 ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΥΥΧΗ ΔΙΖΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΦΩΔΑΝΩΝΖ ΩΑΙΤΑΔΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΠΑΠΑ ΦΙΒΑΜΩΝ †ΝΑΤΑΜΩΤΗΝ ΕΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΤΖΗΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΖΗ ΠΤΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΖΑΝΕ ΜΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ
 ΔΙΟΥΩΩ ΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΠΕΡΗΤ ΝΤΑΙΣΗΝΤΥ ΜΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ
 ΕΤΜΤΑΔΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΠΟΠ[ΟΣ] ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΙΕΡΗΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΗΝΣΩΣ
 ΑΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΣ ΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΦΖΟΡΩ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΔΦΕΙ ΕΠΜΟΥ ΝΖΑΖ
 ΝΣΟΠ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΦΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΩΑΦΜΟΥ ΔΙΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΗ
 ΤΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΙΑΔΣ ΑΙΤΑΛΟ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΗ ΔΙΧΙΤΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΝΑΥ ΝΣΟΠ

When my dear son Abraham was born to me on the order of the merciful God, I remembered the multitude of sins I had committed. I loved to give him (the son) to a monastery for the peace of my soul. I determined that if he remained alive, I would give him to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. When God let this boy grow up, I wanted to break the vow made to God and to his saint, and not give him to the holy Monastery to which I had promised him. Then the boy began to suffer from a great, very difficult illness. Often he came almost to death. Anyone who saw him thought he was going to die. I remembered the sins and the transgression I had committed. I took the boy and took him to the holy monastery for the second time.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Papyrus, 6 complete fragments, 44,5 x 11 cm, dates to the 12. March 776, from Thebes. Bilingual script of Coptic and Greek. Bibliography: Kenyon 1893: (P. Lond. 1 p. XVII no. 79 Ro descr.); Crum 1905: 177; Crum 1912: 260–263 (transcription only); Preisigke 1915: 186 (only Greek script); Till 1964: 152–154; Thessen 1986: 122 (translation); Richter 2011: (translation) ll. 41–42; ll. 13; 23–24.

Coptic medical books¹⁰⁰⁹ lacked the magical aspect, which was not essentially needed, as these books were dependent on popular remedies that used mainly natural ingredients and therapeutic techniques. On the other hand, some of popular medical prescriptions show a strong magical influence, as BKU I 25,¹⁰¹⁰ which contains accurate anti-insomnia drugs, and a prescription against skin swelling, palpitations, the blood flow of a female, and inflamed hip. The magical aspect is presented by using a special remedy of the virginal sycamore at the time of the full moon (ΕΥΝΟΖΕ ΠΑΡΤΕΝΟΣ [Ε][ΡΕ]ΠΟΟΖ ΜΟΥΖ), combined with calling the demon name ΑΒΡΑΞΑΞ “Abraxes”, on the sick in the desert “ΕΡΗΜΟΣ, ΞΗΡΗΜΟΣ”.¹⁰¹¹ A further remedy for inflamed eyes includes the magical custom of pouring healing water and an incantation ΜΗΧΑΗΛ. ΣΑΡ. ΑΒΡΑΞΑΞ. Also, BKU I 26 (P. 8116 a/b and 8117),¹⁰¹² P. 8116 a (ll. 2–11) describe a love magic spell: “the beloved will come into your house if you wish”. Lines 12–14 describe how for to prevent someone from quarreling with you. These recipes are followed by a text from the Physiologus to find the diamond stone “ΠΩΝΙ ΝΑΛΗΦΕΣ”¹⁰¹³ of the wise man (ll. 15–23),¹⁰¹⁴ and a remedy against bad memory (ll. 25–29).

P. 8116 b contain recipes to treat the possessed and bewitched (ll. 17–19), expel the fear (ll. 31–32), in addition it contains a power-charm (ll. 33–35), love-charm (ll. 36–40), recipe against the bedwetting of a young child (8117b, ll. 12–14), and a harmless charm that puts people in dispute (ll. 15–16).¹⁰¹⁵

6.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAGIC AND RELIGION

Magical texts are considered a subject replete with the religious elements that bore witnesses to changes and transformations that occurred in the first five centuries in Egypt. Religious influences in magic texts are clearly present due to the use of many different religious elements such as “pagan”, “gnostic”, “Judaism”, “Christianity” and “Islamic”. The Coptic magical texts date back to between the fourth and the twelfth century CE: the period of different religious conversion in Egypt. Thus the magical texts were affected by this conversion and present to us different religious aspects of various religious cults. During the first five centuries CE, Egypt transitioned from a “paganism” to a “Christianity”. Many texts state that

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ch and *Cod.Med.Copt.*, p. 214-215. And other medical texts such as P.Heid. G 698c; P.TT157-470; P.Carlsberg 500; P.KölnÄgypt. 12; O.Crum 487; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 49; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 37; SBKopt. I 004; *SBKopt.* II 1043; *Cod.Med.Copt.*, p. 214-215; CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4); *P.Louvre AF* 12530. Such medical texts do not contain any references to magical practice, they only comprise of medical recipes.

¹⁰¹⁰ Erman 1904: 24–25 (transcription).

¹⁰¹¹ Kropp 1930: 3.175–176.

¹⁰¹² Paper remnants of a manuscript in book from Al-Faiyūm. Each document was pinched lengthway, so that it formed two sheets, including P. 8116; lower part of two leaves, together 28 cm. wide and at least 29 cm. high; and P. 8117 upper part of a right leaf, 14 cm. wide, now 18 cm. high. Nothing can be determined about the order of these 3 sheets.

¹⁰¹³ ΑΛΗΦΕΣ Arabic *al-mās* الماس, “diamond”. Erman 1904: 4; Richter 2015: 162; Richter 2016b: 155.

¹⁰¹⁴ l. 15 (ΑΥΣΕΦΩΣ ΧΑΑΣ ΧΕ-ΠΩΝΙ ΝΑΛΗΦΕΣ).

¹⁰¹⁵ Kropp 1930: 3.175–176.

at the start of the fourth century the majority of Egyptians most likely worshipped the same gods that had been worshipped in Egypt for thousands of years so many magical texts invoked Osiris, Isis and Horus, in addition to other deities. By the end of the fourth century CE, Roman emperors had begun to outlaw core elements of traditional activities, and Egypt was almost completely Christian by the end of the fifth century. However, in Alexandria, there was a notable group of “pagans” who mixed Late Greek platonic philosophy with Egyptian theology.¹⁰¹⁶

The containment of magical texts on various religious elements is evidence of development, keeping abreast of social events, and not sticking to old patterns. This confirms the idea that the use of religion in magical practices was related to the magicians, who had a better understanding of how to handle the superhuman inverse than average people, allowing them to experiment and improvise on existing methods. Since the most-effective practitioners were those who confidently possessed a broad and varied range, adaptable to all times, it gave them the impetus for creativity, since the most-successful practitioners were those who confidently boasted a wide and varied vocabulary, adaptable to all occasions. So nearly all religious practices constituted attempts to communicate with other beings – gods, demons, angels, or the universe itself.¹⁰¹⁷ This communication is always by way of names and knowing their secrets- the knowledge that God singled out Adam alone, excluding the rest of creation from the angels and demons Genesis 2:19; Quran 2:31. Animals, herbs, rocks, and celestial bodies, as well as parts of them (an animal's foot, hair, blood, etc.) were thought to be able to cause or prevent illness or death, and to influence men's fortunes in general. And the magician is a man who understand the names of the angels and demons, elements and their benefits and able to compel these creatures to do his will by the use of some means.¹⁰¹⁸ For more immediate gains, the magician or composer was dependent on religious ideas that were known and already believed by people in it in order to confirm the credibility of his work in front of his customers. So, they were relying on various aspects of the religious concept of divine power: invoking angels and archangels, using saint's prayers, citing gospels and psalms, and after Islam using verses from the Quran or listing the names of God, providing a parallel to the Christian tradition of quoting from the Bible.¹⁰¹⁹ The Coptic magical texts date from the 5th to 11th cent. CE, a period when the overarching worldview was Christianity, and the majority of Egyptians were Orthodox Christians, as a result, magical texts represent this, and it seemed to follow some kind of Christianity. So invoking Jesus in different aspects in magical texts was because he was also said to be able to cure the blind (Mat 9:27-31; Luke 18:35-43); Quran 3:49, mute (Mat 9:32-34), heals the leper (Mark 1:40-45); Quran 3:49, and lame (Matthew 15:29-31), as well as

¹⁰¹⁶ Coptic Magical Papyri [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2018/12/13/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-i-paganism-and-christianity/>], (last accessed: 04.05.2021).

¹⁰¹⁷ Johnston 2007: 141–142.

¹⁰¹⁸ Toy 1899: 330.

¹⁰¹⁹ <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/08/02/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-x-islam-and-coptic-magic/>

any disease “healing every disease and sickness among the people” (Matthew 4.23); heals the possessed (Mark 9:14-32), and raises the dead (Luke 7:11-17; 8:40-42); Quran 3:49; design a real bird from clay “I design for you from clay [that which is] like the form of a bird, then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird by permission of Allah. And I cure the blind and the leper, and I give life to the dead - by permission of Allah. And I inform you of what you eat and what you store in your houses” Quran 3:49. Many pre-Christian Greek and Roman writers regarded Jewish people as accomplished magicians, and Moses in particular was regarded as an arch-magician.¹⁰²⁰ Also, the magical texts invoking Solomon and his demons in various magical purposes.

Coptic healing spells are considered a repercussion of medical practices in Post-pharaonic Egypt, and thus present specific information on the common diseases in this period. Most of the healing spells did not distinguish between magic, medicine, and religion. These types of spells included a combination of medical substances and magical phrases in addition to citing passages from Scripture. For example, P. Mich. MS 136 includes traditional remedies for young children suffering from teething pains, as well as hemorrhoids, malignant diseases and skin diseases presented in mythological terms combined with imploring the Egyptian deities and also invoking the angels, and Iao Sabaoth; in addition to the special amulet of vowels for treating a migraine.¹⁰²¹ Even the components of herbal and traditional remedies are also used ritually or introduced in symbolic terms. For example, in the ritual text PGM XII. 401–44,¹⁰²² the scribe describes the names of the herbs as ritual spells in form of code names to keep it secret:

PGM XII. 401–44

“Blood of Hephaistos: wormwood
 Hairs of a Hamadryas baboon: dill seed
 Semen of Hermes: dill./
 Blood of Ares: purslane.
 Blood of an eye: tamarisk gall.
 Blood from a shoulder: bear’s breach
 From the lions: camomile.
 Aman’s bile: turning sap./
 A pig’s tail: leopard’s bane.
 A physician’s bone: sandstone.

¹⁰²⁰ <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/03/08/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-viii-judaism-and-coptic-magic/>

¹⁰²¹ Meyer and Smith 1994: 79.

¹⁰²² PGM XII, is a Greek text, PDM XII is a Demotic text. The same writer wrote a part of the text in Greek and Demotic, dating back to 2nd–3rd cent. CE. It preserved a collection of different purposes such as a prayer for disclosure of a cure for a disease, charms, demanding for receiving a dream, stimulating insomnia, causing separation, and love spells. See, Betz 1986: 153–172.

Blood of Hestia: camomile.

An eagle: wild garlic (?).

Blood of a goose: a mulberry tree's milk¹⁰²³

The relationship between religion and magic is complex and sometimes overlapping in a way that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Coptic healing spells and amulets are like the other magical texts brimming with religious elements such as the invocation of angels, saints, Jesus, and the quoting of specific Biblical and Gospels passages.

Johnston¹⁰²⁴ points out that the magic was almost exclusively a descriptive expression rather than a normative one. From our vantage point, there is no clear distinction between magic and religion in the ancient world. In most Mediterranean cultures, the structures of “magical” prayers were similar to that of “holy” prayers, and in cultures where a sacrifice was an integral aspect of religious ritual, it often stood at the heart of magical rituals. The same saints and holy men that appear in biblical scriptures are invoked in amulets against sickness and other emergencies.

The Coptic magical-medical texts, like other magical texts, were influenced by ancient Egyptian culture and even other foreign cultures, especially Greek and Jewish. Thus, these texts contain invocation to the gods Amen, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Thoth, and Nephthys,¹⁰²⁵ followed by the invocation of Althonai and Adonai (Hebrew “My Lord”; $\alpha\alpha\omega\nu\alpha$ “the one who rules over the four corners of the world”,¹⁰²⁶ and also Michael ($\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$) the archangel.¹⁰²⁷ In addition, the archangel Gabriel is also mentioned three times in the same spell “Lord Gabriel, Lord Gabriel, Lord Gabriel, heal the patient”.¹⁰²⁸ Multari¹⁰²⁹ argues that “Coptic magic is the magic practiced by Egyptian people converted to Christianity. It is syncretistic magic: in fact, the magic-religious substratum of rituals is Egyptian but influenced by foreign cultures such as Babylonian, Greek-roman, and in a particular way Jewish culture. Frequently foreign divinities are equated to Egyptian deities and very often, for example, the Jewish-Christian god Yao Sabaoth is identified with the Egyptian God Amen”.

Some magical-medical texts document the broad use of ancient Egyptian *historiolae*: recitations of legendary antecedents that connected with specific events to heal certain diseases, such as texts: P.Mich.

¹⁰²³ Translation: Betz 1986: 168. (without transcription).

¹⁰²⁴ Johnston 2007: 142.

¹⁰²⁵ The long invocation of the reproductive powers of Egyptian deities (Amun, Thoth, Isis, Horus), P.Mich. MS 136, ll.60–114 in Worrell: 1935, no. IV.

¹⁰²⁶ P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 154.

¹⁰²⁷ ACM, 95, no. 49.

¹⁰²⁸ P.Mich. MS 136, l. 51.

¹⁰²⁹ Multari 2015: 84.

MS 136¹⁰³⁰ (ll. 57–114); *ACM*, 92, no. 47;¹⁰³¹ and *ACM*, 95, no. 49.¹⁰³² In these healing rituals, the patient’s illness or injury is linked to a mythological case; for example, a snakebite was linked to *Horus’s* snakebite or gynaecological haemorrhage was thus, *Isis’s* haemorrhage).¹⁰³³

Within the narrative resolve, the Egyptian deities such as Re or Thoth are invoked to treat the patient affliction. Usually, the reciting of these narratives is accompanied by special ritual signs and movements and the application of specific materials as in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52, which also contains a Homeric verse (*Iliad* 3, 33–35),¹⁰³⁴ for the purpose of healing. The occurrence of Homeric verses of poetry in the magical texts continued from the 4th cent. CE to the Middle Ages in Egypt, especially for the purpose of healing and protection.¹⁰³⁵ The use of Homeric verses appears to be a magical tradition mostly associated with healing purposes, The Greek folios Lucian’s *Charon* (7.12–13) provides the first evidence of using a Homeric verse for healing purpose in dialogue with magic. Charon suffered from near-sightedness, but after following the instruction of god Homer to use a charm containing the recitation of a Homeric verse (*Iliad* 5. 127–28), he was healed and able to see well again.¹⁰³⁶ Another evidence for the healing use of Homeric verses can be found in Galen’s experience. Collins argues that he tested the effectiveness of Homeric verses on himself to dislodge the bones lodged in the throat and to treat the sting of a scorpion¹⁰³⁷ as shown in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52

πρὸς ριγός . ο[ς] ΔΟΤΕ ΤΙΣ ΤΕ ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ Ἰδὼν παλινὸρ[ς]οῦ ἀναενθῆ .
οὔρεος ἐν βησσῆς ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα . ἀψτε ἀνσχωρῆσεν
κτρίτε . γαβρῖνῃ θεραπεύσον το ΔΔ ΗΔΗ Β̄ . ΤΑΧΥ . ΤΑΧΥ . ΟΤΑΝ ΟἶΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΣ
Ζ̄ ΧΟΡΔΑΣ Η ΣΤΗΜΟΝΟΣ Η ΚΡΟΚΗΣ . ΔΗΣΑΣ ΠΗΣΟΝ Ζ̄ ΔΗΜΑ . ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΙΝ

¹⁰³⁰ Worrell 1935: 17–37.

¹⁰³¹ Papyrus, 18 x 31 cm. Bibliography: Kropp 1930: 2.12–14; Beltz 1983: 61–63; Meyer and Smith 1994: 92.

¹⁰³² Papyrus, 23 x 35.5 cm. It contains two columns the first column I contains a healing spell with the legend of Jesus and a doe that is in labour (lines 1–18), the second column II 1–23, and Verso 1–8. Bibliography: Kropp 1930: 2.9–12; Beltz 1983: 65–67 (Beltz provided another different number (8314)); Meyer and Smith 1994: 95.

¹⁰³³ Meyer and Smith 1994: 80.

¹⁰³⁴ ὥς δ’ ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλινόρσος ἀπέστη οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα, ἀψ δ’ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὄχρὸς τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς, ὥς αὐτίς καθ’ ὄμιλον ἔδου Τρώων ἀγερώχων δείσας “And even as a man at sight of a snake in the glades of a mountain starteth back, and trembling seizeth his limbs beneath him, and he withdraweth back again and pallor layeth hold of his cheeks”. Perseus Digital Library[<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134%3Abook%3D>], (last accessed: 02.02.2021).

¹⁰³⁵ Collins 2008: 211–212.

¹⁰³⁶ Collins 2008: 215. “Sit still! I’ll remedy this inconveniency immediately, and with a certain *Charm* I learnt of *Homer*, make you the most quick sighted imaginable; and after I shall have pronounc’d those Verses, be confident that your Eyes shall no longer be dim, but you will see every thing clearly”. For the full text of Lucian’s *Charon* see (EEBO) TCP [<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo2/A49416.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>].

¹⁰³⁷ Collins 2008: 211.

ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ. ΒΛΕΨΑΣ ΕΙΠΕ Γ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. ΚΥΡΙΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ .
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΣΧΟΝΤΑ //>>>————

“For chills and even as a man at sight of a snake in the glades of a mountain starteth back, and trembling seizeth his limbs beneath him, and he withdraweth back again ...¹⁰³⁸ (Gabriel, cure so-and-so, (son / daughter of) so-and-so, Straightway, straightway, Quickly, quickly! Whenever, accordingly, you make seven cords, either of warp or of woof, binding (them), make seven knots and, looking toward the east, say three (times): Lord Gabriel, Lord Gabriel, Lord Gabriel, Heal the sufferer.”¹⁰³⁹

Although such citations only appear only in a magical context, I have found the same citation of (Iliad 3, 33–35) occurring in a medical recipe (I.Saqqara 103).¹⁰⁴⁰ It is from the Monastery Apa Jeremias at Saqqara and contains medical treatments for swelling, wounds, and for the figures of a snake, which appear to a sick person.

Another example of a *historiola* is ACM, 101, no. 55,¹⁰⁴¹ in which an amulet is used for protection from a snakebite. It contains words of power, and the names of the Three Wise Men and a Biblical quotation from Psalm 119:105: “Your word, lord, is the lamp of my feet, and it is the light of my path”.¹⁰⁴² Quoting scriptural texts was not exclusive to Christians, but maybe they inherited this practice from Judaism, since in Egypt, as elsewhere, the first Christians were most likely Jewish converts. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Cairo Genizah indicate that Jewish cultures were using the Psalms for protection from evil spirits and that this practice persisted even after Christians appropriated their scriptures.¹⁰⁴³

The Jewish influence is apparent in Coptic medico-magical spells, for example the wording Sabaoth (ϢΑΒΑΘΘ), SABAOTH, which is a Hebrew title for God. Lord Sabaoth means “lord of hosts”. Yao Sabaoth and Lord Almighty are all variations of the same title. SABAOTH is mentioned both alone and also alongside ancient Egyptian deities;¹⁰⁴⁴ and also appears as Yao Sabaoth with the ALPHA formula.¹⁰⁴⁵ The

¹⁰³⁸ The figure of the snake that appears to the sick person also appears in a *dipinto* from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara (I.Saqqara 103). It is parallel to (Iliad, III, 33–35). Worrell 1935: 29. Iliad book 3, 33–35 “And even as a man at sight of a snake in the glades of a mountain starteth back, and trembling seizeth his limbs beneath him, and he withdraweth back again and pallor layeth hold of his cheeks”. Perseus Digital Library. Retrieved on 02.02.2021 from [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134%3Abook%3D].

¹⁰³⁹ Worrell 1935: 29–30.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For the information on the texts referred to see (section 2.1.5).

¹⁰⁴¹ Parássoglou 1974: 107–110; Meyer and Smith 1994: 101–102.

¹⁰⁴² Translation: by Neal Kelsey in Meyer and Smith 1994: 102.

¹⁰⁴³ https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/02/15/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-vii-the-bible-and-magic/ (last accessed: 05.05.2021).

¹⁰⁴⁴ P.Mich. MS 136, l. 104; l. 121.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Meyer and Smith 1994: 98.

adoption of Jewish elements in magical texts is due to the reputation of Jewish people as experienced magicians, and many pre-Christian Greek and Roman writers viewed Moses as an arch-magician.¹⁰⁴⁶

Another Jewish tradition in Christian magical texts is the invocation of Solomon and his demons in magical contexts to heal the diseases caused by demons.¹⁰⁴⁷ This tradition demonstrates that Christian magical practice was based on the Jewish traditions. P.Heid.Inv.Kopt. 408,¹⁰⁴⁸ a paper fragment dating back to between the 10th and 11th cent. CE, contains two curses to destroy workplaces and agricultural implements. The “Jewish” aspect appears in the mentioning of the dialogues between King Solomon and two demons named Khoubin Harpak and Bersebol: “Solomon asked him, [“What is your name?”] [He replied, “My name is] Khoubin Harpak.” Solomon said to him, “What is your work?” He said to him “My work is destruction. I have never done good, ever. All evil follows in my wake: a thresher, I destroy it... an iron shovel, I cut it off; a water-wheel, I destroy it; a garden, I destroy it...” I adjure you ... go to NN son of NN, bring... a cutting-off and a scattering... to him. Yea, yea, quickly, quickly! ”.¹⁰⁴⁹ Dosoo argues that this text is considered an example of the ingenuity of Coptic magic in drawing on a Jewish tradition at least a thousand years older than the text itself, which turns a practice intended to cure disease into an evil curse against the source of income of the victim. But the reason for the use of these Jewish elements in the various Christian magical artifacts is unclear, as there is no indication of the motive of the practitioners to use these elements in their writings. This proves that both the Christian magical composers and clients might not have been mindful of or agreed with the Jewish practices that underpinned their behaviour.¹⁰⁵⁰ In fact, textual details indicating the Greek covenant of Solomon, as we see it today, were composed by a Christian. Orthodox Christians claim that the Hebrew Bible is their Old Testament, and they see themselves as an alternative to the Jewish people as “the true Israel”. For Christians, Solomon’s reign – in its standard and non-standard version – has become part of their history.”¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴⁶ <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/03/08/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-viii-judaism-and-coptic-magic/>

¹⁰⁴⁷ The power of Solomon over his demons found completely in the Greek Testament of Solomon, dates back to the 4th cent. CE, the testament tells the story of Solomon using a magical ring to exorcise a demon who was tormenting a young child, and then convincing a series of demons to come before him and confess their sins and shortcomings before ordering them to construct the temple of Jerusalem. The dialogues act as brief magical recipes, showing the demons responsible for specific diseases and the amulet or spell required to cast them out and cure the diseases they cause: “Then I, Solomon, invoked the name of the Lord Sabaōth, and questioned each (demon) in turn as to what was its character. ... The twenty-eighth [decan, a type of star-demon] said: “I am called Harpax (“robber”), and I send sleeplessness on men. If one writes ‘Kokphnedismos,’ and binds it round the temples, I at once retreat.” *Testament of Solomon* 73, 98. <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/03/08/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-viii-judaism-and-coptic-magic/>

¹⁰⁴⁸ “KYP M312”, Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscript/kyp-m312. Accessed on 05/05/2021.

¹⁰⁴⁹ [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/03/08/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-viii-judaism-and-coptic-magic/>], (last accessed: 05.05.2021).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Boustan and Sanzo 2017: 238.

¹⁰⁵¹ [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/03/08/religion-in-the-coptic-magical-papyri-viii-judaism-and-coptic-magic/>], (last accessed: 05.05.2021).

The same tradition of invoking the power of Solomon over his demons is found in the magical-medical text P.Köln XV 641, which contains a recipe invoking King Solomon and his demon for the purpose of healing: “For a man who swells: The King Solomon said to his demon: “What is the remedy for this?” [...]”¹⁰⁵²

The religious influence is also found in the medical recipes that contain Christian phrases calling on the aid of God’s power such as $\omega\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron \xi\bar{\nu} \tau\bar{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu \bar{\nu}\phi\iota\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ “He will heal by the power of God” (Ch 171);¹⁰⁵³ $\varphi\mu\alpha\lambda\omicron \xi\bar{\nu} \tau\bar{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu \bar{\nu}\pi\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ “He will recover by the power of the Lord” (Ch 156);¹⁰⁵⁴ $\delta \phi\bar{\rho} \pi\epsilon\tau\sigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \chi\epsilon \nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma \pi\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\bar{\rho}\epsilon \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ “God knows how this remedy is very good!” (Ch 157);¹⁰⁵⁵ and beginning the recipe by mentioning the name of God ($\xi\mu\pi\pi\alpha\bar{\nu} \epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$): “In the name of God” (P.Ryl.Copt. 106).¹⁰⁵⁶ Also, among the pure medical prescription, there are invocation to Iaô, Iaô (P.Sarga 20).¹⁰⁵⁷ Even the medical texts contain Biblical quotations such as (Psalm 150, 1).

Magic in the Post-pharaonic Egypt was usually used for various purposes such as healing, protection, power, sexual problems, work and love. In the case of healing, the aim of using magical spells, names, and words treated different pains and sufferings in comparison with medical texts that treated, for example, insomnia, chill, headache, possession, malignant disease, and shivering. Nonmedical treatment of non-demonic or natural illness comprised a number of therapeutic methods: prayer, crossing oneself, placing hands, and the application of blessed substances (oil or water).¹⁰⁵⁸ The categories of the ritual healing texts conform to three main types: Ritual manuals, amulets, and prayers which will be discussed in the following sections.

6.3 RITUAL MANUALS

Owing to the lack, and high cost, of writing materials in late antique Egypt, extensive manual was a rare achievement; however, *ACM*, 90, no. 44,¹⁰⁵⁹ and P.Mich. MS 136¹⁰⁶⁰ are examples of ritual manuals that contain almost entirely healing spells, medical recipes and amulets.¹⁰⁶¹ Some of these material pieces would have constituted a handbook or *grimoire*¹⁰⁶² used for a different purposes such as *ACM*, 263, no.

¹⁰⁵² English translation from the German Schenke 2017: 260.

¹⁰⁵³ (see 5.12.4).

¹⁰⁵⁴ (see 5.17.4).

¹⁰⁵⁵ (see 5.4.1).

¹⁰⁵⁶ (see 5.17.6).

¹⁰⁵⁷ (see 5.8.6)

¹⁰⁵⁸ Meyer and Smith 1994: 81.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Paper, 9.5 x 9 cm, dates back to the 11th or 12th cent. CE. Bibliography: Stegemann 1934: 79–82; Meyer and Smith 1994: 90–91.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Worrell 1935: 17–37, no. 4. (see 2.1.1).

¹⁰⁶¹ Meyer and Smith 1994: 81.

¹⁰⁶² Grimoire is a technical term meaning a magic incantation or spell book, which was considered a tool used to carry out magical tasks. Davies 2009: 1.

127¹⁰⁶³ which is composed of multiple leather pieces, along with the Thebes papyrus *ACM*, 270, no. 128.¹⁰⁶⁴ These *grimoires* contain various series of spells and remedies identical to those in Egyptian temples, such as the Temple of Horus at Edfu, as its library (140–124 BC) contains inscriptions on its walls mentioning the books of the library, among them: “Book of the plan of the temple; Book of the protection of the body; spells for the averting of the evil eye”.¹⁰⁶⁵ These handbooks were considered an important component of Egyptian culture and temple libraries, and this tradition has continued in later periods. In the fourth century Egyptian countryside, the importance and usefulness of such ritual books became apparent “when a village realised its holy images were shortly to fall into the hands of abbot Shenoute and his monastic gang: “the villagers went and dug in the place that led to the village and buried some magical potions that they had made according to their books because they wanted to hinder him on the road””.¹⁰⁶⁶

ACM, 263, no. 127 points to the Eucharist, symbols of the Holy Trinity, and calls the watchers. The task of these invoked powers is to achieve a person’s demands. They convey a woman to a man (ll. 12–19), give edification of the riddles (ll. 38–49, l. 50–57), treat the illness (ll. 57–73), oust an individual from a house (ll. 76–78), to obtain approval (ll. 78–79), provoke the destruction of a residence (l. 79–80), cause disturbance (l. 80–82) cause enmity among individuals (ll. 82–85) or even the disintegration (ll. 85–86), cause the assignment of a business (ll. 86–89), furthermore, curse the phallus of a man (ll. 109–18). It recalls the Prophet Elijah in a *historiola*, who crosses the Jordan River on dry ground, and contains the incipit of LXX Psalm 69:1 preceded by $\zeta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\mu\omicron$ “in the Psalm”¹⁰⁶⁷ (see table 6).¹⁰⁶⁸

ACM, 270, no. 128 contains different spells and prescriptions. The document starts with the Trinitarian formula (ll. 11–12) along with an extended invocation of divine power, angelic names to be recited three times, powerful utterances and *voces magicae* to be recited seven times (Ablanatha, Abra, Akramachamario, Sesanke Barpharakes, Semsemlam, and Tameamnoues). These recipes were used to treat different diseases including some sort of eye disease (ll. 31–34), to be granted a favour (ll. 28–29) (ll. 38–40), to bring debility to a strong person (ll. 40–45) or cause a disturbance and cause someone to go astray (ll. 62–64), to reinforce or ruin a foundation (ll. 47–51), to find or secure assets or even hidden treasures (ll. 52–61), and to facilitate pregnancy for a woman (ll. 67–69). Many recipes name an

¹⁰⁶³ Leather, 19 x 64.5 cm, dates back to the 6th or 7th cent. CE. Bibliography: Kropp 1930: 1.55–62 (transcription); 2.40–53; Meyer and Smith 1994: 263–269.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Papyrus, 113 x 32.5 cm, dates back to the 6–7th cent. CE, originating in Thebes. Presented in a jar from a cell of a monk, which may have been a part of Deir Bekheeta. Bibliography: Kropp 1930: 1.50–54 (transcription); 2.31–40 (translation); Meyer and Smith 1994: 270–273 (translation).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Fowden 1993: 57.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Meyer and Smith 1994: 260 (Life of Shenoute 83, translated by David Bell).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Sanzo 2014: 138. It is identified as (Psalm 70:1) in Meyer and Smith 1994: 263.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Meyer and Smith 1994: 263.

appropriate day, or the exact day (sometimes a specific time during the day) for when is suitable to achieve the purpose of the ritual.¹⁰⁶⁹

Multari¹⁰⁷⁰ notes that in *ACM*, 263, no. 127 at l. 80; Papyrus P.Mich. MS 136, starting from l. 135 until the end, and papyrus *ACM*, 270, no. 128 from lines 31–34, the magician depends on vegetable elements to achieve the purpose of the spells. This act reflects that the magician was aware of the importance and power of plants in performing the spell. However, the plants specifically gained this power at the harvest, after performing some rites by the magician.

6.4 AMULETS

Amulets were used in different life situations such as for protection, to drive out demons, to protect a house, or to gain power or wealth. Hence, it is not surprising that they were also used to cure medical complaints that could have been caused by demonic influences. The usual word used for an amulet is the Greek term *φυλακτήριον*, which means “protection”. An amulet possesses the power ascribed to it to protect its owner from danger or harm (e.g., snake bites,¹⁰⁷¹ the fever,¹⁰⁷² the stomach pain and headache,¹⁰⁷³ or the evil eye, or from every illness in general).¹⁰⁷⁴ Sometimes it is recited or worn, with a magical design, usually in combination with magical names.¹⁰⁷⁵

According to ancient Egyptian views, even the gods could not dispense with the protection of amulets. For example, when Isis was pregnant, she wore on the 6th Paophi an amulet signifying the voice of truth. Such ancient notions refer to the ancient Gnostic prayer as “I implore you, along with your names and your powers and your amulets (*φυλακτήριον*) and your pictures”.¹⁰⁷⁶ The Coptic texts are building on these ideas when speaking of the amulet of the Father, of the *Sphragis* on his lap, when it calls the name written on the breast of the father *φυλακτήρια*.¹⁰⁷⁷ Also on the breast of Mary such a seal is drawn “.... my mother is Mary. The breast...., the breast from which our Lord Jesus Christ drank. In the name of the seal that is imprinted on Mary the Virgin’s heart” (P.Ryl. Copt. 103).¹⁰⁷⁸

The amulet could be in the shape of divine symbols like a cross, or in holy writings, miniature icons or even items such as the oil from the lamp above a saint’s tomb. All such items could function as an

¹⁰⁶⁹ Meyer and Smith 1994: 270; De Bruyn 2017: 84.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Multari 2015: 85.

¹⁰⁷¹ Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08635 Pap. Stegemann 1934: 21; 43–44 (no. 95).

¹⁰⁷² *ACM*, 98, no. 51, *ACM*, 100, no. 53, *ACM*, 101, no. 54, British Library MS Or 6948 (2), Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08637 Pap and P.Köln 425.

¹⁰⁷³ Michigan 136, ll. 124–134.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08635 Pap. Stegemann 1934: 21; 43–44 (no. 95).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Quecke 1963: 249.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *ACM*, 326, no. 135.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Kropp 1930: 3. 178–79.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For the Coptic text and translation see (6.5.3) p. 290.

amulet.¹⁰⁷⁹ Amulets gained their power from their content (letters, symbols, and characters) and transferred it to the person who wore or carried them. *ACM*, 101, no. 55,¹⁰⁸⁰ recalls the name of the Three Wise Men (Melchior, Thattasia, and Fathisora); or even the spell with ritual invocations such as *ACM*, 97, no. 50¹⁰⁸¹ that contains invocation to the Four Living Creatures (AKRAMMATA PERITON SOURITHION PARAMERAO), and ROBIEL THRIECHS, Apabathuel and Mamarioth. Furthermore, *ACM*, 101, no. 54¹⁰⁸² considered an eminent composition of both principles, begs and implores the amulet itself, as an object able to withstand great force: “BABOUCHA... AKRAMA[CHA]MARI ABLANATHANA[LBA] ... RANKME DOME DOM DO D, ALPHA LEON PHONE ANER, AEEIOUO, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Suriel, Zarathiel, Zedekiel, Anneal, Yoel, Tsel, AEEIOUO: I beg and I invoke you”.¹⁰⁸³

Amulets of healing usually open with the invocation of the SATOR palindrome formula, ALPHA LEON PHONE ANER- the name of the Four Living Creatures (AKRAMMATA PERITON SOURITHION PARAMERAO),¹⁰⁸⁴ the three youths of the book of Daniel (Ananias [As]arias Misael, Se[d]rak Misak Abdenago, Thalal M[ou]lal) and sometimes with a series of vowels such as in P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. inv 22,¹⁰⁸⁵ which repeats the vowel ω seven times ω ω ω ω ω ω ω. Also, using the seven vowels αεηιοϥ (AEĒIOUŌ)¹⁰⁸⁶ is recorded two times in reverse form, i.e. in “wing formation”:¹⁰⁸⁷

α ε η ι ο ϥ ω	ω γ ο ι η ε λ
α ε η ι ο ϥ	○○○○○○ ω γ ο ι η ε
α ε η ι ο	ω γ ο ι η
α ε η ι	ω γ ο ι
α ε η	ω γ ο
α ε	ω γ
α	ω ¹⁰⁸⁸

¹⁰⁷⁹ Foskolou 2014: 330.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Parássoglou 1974: 107–110; Meyer and Smith 1994: 101–102.

¹⁰⁸¹ Stegemann 1934: 38–40.

¹⁰⁸² Quecke 1963: 247–265; Meyer and Smith 1994: 101.

¹⁰⁸³ Meyer and Smith 1994: 81. (see 6.6.5).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Meyer and Smith 1994: 389. “These stand around and bear or draw the throne of god in Revelation, with the faces of a lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle. Sometimes they are named Paramara, Zorothion, Periton, and Akramata; sometimes they are called Alpha, Leon, Phone, and Aner”.

¹⁰⁸⁵ This amulet published by Hasitzka and Satzinger as “Schutzamulett”, without mentioning the illnesses stated in the text, and supposed to be cured by using this amulet. Paper, 15.8 x 6.8 cm, dates to 9th-10th cent. CE, bought in Luxor. Hasitzka and Satzinger 2004: 48–49; Van der Vliet 2005: 141–145.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The vowels sequence is a type of *voces magicæ* that have an auditory effect, and its magic power lies in its sounding that affects the client, in case each letter is connected to a plant, musical melody, or angel, the influence increases. Brashear 1995: 3431.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The schematic form of writing words is a type of visual effect, the usual schematic form in the medical amulet is the πτερυγοειδῶς “wing-shape”. Brashear 1995 3433.

¹⁰⁸⁸ P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 126–132. Worrell 1935: 17–37; Meyer and Smith 1994: 38–90.

After that, come the incantations, which usually direct one or several particular powers, for the purpose of healing and protection from illness and evils. The usual invocation structure is † παρακαλει ἱμοκ/ ἱμωτην ...“I invoke you”, which is followed by the invoked the names and powers by using the Coptic word *ἰομ* or the Greek δύναμις. These powers may be called the angels and archangels.

Furthermore, many incantations were influenced by apocryphal literature, such as *ACM*, 100, no. 53¹⁰⁸⁹ and P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 407¹⁰⁹⁰ both of them an amulet against fever, which refer to the fate of the three youths of the book of Daniel ch 3 to prevent the fiery fevers:

ACM, 100, no. 53

ἀνᾱνιᾱς [ᾱ*]ᾱριᾱς μιᾱηλ σε*ρακ ἐμῖσακ ἀβδενᾱγω θᾱλλᾱ ἐμ*λαλ β κ (2?) ††]ᾱλκα [μ]ᾱτενν[νε τενλεν
 με ν[ετ] ἐνῶμ νῶ[η] ντατνε ωϱεμ κκ[ᾱμ]νοκ κκ[λω]μ ναβ [χωᾱω νω σωρ [ετ]ρετνεω ϱε μεζ νιβι
 μεν [] νιβι μεν ωῶεβ νιβι [μ]ἐν ᾱκκ νι[βι] ῶε ψωμα νπατρι κοϱ πχη μ[] ᾱκοϱ πχμ ε σωμ χη ν ᾱᾱᾱμ
 ᾱᾱ ᾱᾱ τᾱχη *ᾱχη

Ananias [As]arias Misael, Se[d]rak Misak Abdenago, Thalal M[ou]lal B[... : I] adjure you by your names and your powers, that as you quenched the fiery furnace(s) of Nebuchadnezzar, you may extinguish [every fever] and every [...] and every chill and every malady that is in the body of Patrikou child of [. . .]akou, child of Zoe, child of Adam Yea! Yea! Quickly, Quickly!¹⁰⁹¹

The invocation of the three Hebrews Ananias, Asarias, Misael and their Babylonian names, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, is common in the amulets against fever. The three Hebrew men were thrown into a furnace by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar because they refused to worship his god; however, they escaped and survived due to the intervention of God. Their salvation was considered powerful against fire and heat, thus many amulets against fever open with the names of the three Hebrews.¹⁰⁹²

Another spell (*ACM*, 101, no. 54) contains an incantation that invokes different powerful utterances, the ALPHA formula, the series of seven vowels, and various names, for the purpose of healing cold, chill, and evil eyes βαβῶϣα ... ἀκράμα χα]μαρι ἀβλαναθᾱνα [] ο [] ρᾱνκ̄με ᾱω̄με ᾱω̄μ ᾱω̄ ᾱ ᾱᾱφα
 λεον φ̄ω̄νη ᾱ̄νηρ ᾱε̄νιοϱω̄ μῑχᾱ̄η̄λ γᾱβρ̄η̄η̄λ γρᾱφᾱη̄η̄λ η̄λ σοϱη̄η̄λ ζᾱρᾱθ̄η̄η̄λ ζεᾱε̄κι ᾱᾱη̄η̄λ ὕω̄η̄η̄λ τχη̄η̄η̄λ
 ᾱε̄νιοϱω̄ “BABOUCHA...AKRAMA[CHA]MAR ABLANATHANA[LBA] ... RANKME DOME DOM

¹⁰⁸⁹ Parchment, 10.2 x 6.3 cm. Bibliography: Quecke 1963: 255 (transcription); Meyer and Smith 1994: 100 (translation).


¹⁰⁹⁰ Mihálykó 2019: 44.

¹⁰⁹¹ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 100 with slight modifications.

¹⁰⁹² Mihálykó 2019: 54.

DOD, ALPHA LEON PHONE ANER, AEËIOUÏ, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Suriel, Zarathiel, Zedekiel, Anneal, Yoel, Tsel, AEËIOUÏ”. In addition, P. Macq. I 1, p. 16, ll. 5–9¹⁰⁹³ an amulet against every sickness and for possessed person mentions ΔΔΩΝΕ. ΕΛΩΕ. ΣΑΒΑΩΘ. ΖΗΠΚΕΟΥΔ. ΩΔΤΕΒΙ ΕΑΛΦΑ. ΑΡΧΑΧΑΜΑΡΠΑ. ΧΑΕΒΙΗΛ. ΙΗΣ ΧΡΣ “ADŌNE ELŌE SABAŌTH on the other one, so that he comes to (?) ALPHA ARCHACHAMARPA CHAEBIĒL JESUS CHRIS”

As a rule, amulets indicate the name of the client or practitioner to be mentioned when a spell is recited. The specific names of the persons usually written in the space marked as ΔΔ, dd (δεῖνα δεῖνος),¹⁰⁹⁴ or ΝΝ ΠΩΕΝ “so-and-so son/daughter of so-and-so” in the magical texts and amulets.¹⁰⁹⁵ These texts, as customary in Egyptian and Islamic magic mention the specific person by his or her mother’s name instead of the father’s name, such as Poulpehepus, the son of Zarra; Phoibammon, the son of Maria; Ahmed, the son of Mariam; and Kiraheu the daughter of Maria. At the end of the spell we can find these usual closing formulae:

- the use of the interjection of entreaty ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ, ΔΙΩ ΔΙΩ, ΔΙΩ, ΔΙΩ “come” in combination with the adverb ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ “quickly, quickly!”;¹⁰⁹⁶
- ΤΙΕΤΙ ΤΙΕΤΤΙ “Immediately, Immediately!”;
- α ε η ι ο υ ω: the seven vowels are common in magical texts and were identified with the seven planets and hence with the creator: they were regarded as a mystical name of God;
- Invoking the heavenly powers.
- The seven pentagrams .¹⁰⁹⁷

6.4.1 QUOTATIONS IN THE COPTIC HEALING AMULETS

The quotations in the Coptic healing amulets can be divided into two types: firstly, the apocryphal stories, and Homeric verses. Such as P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52,¹⁰⁹⁸ employs (Iliad 3, 33–35) for healing chill and sight of snake. And *ACM*, 263, no. 127, that contains the non-canonical incipit (The letter of our lord Jesus Christ to Abgar; Letter of Abgar to Jesus). Jesus’ letter to Abgar was believed to have a defensive power that can bring healing to the sick person.¹⁰⁹⁹ Since the topic of the correspondence is healing, Jesus’

¹⁰⁹³ P. Macq. I 1, parchment codex composed of 20 pages, 12.7 x 11 cm, dates back to ca. the 7th–8th cent. CE; metadata at Trismegistos [https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=113926], (last accessed: 05.10.2020). Choat and Gardner 2013.

¹⁰⁹⁴ P.Mich. MS 136.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08635 Pap.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Crum 1939: 363b. Arabic “الوفا الوفا العجل العجل”.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *ACM*, 100, no. 53.

¹⁰⁹⁸ For the Coptic text and translation see (6.2).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Frankfurter 2018: 199–200.

reaction to Abgar was commonly used as an amulet in antiquity. It was usually employed as healing power in many occasions. It has been reported that, in the 5th century, a devoted follower of Daniel the Stylite, who stayed on top of a column on the edge of Constantinople, each time a member of his household was ill, demanded a written prayer from Daniel by letter, then put the reply on the sufferer and thus received healing after the efficiency of Jesus' Letter to King Abgar, who (the follower) described it as "as if the miracle had been from the hand of Christ itself".¹¹⁰⁰

Secondly, the Canonical Biblical passages. Often these do not indicate to a specific type of healing desired but may serve a general purpose of motives, such as *ACM*, 314, no. 134,¹¹⁰¹ which is a book of ritual power that contains an amulet, and expresses the idea of protection by uses biblical texts, this amulet contains a verse of Psalm. 90, 1–2. In some instances, the two types of quotations are juxtaposed one with another in the same text (See below Table 6).¹¹⁰² I have observed that the citation of Psalm 90, in Coptic healing amulets is limited to the first two verses, as in *ACM*, 314, no. 134:

***ACM*, 314, no. 134**

ⲕⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲖⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲁⲁⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲁ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲏⲡⲉⲧⲭⲟⲥⲉ. ⲕⲏⲁⲟⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲁ
ⲟⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲏⲡⲏⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲏⲧⲡⲉ¹¹⁰³ ⲕⲏⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲡⲧⲧ ⲉⲉⲣⲟⲕ
ⲁⲅⲟⲟ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲛⲡⲟⲩⲧ

Praise of the hymns of David: the one who dwells in the help of the
exalted. He will be in the shadow of the god of the heaven. He will say to
the lord: you are my guardian and my refuge.¹¹⁰⁴

Biblical quotations played an important role in Coptic texts, and the use of Psalms in amulets was a frequent phenomenon in late antique Egypt, as they were believed to have protective power.¹¹⁰⁵ I have observed that healing amulets include specific Biblical quotations, especially parts of Psalms and the Gospels. In order to understand the importance of these quotations I will provide analysis of each quotation.

¹¹⁰⁰ For more examples see Rapp 2007: 215.

¹¹⁰¹ (P. Anastasi 9), Papyrus consists of sixteen pages. It contains an exorcism prayer of Saint Gregory, and Biblical quotations (Psalm 90, and Gospels). Bibliography: Pleyte and Boeser 1897: 441–479 (transcription); Drioton 1915–17: 311–26 (only the letter of Jesus to Abgar); Kropp 1930–31: 2.72–79, 81–85, 161–75, 220–21 (translation); 3.210; Geerard 1992: 67, no. 88.1; Meyer and Smith 1994: 314–322 (translation); Pernigotti 2000: 67–69, no. 37; no. 38. Mirecki 2001: 150, no. 12.

¹¹⁰² Another Coptic amulet P. Heid. Kopt. 184, cited a part from Psalm 90:11–16. See Quecke 1979: 332–337.

¹¹⁰³ ... ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲁ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲏⲡⲉⲧⲭⲟⲥⲉ ⲕⲏⲁⲟⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲏⲡⲏⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲏⲧⲡⲉ ... (Psalm 90.1). [<https://coptdb.uni-goettingen.de/citdb/quotation/389/>] (last accessed: 02.01.2021).

¹¹⁰⁴ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 322. with slight modifications.

¹¹⁰⁵ Sanzo 2014: 40.

In the ritual texts, the most-widespread psalmic incipits in the ritual texts in Late antique Egypt is LXX Psalm 90,¹¹⁰⁶ which is based on God’s promise to protect those who turn to him in need. The reading of Psalm 90 reveals divine protection: verse 1 is about the shelter offered by the Lord, verse 2–3 contain a prayer to the God asking for protection from various evils; and in verses 4–8, the reader gets a pledge of protection and victory over his enemies. Verses 9–13 contains repeating God’s promise to protect. In verses 14–19, God speaks and provides a promise to secure the person who invoked him “(14) Because in me he hoped, I will also rescue him; I will protect him, because he knew my name. (15) He will call to me, and I will listen to him; I am with him in trouble; If will deliver and glorify him. (16) With length of days I will satisfy him and show him my deliverance”.¹¹⁰⁷

In addition, *ACM*, 101, no. 55,¹¹⁰⁸ an amulet used for protection from snakebite, contains part of Psalm 119: “Your word, lord, is the lamp of my feet, and it is the light of my path” (Psalm 119: 105). This part of Psalm 119: 105 implies the mythical significance of Jesus’s rebuke to snakes as God’s Word, as well as the wearer of this amulet’s receptivity of its blessings.¹¹⁰⁹ Parássoglou¹¹¹⁰ argues that this verse was perhaps used to mean that the Lord’s name is like a lamp, would expose any serpents hiding in the way of the amulet bearer, and keep him away from them. So, the author of the amulet employed a specific part of the Psalm which is in line with the desired purpose.

***ACM*, 101, no. 55**

† ΤΑΥΧΠΟ ΝΠΕΧ̄C COYXOYΤ Ψ̄IC N̄XAÏΔZK. AΦEI EAΦAZ EΠECHT EΧ̄M ΠKAZ.
 AΦEΠITIME NHXATTB̄E NIM PEΦNEXMA TOY. ΠZHBC NAOYEPHTE ΠE
 ΠEKOY ĀXE¹¹¹¹ ΠXOEIC AYΩ ΠOYOEIN ΠE TAZH.

Christ was born on the twenty ninth of Choiak.¹¹¹² He came down upon the earth. He passed judgement on all the poisonous reptile.¹¹¹³ Your word, O LORD, is the lamp of my feet; and it is the light of my path.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰⁶ Sanzo 2014: 41.

¹¹⁰⁷ Sanzo 2014: 41.

¹¹⁰⁸ Parássoglou 1974: 107–110; Meyer and Smith 1994: 101–102.

¹¹⁰⁹ Frankfurter 2017: 99.

¹¹¹⁰ Parássoglou 1974: 110.

¹¹¹¹ It appears that it is a typing error and it should be read (O)ĀXE.

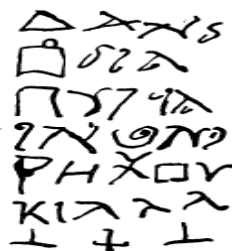
¹¹¹² Twenty-ninth of Choiak the “Christmas date” according to the old Julian calendar is the twenty-fifth December. This date (Twenty-ninth of Choiak) appears also in a ritual spell (*ACM*, 119, no. 63) dates to the 8th-9th cent CE, for purpose of protection.

¹¹¹³ Parássoglou translates it “serpent”, I argue that the spell dedicates against all poisonous reptiles which is serpent one of them as the text mentions the word “XATTB̄E” for “XATTE”, cf. Crum 1939: 792b.

¹¹¹⁴ Parássoglou 1974: 109 with slight modifications.

Moreover, the amulets contain a direct invocation to Jesus Christ, such as the above mentioned *ACM*, 101, no. 55, which invokes the Christ birthday, the crucial juncture in Christian history to keep the wearer protected from venomous reptiles.¹¹¹⁵ Another amulet Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08635 Pap,¹¹¹⁶ which invokes Jesus two times “in the name of your powers, and your names”, and calls him “Jesus the Lord”, in order to grant healing to Mina, the son of Euprepi and Zoe healing. The amulet ends with $\theta\upsilon=99$ ‘Amen’:

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08635 Pap



$\zeta\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\ \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\sigma\omicron\mu\ \eta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\ \bar{\mu}\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\tau\iota\ \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\chi\omicron$
 $\eta\iota\mu\pi\omega\delta\epsilon\eta\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\eta\alpha\ \pi\omega\delta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\pi\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omega\delta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\eta\gamma\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta\ \tau\iota\epsilon\tau\iota\ \tau\iota\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta$
 $\zeta\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\ \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\ \tau\eta\eta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \bar{\mu}\eta\ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\ \sigma\omicron\mu\ \bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \bar{\chi}\varsigma\ \tau\iota\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\chi\omicron\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta$
 $\omega\omega\eta\epsilon\ \eta\iota\mu\ \lambda\omicron\sigma\lambda\epsilon\sigma\ \eta\iota\mu\ \lambda\alpha\gamma\ \eta\sigma\iota\eta\ \omega\omega\eta\epsilon\ \eta\iota\mu\ \tau\iota\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\sigma\omicron\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta\ \tau\alpha\chi\eta\ \times\ \bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\bar{\chi}\varsigma$
 $\zeta\alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta\ \theta\upsilon\epsilon$

In the name of your power (?), your names, and the powers, you will give the healing (to) <so-and-so> the son of <so-and-so>, who is Mina, the son of Euprepi, the son of Zoe, quickly, quickly! Immediately, immediately! Quickly! In the name of your powers and your powers, Jesus Christ, give healing, quickly, quickly! Every illness, every sickness, any type of every illness. Give healing, quickly, quickly! Jesus the Lord. Amen, Amen!¹¹¹⁷

Quoting Scripture in the magical texts is an evidences of the influence of religion on magic, hence the healing and protection amulets employed specific quotations from the Bible which was somehow related

¹¹¹⁵ Coptic Magical Papyri [<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/2019/01/07/a-coptic-magical-christmas/>], (last accessed: 01.04.2021).

¹¹¹⁶ Parchment, 30.5 x 4.5 cm, dates to the 5th cent. CE. Stegemann 1934: 21; 43–44 (no. 95).

¹¹¹⁷ English translation, adapted from the German translation Stegmann 1934: 44.

to the type of disease, and it is worth noting that these quotations were present alongside “non-canonical” texts, and magical elements. For example, the Biblical quotations were confined to Psalms, the titles of the Gospels and narratives.

The incipits of the four Gospels comprise the most common type of scriptural quotation in medico-magical texts. I have noted that only the beginnings of the Gospels were cited for the purpose of healing:¹¹¹⁸ a type of citation known by scholars as *pars pro toto* (“part for whole”), which was common in amulets in Late Antiquity.¹¹¹⁹ The Gospels were used as a source of power as they are based on specific canonical or non-canonical narratives from the life of Jesus.¹¹²⁰

Sanzo argues that the Psalms played an important role in late antique Egypt, and were used in various proceedings and occasions. Even in monastic life, prospective monks were acquired to memorise Psalms in order to prove themselves. One of Pachomius’s writings stated that: “If someone arrives at the doors to the monastery wishing to renounce the world and be accepted as a monk, he is not immediately free to enter. The father of the monastery has to be informed first. The applicant remains outside, in front of the door for a number of days; he is taught the Lord’s Prayer and as many psalms as he can learn and has to diligently prove Himself’.

British Library MS Or 6948(2),¹¹²¹ an amulet against fever¹¹²² uses the Biblical story of the healing of the Peter’s Mother-in-Law, and one of Jesus’s miracles reported in the synoptic Gospels: Mark 1:29–31, Luke 4:38–39, and Matthew 8:14–17. In such passages there is an internal connection between the narrative and the expected effect:¹¹²³

British Library MS Or 6948 (2)

ΑΠΟΣ̄ ΙΗΣ̄ ΕΙ ΕΒΜΑΩΥΙ ΜΗΝΕΒΜΕΝΑΚΙΟΣ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΒΠΟΤ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΠΗ(sic)
 ΣΙΜΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΑΒΒΙΜΙ ΤΕΒΩΟΜΙ ΕΣΖΗΜ ΕΣΩΤΗΟΥΤ ΕΣΕΝΚΑΤ ΜΕΧΕ ΣΙΜΟΝ
 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΧΕΠΑΧΑΙΝΣ ΙΗΣ̄ ΠΕΧΡΣ̄ ΟΥΑΝΑΤΗΚ ΖΑΓΑΡΒΗΛΗΝΑ ΧΗ ΝΧΑΡΑ ΧΗ ΝΖΩΗ

¹¹¹⁸ A Greek healing spell (P.Oxy. VIII 1077) refers to the Gospel of Matthew and names it “Curative Gospel according to Matthew”. Meyer and Smith 1994: 33.

¹¹¹⁹ Sanzo 2014: 176. Sanzo also provided a list with 14 Greek and Coptic examples of the four gospels incipits in the amulets.

¹¹²⁰ Sanzo 2014: 34.

¹¹²¹ Parchment, 11.5 x 7.5 cm. Bibliography: Lexa 1925: 167 (no. 12) (translation); Crum 1922: 542–543, (no. 3) (transcription and translation); Kropp 1930: 2. 62–63 (translation); Pernigotti 1995: 3728–3729 (no. 42) (translation).

¹¹²² *ACM*, 32, no. 7 the amulet (Greek) mentioned above in no. 852, cites a part from the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 4:23–24), for healing purposes: “Curative Gospel according to Matthew. And Jesus went about all of Galilee, teaching and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease {and every disease} and every infirmity among the people. And his fame spread into all of Syria, and they brought him those who were ill, and Jesus healed them.” Also, *ACM*, 34, no. 9 employs a Gospel quotation for the purpose of protection (John 1:1, Matthew 1:1; 4:23, Luke 1:1, Mark 1:1). Meyer and Smith 1994: 32.

¹¹²³ Matthew 8:14–17: “When Jesus came into Peter’s house, he saw his wife’s mother lying sick with a fever. He touched her hand, and the fever left her. She got up and served him. When evening came, they brought to him many possessed. He cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through Isaiah the prophet, saying: He took our infirmities, and bore our diseases”. Coptic scriptorium [http://data.copticscriptorium.org/texts/new-testament/40_matthew_8/], (last accessed: 02.08.2021).

ΒΙ ΜΕΥ ΠΕΡΕΜΑΜ ΠΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ ΖΑΒΑΛ ΜΑΣ ΖΕΝΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΗΕΥ ΑΒΑΜΕΖΙ
ΤΕΣΣΙΣ ΝΙΟΥΝΗΜ ΔΒΚΕΕΣ ΖΙΧΕΝΠΕΡΕΜΑΜ ΔΣΟΥΧΕΙ ΔΣΤΑΔΣ ΔΣΟΥΧΕΙ
ΔΣΤΙΑΚΟΝΙ ΕΛΔΥ ΕΣΟΥΑΣ

The lord Jesus came walking with his most holy Apostles, he went into the house of Simon Peter. He found his mother-in-law feverish, laying down, and sleeping. Then Simon Peter said: My Lord Jesus Christ, have a mercy on Garbêlêa, daughter of Chara, daughter of Zoe, take this fever of the adversary from her. Immediately he took her right hand (and) put it on the fever (and) she became healthy and stood up, became healthy (and) served them, being healthy.¹¹²⁴

¹¹²⁴ Translation: Crum 1922: 543 with slight modifications.

Table 5. Citations in the magico-medical texts

	Quotation	Text	Purpose
Non-canonical citations	Iliad 3, 33–35	P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52	For healing chill and sight of snake
	The letter of our lord Jesus Christ to Abgar.	<i>ACM</i> , 263, no. 127	General healing and protection from various diseases
Scripture quotations	2 Kings 2:8	<i>ACM</i> , 263, no. 127, vo, ll. 61–65	For a discharge or a flow of blood
	Psalm 90	<i>ACM</i> , 314, no. 134	General healing and protection from various diseases
	Psalm 119:105 ¹¹²⁵	<i>ACM</i> , 101, no. 55	For protection from snakebite

¹¹²⁵ Meyer and Smith 1995: 102.

	LXX Psalm 69:1 ¹¹²⁶	<i>ACM</i> , 263, no. 127	Every sickness
	Psalm 150, 1	SBKopt. I 001 ¹¹²⁷	Wounded and injured head. (?)
Gospels citations	Gospels incipits	P.Ryl.Copt. 104, Sect. 6	For general protection
	Gospels incipits	<i>ACM</i> , 314, no. 134	General healing and protection from against various diseases
	The healing of the Petre's mother-in-law	British Library MS Or 6948 (2)	To treat fever

¹¹²⁶ In this text it is preceded by “ἐν πύλλῳ”. Sanzo 2014: 120.

¹¹²⁷ Medical text, for the information on the text, see (2.1.4).

Aberselia, and every doom, every devil, and every Apalaf, and very power of darkness and every demon, and < ... >. Cast them forth from her, her and the child with whom she is pregnant. Cast them forth from all her dwellings and from every place to which she moves, immediately and quickly!”¹¹³⁰

¹¹³⁰ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 122.

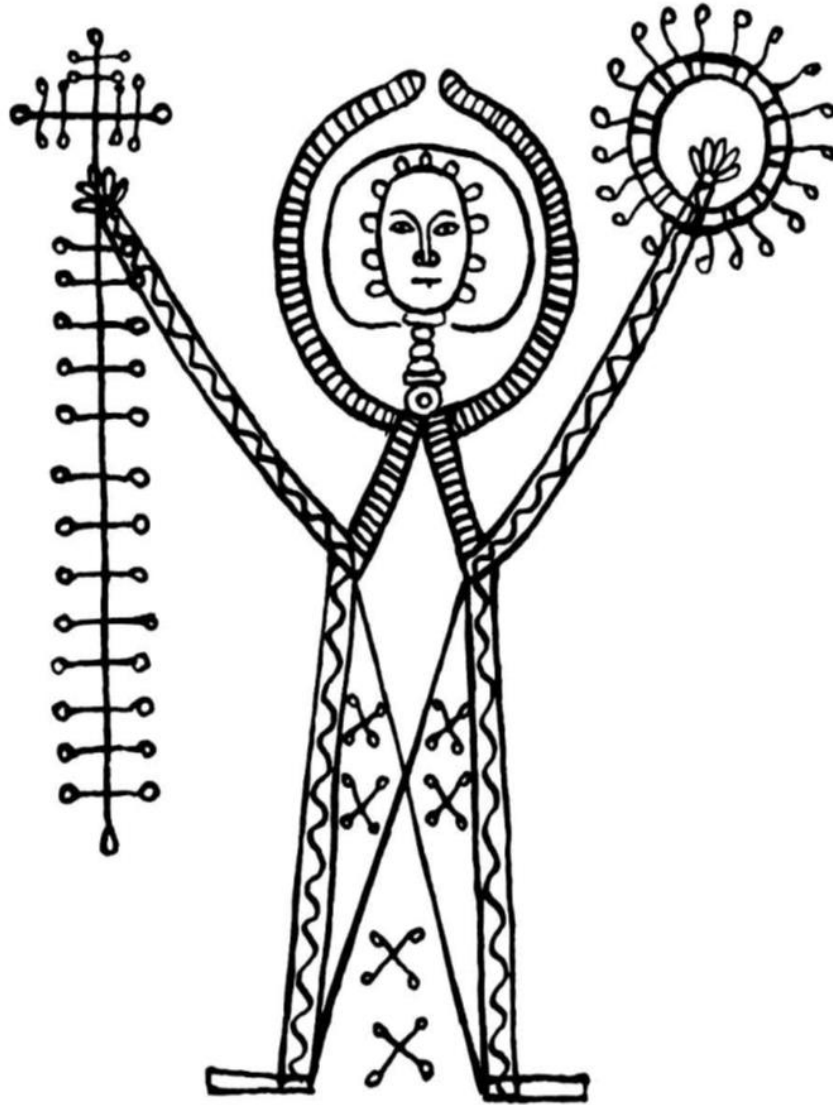


Figure 11. Yao Sabbaoth

(After Meyer and Smith 1994: 121)

A “cookbook” from Thebes (*ACM*, 270, no. 128) contains healing spells for various diseases such as certain eye diseases (ll. 31–34); and to help a woman become pregnant (ll. 67– 69). The text calls upon Abraxas, and in the end there is a drawing of two chickens as a magic wand. The larger bears the monogram of Jesus and the smaller one has no inscription; however, the prolonged tail points to the Sabaoth star. Kropp¹¹³¹ argues that since the head of a cock is a well-known representation of Abraxas, this papyrus could really be implying the equation of Abraxas-Sabaoth on the one hand and Abraxas-Jesus on the other hand. It is also well known that Jao is a name of Jesus according to the syncretic faith. Therefore, an equation of Jesus-Abraxas instead of Jao-Abraxas would not be strange.

¹¹³¹ Kropp 1930: 3.17–18.



Figure 12. Drawing of a cock: ιc xc “Jesus Christ”
 (After Kropp 1930:1. 54)

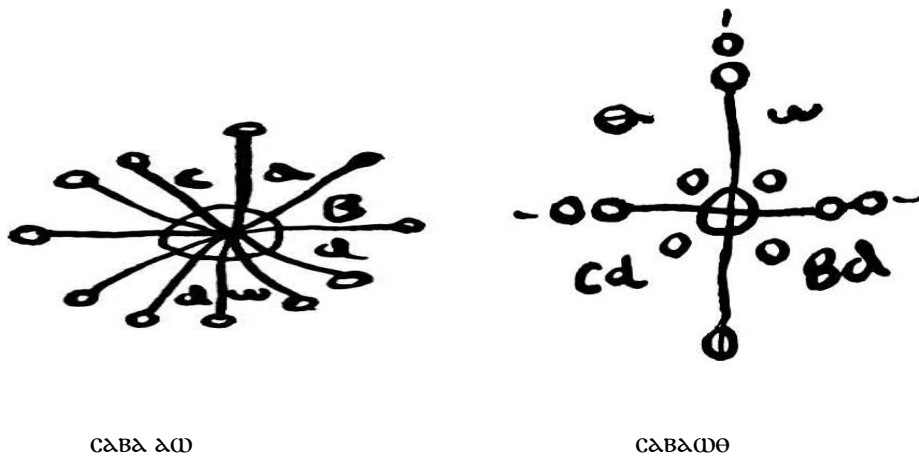


Figure 13. SABAOTH SABA AO written within the ring signs
 (After Kropp 1930:1. 54)

6.5 THE PRAYER

The prayer formula was considered a motivation for gods to respond to the desires and demands of the person praying.¹¹³² Thus, the main function of the prayers in the case of illness was to bring gods immediately into action as the actual agents of the healing. In fact, the prayers in magical texts are not so different from those traditionally identified as non-magical or as part of religious rituals “To Greeks a magician not only uttered spells, he also prayed to the gods: Plato, for one, connects the ἐπωιδαί (spells) and the εὐχαί (prayers) of the magician, both of which helped him to persuade (πείθειν) the gods”.¹¹³³ The same concept is also found in the Coptic magical prayers formulae, which usually began with an intensive beseech of several powers of the god(s) already invoked.¹¹³⁴ Even private letters contained a request to pray in the case of illness “Pray for me, for I am sick”.¹¹³⁵ This was a request often to be found in letters, especially between ascetics, for example in O.Vind.Copt. 363¹¹³⁶: “I greet your brotherhood: pray for me, because my feet are very ill”.¹¹³⁷

The prayers of monks and holy saints were thought to be more powerful and efficacious, seeing that they were free from sins and had a special connection with God. A monk’s prayers could be useful to all household-members, e.g., when children were sick. For example, in P. Mon. Epiph. 144 a man named Menas asks a monk at the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes to “pray in charity for my house; for my children are sick”. Another letter (P. Mon. Epiph. 359, lines 7–9) from the same monastery states: “I beg that [thou] wouldest pray for me, in kindness, and those of [my] house; for the children are sick”.¹¹³⁸

The standard structure of the prayer was as a tripartite one. Firstly, there was the invocation and calling upon a divinity to take part in the ritual; followed by the middle section: a narrative with intensive listing of myths, and epithets addressed to the divinity; and lastly a final section that contains the actual wish addressed to the divinity. The usual verbal form that followed the invocation was usually a second-person imperative, for instance, “O Jesus..., let/ not NN!”.

Interestingly, this tripartite form was the same structure as that of a magical incantation, so a magician might have felt no difference between a prayer and an incantation;¹¹³⁹ *ACM*, 104, no. 58,¹¹⁴⁰ is a monk’s prayer to cure of sickness and to receive a pardon for sin. The text is written in an ecclesiastical context:

¹¹³² Kropp 1930: 3.182–183

¹¹³³ Graf 1991: 188–189.

¹¹³⁴ As in *ACM*, 304, no. 133; P.Ryl.Copt. 104, Sect. 6.

¹¹³⁵ O.Vind.Copt. 261. Till 1960: 82.

¹¹³⁶ Private letter, Ostrakon 6 x 8 cm, dates back to the 8th cent. CE.

¹¹³⁷ My English translation is adapted from the German translation Till 1960: 82.

¹¹³⁸ Crum 1926: 190.

¹¹³⁹ Graf 1991: 189.

¹¹⁴⁰ Paper, 10,9 x 8.4 cm. Meyer and Smith 1994: 355 (transcription).

ΤΩΒΞ ΕΧΕΝΝΕΝ ΙΩΤ ΝΕΜΝΕΝΕΝ ΗΟΥ ΕΤΑΥΩΩΙΝΙ ΗΕΝΠΩΩΙΝΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΖΙΤΕ
ΗΕΝΠΙ ΘΩΠΟΣ ΖΙΤΑ ΗΕΝΠΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΕΝΤΕ ΠΧΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤ ΔΡΙΖΜΟΤ ΝΩ
ΝΕΜΟΥΩΧΑΙ ΝΕ ΗΠΑΤΕΛΩΩΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΨ ΧΕΝΕΝΝΟΥΒΙ ΝΕΝ ΒΟΛ

Pray for our fathers and our brothers who are sick with every sickness,
whether in this monastery or in any <house> of Christ our god. Grant them
all with health and the absence of sickness, and let him forgive us our
sins.¹¹⁴¹

P.Ryl.Copt. 104,¹¹⁴² sect. 4, is a medico-magical text containing a prayer with an invocation to Jesus Christ
to protect Elizabeth from insects bites:

P.Ryl.Copt. 104

ΟΥΩΛΗΛ ΤΕΚΤΑΟΥΨ ΝΕΛΑΑΥ ΕΧΧΑΤΒΕ ΕΩΛΟΚΕ ΔΙ ΙϞ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΙΑ: ΔΙΕΙ
ΙΩΗΑΝΝΗC ΕΙΡΗΝΙCΑΒΕΤ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΙϞ ΧΕΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΛΑΑΥ Ν.Ο...Ε.ΟΥ ΖΟΛΟC
Η...Χ ...ΧΝΡΛΑΔΥ ..[Δ]ΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ ΖΗΠΙΖΟΥ ΠΑΙ ΜΗΤΟΥΩΗ ΤΑΙ ΤΑΠΡΟ
ΜΠΟC CΑΒΑΩΘ ΤΕΝΤΑCΧΕ ΠΑΙ: ΧΕΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΛΑΑΥ ΝΧΑΤΒΕ ΛΟΚCΤ ΔΝΟΚ ΑΛΛΑ
ΜΑΡΕΝΧΑΤΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΩΝΕ ΝΠΑΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΝΕΤΖΙΧΝΠΚΑΖ
ΤΗΡΟΥ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΝΕ ΜΝΟΥΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΜΠΑΕΜΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΤΑΠΡΟ ΠΟC
CΑΒΑΩΘ ΤΕΝΤΑCΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΥΩ ΝΩΔΧΕ ΜΠΧΟΙΕC ΖΗΜΕΝΕ ΔΥΧΩΚ

A prayer, which when you speak, there shall no insect be able to bite
(thee):— O Jesus, I am in Mary! O John, I am in Elizabeth! The Lord Jesus
said, “Let not any at all me, NN., on this day and this night.” The mouth
of the Lord Sabaoth that says this: Let not any insect bite me. But let all
the insects of the earth become stone in my presence and let all that are
upon the earth become even as stone and iron in my presence. For the

¹¹⁴¹ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 104 with slight modifications.
¹¹⁴² Paper, 19 x 14 cm. Bibliography: Crum1909: 53–56; Meyer and Smith 1994: 127 (translation section 4 only); Kropp 1931:
2.19 (translation section 4 only); 2.51 (translation section 6 only); 2. 52 (translation section7 only).

mouth of the Lord Sabaoth it was did say this and the words of the Lord are true. It is finished.¹¹⁴³

P.Ryl.Copt. 104, sect. 6, is another medico-magical text containing a prayer for protection from everything: This prayer includes an invocation to the holy Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,¹¹⁴⁴ to protect the person who recited it from everything. The mentioning of the four Gospels reflects the protection properties of the Gospels, a phenomenon that also appeared in liturgy and ritual texts:¹¹⁴⁵

P.Ryl.Copt. 104, sect. 6

ΟΥΩΛΗΛ ΤΕΚΤΑΟΥ ΤΕΦΝΟΥΖΜ ΝΛΑΥ ΝΙΜ: ΠΧΙΣΕ ΜΠΩΤ ΠΩΝΥ ΕΠΩΗΡΕ
ΜΝΠΕΝΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕΦΑΝΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ . ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΩΝΑΞ ΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΙ ΕΦΕΤΑΑΥ
ΕΝΕΦΜΑΘΥΓΗΣ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΧΗΠΟΥΕΣ (9 lines more, illegible). Ends ΝΕΡΟΥ
ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠ[ΑΩΝ]ΑΞ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΙΜ ΠΩΕ ΔΔ ΩΔΙΕΝΕΞ ΖΑΜΗΝ.

A prayer when you speak it, will protect from everything: the height of the Father, the.... of the Son and the Holy spirit; the beginning of his holy Gospel according to Matthew, to Mark, to Luke, to John; the life (?) which our Lord came to give to his disciples upon the all the days of my life, NN., the son of NN., for ever and ever. Amen.¹¹⁴⁶

ACM, 304, no. 133¹¹⁴⁷ indicates to a number of diseases that can be treated with a prayer to God and the Seven angels in their Hebrew names. It requires purification before recitation, and it should be recited seven times for forty days over honey and some liquorice root:

¹¹⁴³ Translation: Crum 1909: 54, with slight modifications.

¹¹⁴⁴ Another Coptic amulet *ACM*, 115, no. 62 quoted the incipits of the four Gospels with part of Psalm 91 for protection.

¹¹⁴⁵ For example, in P. Haun. III 51 (ll. 1–9) we read “Christ was born, amen. Christ was crucified, amen. Christ was buried, amen. Christ rose, ame[n]. He has woken to judge the living and the dead. Flee also you, fever with shivering, from Kale, who wears this phyl[a]ctery”. Sanzo 2014: 34.

¹¹⁴⁶ Translation Crum 1909: 55 with slight modifications.

¹¹⁴⁷ Papyrus, 15.3-16 x 15.3-17.3 cm; dates back to the 4th cent. CE. Papyrus codex with twenty pages and tied by strings; Bibliography: Worrell 1929–30: 239–62 (transcription); Meyer and Smith 1994: 304; Mirecki 1994: 435–60. It treats various diseases and illnesses such as the bites of beasts, reptiles, jaundice, swollen, ribs pain, spleen, headache, vertigo, fears in the night, sleepless, one who does not usually sleep with a woman, worms, for the illness of burning (lungs), strep throat, joints gout, for one who has a seizure, for a hemorrhage, blood flow of women, every disease, every demon, every evil eye, the evil eye that is among domestic animals, breastfeeding problems.

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΠΑΔΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ Ο ΝΑΥΕΙΝ
ΝΚΩΖΤ ΠΕΤΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΞΝ ΜΠΕΘΗΠ ΠΕΤΕΜΕΡΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΧΠΟ ΝΣΑΡΞ ΣΟΥΝ
ΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΟΥ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ ΤΕΞΗΝ ΤΗΡΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΣΑΒΕ ΠΕΪΕΒΟΛ ΞΝ ΝΑΙΩΝ
ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΙ ΑΤΖΕΤΖΩΤΥ ΕΡΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ
ΤΗΩ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΦΖΩΒ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΚΙΑ ΔΡΙΡΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΤΕΙΕΥΧΗ ΜΝ
ΠΡΑΞΙΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΪΝΑΖΪΤΟΟΤ ΕΡΟΥΥ (p. 12) ΝΧΡΟΠ ΤΑΖΟΚ ΖΑΖΗ
ΜΠΑΤΚΡΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΕΝΕΖ ΕΚΝΑΧΟΚΜΕΚ ΞΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΝΔΑΦΝΗ ΕΚΤΒΒΗΥ ΕΧΩ
ΞΜ ΝΙΜ ΔΥΩ ΕΚΟΥΩΜ ΖΡΕ ΕΥΤΒΒΥ ΕΚΕΙΟ ΡΟΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΜΟΥ ΜΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΝ ΟΥΗΡΠ
ΝΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ

God, lord lord, all powerful one whose body has the appearance of fire which is light in the hidden things. The one who is born of flesh does not know your name, but only you yourself (know it), the entire way of wisdom who alone is from the world of light, who is unknowable, (and) is surrounded by all of the powers who are each appointed over your work and your service. Do for me everything related to this prayer and every action which I will perform!,(p. 12) Before you use it at any time, you must wash yourself with some laurel water, be free from every defilement, and eat food which is clean, (then) wash your mouth with some rock salt and some pure wine¹¹⁴⁸

It is worth mentioning that ascetics mainly expelled demons through prayer. The concept of prayer in monastic literature appeared through private letters from the early fourth century which reveal that the holy man's prayers were thought to also work as well from a distance:¹¹⁴⁹

P.Lond. VI 1926

“I ask and beg you, most honored father, that you request [help] for me from Christ and that I receive healing. Thus I believe that I receive healing on account of your prayers.... For I am beset by a great sickness, a terrible

¹¹⁴⁸ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 304; 307 with slight modifications.

¹¹⁴⁹ Crislip 2005a: 23.

difficulty in breathing. Thus I have believed and do believe that if you pray on my behalf, I receive healing”.¹¹⁵⁰

Likewise, and ten years later, Tapiam and her husband Paul, merchants in Alexandria, wrote to the Egyptian ascetic Nephros for healing:

P.Neph. I. ll. 10–13

“I, Tapiam, have fallen ill and I am still laid up. So we beseech [you] to pray for our well-being, since before this our children fell ill and were healed through your prayers.”¹¹⁵¹

Crislip¹¹⁵² argues that for monastics, the concept of healing by non-medical methods was considered was certainly an endowment. However, it was often considered to have developed as a direct effect of ascetic superiority. In ca. 356 CE, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, published the influential *Life of Antony*, a bibliography of one of the earliest monastic pioneers in Egypt. The *life of Antony* states that the healing potential is directly linked Antony’s dominance of his body, which he maintained in “utter equilibrium”, owing to this “[t]hrough him the Lord healed many”.

Usually, monastic healers used sacred substances, such as oil and water, alongside prayers to obtain the desired results. Numerous literary and documentary sources illuminate this use of oil. These holy substances were very similar to the prayers which are not affected by distances and remained effective and valuable regardless of distances. This fact appeared in both literary and documentary sources. For instance, the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, a travel account of a monastic pilgrimage to Egypt, approximately 394 CE, states:

“The blessed John [of Lycopolis] himself did not perform cures publicly. More often he gave oil to the afflicted and healed them in that way. For example, the wife of a senator who had lost her sight through developing cataracts on her corneas asked her husband to take her to the saint. When he told her that the saint had never spoken with a woman, she begged only

¹¹⁵⁰ Translation: Crislip 2005a: 23.

¹¹⁵¹ Translation: Crislip 2005a: 23.

[http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.neph;;1?rows=2&start=0&fl=id,title&fq=series_led_path:P.Nephros;*,*,*&sort=series+asc,volume+asc,item+asc&p=0&t=46]

¹¹⁵² Crislip 2005a: 22.

that he should be told about her and offer a prayer for her. This he did, and moreover sent her some oil. She bathed her eyes in the oil only three times and on the third day regained her sight and publicly thanked God.”¹¹⁵³

This healing practice is also demonstrated in a private letter to Apa Papnutius, from the 430 CE. Heracleides writes:

“Both because of my name and because of the sickness that has seized me and oppressed me, I now beg you to do this additional thing: send me the oil...For I do not believe that I will be helped otherwise.”¹¹⁵⁴

In a part of the personal letter, the author asks the other monks in the monastery for some “Holy oil” from the altar of Apa Daniel on the day of his feast:

O.Vind.Copt. 261

___]* τει ντεπρεσβαι ννεκωληλ ετογ[αβ _____] μοναστηριον
νιτροπος ετογαβ [? μαλ]λον περοογ ετογαβ ναπα δαγεια [ε]τε πεφωα
ετογααβ πε ετρεκτνηοογ ογκογι ννεζ νωληλ ρη πεθυσιαστηρ/
ννετογαβ αγω νιγτβζ νεσνηγ ετογααβ ετρεγπαρτογ ραροϊ νσετβζ
πνουτε εχν ταμντρεφ νοβε ημον †ρορω εματε †ωδνε δε χνν σογ
χογτψις ναθω̄

___] the intercession of your holy prayers [...] monastery of the holy
Topos, [especially] on the holy day of Apa David, that of his holy festival.
That you send a little prayer oil from the altar of the saints and pray the
brothers. Pray that they may prostrate themselves for me and pray to God
for my sinfulness, for I am very poorly and sick since 29. Hathor.¹¹⁵⁵

Blessed water was another one of the blessed substances used for healing through non-medical methods. For example, a letter from a Pachomian monastery (Bishop Ammon) sent to Theophilus, the Patriarch of

¹¹⁵³ Translation: Crislip 2005a: 24.

¹¹⁵⁴ Translation: Crislip 2005: 24.

¹¹⁵⁵ Author's own translation.

Alexandria, presents a fully comprehensive report on the use of water for healing by the Pachomian abbot Theodore to heal a poisoned young girl:¹¹⁵⁶

“Amid the sound of a crowd of men and woman weeping near the monastery— for [the girl] was expected to expire — the child’s father came from the opposite bank, carrying a silver cup filled with water.... Theodore took the cup, looked up to heaven and prayed with tears, and made the sign of the cross of Christ over the water. The child’s father took the water and went to his house with the crowd. After three or four hours he returned.... He said: “My brothers were able by force to open the corners of my daughter’s mouth and pour in a small portion of the water. Immediately there was an abundant excretion below and the girl was saved.”¹¹⁵⁷

There is no doubt that these monastics believed that physical therapy together with complementary techniques like prayer, laying-on of hands, blessings, performing the sign of the cross, and the utilisation of blessed oil and water, played an essential role in healing the nonmedical diseases by the power of God.¹¹⁵⁸ As in the healing of non-demonic diseases, the application of blessed oil and making the sign of the cross could cure demonic diseases, and the presence of the monastics could be sufficient to cast out demons. On the other hand, many texts mentioned that non-medical ways of healing did not have an effective impact all of the time. The second Sahidic life of Pachomius narrates:

“If it happened that the sick person was healed he applied a [religious] remedy to him, he did not pride himself on it, knowing that the power came not from him but from the lord who dwelt in him. On the other hand, if he applied a remedy to someone without obtaining a cure, he was not saddened or disheartened, but blessed the Lord.”¹¹⁵⁹

Similarly, Athanasius describes Antony’s inability to heal:

“And with those who suffered [Antony] sympathized and prayed- and frequently the Lord heard the prayers he offered on behalf of many people.

¹¹⁵⁶ Crislip 2005: 24.

¹¹⁵⁷ Translation adapted from Crislip 2005: 24.

¹¹⁵⁸ Crislip 2005: 25.

¹¹⁵⁹ Translation: Crislip 2005: 25.

And Antony was neither boastful when he was heeded, nor disgruntled when he was not; rather, he gave thanks to the Lord always. He encouraged those who suffered to have patience and to know that healing belonged neither to him nor to men at all, but only to God who acts whenever he wishes and for whomever he wills.¹¹⁶⁰

6.6 DISEASES TREATED WITH MAGIC

Some illnesses were treated with magic rather than with medicine. Demon possession was, for example, one of these diseases. It is not mentioned in the medical texts, possibly because it was not considered as a disease like the others. Being possessed means that there was a hidden spirit or diabolical power in the sufferer's body. On the other hand, other diseases were shared among both the fields of medicine and magic such as pregnancy, migraine, skin diseases (but it is difficult to define 'cutaneous'), cases of leprosy, fever, and snakebites, gout, chills, spleen, mental diseases, possession, and fire diseases.

6.6.1 BLOOD FLOW

Blood flow was a disease that could be adjusted easily after delivery. Bleeding was expressed clearly in the first two recipes of BKU I 25, ll. 13–15 and P.Köln XV 641¹¹⁶¹ (4–12 left) with the expression εἴτβε οὐχῆμε ἐρε οὐχνοῦ γάρου “For] a woman whose blood is beneath her”. This is what the following recipe states:

BKU I 25, ll. 13–15

[εἴτβε]-οὐχῆμε ἐρε-πεσνοῦ γάρου' [..] [..]ῤπος ἐπκωῶτ 'καπνιζε μ[..
[..]ωσῆαλο

[For] a woman whose blood is beneath her. [Give...] to the fire and smoke [it, ...] She will be healed.

¹¹⁶⁰ Translation: Crislip 2005: 25.

¹¹⁶¹ Schenke 2017: 253–260 (transcription and translation). Metadata at “KYP M503”, [Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscript/kyp-m503]. Accessed on 28/03/2021.

P.Köln XV 641¹¹⁶² (4–12 left)

ετβε ογςζιμε ερε ογςνοφ ζαροσ ρηαι μορογ εροσ λοχκογ¹¹⁶³ ετεσ†πε
με¹¹⁶⁴ τεσζηλιπε¹¹⁶⁵ απολο(για) θγ(μιαμα) μασ(τιχη) ωασωλ ταχη
(magical signs in rows) σζαι ναι ναλλιτετ ναλλχογβι καρτης λοχκογ εροσ
ογσαιη πε εφτοκιμων ογκοιανα ζδ ναμαρτε εχνη τκαλαρη ναδ̄

For a woman who is bleeding,¹¹⁶⁶ make these things! Tie them (these things) to her. Stick them to her waist and navel. Spell, incense mastic resin. It will stop quickly. (magical signs in rows) Write these things in ink on wood (or) papyrus. Stick them to her! It is beautiful (good) tested. One ounce is appropriate against the powers upon the womb of the NN.¹¹⁶⁷

The following text explores a ritual connection between Elijah stopping the Jordan River with his staff and crossing it as if it were like dry land (2 Kings 2:8) and the cessation of the bleeding:

ACM, 263, no. 127, vo, ll. 61–65

+ ετβε ογζρυμα η οκω ποσφ ζηλιασ εφναχιορ νπεωρτανησ / νεερο
ημοογ ννεφογρητε αφβι ηπεσσερωβ εζραι ηνιλεγε / ητε πεωρτανησ θε
νογκαζ εφωογωγ ητεζε οη πχοιεσ εκα/ηογχ ηπεζεγμαγ ζη ηημ δ̄δ̄
ζιτη δηηηαμικ ηπετερε/ ηωοωτ ηηπεγε ητοτγ λαγαρ γδ̄ρ γδ̄ρ αρομαρκαρ

ρ For a discharge or a flow of blood: As Elijah, about to cross the Jordan River on his feet, raised his staff with commands that the Jordan be like dry land, in this manner also, lord, you must drive the discharge from N. child of N., through (the) power of the one in whose hand are the keys of heaven, Lagar Gar Gar Aromarkar.¹¹⁶⁸

¹¹⁶² Paper, 16.5 x 11 cm, dates back to the 10th-11th cent. CE. Bibliography: Schenke 2017: 253–260.

¹¹⁶³ λοχκ, λωχκ, λωχσ, λωχτ “join to; stick”. Crum 1939:150b.

¹¹⁶⁴ με for ηη. Schenke 2017: 256.

¹¹⁶⁵ ζηλιπε for ζλιπε Schenke 2017: 256.

¹¹⁶⁶ Literally: “a woman with blood beneath her”. Schenke 2017: 256.

¹¹⁶⁷ English translation from the German translation by Schenke, with slight modifications.

¹¹⁶⁸ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 267, with slight modifications.

P. Macq. I 1, p. 16, ll. 1–5

ετβε. ωλ σνοβ. νιμ. **Α**· εγωβε. εεωωογωογ. μαρογωμ. ωωπε.
εφρεπσωμα. Δι εχωβ. ριρμχ.

“For every staunching of blood: Say the formula on a dry gourd. with vinegar.”¹¹⁶⁹

6.6.2 BRAIN AILMENTS

The following recipe offers a treatment for brain pains but it is incomplete:

ACM, 263, no. 127, ll. 56–58

ογανκεφαλος εφτκας / ογερτε ησατ ογ ρμο ρε νερ ρι
ηρη ρι θερμον / μαλκ...λτο

A brain that gives pain: A foot ... salt, oil, wine, and hot water
.....

6.6.3 BREASTFEEDING PROBLEM

A distress that threatened both mother and child was the failure of produce breast milk. Here P.Ryl. Copt. 103¹¹⁷⁰ contains a spell to protect the breast. Unfortunately, most of the text is illegible, as Crum declares:¹¹⁷¹

P.Ryl. Copt. 103

..... ταμααγτε μαρια τεκιβε, τεκιβε νταπενχοεις ι̅c̅ πε̅χ̅c̅ c̅ω
εβολ νρητc̅ ρμπραν ετεσφραγic̅ εσωολερ ριc̅μηρητ εμαρια

¹¹⁶⁹ Choat and Gardner 2013: 75.

¹¹⁷⁰ Paper; 15 x 8 cm. dates back to the 8th–10th cent. CE. the first lines are illegible. Bibliography: Crum 1909: 53 (transcription and translation); Meyer and Smith 1994: 231 (translation); Kropp 1931: 2.211–12 (translation).

¹¹⁷¹ Crum 1909: 53.

ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΖΜΠΡΑΝ ΕΠΣΑΩΦ ΕΧ...Η ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΥΧΕΚΧΩΚ¹¹⁷²
 ΕΤ[ΖΝΤΜ]ΕΣΤΗΖΗΤ¹¹⁷³ ΕΠΩΤ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ ΖΜΠΡΑΝ
 ΕΠΕΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΔΑΝΟΚ ΜΕΠΑΙΩΤ ΔΝΟΝ ΟΥΑ¹¹⁷⁴ ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ Ι̅C ΠΕΧ̅C
 ΖΜΠΡΑΝ Ε̅ΑΒΒ̅Α Δ̅ΒΒ̅Α Δ̅ΒΒ̅Α: ΔΒΛΑΝΑΘΑ ΝΑΦΛΑ ΑΚΡΑΜΑ ΧΑΜΑΡΙ · ΗΛΥ ·
 ΤΕΜΑΧ · ΑΧΩΩΧΑ · †ΩΡΕΚ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΕΘΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΕΚΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΩΗΡΕ Ι̅C
 ΠΕΧ̅C · ΖΡΑΒΟΥΝΙ . ΝΘΞ ΝΤΑΚΟΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΖΗΤC

..... my mother is Mary. The breast....., the breast from which our Lord
 Jesus Christ drank. In the name of the seal that is imprinted on Mary
 the Virgin’s heart. In the name of the holy seven ..., that are pricked
 upon the breast of the Father, Almighty ΑΕΕ̅ΙΟΥ̅Ο̅. In the name of
 him that said, “I and my Father are one,” that is Jesus Christ. In the
 name of Abba Abba Abba Ablanatha Nafla Akrama Chamari Ely
 Temach Achoocha. I adjure you by the sacrifice of your only begotten
 Son, Jesus Christ, Rabboni, in the manner that you signed the cup.¹¹⁷⁵

6.6.4 CHILLS

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 42–52¹¹⁷⁶ prescribes remedies against chills, which is applied in Iliad, Book 3, 33–
 35. In addition, magical-medical texts *ACM*, 100, no. 53; *ACM*, 101, no. 54 and *ACM*, 98, no. 51 present
 prescriptions against the chills.

6.6.5 EYE DISEASES

The numerous formulae for the eye diseases reflect the everyday predicament of the general population,
 which was extreme considering the atmosphere and the conventional uncleanliness. This uncleanliness was

¹¹⁷² Crum 1939: 765a. Crum translates into “burnished”, but I think it is more suitable her to translate it into “pricked”, so the
 names that pricked upon the breast, especially with σφραγίζε. And “burnished” is used usually with surfaces of metal or wood.

¹¹⁷³ Crum 1939: 187b. μεστθ̅η̅τ. Cf. μεστ̅η̅η̅τ “breast”. Coptic Dictionary Online [https://copticdictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C2064],
 (last accessed: 04.11.2019).

¹¹⁷⁴ μεπα̅ι̅ω̅τ is for μηπα̅ι̅ω̅τ. χε̅δ̅α̅ν̅ο̅κ μη πα̅ι̅ω̅τ Δ̅ν̅ο̅ν ο̅υ̅α̅ (John 10:30).

¹¹⁷⁵ Translation: Crum 1909: 53 with slight modifications. Crum’s translation: “my mother is Mary. The breast, the breast
 whence our Lord Jesus Christ drank. In the name of the seal (σφραγίς) that is imprinted on Mary the Virgin’s heart.
 In the name of the seven holy, burnished that are upon the breast of the Father, Almighty {the 7 vowels}. In the name of him
 that said, “I and my Father are one,” that is Jesus Christ. In the name of (magical names). I adjure thee by the sacrifice of
 Thine Only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Rabboni, in like manner as Thou didst sign the cup.”

¹¹⁷⁶ (See 6.2).

based partly on superstitious: a child should not be washed in order from him or her to remain unrecognisable to the demons, so he should not be washed.¹¹⁷⁷ As previously discussed,¹¹⁷⁸ eye diseases recipes occupy a large space in the Coptic papyrus of *Meshaiikh*,¹¹⁷⁹ which offers only folk remedies, while, BKU I 25, ll. 8–16 introduces magical elements as well. *ACM*, 263, no. 127 also gives instructions on treating eye problems in, for example, l. 58: “concerning eye that is darkened (blinds).”

***ACM*, 270, no. 128, ll. 31–34**

ετβε χακβαλ νογπογῑ ἡρμχαα ἡγκωπε/ νηκ νογχῑγ ἡγκζαῖ εχωφ
 ἡπωαρρι ἡ ρᾶἡ ἡτεπρ/ οσεγχι μωρ νεφβαλ ἡρμχαα ἡγκααγ εβολ ἡφβωβ/
 εκαταμειααφ δε ἡπεφμῶγἡν ἡπωε̄

“For eye disease (?): (Take) a little aged vinegar, catch a sparrow, and write on it the first name of the prayer. Fill its eyes with aged vinegar, remove them, and let it go (?). You must prepare it on the eighth of the month”.¹¹⁸⁰

The magical action here lies instructed in the rite by which the disease is transmitted to a bird, namely a sparrow, by using names from the opening lines of the prayer, which includes the names of angels, names of power (Ablantha, Abra, Akramachamario, Semsemlam, Sesanke Barpharkes, Tameamnoues), and the Holy Trinity.

Two Jesus legends appeared to be used in the healing of eye ailments: The first is in the British Museum, Anastasi collection 29528, in which the relationship between the first text and the healing of the eye is clear, as Jesus heals the eye of the doe through the mediation of Michael: “the wound will heal, the darkness will be dissolved”. The second is found in P. Ryl. Copt.102,¹¹⁸¹ which mentions ογτκαα νβαλ¹¹⁸² “eye pain”, and contains an invocation to the lance with which Christ was stabbed, Crum assumes that it is a reference to Longinus’ blindness legend.¹¹⁸³ Kropp¹¹⁸⁴ argues that “perhaps the meaning is: just as the lance-tip emerged from the body of the Lord in the grave at Mary’s prayer, so

¹¹⁷⁷ Kropp 1930: 3. 206.

¹¹⁷⁸ (See 5.6).

¹¹⁷⁹ Chassinat 1902.

¹¹⁸⁰ Translated by Meyer and Smith 1994: 271.

¹¹⁸¹ Paper; 25x10 cm. Crum 1909: 52–53.

¹¹⁸² Crum 1909: 52.

¹¹⁸³ Crum 1909: 52.

¹¹⁸⁴ Kropp 1930: 3.207.

may the foreign body that has penetrated the eye, or the disease in general, leave the eye of the person about whom the saying is being read”.

P.Ryl.Copt. 102, contains two magical spells one against ophthalmia and another for general protection from everything in general. It is assumed that it refers to the legend of Longinus’ blindness.¹¹⁸⁵ The text starts with some magical characters, followed by the one line ([...]ταωωεκικα), magical signs, and then the text:

P.Ryl.Copt. 102

οϋ†κας νβαλ πενιπε ηρωογτ ^θ πενιπε νσιμε πενιπε ωε κκαωωω
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΩΝΩΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟϞ ΖΙΧΜΠΤΩΟΥ ΝΙΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΣΟΚϞ ΑΥΣΕΚΟϞ
 ΑΥΑΑϞ ΝΛΟΝΧ[Η] ΑΥΤΑΑϞ ΕΠΕΣΠΗΡ ΝΗϞϞΟΥϞ ΖΙΧΜΠΩΕ ΜΠΕΣϞ ΝΨΕΩΝ
 ΜΠΟΥϞ †ΤΑΡΚΩ ΜΜΟΚ Ω ΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΜΠΕ Π[.]Τ[.]ΥΤΑΥΟΥ ΤΕΥ.. ΝΠΣΩΜΑ ΝΙϞ
 ΠΧϞ ΔΕ[.....] ΕΚΝΗΥ ΕΖΟΥΝΡϞΟΥ ΕΚΝΗΥ Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖΙΤΝΩΟΜ Ν†ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧ[Η
 ΝΤΑΜ]ΑΡΙΑ ΤΠΑΡ ΤΑΥΟΥϞ ϞΑΒ[ΟΛ] ΜΠΤΑΦΟϞ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ كططسطهيباهو

Eye pain male iron, female iron, iron of wood of, that was named upon Ezekiel’s mount, that was pulled and plucked and made a lance and set in Jesus’ side, upon the tree of the cross of Sion (?), this day! I adjure you, O heavenly iron, which was the body of Jesus Christ; for you are coming in you come forth by the power of this prayer which Mary the Virgin recite without (?) the tomb. Yea, yea, quickly!¹¹⁸⁶

6.6.6 FERTILITY

The help and assistance of a doctor or a magician to achieve fertility and reproduction were the things most sought after.¹¹⁸⁷ This idea of birth protection dates back to the Old Kingdom. Many amulets for protection can be found in tombs. Some of the Middle Kingdom amulets seem to have jagged knife-like edges, inserted into a wooden lug (figure 14–15). On the object in figure 15 the words “we have come to protect the lady, Merisenb” are inscribed.¹¹⁸⁸

¹¹⁸⁵ Crum 1909: 52.

¹¹⁸⁶ Translation Crum 1902: 53 with slight modifications.

¹¹⁸⁷ Kropp 1930: 3.199.

¹¹⁸⁸ Bouwer 2012: 187.

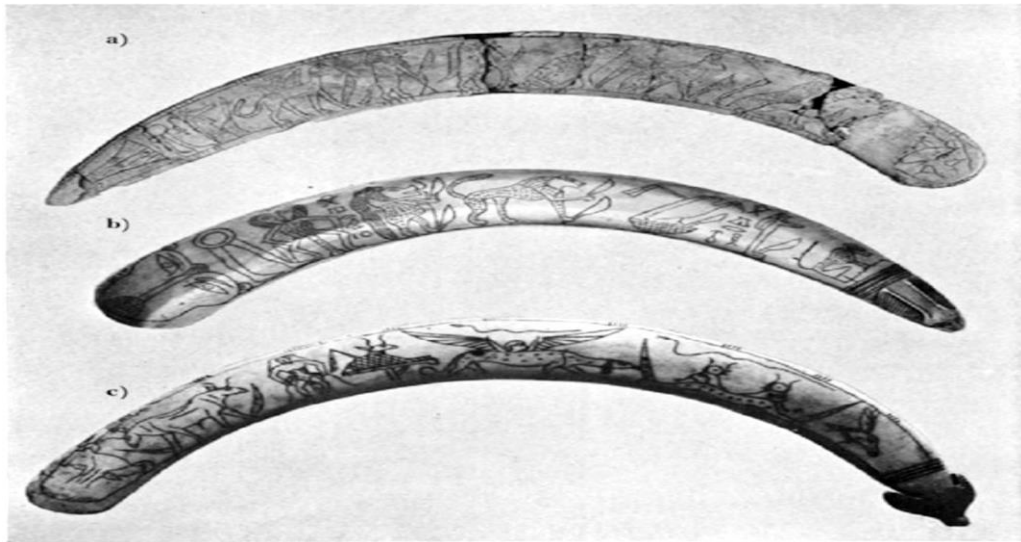


Figure 14. Magical Wands or Knives

- ❖ a. Boston Museum of Fine Arts New York
- ❖ b. Museum of Art at Cairo
- ❖ c. Egyptian Museum

(After Bouwer 2012: 188)

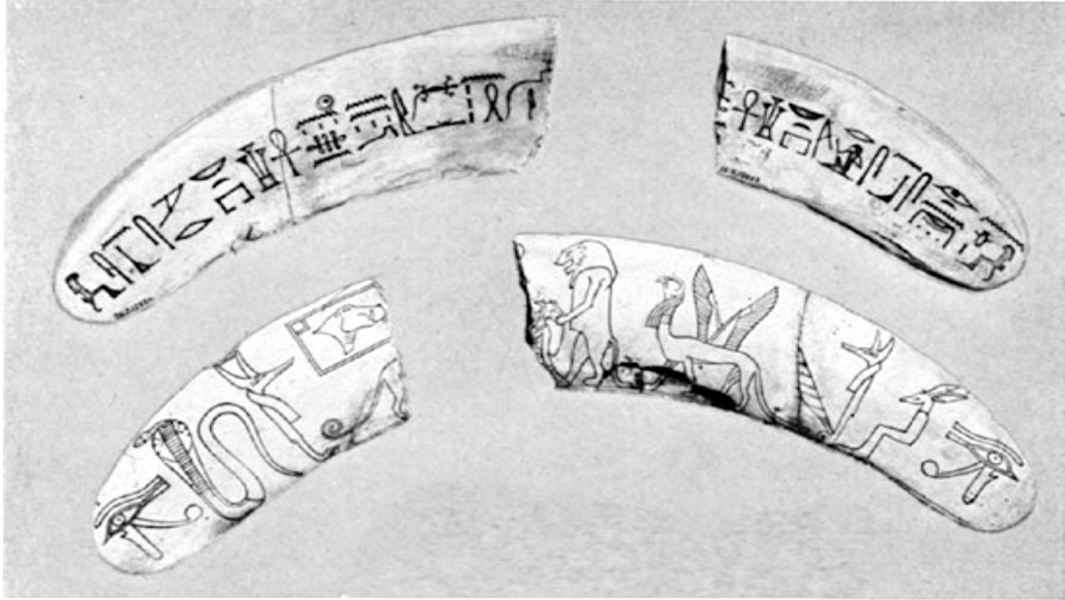


Figure 15. Metropolitan Museum of Art,
wand to protect the lady, Merisenb. (After Bouwer 2012: 189)

Similarly, there are many Coptic medical and magical recipes to help a woman to become pregnant and equally, to protect her during the period of pregnancy:

ACM, 270, no. 128, ll. 67–69

ΟΥΣΙΜΕ ΕΤΡΕΣΟ ΤΑΥΣΟ ΕΧΝ ΖΕΝΒΗΝΝΕ ΝΡΑΥΝΕ ΝΓ/ΤΑΥ ΝΗC ΝCΟΥΑΜΟΥ ΔΥΩ
CΝΑΟΟΥ ΤΑΥΟC ΔΕ ΝCΟΥ/ ΔΟΥΤ ΨΙC ΜΠΩΞ

To make a woman become pregnant: Utter it over dates of a virgin palm,
and I give them to her that she may eat them, and she will become
pregnant. Utter it on the twenty–ninth of the month.¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁸⁹ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 272.

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 19–34

ΘΕΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΓΕΝΕΣΙ ΔΘΕΡΝΕ ΚΛΗΣΙΑ . ΔΘΕΡΝΕΒΟΥΝΙ. ΛΑΒΙΣΑΧΘΙ.
ΧΩΜΟΧΩΧΙ. ΙΣΙ . ΣΟΥΣΗ. ΜΟΥΝΤΗ. Τ̄ΝΤΩΡΕΩ. ΙΩΒΑΣΤ . ΒΑΣΤΑΪ. ΡΙΒΑΤ
ΧΡΙΒΑΤ . ΘΕΡΗΣΙΒΑΤ . ΧΑ ΜΑΡΕΙ . ΧΥΡΙΘΒΑΘ . ΣΟΥΕΡΗ . ΘΑΡΑΘΑ ΘΑΒΑΑΘΘΑ .
ΘΑΘ. ΒΑΘΑΔ. ΛΑΘΑΪ. ΔΧΡΑ. ΔΒΑΘΑΪ . ΔΗ . ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΡΑΝ ΤΗΣ Δ ΗΝ
ΕΤΕΚΑΝΗ Δ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΦΤ̄ ΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΑΦΛΕΓΜΑΝΤΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΪ . ΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΙ .
ΔΕΙ ΝΒΑΣΑΝΙΣΤΩΣ ΙΔΗΒ̄ ΤΑΧΥ Β̄// ΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕΡΙΔΗ ΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΛΕ
ΥΠΟΚΑΤΩΡ ΔΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΘΕΩΣ ΘΕΡΘΠΕΥΣΟΝ >>>——.

“I invoke you, great Isis, ruling in the absolute blackness, Mistress of the gods of heaven by birth, (Magical names or words). Make the womb of so-and-so, whom so-and-so bore, relax into the natural position and be uninflamed: without danger, forever without pain, Straightway, straightway, Quickly, quickly! Soak a flock of white wool. Put it underneath it, and straightway cure.”¹¹⁹⁰

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 60–114, contains a spell for birth, which invokes the Egyptians deities (Amun, Thoth, Isis, Horus) and Yao.

ACM, 120, no. 64 is devoted to protect ‘Sura’ during her current pregnancy and also every child born to her. It contains spells for protecting her from any evil and illness: ΝΙΒΙ ΕΤΖΑΟΥ “every evil force”, as the spell describes (l. 19); the goddesses and the demigods of the ancient gods (l. 22); ΑΠΑΛΑΦ Αpalaf, ΔΒΡΣΕΛΙΑ Aberselia, the child-killing demon, and the fever in its various forms (l. 24–25), the demons at all (l. 46), male and female (ll. 126–127). Kropp¹¹⁹¹ argues that the text is understood as being originally addressed to one of the birth deities. It is presumably that Sura wears it as an amulet.

ACM, 95, no. 49, ll. 3–18¹¹⁹² presents an example of the facilitation of a delivery. It contains the legend of Jesus and a doe in labour, in which Jesus facilitates the doe’s childbirth. As Jesus helped and supported the doe, it is expected to equally assist the woman, who blesses a potion with this saying, or wears this text as an amulet.¹¹⁹³ A blessing is spoken over a cup:

¹¹⁹⁰ Translation modified from Worrell 1930: 84.

¹¹⁹¹ Kropp 1930: 3. 200.

¹¹⁹² Beltz 1983: 66 (transcription). Translation adapted from Meyer and Smith 1994: 96.

¹¹⁹³ Kropp 1930: 3. 201.

ACM, 95, no. 49, ll. 3–18

“Jesus our lord came walking [upon] the Mount of Olives in the [midst] of his twelve apostles, and he found a doe ... in pain [...] in labor pains. It spoke [to him in these words]: “Greetings, child of the maiden! Greetings, [first born of your] father and mother! You must come and help me in this time of need.” He rolled his eyes and said, “You are not able to tolerate my glory, or to tolerate that of my twelve apostles. But though I flee, Michael the archangel will come to you with his [wand] in his hand and receive an offering of wine. [And he will] invoke my name down upon [it] with the name of the apostles, for ‘whatever is crooked, let it be straight’: [Let the baby] come to the light!”¹¹⁹⁴

Macq. I 1, p. 13, ll. 26– 27

ΟΥΖΙΜΕ ΤΑΡΕΩ. Α• ΕΥΜΟΥ ΝΑΝΘΗΛΙΟΝ. ΤΣΟΣ. Α• ΕΖΟΥΝ. ΕΡΟΣ

“A woman might conceive: Say the formula on flower water (?). give it to her to drink. Say the formula in to it (or ‘her?’)¹¹⁹⁵

P.Ryl.Copt 104 Section 7

ΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΕΩΑΑΖΕΡΑΤΣ ΖΙΟΥΣΙΜΕ: ΔΙΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΕΥΜΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΝΑΜΑΘΥΤΗΣ ΔΥΖΕ
ΟΥΡΩ ΝΣΝ....

“When a mother stands by (?) a woman:—I have come (?) and Jesus is come and called his disciples. They have found a ...¹¹⁹⁶

¹¹⁹⁴ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 96.

¹¹⁹⁵ Choat and Gardner 2013: 69.

¹¹⁹⁶ Translation adapted from Crum 1909: 55.

6.6.7 FEVER

The sudden occurrence of a fever compelled one to presume that the spirits and evil presences caused this disease, especially when the increase in one’s body temperature was combined with shivering.¹¹⁹⁷ There are several types of fever in the texts such as hot, cold fever, or even periodic fever as in P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. inv 22,¹¹⁹⁸ and this one P.Ryl. Copt. 104 sect.5, which lasts around 23 days (πασικ μηχοτῳμτε), it is known by حمى الغب “tertiary fever”.¹¹⁹⁹

P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. inv 22, ll. 11-19

τῳνθῳ παῦσον τανου[. ?] τραξ τρατοῦταγξ¹²⁰⁰ τρα[. ?]
τοῦταξ · ὄγριαξ χη[. ?] σαριλσαμ αναανθλσων η[. ?] τεabas κοραρρα
ιαββε[. ?] σειναπε τῳερε νε . [. ?]
ναγερμονετ μη πα[σικ . ?] νε μη πῳμωμ ηγτ αι[ο αιο τα-]
χη ταχη ταχη ταχη [. ?]

Tōnthu, Pauson, Tanou [...] Trax, Tratoutaux, Tra[...] Toutaks, Thusiah, Čē[...] Sarasam, Ananthasōn, N[...] Teabas, Korarra, Iabbe [...] Seinape (Zaynab?), the daughter of S[...], flee from her?, o this shivering and this periodical fever¹²⁰¹ [and ...] and this tertian fever!¹²⁰² Yea, [yea, ..., quick]ly, quickly, quickly, quickly!¹²⁰³

P.Ryl. Copt. 104 sect.5

εἶτβε τερμοντ μηπασικ μηχοτῳμτε. Here follow magical letters, the vowels (seven times each) and λαμαθ, αλωναι, θηναωρα., σαβαω[θ],

¹¹⁹⁷ Van der Vliet 2005: 144.

¹¹⁹⁸ Hasitzka and Satzinger 2004: 142; Van der Vliet 2005: 141–145.

¹¹⁹⁹ Crum 1909: 54.

¹²⁰⁰ From the published photograph Hasitzka and Satzinger 2004: (fig. 17). τρατοῦταγξ by Van der Vliet 2005: 142.

¹²⁰¹ ασικ “periodical fever” or “ague”, this sort of fever treated medically by using plaster as the medical recipe Ch 118 recommended (see 5.18.2).

¹²⁰² It is known as حمى الغب (الثلاثيه).

¹²⁰³ Transliteration and translation: Korshi Dosoo, Edward O.D. Love & Markéta Preininger (chief editors). “KYP T604: Applied amulet for Seinape, the daughter of S[...]”, Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/text/kyp-t-604. Accessed on 06/09/2021, with slight modifications.

ΑΒΒΑΤ.. (ΩΕΡСО) ... ΠΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΟΥΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΠΝΕΝΣΟΟΕΖΟΝΕΤ.Ν
ΝΟΥΩΤ ΤΑΔΥ ΕΠΕΦΜΟΤΕ ΘΙ ΜΑΣΤΧΕ ΝΟΥΕΡΜΟΤ.

For shivering and the 23 days fever. [obscure], and Lamath, Adonai,
Thenaora..., Sabbaoth, Abbat..... one, give it to his neck, mastic of
one ...¹²⁰⁴

The standard fever was called ζμον, ζμαμ¹²⁰⁵ “heat, fever”¹²⁰⁶ and was medically treated with plaster and other remedies (see 5.16.1). Here I will focus on the magical recipes, which are used for fever. *ACM*, 98, no. 51¹²⁰⁷ is a healing amulet on paper for “Poulpehepu” to combat various types of fever. The amulet contains the SATOR formula, the vowels series, power words λαλ μογλαλ φογλαλ, as well as the youths’ names from Daniel 3:¹²⁰⁸

***ACM*, 98, no. 51**

... ΣΑΤΩΡ ΑΡΕΤΩ ΤΗΝΗΤ ΩΤΗΡΩ ΡΩΤΑΣ ΟΡΗΡΩ ΝΤΖΥΜΜΕ ΜΕΝΙΩΣΕΦ ΜΕΝ
ΠΑΣΙΚ ΜΕΝΠΡΑΩ ΜΕ ΝΤΕΡΜΩΝΤ ΜΗ ΠΙΚΛΙΜΙΑΜ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΕΡΜΩΝΗΤ ΜΕ
ΕΝΠΙΩΟΜΕΤΩΩΜΕΤ ΜΕΝΠΑΙΚΑΣ ΖΕΝΤΑΠΕ ΜΗΠΣΩΜΑ ΝΠΟΥΛΠΕΡΕΠΥΣ
ΝΖΑΡΡΑ ΖΕΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΕΝΙΟΥ ΝΤΑΤΩΧΟΥ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΠΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΠΕΝΝΟ^Υ ΗΛ ΠΕΝΦΤ
ΖΙΠΕΣΤΩΣ ΖΙΤΕΝΝΟΥΔΑΙ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΚΕΦΙ ΕΦΩΛ ΜΠΙΩΣΕΦ ΜΕΝΠΡΑΩ ΖΕΜΠΣΩΜΑ
ΝΠΟΥΑΠΕΡΕΠΥΣ ΝΖΑΡΡΑ ΔΙΩ ΤΑΧΗ Δ Ε Η Ι Ο Υ Ω

“... SATOR ARETO TENET OTNRO ROTAS, take away this fever and this cold and this shivering and this chill and this shaking fever and this complaint and this shaking fever and this tertian fever and this pain from the head and the body of Poulpehepus son of Zarra through the name and the nails that were driven into(?) the body of Manuel, our Nuel, our god

¹²⁰⁴ Author’s own translation.

¹²⁰⁵ (P.Köln 425).

¹²⁰⁶ Crum 1939: 677a.

¹²⁰⁷ Paper, 5.5 x 22.5 cm, dates back to about 11 cent. CE. Bibliography: Alcock 1982: 100 (transcript); Meyer and Smith 1994: 98–99 (translation).

¹²⁰⁸ Meyer and Smith 1994: 98.

on the cross, by the Jews, that you may take away this cold and this chill from the body of Poulpehepus son of Zarra, yea, at ounce!”.¹²⁰⁹

An amulet on parchment, from the Moen collection,¹²¹⁰ contains the same text on its flesh and hair sides, with the name of its client written at the beginning of the text. The amulet is dedicated to Phoibammon to heal him from fever and chill almost instantaneously, as the spell recites the word “today”. It contains the usual invocation of “I adjure you by your names”, without mention of these names:

ACM, 99, no. 52

Verso:

ΔΝΟΟΚ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΕΚΕΣΟΥΤΕΝ ΝΤΕΚΣΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΚΦΙ ΜΑΥ
ΜΠΩΩ<ΝΕ> ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΧΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΖΟΥΝ ΜΟΦ ΜἩ ΖΙΒΟΛ ΜΟΦ ΠΙΖΜΜΟΜ <ΖΙ>
ΑΡΟΩ.¹²¹¹ ΤΙΩΡΚ̄ ΡΟΚ ΝΕΚΡΑΝ ΝΑΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ. ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΡΟΩ ΝΙΜ. ΜΝ
ΖΜΜΟΜ ΝΙΜ ΔΝΟΚ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΩΙΡΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ.

I (am) Phoibammon, the son. May you stretch out your hand and remove this sickness today. Cast it forth from inside him and outside him, this fever <and> cold. I invoke you in your names. The names. Cast forth every cold and every fever. I am Phoibammon the son of Maria.

Recto:

ΔΝΟΚ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚΕΣΟΥΤΕΝ ΝΤΕΚΣΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΚΦΙ ΜΑΥ
ΜΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΖΜΜΟΜ ΖΙ ΑΡΟΩ . ΝΚΝΟΧΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΑΖΟΥΝ ΜΟΪ . ΜΝ ΣΑΒΟΛ ΜΟΪ ΔΪΟ
ΝΕ<Κ> ΡΑΔΑΝ [[.]] ΝΑΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ

I (am) Phoibammon, the son of Maria. May you stretch out your hand and take away this I sickness of fever and cold. Cast it forth from inside me and outside me. Yea, <your> names. The names.¹²¹²

¹²⁰⁹ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 98–99.

¹²¹⁰ Parchment, 17.3 x 10.2 cm, dates back to the 9th–10th cent. CE. Bibliography: Sijpesteijn 1982: 179–381 (transcription; translation); Meyer and Smith 1994: 99–100 (translation); Pernigotti 1995: 3729 (no.44); Pernigotti 2000: 60 (no. 26).

¹²¹¹ Crum mentions that it is a malady opposite to ζῆμον. Crum 1939: 16b. αρωω, the word “cold” refers to chill.

¹²¹² Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 99–100 with slight modifications.

ACM, 100, no. 53, is a healing amulet for different types of fevers. It invokes the three youths in Daniel. 3.¹²¹³

ACM, 101, no. 54¹²¹⁴ is an amulet for Ahmed, to heal and protect him from fevers and madness. It uses the utterances, AKRAMACHAMARI, ABLANATHANA[LBA], the ALPHA form, the vowels' series, and angels' names:

ACM, 101, no. 54

βαβοῦχα ... ακραμα χα]μαρι αβλαναθανα [] ο [] ρανκ̄με ΔΩΜ̄ε
ΔΩΜ̄ ΔΩ Δ αλαφα λεον φΩΝΗ ΔΝΗΡ ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
ΖΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΗΛ ΣΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΖΑΡΑΘΙΗΛ ΖΕΔΕΚΙ ΔΝΑΗΛ ΥΩΗΛ ΤΣΗΛ ΔΕΗΙΟΥΩ †СОПС
ΑΥΩ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΜΜΟΤ[Ν] Δεкас ετεεине εβολ ηπιαροϷ ην πικα η σαρτε
ην ηιερβοον [ε] ην †ηανια ην πριμε εσαβολ εαζημηт πωηρε ηηαριαμ
ζηтеноϷ ετεϷη[α]φορι ημοτη ΔΙΟ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ

“BABOUCHA...AKRAMA[CHA]MARI ABLANATHANA[LBA] ...
RANKME DOME DOM DO D, ALPHA LEON PHONE ANER,
AEEIOUO, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Suriel, Zarathiel, Zedekiel,
Anneal, Yoel, Tsel, AEËIOUŌ: I beg and I invoke you that you bring out
the cold and the slight chill and the evil eyes and the madness and the
crying from Ahmed son of Mariam in the hour that he will carry you, yea!
yea! at once! at once!.”¹²¹⁵

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08637 Pap¹²¹⁶ is a healing amulet to expel a fever away from a person named Thōthphe, the son of Giōrōgia. Fully preserved, the parchment has eight lines of text in the Fayumic dialect, and two lines of magical signs. The hand could date back to the late 10th or 11th century. The manuscript itself acted as an activated amulet for taking fever away from Thōthphe, the son of Giorgia:¹²¹⁷

¹²¹³ For the Coptic texts and translation see (6.4)

¹²¹⁴ Quecke 1963: 249 (transcription); Meyer and Smith 1995: 101 (translation).

¹²¹⁵ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1995: 101.

¹²¹⁶ Parchment, 10 x 8cm. Bibliography: Stegemann 1934: 50–52; Buschhausen, Horak, U. and Harrauer 1995: 58-59, no. 73.

¹²¹⁷ Metadata at “KYP M258”, Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects, [www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscript/kyp-m258]. Accessed on 27/03/2021.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08637 Pap

βα πρ

ΒΛΒΙΣΑΡΩΣ /// ΒΕΓΙΩΡ . ΚΑΛΑΛ ΜΗΛΑΛ /// ΒΟΥΚΑΛ ΣΑΤΡΑΚ /// ΜΗΣΣΑΚ
/// ΑΒΤΗΝΑΚ[Ο] ΔΗΝΗΑΣ /// ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑΣ /// ΜΗΧΗΛ ΕΤΕ ΝΙ ΝΕΥΛΕΝΕΥ /// ΤΙΣΟΠΙ
/// ΔΥΩ ΤΗΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΜΑΤΕΝ /// ΒΙ ΘΕΙΝ ΔΒΑΛ /// ΘΩΘΦΕ ΠΑΥΓ ΝΓΙΩΡΩΓΙΑ
/// ΔΙΑ ΙΑ: ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ ///

Babisarōs, Babegiōr, Kaprlal, Mēlal, Boukal, Satrak, Mēssak, Abthēnako, Annēas, Assarias, Mēsēl, whose names these are: I entreat and I adjure you. Take away the fever (from) Thōthphe, the son of Giōrōgia. Yea! Yea! Quickly! Quickly!.¹²¹⁸

The power of this amulet to heal Thōthphe from a fever is gained by calling upon the Three Hebrew Youths, by using the commands like “Take away; Yea! Yea! Quickly! Quickly”, and also using the inscription of the magical signs and the shape of the cross on the amulet.

The invocation of the Three Hebrew Youths is usually connected with the cure of fever. The Hebrew youths were thrown into a blazing furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, as narrated in the Book of Daniel, Chapter 3. Usually those names were used to express the hope that the patient of such amulets would overcome and survive the heat of their own fever, in the way the youths survive and endure the heat of the fiery furnace.

P.Köln 425¹²¹⁹ is a bilingual Coptic-Greek amulet against fever and contains magical signs and words, i.e. the vowel ω seven times, and the vowels λοει, αβλανθαναβλβα, and ακραμαχαμαρι are both written in Greek in the form of wings with the ending ἦδη ἦδη, ταχή ταχή:

P.Köln 425

ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΙΜΑΝΑ
(magical signs)
(magical signs)
4 (magical signs) ΧΧΧΧΧΧΧ (magical signs) ωωωωω
4b ωω

¹²¹⁸ English translation from the German translation by Stegemann 1934: 50–51 with slight modifications.
¹²¹⁹ Papyrus, 17.1 x 10.8 cm, dates to the 5th– 6th cent. CE. Schenke 2003: 226–232.

4c		△△△
	θεράπευσον βίκτωρ ο η α ι	
	Μαρία πρὸς πυρετον ἤδη ταχή	
	<hr/>	
	αβλανθαναβλ{β}α	ακραμαχαμαρι
8	αβλανθαναβλ<β>	ακραμαχαμαρι
	αβλανθαναλ ς ς σ η	ακραμαχαμαρ
	αβλανθανα σ σ η † σ η η	ακραμαχαμ
	αβλανθαν	ακραμαχα
12	αβλα<v>θα{v}	ακραμαχ
	αβλανθ ετβε ζηδμη νχαρτης	ακραμα
	αβλανα καρων ηαααοοοοειειειει	ακραμ
16	αβλα θεράπευσον βίκτωρ ο η α ι	ακρα
	αβλ Μαρία πρὸς πυρετον ἤδη β	ακρ
	αβ ταχή ταχή	ακ
	α	α

Amulet against the fever. Heal Viktor, Maria¹²²⁰ ..., from the fever. Now! Quickly! *ABLANATHANALBA. AKRAMACHAMARI*. Against fever: on clean papyrus. (write) *αααοοοοοειειειει*. Heal Viktor, Maria ..., from the fever. Now! Now! Quickly! Quickly!.¹²²¹

6.6.8 FIRE AILMENTS

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 150–161 is a magical text that contains a recipe against πυρωνογηνη “fire ailments”;¹²²² however, the exact type of concerned afflictions is not clear from the recipe. The recipe is magical, with an invocation to Iasabaoth Adonai, combined with some healing techniques:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 150–161

¹²²⁰ Schenke translates it into “Viktor, den Maria”, and she suggests that Viktor is the son or husband of Maria. Schenke 2003: 232.

¹²²¹ English translation from the German translation by Schenke 2003: 232.

¹²²² According to Worrell 1935: 33, but I prefer to translate it “urine sand” (see 5.11.1).

The following recipe presents two types of jaundice the black and the yellow kind (he refers to it by using the word πνοῦν “gold”, which certainly indicates the yellow jaundice):

P. Macq. I 1,¹²²⁶ p. 15, ll. 3–7

εἰκτέρος.¹²²⁷ καμῆ. στικεμῆ. [[..]] πιπερ. η̄ρι. μαρεφω. η̄ οὔπε
παπνοῦν. πε μοῦ νερωτε. ἀρ<τ>ημεσια. ἀγῶ μαροῦχῶκκ
νσοῦσῶ. παστ πμοῦ.

“Black jaundice: Black cumin, pepper, wine; let him drink (it). Or if it is that of the gold (i.e. yellow jaundice): milky water, wormwood; and let them wash (it) and drink (it). Boil the water”.¹²²⁸

6.6.11 LIMB PAIN

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08638 Pap¹²²⁹ is an amulet to heal the leg of person named Berese son of Kasele from every pain and every wind. In the beginning of the spell there are three magical names, the first name “Eroukh” is written in a Greek ring signs design, the second and third is “Baroukh”. Here the magician beseeches the “Lord God Almighty” to remove the pain at the same time he recites this amulet. He asks him to do this at the same time when the magician recites the spell or when the client wears the amulet, by entreating him saying “I entreat and I invoke you today”. The illnesses which mentioned in this spell are pain and wind (τῆγ) which afflicted the leg or foot of Beres. τῆγ means wind or breath, and appears as an illness in medical recipes, e.g., in Chassinat Papyrus (Ch 69)¹²³⁰ as an illness that afflicts the stomach; however, here the wind appears to cause the leg pain, which may reflect the effect of wind or polluted air on the body health:

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08638 Pap

¹²²⁶ P. Macq. I 1, parchment codex composed of 20 pages, 12.7 x 11 cm, dates back to 7th-8th cent. CE; metadata at Trismegistos [<https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=113926>], (last accessed: 05.10.2020). Choat and Gardner 2013.

¹²²⁷ Black jaundice is treated in another magical prescription (ACM, 305, no. 133). Also, medical recipes recommended treatments for jaundice in Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 28; Cod.Med.Copt., p. 244, recipe no. 42. See (5.14.12 and 5.14.12).

¹²²⁸ Choat and Gardner 2013: 73.

¹²²⁹ Stegemann 1934: 22; 52–53. Parchment 8.5 x 6.8 cm, dated to 9th-10th cent. CE.

¹²³⁰ (See 5.6).

ΕΡΟΥΧ ΒΑΡΟΥΧ ΒΑΡΟΥΧΑ ΤΙΣΟΠ¹²³¹ ΑΥΩ † ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ ΝΜΟΚ ΕΠΟΥΥ ΠΧΟΕΙC
 ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΧΕΚΑΔC ΕΤΑΒΙ ΤΙΤΚΑC ΝΙΜ ΖΙΤΗΥ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ
 ΤΠΑΤ ΕΒΕΡΕC ΠΩΕ ΝΚΑCΕΛΕ ΝΕΤΕΤΑΛCΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΖΙCΕ ΝΙΜ ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ
 ΑΛΦ· ΛΕΩΝ ΤΑΧΗ CΑΤΩΡ ΔΡΕΔΩ [ΤΕ]ΝΕΔ ΩΔΕ ΡΑ ΡΩΔΟC ΦΩ[Ν]Η
 ΑΝΗΡ [] Α Ε Η Ι Ο Υ Ω

Eroukh, Baroukh, Baroukha. I entreat and I invoke you today, O Lord
 God Almighty, that I take every pain and every wind away... from the leg
 of Beres, the son of Kasele, and that I heal him from every sickness, yea,
 yea, quickly, quickly! Sator, Aredo, [Te]ned, Odera, Rodos Alpha, Leon,
 Pho[n]e, Aner AEËIOUŌ.¹²³²

6.6.12 MENTAL DISORDERS

6.6.12.1 MADNESS

The ancient Egyptians appear to have viewed mental diseases as an influence of evil and supernatural spirits.¹²³³ Consequently, mental diseases were always treated with magic rather than medical recipes, as they thought that they were caused by a supernatural power. There are three different Coptic texts to treat mental diseases or madness, with every recipe invoking the hidden power to overcome this disease. The reason for this affliction with madness is the demon, who possess the person, and cause the fear and chill, in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 169–175, the madness is directly connected directly with demon possession. Hence, the recipes contain a supplication with the form ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ, which makes the servants expedite the fulfillment of the seeker’s need from what is required. It appears that the mental diseases could afflicted any person regardless of his learning or civil position, P.Köln XV 641 attested that the madness afflicted the *caxo* “great scribe, village scribe”.

The Greek noun *μανία* means “madness” and refers to the defect of the mind. It appears in the following two medico-magical recipes *ACM*, 101, no. 54, and P.Köln XV 641. The latter is a recipe to protect a person form the madness that is connected with crying and fear. It ends with the request ΔΙΟ ΔΙΟ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ:

P.Köln XV 641 (4–16 right)

¹²³¹ Cf. conc “pray, entreat, comfort”. Crum 1939: 352a.

¹²³² English translation from the German by Stegemann 1934: 52–53, with slight modifications.

¹²³³ Nunn 1996: 104.

child. The third recipe is for a little child who pisses himself in the night according to Kropp¹²³⁸ (BKU I 26):

ACM, 95, no. 49, vo, ll. 5–7

ΝΚΤΑΡΚΟΟΥ ΝΠΩΕΜΤΩΕ ΝΜΟΥΤ ΕΤΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΖΕΛΠΕ ΔΕ ΩΟΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΖΙΖΙC ΝΙΜ ΖΙ
ΤΙΤΑΚΑC ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΝΖΗΤΩ ΕΝΙΜ ΠΩΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΑΡΕΦΛΟ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΝΟΚ ΕΤΜΟΥΤΕ
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕ ΤΤΙΝΠΤΑΛCΟ.

“You would summon the three hundred vessels that are around the navel:
Let every sickness and every difficulty and every pain that is in the belly
of N. child of N. stop at this moment. I am the one who calls; the lord Jesus
is the one who grants healing”.¹²³⁹

BKU I 26, ll. 12-14

ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΕΑ...ΩΕ ΤΟΥΩΗ ΖΑΡΑΪ Φ. Π¹²⁴⁰ . ΕΧΔΤ¹²⁴¹ ΕΠΑ[ΛΕ]ΚΤΩΡ¹²⁴²
ΔΒΔΩΒΡΥ ΝΕ ΤΕΒΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ ΩΔCΩ _____

A little child ...the night under him. Take(?) the testicle to cooked- burnt
rooster ..that he may eat them, he will stop.¹²⁴³

6.6.14 POSSESSION

Possession was amongst the diseases that were only treated with magic. The prerequisite for the exorcism is the view that the power of evil spirits can harm the people, in particular those that were possessed.¹²⁴⁴ Humans had two possibilities of interacting with evil powers: they could ask them for help by using them in evil spells and even in curses; or they could ask God to defeat them as enemies and take them away. The

¹²³⁸ Kropp 1930: 3.176.

¹²³⁹ Translation: Meyer and Smith 1994: 97.

¹²⁴⁰ May be φαη?! φαη πε χλ(ι)τ.

¹²⁴¹ χλτ stands for χλττ. Crum 1939: 791a.

¹²⁴² Cf. ἀλέκτωρ “cock, rooster”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 62b.

¹²⁴³ Author’s own translation.

¹²⁴⁴ Kropp1930: 2.207.

Freer Collection, Fragment 10,¹²⁴⁵ presents an invocation to the God demanding healing and protection. It seems that, this prayer was composed for the oppressed, or possessed person, as the healing of the possessed is explicitly expressed as the goal in the epiclesis.

BKU I 26b, contain two recipes to treat for a possessed person:

BKU I 26b, ll. 16-21

.....ΤΑΔΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΖΑ-ΠΕΤΩ ΝΤΕΜΩΝΙΩ[Ν] ΜΕΠΑΤΑΥ ΕΝΞΙΚ. ΦΑΒ ΦΑΒΛΑ¹²⁴⁶

.... Lay them down who is possessed...to the magic... He will be healed.

BKU I 26b, ll. 25-28

ΠΕΣΖΙΠΑΡ ΠΑΡΩΕΥ ΕΒΑΛ ΤΕΦΩΔΑΥΕΙ ΣΕΚΥ ΤΣΑ ΟΥΡΩΝΙ ΕΦΩ ΝΤΕΜΩΝΙΩΝ
ΕΦΩΝ† ΝΣΑΠ ΕΜΕΝΙ ΕΝΩΔΑ† ΕΝΞΑΔΥ ΕΒΣΩ ____

Spread out her liver, let it dry, grind it, give it to possessed one to drink.
He should drink three times a day for three days.

In *ACM*, 314, no. 134,¹²⁴⁷ Gregory's prayers give a direct order to an evil power to move away from the body:

***ACM*, 314, no. 134**

ΑΝΟΚ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΠΡΗΖΑΛ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΞ: †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗΝ ΝΤΩΤΗΝ
ΝΧΙΝΘΟΝΣ ΝΙΜ ΜΠΠΟΒ ΝΡΑΝ ΕΤΖΑΞΟΤΕ ΜΠΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ
ΝΑΒΑΡΖΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΔΚΩΒ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΟ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ : ΚΑ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΤΗΑΓΟΣ
ΤΕ : Η ΖΕΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ : Η ΖΗ ΜΑΝΩΜΩΕ ΝΕ ΝΕ Ν ΖΗ ΜΑΝΩΜΩΕ ΝΕ Ν ΖΗ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ
ΝΤΑΥΤΝΕΥΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΝΞΗΤΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΞΕΜΗΝΤΝΕΖΩΛΩ : ΜΝ

¹²⁴⁵ Thick vellum, 20 x 31 cm, folded in the middle. William H. Worrell 1923: 2.126–28, 323–25, 381–83; Kropp 1930: 2.118–19

¹²⁴⁶ ΦΑΒΛΑ stands for ΦΑΦΛΟ.

¹²⁴⁷ (page 4, ro), ll. 1–25 (page 4, vo), ll. 1–6.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 12, ll. 17–20

.α. οΥΡΩΜΕ. ΕΒΩΕΝΤΕΜΩΝ. **A**· ΕΥΝΕΞ. ΝΤΑΩΕΡ. ΖΙΑΣΦΑΛΤΟΝ. ΤΑΖΣΟΥ..Β.
ΕΤΒΕ ΩΩΝΕ. ΝΙΜ. **A**· ΕΥΣΠΑΝΩΝ. ΖΙΑΜΟΥΝΙΑΚΟΥ. Θ ΤΑΖΣΟΥ.

“A man who is possessed: Say the formula on linseed oil and pitch.
Anoint them.”¹²⁴⁹

P. Macq. I 1, p. 13, ll. 7–11

ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΩΕΝΤΕΜΟΝ. ΓΡ· ΝΙΣΗΝΚΕΝΙΑ. Γ̄. ΠΙΤΑΚΙΝΟΝ. ΜΟΡ ΟΥΕΙ ΕΠΕΦΜΟΥΤ.
ΜΟΥΡ ΕΠΕΦΧΝΑΞ. ΣΝΑΥ. **A**· ΕΥΠΕΤΕΞΝΑΚ. [[ε. πρ]]

Someone who is possessed: Write the kin (on) three slips. Bind one to his neck; bind (the others) to his two forearms.¹²⁵⁰

6.6.15 SKIN DISEASES

6.6.15.1 THE PUSTULE DISEASE

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 241, recipe no. 2

ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΑΙΩΕ · †ΤΑΡΚΟ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΧΙΞΜΟΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ
ΝΩΔΑΦΕΙ ΕΧΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΠΕΙΩΩΝΕ ΠΑΙ · ΝΩΔΑΦΙ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΦ//
ΓΕΡΟΣ, ΜΑΡΕ †ΠΑΙΩΕ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛΞΗΝ ΝΔ̄, ΟΡΙΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΡΑΦΑΗΛ . ΠΕΤ //
ΤΩΒΞ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΜΑΡΕΦΛΟ. ΝΒΙ ΝΔ̄ ΝΩΩΠΙ . ΖΙ ΗΡΠ .

Concerning the pustule: I adjure you, the angel who gains grace for every disease that comes upon man, especially this disease, that takes man in its time, may the pustule leave NN! Oriel, Gabriel, it is Raphael

¹²⁴⁹ Translation: Choat and Gardner 2013: 67.

¹²⁵⁰ Translation: Choat and Gardner 2013: 69.

who entreats, every disease, may NN, son of NN, be healed! Blow it over wine.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 15, l. 14

ογπαῖωε.¹²⁵¹ ηρ̄π̄ ε̄ μοογ.

A pustule disease: Wine or water.¹²⁵²

6.6.15.2 THE WART

P.Macq. I 1, p. 15, ll. 17–19

ογκιο̄ν ε̄λεον¹²⁵³ φ̄νικ̄ζον¹²⁵⁴ ᾱσφαλακον¹²⁵⁵ τεροκ. λ̄η̄ς εκ̄ τογ
ε̄λεογ. τᾱρσογ. σογαλο.

A wart: Olive-oil, palm-leaf, asparagus, pickle (?). Press out the Olive-oil. Anoint them, and they (the warts?) will cease.¹²⁵⁶

6.6.16 SPLEEN DISORDERS

P.Macq. I 1, p. 15, ll. 22–24

ογ̄νοειω. ογ̄η̄ρ̄πα. ε̄φ̄με̄ρ̄ σ̄τικε̄με. ε̄φ̄ρ̄εν̄τιω̄τε. ν̄ω̄με̄τ̄ ν̄ροογ. μᾱρε̄σω.

A spleen: A wine filled with black cumin, being in dew for three days. Let (the person) drink (it).¹²⁵⁷

¹²⁵¹ Disease produces pustules, swelling.

¹²⁵² Translation: Choat and Gardner 2013: 73.

¹²⁵³ ε̄λεον, ἔλαιον “olive-oil”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 527b, Choat and Gardner 2013: 73 translate it “oil”, and I would like to follow this translation in the recipe.

¹²⁵⁴ Cf. φοῖνιξ “date-palm”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1948a.

¹²⁵⁵ Cf. ᾱσφαλακον, ἀσπάραγος “asparagus”. Coptic Dictionary Online [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?ila=C8514>], (last accessed: 01.10.2020).

¹²⁵⁶ Translation: Choat and Gardner 2013: 73 with slight modifications.

¹²⁵⁷ Choat and Gardner 2013: 73.

6.6.17 SWELLINGS

P.Macq. I 1, p. 15, ll. 1–2

εϞωπε οϞα εϞωαβε αρμαρα. ηρ̄π̄. μαροϞω.

If someone is swelling: Rue, wine; let them drink (it).¹²⁵⁸

The magico-medical recipe P.Köln XV 641 (14–16 left) mentions King Solomon and his demon, to recover from the swelling, which was caused by the demon. It is a common belief of the Abrahamic religions that God gave more wisdom and insight to the king and prophet Solomon than anyone else (1 Kings 3:12); Quran (Al-Anbiya, 21vs79); (An-naml 27vs15); New Testament (Luke 11:31). He was also unique with miraculous abilities and miracles, he was able to harness demons, and God Almighty gave him the knowledge of judging and praising the mountains. The blessed God and Almighty taught him the logic and the language of birds, including all the languages of animals, hence he understood what other people did not understand about them, and he used sometimes talk to them, as was the case with the hoopoe and ants (An-naml 27vs15). In the Hellenistic period, King Solomon was considered a great magician who practiced (white) magic and had a certain power over spirits and “everything that was hidden”.¹²⁵⁹ In this papyrus from the 10th-11th century CE, the authority of Solomon over demons *is emphasised* πεχε περρο σωλωμον· εροϞ̄ν επεϞτημοϞιϞ̄Ϟ̄ “The King Solomon said to his demon”, the use of the preposition εροϞ̄ν “to” with πεχε which emphasises the notion of speaking to the jinn who is appointed to bring treatment:

P.Köln XV 641 (14–16 left)

ετβε οϞρωμε εϞωαβε: πεχε περρο σωλωμον· εροϞ̄ν επεϞτημοϞιϞ̄Ϟ̄ χε
οϞ πε ππαρρε επι

¹²⁵⁸ Translation: Choat and Gardner 2013: 73 with slight modifications.

¹²⁵⁹ Särkiö 2004: 306–307.

For a man who swells: The King Solomon said to his demon: “What is the remedy for this?” [...].¹²⁶⁰

6.7 NAMES AND MAGICAL WORD IN MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS

The name of God, a deity, an angel or a demon is considered a part of personality and bears a specific meaning. The only one who knows the secret power name of a certain god or a demon has an easy way to call him. Grafe¹²⁶¹ states that “Not all the magical words are understood, or even understandable. Where we think to see through them, they derive from Near Eastern languages, especially Egyptian, and are names or epithets of divinities. The magician thought them all to be names ὀνόματα or ἑπωνυμία.”

In Coptic medico-magical texts a frequent palindrome is used, sometimes the single palindrome is found in different variants; thus, I have found it is useful to list the most common palindromes used throughout the magico-medical texts:

AKRAMA CHAMARI: It is used as the name of an angel,¹²⁶² it frequently appears in an alternate form (Abramachamari, followed by Mamna and the derivation Chamariakracharan).¹²⁶³

Abraxas: A Gnostic name of the highest god. The numerical equivalent of the spelling of the name Abraxas has seven letters that equal to three hundred and sixty-five in Greek. The original letters of Abraxas is a Greek name, spelled ΑΒΣΡΞ that add up to 365: A = 1, B = 2, Σ = 200, Ρ = 100, Ξ = 60 = 365. It is usually combined with Iao Sabaoth Abraxas and Jesus Abraxas.¹²⁶⁴

Marmaraoth: Syriac name for “lord of lords”.

The Seven Archangels:¹²⁶⁵ (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Suriel, Zetekiël (Zedekiël), Salathiel.

¹²⁶⁰ English translation from the German Schenke 2017: 260.

¹²⁶¹ Graf 1991: 191.

¹²⁶² *ACM*, 304, no. 133 (P. 20, l. 5); P. Ryl. Copt. 103.

¹²⁶³ This name is maybe derived from the Hebrew, according to Scholem 1965: 49–100.

¹²⁶⁴ *ACM*, 93, no. 47. “You are Ax, you are Abrasax, the angel who sits upon the tree of Paradise, who sent sleep upon Abimelech for seventy-five years!”.

¹²⁶⁵ Kropp 1930: 3.72. Their names are not uniformly transmitted, neither in Jewish nor Greek nor Coptic tradition. The constant change like XXXII show “Michael, Gabreil, Abael, Suriel, Raphael, Asuel, Saraphuel that are right from the arm of the father”, “Raphael, , Soriel, Setekiël, Anneal, R (ague, e)!”.

Four Living Creatures: Alpha, Leon, Phone and Aner. Alpha is the bull; Leon, the lion; Phone, the eagle; and Aner, the man. They represent the four Evangelists.”¹²⁶⁶

The four bodiless creatures the names of the four bodiless creatures [AKRAMMATA PERITON SOURITHION PARAMERAO], used in amulet to heal and protect a woman.

The seven Greek vowels: They are widely used, wither individually (as in αειηοϰω) or every vowel repeated singly seven times (ααααααα, εεεεεεε, ...). They were used in other variations as well.

The twenty-four elders: “Heavenly beings who surround the throne of god in Revelation; in ritual texts they are usually named in alphabetical order according to the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet: Achael, Banuel, etc.”¹²⁶⁷

ADONAI: “A name from the Hebrew Scriptures linked to the ineffable name of God (YHWH, often vocalized as Yahweh).¹²⁶⁸ A healing spell invoked demons - ENDRO ARME OTHNI KENTA ENTAKO TANA, for medical problems and to protect the house from creeping things.”¹²⁶⁹

RING SIGNS: the ring drawings always on the last lines.

Fth ‘Fthp Fthp’ (Coptic: ϣθ or ϣΘ, Greek: ϕΘ): it is number ninety-nine, representing the Greek αμήν “Amen”.¹²⁷⁰

Iaeobaphrenemoun formula: it is the abbreviated form of the longest characters
aeobaphrenemouniothilarikriphiaeueaipirkiralithounuom-enerphaboelai;
Iaöthbaphranemounouthilörikeiphiaeueaiiphirkialithounaomenebraphaerphaboiai, in the Coptic
‘Wizard’s Hoard’ text.

σσεγγεν βαρφαραγγης: the Greek term Sesengenbarpharanges, “word of power known from the magical texts referred to in the baptismal ceremony of the Gospel of the Egyptians, where Sesengenbarpharanges

¹²⁶⁶ Meyer and Smith 1994: 386.

¹²⁶⁷ Meyer and Smith 1994: 391. The complete list of the twenty-four elders in: Kropp 1930: 3. 131.

¹²⁶⁸ Meyer and Smith 1994: 387.

¹²⁶⁹ Meyer and Smith 1994: 90–91. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek K 08303 Pap (Rainer, AN 197).

¹²⁷⁰ Kropp 1930: 3. 233 & 398.

is described as a purifier”.¹²⁷¹ It occurs in the form Sesekinbarphakes, without the usual combination with Ablanathanalba.¹²⁷²

σεμεσίλαμ:¹²⁷³ “Semesilam also occurs once but is preceded by the derived jumble Semesi Emieueai Ham (20.2–3)”.¹²⁷⁴

Chara: mother of Garbêlêa in London MS OR. 6948 (2).

¹²⁷¹ Meyer and Barn stone 2005: 816.

¹²⁷² Mirecki 1994: 459. (19.2–3).

¹²⁷³ Kropp 1930: 3. 125 §207.

¹²⁷⁴ Mirecki 1994: 458.

7. UNCOMMON INGREDIENTS IN COPTIC MEDICAL TEXTS

A good analysis of various substances in medicinal or magical texts is complicated and difficult to translate into current terminology, since names of plants, animals and minerals have their original difference; or several names refer to a single element, or many substances are reported using with the same name.

Here, the names of drugs are given, however the significance of those cannot be expressed, or at least only a very high presumption can be given. I have divided them into nine groups: medicinal substances from plants, the origin of the animal, insect resources, reptile sources, mammal resources, bird supplements, mineral resources, aquatic organisms and human resources.

7.1 PLANT RESOURCES

Herbs played a major part in Coptic medicine and occupy a great amount of ingredients in Coptic medical recipes such as opium, myrrh, aloe, artemisia, mint, peppermint, various plant oils (rose oil, leaf oil tree, tree wood coal oil, linseed and castor oil), etc. Generally, plants in Coptic medical texts can be divided into medical plants and ritual plants.

7.1.1 κακο ΔΑΦΝΗ “Poison (bad) laurel”:

The following recipe presents an instruction on the production of a pesticide, i.e., Poison Laurel, to remove harmful animals by using vegetable matter, animals and minerals; in this case the arsenic may have been used for its toxicity in contrast to other recipes where it was used as a medicament:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 176-182

ΕΤΒΕ ΔΑΤΒΕ ΝΙΗ ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ξ̅Μ ΠΕΚΗΙ ΟΥΩΗΗ Ν̅ΧΑΛΒΑΝΗ¹²⁷⁵
ΟΥΩΗΗ Ν̅ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ¹²⁷⁶ ΟΥΩΗΗ Ν̅Κ̅Ν̅Η̅ Ν̅ΒΑΔΜΠΕ ΤΑΛΟϞ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧ̅Ν̅
ΟΥ̅Χ̅Β̅Σ̅ Ν̅ΘΕ Ν̅ΟΥΖ̅Ν̅[.....]ΚΛΑΜΕ Ν̅ΚΑΚΟ¹²⁷⁷ ΔΑΦΝΗ¹²⁷⁸ ΚΑΔΑϞ Ξ̅Μ ΠΜΟΟΥ
ΩΑΝΤ̅Ϟ̅Β̅ΩϞ Ν̅Κ̅ΝΟΥ̅Χ̅Τ̅ Ν̅Π̅Η̅Ι

¹²⁷⁵ ΧΑΛΒΑΝΗ, χαλβάνη “galbanum, the resinous juice of all-heal (fragrance)”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1971a.

¹²⁷⁶ ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ is for ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ ΣΑΝΔΑΡΑΚΗ as in Ch 10; Ch 153; Ch 182. Cf. ΣΑΝΤΑΡΑΧΗΣ, ΣΑΤΗΡΑΚΕΙΣ, “realgar”. Coptic Dictionary Online [<https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C10404>], (last accessed: 18.01.2021).

¹²⁷⁷ Probably from κόκκος. Crum 1939: 101b.

¹²⁷⁸ ΔΑΦΝΗ, δάφνη “sweet bay, Laurus nobilis”. Also, it appears in Ch 169 as ΤΑΦΝΕ, and in Cod.Med.Copt., p. 243, recipe no. 34 as ΚΩΚΚΩΤΑΦΝΗ, Arabic الغار (الغار), Kircher 189.

For any reptile that you wish to make them go forth from your house:
 A little galbanum, a little realgar, a little goats' fat. Put it upon a coal
 in the manner of a Poultice of poison laurel.¹²⁷⁹ Put it into the water
 until it dissolves (?),¹²⁸⁰ and sprinkle the house.¹²⁸¹

7.1.2 ἀνάω¹²⁸² νήρη “Anash the sun”:

This herb appears in (Ch 121) and used as a powder against malignant ulcers, and mixed with arsenical soda to be used against malignant ulcers. Also, appears in (P.Mich. MS 136, p. 12, ll. 183-186) as οὐκλαδος νάνηω νήρη “A branch of *Anesh* the sun” and mixed with arsenical soda against pustules (see 5.16.12).¹²⁸³ There is no doubt, that ἀνάω and ἀνήω are identical here. Chassinat assumes it is similar to φήνη νήρη, which is identified in the *scala* no. 44 with ἀρθωμοσιας, ἀρτεμεσια, πώνη νήρη, Arabic *Al-demsisa* الديمسية (fol. 83, r^o, 2^e col., ll. 20-22), cf. τέμεσι (*scala* n^o 43, fol. 59, r^o, l. 16), ἀρτεμισ. ¹²⁸⁴ The word دمسية corresponds to the modern-day term *Ambrosia maritime* L., which is a plant species that grows abundantly in Egypt.¹²⁸⁵

Ch 121

(255) οὐζύρον νήριαχαρτοῦ¹²⁸⁶ εἶπε νήμομε εἶσοῦ¹²⁸⁷ λιβανος ϖ δ
 οὐων νήχαρτης εἶρωχ (256) οὐων νήανάω νήρη εἶρωχ ἴσοῦ νή
 νεύερη φαντεύχηιστα χρω φαντεύχηιστα χρω εἶσοῦ νήζυρον

(255) Paper powder for gangrene of bad nature: Incense four drachmas, part of burnt paper, (256) burnt ragweed one part; grind them together until consistency; use for them in powder.

¹²⁷⁹ “bad laurel”. Worrell 1935: 35.

¹²⁸⁰ “Goes”. Worrell 1935: 35.

¹²⁸¹ Author’s own translation.

¹²⁸² Cf. ἀνάω “name of a plant?”. Crum 1939: 12b. cf. ἀνάω “bush of flowers”. Coptic Dictionary Online [https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?ta=C158], (last accessed: 14.11.2019); Westendorf 1977: 487.

¹²⁸³ Till 1905: 106.

¹²⁸⁴ Kircher 1643: 196.

¹²⁸⁵ In many places like Abusir and Alexandria. Chassinat 1921: 243; Muschle 1912: 2, 992.

¹²⁸⁶ τιαχαρτοῦ, διά χάρτου, Abd ar-Razzaq (p. 133) said that ‘قرطاس’ (χάρτης), is Egyptian paper made from papyrus بردى. Also in Ch165, for ‘Heratique papyri’ χάρτης νήιερατικον. φάρτης, Arabic ورق الكتابه. Chassinat 1921: 242.

¹²⁸⁷ εἶσοῦ, εἶρωῦ, *malus*, bad. Chassinat 1902: 243; Crum 1939: 731a.

7.1.3 μαζτ νεροσ “intestines seed”:

This plant’s name literary means “seed intestines”, and is reminiscent of the plant named chickweed.¹²⁸⁸ Crum,¹²⁸⁹ records this expression without any meaning. Bouriant¹²⁹⁰ translates it into juice of herbs, it used to increase breast milk: ετβε ζηκιβε ετρεγερερωτε “For breasts, so they have milk”¹²⁹¹ (see 5.15.4).

7.2 ANIMAL RESOURCES

Ingredients of animal origin were often used in various treatments, including milk, fat, skin, teeth, dung and blood. Moreover, specific parts and organs of animals were added into medical or even magical remedies. Some of these ingredients only appeared one time, and some are completely unknown.

7.2.1 Animal milk:

7.2.1.1 ερωτε νεω “Ass’s milk”:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 200-202

ετβε ζηνααδε εγτιτκας ογβοπε νερωτε νεω εσζ[η]μ εια ρωκ εβολ
μημοσ δω σναλο // > > > > ····

For teeth that hurt: a small amount of warm milk from an ass. Wash out your mouth with it, and it will get better.¹²⁹²

7.2.1.2 νεοσφει, θεζλο, ερωτε σαμογλ “Camel’s milk”:

The milk of camel appeared only one time in the medical recipe Ch 56, which prescribes a special kind of collyrium called ογκολλιον ντε απα κυλιος πσοφος νερχηατροσ “Collyrium for Apa Cyrille, the clever official physician”, used for various eye disorders (see 5.16.18).

¹²⁸⁸ Till 1951a: 107.

¹²⁸⁹ Crum 1939: 832a.

¹²⁹⁰ Bouriant 1888: 378.

¹²⁹¹ Cod.Med.Copt., p.215, recipe no. 9.

¹²⁹² Translation: Worrell 1935: 36, with slight modifications.

7.2.1.3 ερωτε νεωδγ “Sow’s milk”:¹²⁹³

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 165-168

ερωπε ογρμε τε εαωσκ̄ ετ†τ̄κ̄ας ογσπε̄ νερωτε νεωδγ τααφ
εογωημ̄ η̄ηρπ̄ εφρολ̄δ̄ μαρεσσοφ̄ σναλο ———

If it is a woman whom it has continued to pain: A small quantity of
sow’s milk. Give it to a little sweet wine. Let her drink it. She will be
healed. ¹²⁹⁴

7.2.2 **Animal’s droppings:**

7.2.2.1 ρας̄ η̄ογωηηφ̄ “Wolf’s dung”:¹²⁹⁵

Ch 164

(320) ογανζωηη ετε φας̄ εβολ̄ ξ̄η̄ η̄ρωμε̄ χ̄ῑ νακ̄ η̄ογπ̄ηρ̄ω̄ μ̄η̄
ογσφω̄ η̄θηλ̄τῑ¹²⁹⁶ μ̄η̄ ογσφω̄ (321) η̄θςλςφ̄¹²⁹⁷ μ̄η̄ ογσφω̄¹²⁹⁸ μ̄η̄
η̄ογςμ̄β̄ω̄ ογωηη̄ η̄νεξ̄ με̄ θ̄νοογ̄ μ̄η̄ νεγερηγ̄ καλωσ̄ (322) μ̄η̄
π̄ηρ̄π̄ η̄απας̄ η̄π̄ρκαδγ̄ εγβεννηητ̄ επερογο̄ † επετρε̄ τανζωηη̄ ριωφ̄
φαςφλο̄ ξ̄η̄ ογβεπη̄

(320) Herpes zoster that coming out in a man’s body: take minium,
raven’s dropping, hyena droppings, wolf (321) droppings and a little
fine oil; crush them well together (322) with old wine, do not leave

¹²⁹³ The sow or donkey’s milk, was used from the ancient Egyptian medicine in treating the children. Strouhal, Vachala, Vymazalová 2014: 106.

¹²⁹⁴ Translation: Worrell 1935: 34, with slight modifications.

¹²⁹⁵ The dung (*hes*) of animals was the most magical ingredients which used in magic in ancient Egyptian medicine. Strouhal, Vachala, Vymazalová 2014: 27.

¹²⁹⁶ σφω̄ η̄θηλ̄τῑ, ρας̄ η̄αβογκ̄. Chassinat 1921: 283.

¹²⁹⁷ σφω̄ η̄ςλςφ̄, ρας̄ η̄ροττε̄. Chassinat 1921: 283.

¹²⁹⁸ σφω̄ η̄ογςμ̄β̄ω̄, ρας̄ η̄ογωηηφ̄. Chassinat 1921: 283.

them get too hard; apply to the one who has herpes zoster on him, he will be healed quickly.¹²⁹⁹

Wolf's dung was used against intestinal pains, and the author mentions that it is a proven remedy so he advises the healer to take his salary in advance Ch 226 (see 5.3.8).

7.2.2.2 ζαίρε νογζαρ “dog’s dung”:

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 242, recipe no. 18

ΕΚΘΑΝΧΙ ΝΤΖΑΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΡ ΝΓΜΟΡΣ ΠΟΥ// ΤΟΙΣ ΝΖΒΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΨΩΡΑ, ΜΕΡΕ
ΦΛΕΚΜΑ ΩΩΝΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ

If you take dog excrement, put them in a cloth, and apply them on the psore, and inflammation, they will disappear.¹³⁰⁰

7.2.3 ογορβε ἡογῶἡω “Wolf’s tooth”:

The wolf's tooth used only one time in Ch 224, as a remedy to treat the intestines problems. The recipe recommended to place it upon navel of the sick person (see 5.8.3).

7.2.4 εγῶαρ ἡογῶἡω “Wolf’s skin”:

The skin of the wolf appeared only in Ch 224 which recommended to use the tooth and the skin of the wolf to treat the great intestines: “Someone whose great intestines is sick: (take) a wolf's tooth; put it in wolf skin; attach it to the patient's navel; he will recover” (see 5.8.3).

7.2.5 κερητ ἡορο, κερητ ἡλι “Pork *kerêt*”:

¹²⁹⁹ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 283.

¹³⁰⁰ Author's own translation.

with one-third part of white hellebore, to remove white water; with wine for the corneas, and with cabbage juice for the eyelids (XVIII, 47, 4).¹³⁰⁴

7.2.7 πηγπαρ νουτρακον “Liver of goat”:

The use of goat liver is common among the ocular remedies, in particular when mixed with honey, as shown here. The liver of animals aware of great avails as argued by Nunn:¹³⁰⁵ “The liver is the most useful animal products as it contains 90 per cent of the body store of vitamin B₁₂, essential for the prevention of megaloblastic (pernicious or Addisonian) anaemia. Another main therapeutic implication is deficiency of vitamin A causing night blindness, which can be treated by ingestion of liver, a rich source of Vitamin A. There is one instance of raw liver being recommended for taking by mouth, for ‘a woman who cannot see’ (Kahun 1) and one of local application of cooked liver for a case of *sharu*-blindness (Ebers 351)”. In Chassinat papyrus recipe Ch 188, goat liver “πηγπαρ νουτρακον” used for treating the mist which caused darkening in the eye, when added to the gall of goat and honey, then the eyes should be rubbed with blood of goat (see 5.6.7).

7.2.8 ογανγεφαρος νχγλο ζλχ “Otter brains”:

The only recipe uses the brain of an otter is in Ch 99, it used to treat the eyelids:

Ch 99

(193) ετ̄μπτρε νβογζε ρωτ τωζογ ερεϛ Ⲅ ⲃωχεϛ ν̄γ ρι
ν̄ογανγεφαρος¹³⁰⁶ νχγλο ζλχ¹³⁰⁷ (194) ετε πεφαντμαγ¹³⁰⁸ πε
ν̄τεφαπε ν̄ν ογωνη ν̄σχιστογ¹³⁰⁹ ν̄γ τααϛ εροογ μεγρωτ ν̄ο[γ]ωϛ̄μ

(193) To prevent the eyelids from producing itchy eyelashes (the eye),
the eyelashes being removed, take an otter brain, (194) that is to say

¹³⁰⁴ Bostock, and others 1855: 336.

¹³⁰⁵ Nunn 1996: 150.

¹³⁰⁶ ανκεφολος, ἐγκεφαλος. Cf. ἐγκεφαλος “within the head, brain”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 472a.

¹³⁰⁷ νχγλο ζλχ, ογρολ (lit. ρορ) ηοογ, Arabic كلب الماء ‘dog water’. Chassinat 1921: 215.


¹³⁰⁸ αντμαγ, Arabic *al-Dimagh* الدماغ. Chassinat 1921: 215.

¹³⁰⁹ σχιστογ, σχιστός. cloven, divided. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1746b.

that the brain which is in its head, and some fissile stone; give it to them, they will no longer be covered with eyelashes.¹³¹⁰

7.2.9 εἰς ἡπτατ ἡογναμ ἡεεω “Hoof of the right paw of an ass”:

The calcined donkey hoof is found in the Ebers Papyrus as a remedy for the elimination of the graying

(LXV, 21):  “hoof of the burnt ass...”. Pliny (XXVIII, 47, 2) mentions that the donkey hoof ashes when mixed with donkey’s milk can heal the pillowcases and stains of the eyes. Chassinat¹³¹¹ argues that materials borrowed from the right leg of the quadrupeds have particular virtues. He adds that the marrow taken from the right fore-leg of a cow is useful for the infections caused by eyelashes and commissures of the eye.¹³¹² Ch 208 prescribes a remedy to treat the εἰς “blot” in the eye by using the hoof of the right paw of an ass, which grinded with honey (see 5.6.6).

7.2.10 πεσνοφ ἡπετρακον “Goat blood”:

In Chassinat papyrus recipe no. 188 (Ch 188), recommended the blood of goat for treating the mist in the eye. As the recipe recommended the patient should firstly mix the liver and gall of a goat with honey then rub the eye with goat blood (see 5.6.7).

7.2.11 ογταπ ἡπεσοογ “Horn of the sheep”:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 186-193 recommended to use the horn of the sheep against the pustule which appears in the face, the recipe recommended to burn the horn of the sheep, and mix it with some incense from abroad, palm branches, uncorrupted urine and vinegar, and the patient should apply the remedy by using ibis feather (see 5.16.12).

7.2.12 γαλεσογν “snail”:

Ch 54 is the only recipe that contain the snail γαλεσογν, Arabic حلزون among its ingredients of eye remedy: “Gold cadmia, antimony, cuttlefish bones, snail, white lead, royal salt, pepper,

¹³¹⁰ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 215.

¹³¹¹ Chassinat 1921: 302.

¹³¹² Bostock and others 1855: 335.

long pepper, cloves, same weight of each, ammonia salt” (see 5.6.8). According to Ibn Sina says the calcined snail is useful for treating ulcers of the eye.¹³¹³

7.3 INSECT RESOURCES

7.3.1 ἄωσῆ σνοϛ “Blood of ticks”:

Ch 100

(195) Ομεος οη ετβε ἄβοϛρε χι νακ ἄῖ ἄωσῆ¹³¹⁴ ἔη οϛϛϛε σποζ¹³¹⁵ (*sic*)
 ἄτεκτεκῆ ἄβωρε¹³¹⁶ (196) τεκπιριχε ἄμοοϛ ἔη πεϛσνοϛ μεϛρωτ ἄκεσοπ

(195) Likewise again: For the eyelids: take three ticks on a black cow; depilates eyelids; (196) rubs them with their blood (ticks), they no longer produce eyelashes.¹³¹⁷

Treatment utilising the blood of specific animals is an old practice. The Ebers Papyrus contains a few equations committed to this sort of treatment. To make it increasingly viable, the blood of animals of various species was sometimes combined. Thus the blood of the lizard, cow, donkey, pig, dog or goat was included in the composition of one of these preparations, as the previous recipe and *Pap. Ebers*, Pl. LXIII, l. 12 etc. demonstrate:

Pap. Ebers 424 (63, 12 - 13)



¹³¹³ Chassinat 1921: 161.

¹³¹⁴ ὠσῆ, σιβ. Arabic *qarad* قراد in the scala n° 44 (fol. 57, ro, 1^{re} col. 1.7 and 11). Chassinat 1921: 216.

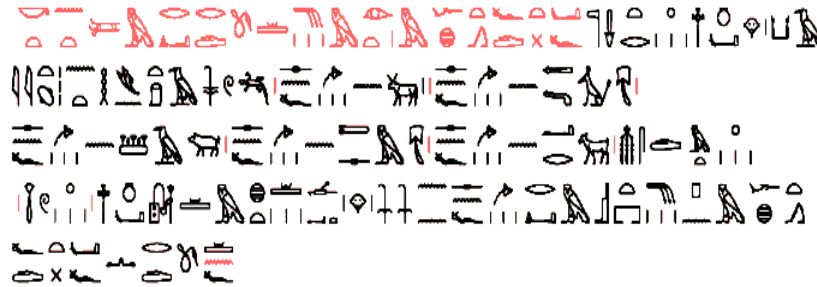
¹³¹⁵ ϛϛε σποζ, ερε ἄκλμε. Chassinat 1921: 216.

¹³¹⁶ βωρε for βοϛρε.

¹³¹⁷ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 215.

“Another [remedy] for removing curved eyelash hair in the eye: Myrrh 1, blood of the lizard 1, blood of the Gold snips 1, turn the eyelashes and give it to it (= the eye) is healthy”.¹³¹⁸

Pap. Ebers 425 (63, 14 - 63, 18)¹³¹⁹



“{63, 14} Another remedy for not allowing a hair to grow into the eye after it has been cleansed: incense, rubbing on dung {63, 15} of the lizard 1, blood of the cattle 1, blood of the ass 1, {63, 16} blood of the pig 1, blood of the hound 1, blood of the goat 1, black eye shadow {63, 17} 1, Green eye shadow 1, finally grind to a uniform mass on this blood, after {63, 18} it finished. It does not grow (anymore).”

Pap. Ebers 426 (63, 18 - 63, 19)



“Another [remedy]: Blood of the gold snipe 1, edge (?) Of a new *hnw*-pot 1, {63, 19} Honey 1, finely grate, give to the place of that hair after it was eradicated”.¹³²¹

¹³¹⁸ Westendorf 1998: 1. 623.

¹³¹⁹ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiii.html], (last accessed: 12.12.2019).

¹³²⁰ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiii.html], (last accessed: 10.12.2019).

¹³²¹ Westendorf 1998: 1. 624.

In addition, tick's blood is found among medical texts of antiquity and the middle ages. Pliny (XXVIII, 7, 9) reports that, according to *Osthanes*, if the gentiles of the woman are rubbed with blood of the ticks from a black wild bull, she will lose her desire for sexual intercourse.¹³²² Chassinat¹³²³ argues that a tick from the left ear of a black dog and carried in amulet calms all the pains (IDEM, XXX, 24,2). The same author indicates that the blood of a tick from a dog prevents eyelashes from growing back (XXX, 46, 2), which is in almost complete agreement with our text.

7.4 BIRD SUPPLEMENTS

7.4.1 κοπρος ἡβερομπε “pigeon droppings”:

κοπρος, κόπρος. Pliny (XXIX, 38, 6) recommends pigeon droppings against the pillowcase and also for a tiny spot upon the eyes:¹³²⁴ Ch 89 also recommends pigeon droppings to treat the cataract and spot in the eye (see 5.6.4).

7.4.2 οὐσνοϋ ἡνοϋρε “Vulture blood”:

Pliny (XIX, 24) mentions that a good remedy to treat is the blood of a vulture mixed with tar resin and root of white Chamaeleon, which is then covered with a cabbage leaf.¹³²⁵

Among known Coptic recipes Ch 200 is the only recipe that used the blood of vulture:

Ch 200

(367) οὐα ερε νεϋβαλ ω ἡβοϋρε εἰῃτρεϋρωτ ἡβε εκωαντακῆοϋ τσο
οὐσνοϋ ἡνοϋρε εϋῆηη ἡῖ ἡσεη μεϋρωτ

(367) Someone his eyes have eyelids they do not produce eyelash when you pulled them out: sprinkle (eyelids) three times with hot blood of vulture, they will produce no longer eyelashes.¹³²⁶

¹³²² Bostock and others 1855: 364.

¹³²³ Chassinat 1921: 216.

¹³²⁴ Chassinat 1921: 196.

¹³²⁵ Bostock and others 1855: 433.

¹³²⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 299.

7.4.3 Ζαc ἄβογκ “Raven’s dropping”:

Pliny (XXX, 8) mentions that the dung of a raven helps to cure a closed tooth, and a gum with shallow incisions.¹³²⁷ The medical recipe Ch 164 prescribed a remedy to treat a kind of skin diseases called ἀνζῶνη “herpes zoster”, which appears in the human body. The recipe recommended the raven’s dropping to which mixed with hyena droppings, wolf droppings, oil and wine to be used against this disease (see 7.2.4).

7.4.4 Ζαc ἄγοιτε “Hyena droppings”:

Hyena droppings appeared only one time in Ch 164. It used against ἀνζῶνη “Herpes zoster”, that affected the human body: οὐρανζῶνη εἶτε ὠαγυ εβολ εἴν ἄρωμε “Herpes zoster that coming out in a man’s body” (see 7.2.4).

7.5 REPTILES SOURCES

7.5.1 ογγοι “Serpent”:

Ch 98

(192) τῶηηφε ἄχγλκ¹³²⁸ εκῶανοχβῶ¹³²⁹ ἄγ χρω ἄμοc εἰβαλ εἶτω
ἄβογζε μεγρωτ ἄκεσοπ

(192) The skin of a snake that you have left to rot, use it to the eyes
whose eyelids are no longer to produce eyelashes.

Pliny (XXVIII, 48) states that a snake’s skin can be used against earache, by using a mixture of the old skin of a serpent and vinegar, and wrapping it up in wool.¹³³⁰

¹³²⁷ Bostock and others 1855: 431.

¹³²⁸ ἄχγλκ = ογγοι. Chassinat 1921: 212.

¹³²⁹ εκῶανοχβῶ, εκῶανλογηc. Chassinat suggested that the verb λογηc may related to the verb λογβ, consequently to λωφ, since the mutation of lip β and φ common phenomenon, that allows assuming that λογβ is written for λογφ and should be compared to λωφ, Chassinat 1921: 212. The scala Bohairic translated by Arabic *fasad* فساد “corrupt, spoil”. Kircher 1643: 473.

¹³³⁰ Bostock and others 1855: 338.

7.5.2 ογζαβλεελε “Lizard”:

In P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 195-198, the lizard ζαβλεελε used to treat a type of eye diseases called “flux”, and the recipe recommended to use the fresh one:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 195-198

ογζαβ[λ]εελε ο ἡττειρε εσογεττογωτ ποχ̄ρ̄ς τινος ρι ρ̄μ̄χ̄ ταας ρι
λιβανος

A great lizard: In this way, while it is still fresh, burn it, pound with vinegar, and put it with incense....¹³³¹

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 212-220

ετβε τες κε[.]γ η ἡ[ζαϋ]λελι ηη̄καμη ογζεϋτ[ης] ἡνερμε // ογζεετης
ἡρ̄η̄χ̄ας // ογλιτρα ηρελκιερα // ωοητε ἡ σατεερε ηπισιμιογ // ἡτ̄ τααγ
ερη [ρ]ἡλοοκ εἡσαρ τε ζαροογ φατ̄τσι ερογν εκτωρ ἡμ[ο]ογ ἡρενβα
εογοτ

For the ... or the black lizards: a pint of genuine (olive) oil, a pint of aged vinegar, a pound of *Helkiera*, three staters of white lead. You put them into bowls with fire underneath until it is mixed in, while you stir them with fresh palm shoots.¹³³²

7.6 MAMMAL RESOURCES

7.6.1 πμη “Mouse”:

The use of mice in medicine goes back to the old Pharaonic pharmacopoeia. According to Ebers Papyrus (LXXX II, 14), mice were used to treat rheumatoid arthritis, when mixed with similar portions of pig’s fat and snake. The rooted mouse was used for hair problems in Hearst Papyrus (X, 10). Dioscorides (II, 6, 9) writes that it is common for this animal to be employed to treat scorpion stings, and it is useful to be eaten roasted to stop the salivation of children.¹³³³ Pliny (XXIX, 29) mentions that mouse saliva is

¹³³¹ Translation: Worrell 1935: 36, with slight modifications.

¹³³² Translation: Worrell 1935: 36, with slight modifications.

¹³³³ Dawson 1924: 84.

useful against sting of a scorpion.¹³³⁴ Abd er-Razzaq¹³³⁵ mentions that “[The mouse الفأر] grilled and eaten, it stops dribbling of saliva in children....Roasted alive and placed upon the sting of a scorpion, it cures it”.¹³³⁶

Moreover, the second half of Papyrus Berlin 8319 details a prescription for treating various diseases by using mice, however it is difficult to identify the disease, against which prescription was used, from the fragmentary text:

Berlin 8319 ll. 16-26

[+ - 7] ἀρτεμισίας¹³³⁷ νακρίος [+ - 9] δε μπιη . κκεν
 [+ - 12] ιοτ ενταφ [+ - 8] ηφερε κκεαζ[τε 20 [+ - 5] ζαροφ ντωζην νκογο
 [+ - 5] τεφλοζη καλος [+ - 8] αφ ηκκερανσι [+ - 8] οφ κκεχομη μηφ [+
 - 10] πη ηρογζε η .. 25 [+ - 6] ηροογ φηαλω ζη ογσε [+ - 5] τσοη ηπχοεισ
 †

[. . .] Wild artemisia [...] mice [...] and kindle (20) [a Fire] under it with straw and wheat [. . until] it boils well. [. .] it mixes with [...] it [...] evening [...] (25) days. It will be healed quickly [through the power of the lord †.

Chassinat papyrus recipe (Ch 197) contains a remedy to treat the ulcer consisting of decoction of mouse, wax and unsalted pork fat (see 5.16.20).

7.6.2 μη βωινσλοφ “Bat’s urine”:

Coptic medical text dealing with bats can be found in the Chassinat Papyrus (Ch 194 see 5.6.7), in which a bat’s urine with the gall of the fish *Cyprinus niloticus* and the squeezer of the wild rue is recommended for treating dim vision.

¹³³⁴ Bostock and others 1855: 403.

¹³³⁵ Abd er-Razzaq 1321: 126–127.

¹³³⁶ Chassinat 1921: 297.

¹³³⁷ ἀρτεμισίας, ἀρτεμισία “wormwood”, scientific name: *Artemisia arborescens*.

7.6.3 $\epsilon\text{no}\mu\ \bar{\text{n}}\epsilon\text{io}\lambda\omega$ “Bat’s blood”:

The earliest medical use of the bat is demonstrated in the Ebers Papyrus:

Pap. Ebers 424 (63, 12 – 13)¹³³⁸



Another [remedy] for removing curved eyelash hair in the eye: Myrrh1, blood of the lizard 1, blood of the Gold snips 1, turn the eyelashes and give it to it (= the eye) is healthy.¹³³⁹

Furthermore, the use of the bat appears in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, which originated in Thebes and dates back to the 2nd cent. CE.¹³⁴⁰ Also, the Coptic magico-medical recipe P. Mich. MS 136, ll. 38-40 recommended to use the blood of bat with blood of shrimp to treat the eyelids:

P. Mich. MS 136, ll. 38-40

$\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\bar{\text{n}}\ \bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\omega\tau\ \epsilon\text{no}\mu\ \bar{\text{n}}\sigma[\text{i}]\ \sigma\lambda\omega.\ \chi\text{i}\ \epsilon\text{no}\mu\ \bar{\text{n}}\text{ko}\gamma\bar{\rho}\text{i}\epsilon\ .\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \bar{\rho}\text{o}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \sigma[\omega]\chi\epsilon\bar{\rho}$

Concerning eyelids, that they may not grow.¹³⁴¹ Blood of bat (mixed) with blood of shrimp (?). When the moon is waning.¹³⁴²

7.7 MINERAL RESOURCES

¹³³⁸ Medizinische papyri [http://www.medizinische-papyri.de/PapyrusEbers/html/kolumne_lxiii.html], (last accessed: 12.12.2019).

¹³³⁹ Westendorf 1998: 1. 623.

¹³⁴⁰ Griffith & Thompson 1904: 153.

¹³⁴¹ Perhaps this refers to eye-lashes ($\lambda\text{o}\bar{\rho}\gamma$), that grow inward as a result of trachoma, or to the thickening of lids due to that disease; however, one would expect a more explicit expression. Worrell 1935: 29.

¹³⁴² Translation: Worrell 1939: 29.

The medical recipe P.Mich.MS 136, ll. 56-59 attests that a man suffering from swelling should get better once gold brine is immersed in gold with oil and smeared onto the swollen part of the body:

P.Mich.MS 136, ll. 56-59

ετβε ογρωμε εφωαφβε ρμογ νογνογβ πιη εφωαγωαμη μ̄νογβ μ̄ρητ̄φ
τ̄ννοφ ρι νεζ τωξ̄ς εροφ φραη τ̄φλο // >>>---

For a man who becomes swollen (inflamed): Salt of a piece of gold: that in which pieces of gold are quenched. Pulverize with oil. Anoint him till he recovers.

7.8 AQUATIC ORGANISM

7.8.1 σιφ̄ μ̄οθηβω πεζ̄≡ “Gall of black labis”:

The gall of black labis appeared to times in Chassinat papyrus Ch 113 and Ch 194, and used against eye disorders (see 5.6.7).

7.8.2 σνοφ̄ μ̄κογρις “Shrimp blood”:

The blood of shrimp σνοφ̄ μ̄κογρις used for eyelids, and the recipe recommended to use it with the blood of bat at the waning moon as in P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 38-40 (see 7.3.6).

7.8.3 φ̄ενκ “shell”:

Ch 45 is the only recipe that contain the shell among its ingredients of eye remedy: ογζγρον ενβαλ̄ νανογγ̄ καλω̄ς “A very good powder for the eyes”. The recipe consists of various minerals such as gold cadmium, copper, pearl and marcasite (see 3.2.3). φ̄ενκ is Arabic *ṣanġ* شَنْج, Chassinat argues that it is name of a large shell found in the seas of India and on the coasts of Abyssinia and Yemen. Ibn Al-Baitar describes it from

the Morsed of Al-Tamimy: It is a horned marine snail, and in it, there is an animal called a snail, and if it is burnt, it is included in many of the eye kohl and many of its medicines.¹³⁴³

7.8.4 λας ἄειον “tongue of sea, cuttlefish”:

λας ἄειον means tongue of sea, which is cuttlefish and corresponds to the Arabic حبار , لسان البحر. Ch 54 (see 5.6.8) is the only recipe that recommended the λας ἄειον to treat the visual impairment and makes the eye see well. Ibn Al-Baitar mentions that it is called by Greeks σιπία. Its curative purpose recognized by Dioscorides II: It is a well-known fish in Jerusalem, its cooked vesicle used as a laxative for indigestion. It is used to treat rough eyelids. It is also used in insufflations against leuchoma in cattle. Also, it dispels the membranous tumors that form in the eyes, mixed with ground salt. In Galen XI: it is burned and used to treat skin diseases such as vitiligo, melasma, freckles and scabies. And used to treat and dissolve the pterygium in the eye, when mixed with burned salt. when it is crushed scoring the teeth, and to dry sores and abscesses.¹³⁴⁴

7.9 HUMAN RESOURCES

7.9.1 Human hair:

7.9.1.1 φω ἄειμε “woman’s hair”:

In medical recipes, human hair, particularly female hair was used, whereby the ash was used as a blood stilling agent, Ch 174 prescribes a hemostatic powder οὐζυρον ἐφωλκνοφ consists of burnt woman’s hair and coal, to be placed on the place of blood flow (see 5.15.2.4).

To treat a painful vulva, P.Mich. MS 136 recommends using βω ἄειλω “old woman’s hair”, and other ingredients and having the patient “sit over smoke”:

P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 161-165

ετβε οὐζυμε ἐφωρε τεσοοτε ηκαρ χι νακ ἄειμεζ ἄειωογιηπιογρε ἄει
οὐζυημ ἄειλω, τᾶαγ. ἐρραϊ ἐχῆν ἔν ᾠβς ἄειωε ἄειογρε μαρεσρμοοσ
χιχῆν πεγ καπνος ᾠαλο //

¹³⁴³ Chassinat 1921: 153.

¹³⁴⁴ Ibn Al-Baitar: 608–609.

For a woman whose vulva is painful: Take some oil, (or) fat, or the (fat) of an ox(?) with a little hair of an old woman. Put them upon some coals of sycamore sticks. Let her sit over their smoke. She will recover.¹³⁴⁵

7.9.2 Human milk therapies:

The use of the breast milk was very valuable and common in prescriptions especially in those treating ophthalmic diseases (Ch 95), to treat breast pain (Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 3), and it was also used against haemorrhoids (SBKopt I 005). Moreover, there were special and uncommon types of breast milk that appeared in Coptic medical recipes such as milk of a woman who has suffered miscarriage (P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 23-26), and the breastmilk of a woman who bears a male child. Each special type appears only once:

Ch 95

(188) ερωτε ν̄σιμε (*sic*) ερωτε ν̄ςςϥ † ενβαλ ετ†κκας ϣναωβ̄ω

(188) Woman's milk, donkey milk; give the eyes that have pain, he (the patient) will be stilled.¹³⁴⁶

SBKopt I 005 ll. 28-65

The following recipe prescribes a remedy against ἀλπεσοϣρ “haemorrhoid”, it provided various topical remedies such as using the soft faeces which mixed with other substances, another way by using fig milk to make the haemorrhoid bigger and get rid of it. Moreover, the recipe provided treatment after it is broken, and to make it disappear (see 5.10.1):

εκογωω ετρεσερ νοσ̄ †ερωτε ν̄ςζιμε εχ̄ν ογπιοσε νωε ννογζε. ν̄γ.. εχ̄ν
τιποσε ννογζε (Recto) η̄ογαπε κκεβιν ω̄αητεφ̄ χρ̄ο. ν̄γτωρς ερωβ
ζιωωφ — ω̄α]σερ νοσ̄ τε(?) ϣκολς ζν̄ πεντακχοοφ̄ ετε̄ περωτε νκεντε

¹³⁴⁵ Translation adapted from Worrell 1935: 34.

¹³⁴⁶ English translation by me of the French translation by Chassinat 1921: 207, with slight modifications.

πῆ εἰώπει ἀσπῶσε ἀσπρ σνοῦ ἡπάτεκόντε καὶ ἡθῆνοῦνε ἡκέπαρις θ/
αἰελαῶλογ· σροφρεῖ εἰώου Ϝω

If you want it to be larger, give a woman's milk to a sycamore-shaped wood, and an ax-head to the sycamore patch until it becomes thick, and anoint it. With it, and (?) bring it to burst with the above-mentioned, which is the fig-milk. If it is broken and bleed before you found it, take the capper root, grind it, and put it on it. Apply.

Cod.Med.Copt., p.214, recipe no. 3

εἰτβε οὔκιβε εἰμοχρ καὶ νογέρωτε ἡθῆμε λαλο ερος ὡαφερὼαῦ ὡν ἡχῶεἰτ
ἡν ἡβδρ εἰμοχρ

For a breast which is painful: Take breast milk (lit. a milk of woman) and rub it in. It also employs for sick testicle and penis.¹³⁴⁷

Cod.Med.Copt., p. 215, recipe no. 9

εἰτβε ἡνκιβε εἰτρεγέρωτε καὶ ἡθῆμαρτ ἡσρος¹³⁴⁸ † οὔμῖστρανῶς
ἡμῆνε ρῖ ἡνκῆεἰρπ ἡεσσοῦ ἀῦω κατὰπλασσε ὡν ἡκιβε ὡν ἡμ ἡππαρρε
σεἡαμοῦρ.

For breasts to give milk: Take intestines seed, give (the patient) a spoonful everyday with beer (or) wine. And also smear the breasts with this medicine. They will fill up.¹³⁴⁹

7.9.2.1 οὔέρωτ νογρε περὶχρῶ “The milk of a woman who has suffered a miscarriage”:

P.Mich. 593b, ll. 23-26

¹³⁴⁷ Author's own translation.

¹³⁴⁸ Cf. σρος, Crum 1939: 832a.

¹³⁴⁹ Author's own translation.

ετβε ωαφε νιμ χι ν̄ογερωτ̄ νογζε περιχω̄ ν̄μοϋ φναλο

For every inflammation: Take some milk of (a woman who has suffered a) miscarriage. Apply it. He will recover.¹³⁵⁰

7.9.2.2 ερωτε ν̄ςριμε εςμοσε ν̄ογ[ω]ηρε ν̄ζοογτ̄ “The milk of a woman who bears a male child”:

In ancient Egypt, breastmilk taken from the mother of a male child was held in high esteem for its healing and magical properties. A recipe from *The Book of Mother and Child* (7,5-8,30) recommends this type of milk for the expulsion of *baa*: “Another: bolls of papyrus plant, earth almonds; grind and mix with the milk of one who has given birth to a boy. Give a *hin* to this child for him to survive the day and night and for his healthy sleep”.¹³⁵¹

Furthermore, the milk of a woman who had borne a male child was used in fertility test in the Papyrus Berlin: “To ascertain whether or not a woman will have a child: the herb bededu-ka, powdered and soaked in the milk of a woman who has borne a son. Let the patient eat it ... if she vomits it, she will bear a child, if she has flatulence, she will not bear”.¹³⁵² In Ch 206, the milk of a woman who bears a male child, used to treat ear sickness: ογμαδε εφωδνε δημωνιακογ̄ ογμαματος̄ ζιτ̄ϥ̄ ζι ερωτε ν̄ςριμε εςμοσε ν̄ογ[ω]ηρε ν̄ζοογτ̄ χω̄ ερωϥ “an ear that is sick, gum ammoniac; grind it with the milk of a woman who bears a male child; apply to it” (see 5.3.2).

7.9.3 ν̄μη ν̄κογῑ ν̄ωηρε “Small child’s urine”:

The urine of small child used as a remedy against abscess, as in Ch 176 (see 5.16.12), which recommended to mix it with cadmia, yellow vitriol, copper, vinegar, tragacanth, and white vitriol.

¹³⁵⁰ Translation: Worrell 1935: 191. Till provides a different translation for this recipe “Gegen jegliche Anschwellung. Nimm Sykomorenmilch und reibe sie ein. Sie wird heilen”. Till 1951a: 134.

¹³⁵¹ Strouhal, Vachala, Vymazalová 2014: 131.

¹³⁵² Witts 2005: 77.

8. THE ROLE OF MONASTERIES IN MEDICAL HEALTHCARE

Monasteries are depicted as the main centres of medical care, where medical treatment was provided through charity foundations, hospitals, and infirmaries. The medical staff was usually composed of monks, elders, doctors, and nurses, who were brought to monastic hospitals to offer curative care to patients. They were the main caregivers who provided natural and physical therapies, which alleviated patient suffering. Accordingly, this healthcare system was divided into considerable and important professions, which constituted a specific system called monastic medicine (Klostermedizin).¹³⁵³ Monks gave curative care with a concentration on physical and spiritual treatments with high-level techniques such as general hygiene, nutrition, and herbal medicine. All these medical aspects combined with a supplication to God in form of prayers intended to help sick people. Therefore, the main feature of monastic medicine was the use of physical medicine alongside religious practices.¹³⁵⁴

Monasteries offered health care for the sick through their charitable institutions that employed professional monks who worked according to ancient medical books and instructions, and who prayed to God in order to heal those that were sick. Between 500 and 1300 CE., monastic hospitals provided generous reception to guests, visitors, and even strangers.¹³⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the concept of private hospitals could be found beside their imperially financed counterparts. Hospitals were also established in cities and villages as well; a will from Antinoopolis (*P.Cair.Masp.* II, 67152 and 67151)¹³⁵⁶ presents an example concerning the inheritance of a private hospital. The chief of this hospital, Phoibammon, bequeathes his valuable place of care to his brother.¹³⁵⁷ The hospital was once owned by his father Euprepus and belongs to Phoibammon's family. In his will, Phoibammon wants to authorise his brother to manage the financial affairs of the hospital:

“As regards the holy management, care and supervision of our worthy *xeneôn*, which we have inherited from our father, I declare and wish and order that all the goodness, care and provision bestowed on the sick should be carried out as well as performed carefully, painstakingly and without reproach as a work of piety and in the fear of God with all diligence and gentleness by my most loving brother John and also that he should take proper care of the business matters relating to this *xeneôn* to assure continuity of the care, service and proper provisions bestowed upon

¹³⁵³ Wilsdorf 1974: 78.

¹³⁵⁴ Silverman 2002: 11.

¹³⁵⁵ Silverman 2002: 11.

¹³⁵⁶ Minnen 1995: 165.

¹³⁵⁷ Crislip 2005a: 9.

the sick, and I adjure him by the eternal God not to make light of this diligent work of God-if he is negligent it will be settled before God.”¹³⁵⁸

Van Minnen declares that “The hospital provided the necessary union of rational medicine with the distinctly Christian value of charity. Hospitals, along with other institutions, directed the surplus energy of new Christian society to charity profitable to all.”¹³⁵⁹

The usual terms that referred to hospitals reflect the services and activities presented in the hospitals such as the most obvious term *nosokomeion* “place for the sick”, and *xenodocheion* or *xenon* “a hostel for strangers”. Also, St. Basil refers to his hospital as a *ptôchotropheion* “a place for the nourishment of the poor”.¹³⁶⁰

Inside the walls of the monastery, patients received curative care from a taxonomic category of professional providers such as doctors, nurses, elders and lay caregivers. Care for the sick is one of the most considerable activities in the monasteries of Shenoute, where the infirmary (τὴν τῶν κληρικῶν ἐπιμελῆσιν) provided curative service for its inpatients.¹³⁶¹ The writings of Shenoute provide abundant evidence of the caring progress for the sick within his monasteries. Shenoute’s writings offer abundant information about monastic health care, especially those that account of his illness, like in Canon 6. As identified by Heike Behlmer¹³⁶² Canon 6 contains five separate works: “He Who Sits Upon His Throne,” “Remember O Brethren,” “Is It Not Written,” “Then I Am Not Obligated,” and “People Have Not Understood,” three of which mentioned Shenoute’s illness.

The most popular division of the Egyptian monastic communities was based on two main types of the monastic lifestyle: *lavra* monasteries and *coenobitic* monasteries.¹³⁶³ Both of these types of monasteries were anchored in the delivery of two main mechanisms: the inpatient and outpatient care systems. The monastic community under consideration in this research is the *coenobitic* one, as the medical texts that came from monasteries emanated from the *coenobitic* monasticism. Therefore, the role of these monasteries in providing medical and other healing ways will be highlighted. The *Coenobitic* monasteries provided health care through two basic patterns:

1. Inpatient care in an infirmary inside the monastery.

¹³⁵⁸ Crislip 2005a:189.

¹³⁵⁹ Minnen 1995: 167.

¹³⁶⁰ Crislip 2005a:102.

¹³⁶¹ Crislip 2008: 21.

¹³⁶² Behlmer 2008: 3.

¹³⁶³ Crislip 2005a: 4. “As for our evidence which came from the monasteries, we can divide them as follow: the *coenobitic* monasticism like: The White Monastery, the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, and the monastery of Apa Thomas”.

2. Outpatient care in separate cells.¹³⁶⁴

8.1 INPATIENT CARE OF COENOBITIC MONASTICISM

One of the most distinctive features of coenobitic monasticism is the existence of the infirmary (πμα νηρωμε ερωωμε) which provided nursing and care for patients under the supervision of professional doctors and nurses. Excavation results present only a few ruins of the monastic compounds, so there is no complete view of all monastery infirmaries. The St. Pachomius monastery in Tabennesse is considered the oldest coenobitic monastery dating back to ca. 320 CE.¹³⁶⁵ Based on the earliest available sources, a Pachomian text (*V. Pach. GI 28=Bo 26*) dating back to ca. 324 CE states that the design of the monastery included a conventional construct of entire buildings, where the medical centre occupied a special place with specific rules: “[Pachomius] appointed another house of stewards to give comfort to all the sick brothers with attentive care according to their rules, and over them a house-master (*oikiokos*) and a second (*deuteros*) in the same way.”¹³⁶⁶ Crislip¹³⁶⁷ argues that this is the first example of a monastic infirmary. Thereafter, Shenoute’s monasteries were established (ca. 385-464 CE), the church of St. Shenoute at the White Monastery one of the greatest coenobitic monasteries, stands among ruins of the buildings such as the cells and the refectory.¹³⁶⁸

It is worth mentioning that within the cloister walls of the coenobitic communities, doctors and nurses treated sick people on a regular basis and according to specific rules.¹³⁶⁹ Elders whether males or females, were responsible for giving the sick person permission to enter the infirmary, because they had the ability to perceive the severity of the disease. According to Shenoute’s disciple Besa infirmaries were not places of loquacity, therefore he affirmed the rules that during one’s stay in the infirmary: “[no one] shall ... speak inside the infirmary while sitting and eating or drinking the small portion needful, but they shall drink it sensibly and in fear of God”.¹³⁷⁰ Hence, the stay in the infirmary was strictly regulated and sick people should not ignore the monastic rules.

¹³⁶⁴ Crislip 2005a: 9.

¹³⁶⁵ Crislip 2012: 44.

¹³⁶⁶ Crislip 2005a: 149 (the original text, note no. 13).

¹³⁶⁷ Crislip 2005a: 11.

¹³⁶⁸ Crislip 2005a: 10.

¹³⁶⁹ Crislip 2005a: 150 (note N. 33). Shen., Can. 9, FM 186, L. IV: 160–61, “No physician (*saein*) among us shall heal an outsider, not only not for wages, but not even free of charge....”. The slightly later coenobium of the tower in Palestine had at least two doctors in the cloister, V. Sab. 131, 28.

¹³⁷⁰ Besa.frag.12.9.3–5. Crislip 2005a: 85–86.

In Shenoute's monasteries, both female¹³⁷¹ and male doctors joined the health institution (two male monasteries and one females monastery were created).¹³⁷² It was common to employ female physicians in Graeco-Roman culture, but in the Old Kingdom of Egypt, only one female doctor is recognised. In Late Kingdom of Egypt, women were more commonly described as physicians.¹³⁷³ The Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara,¹³⁷⁴ dating back to ca. 470 CE, housed the only monastic infirmary in Egypt that has been determined through archaeological investigations. There is a commemorative inscription on a limestone door lintel in the building which mentions the infirmary and its personnel (figure 16):

ΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΠΛΟ ΠΩΡΕΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΗΔ ΝΕΤΩΩΝΙ ΠΕΝΣΟΝ ΑΛΕΞ ΠΕΡΦΤΙΑΚΟΝ

My brother Apollo the son of my brother Abraham, the father of the place of the sick (infirmary), our brother Alex(ander), the attendant).¹³⁷⁵

A particular position for the infirmary of the monastery is evident from the archeological findings; it was usually located usually near the refectory, in a separated area away from the main monastic structures, as in the case of the monasteries of Pachomius, Shenoute, and Basil. This separation was created to avoid social disturbance or communal problems. The excavations lack information about the number of infirmary rooms, the number of persons that would stay in one room, or any information about the techniques practiced inside the infirmary. Nevertheless, it is argued that every infirmary had a kitchen, refectory and a depot.¹³⁷⁶

In general, there is no given size for the infirmaries; the layout and size varies from place to place. There is no doubt that the size reflects the importance and the value of the respective infirmary. The infirmary of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias is one of the largest buildings (*koinobion*) with a size of approximately 540 m².¹³⁷⁷ The archaeological excavations revealed that some of the rooms were related to the infirmary.¹³⁷⁸

¹³⁷¹ Shenoute's rules imposed the separation between the sexes even inside the monastery. The monastery doctors were not allowed to treat people especially women from outside the monastery. Krawiec 2002: 27.

¹³⁷² Shen., can. FM186, L. IV: 160–61, "Female doctors (*shime nsaein*) in these communities also shall not behave in this way at any time." Pachomius and Basil also established "double monasteries" with male and female communities, but female doctors are not specifically mentioned in the sources taken from these communities. Crislip 2005a: 150 (note no. 34).

¹³⁷³ Ritner 2001: 353.

¹³⁷⁴ Twenty-five kilometers southwest of modern Cairo.

¹³⁷⁵ Quibell et al 1909: 28.

¹³⁷⁶ Crislip 2005a:12.

¹³⁷⁷ Crislip 2005a: 10.

¹³⁷⁸ Figure 19.

8.2 PRIMARY MEDICAL SOURCES FROM MONASTIC LIBRARIES

The two primary medical sources explored in this study are literary texts from early monasticism such as Pachomius's and Shenoute's writings, and Coptic documentary sources such as papyri and inscriptions, which are the subjects here in this research. The list of the latter is arranged as follows:

- P. CARLSBERG 500:¹³⁷⁹ The Coptic inscriptions¹³⁸⁰ and medical texts from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.
- Folios Cod.Med.Copt. p. 241-244: Taken from the White Monastery and dating back to between the 9th–10th cent. CE., it contains forty-five medical recipes against several skin and venereal diseases, such as different types of psora, scabies, penis nails and itching.¹³⁸¹
- Cod.Med.Copt., p. 214-215: Part of a monastic handbook from the library of the White Monastery on parchment leaf, it dates to the 9th and 10th cent. CE.,¹³⁸² and includes eleven medical recipes, concerning breasts disorders.¹³⁸³
- *P.Ryl.Copt.* 107 and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 108 Ro: Two parchment fragments from the White Monastery at The John Rylands Library, Manchester (see below).
- *P.Sarga* 21: A *dipinto* and a fragmentary papyrus from the Monastery of Apa Thomas, Wadi Sarga.
- *O.Mon.Epiph.* 574 and *O.Mon.Epiph.* 575: Ostraca from the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, Crum 1926: 117, nos. 574 and 575.
- IFAO 13315: Limestone ostracon at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, originating in the Elias Monastery in West Thebes.¹³⁸⁴

¹³⁷⁹ Erichsen 1963: 23–45.

¹³⁸⁰ Thompson 1909: 57.

¹³⁸¹ Zoega 1810: 626–30.

¹³⁸² Bouriant 1888: 319–320; 374–379.

¹³⁸³ (See 5.14).

¹³⁸⁴ Coquin 1975: 207–239.

8.3 THE MONASTERY OF APA JEREMIAS

On the plastered wall of the infirmary within the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (room 700 D), there was an inscription in black ink: a medical recipe for the more common disease “swelling”, which may refer to an abnormal enlargement of a part of the body or the whole body, or a wound. The depicted figures of snakes appear to be on a sick person. This affliction also appears in another recipe (Mich. MS 136, ll. 42-52) which is connected to chills and is parallel to Iliad, III, 33-35.¹³⁸⁵ The method in which the herbs (plant), burnt charcoal (mineral), and animal fats (animal resources) are combined together in the following remedy is a reflection of the pharmaceutical element of the monastery’s healing method:

I.Saqqara 103

.....ϩⲱϩⲉ...ϩⲛⲟⲟϩ ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡ.....ⲉϢⲧⲓⲕⲟϢ ϫⲣⲱⲉϥ ⲟϥϩⲱⲛⲉ.ⲁⲓ.....ⲉⲃϢ
ⲛⲁⲟⲓⲧ. . . . ⲉϢϩⲟϥ ⲉϥⲣⲟⲗ..ⲓⲕⲟⲓ.ⲱⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ †ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ϫⲣⲱ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲉⲛϢⲙⲟⲧ
ⲛϩⲟϩ...ⲉϥϩⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛϩⲟ...ϩⲓⲙⲟϥ †ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟ... ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲱⲛⲟϥⲙ....ⲕⲉⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ϩⲓ...ϩⲓⲙⲟϥ †ⲓⲉ...ⲣⲱ// ϩⲉⲛⲡⲱ ϩⲱⲃⲉⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲛⲛⲉ

... swelling ... pound them, flower of ... apply a sick person; take
charcoal (? *jeb*s) of olive wood ... burnt (?) ... of sheep (?) lay it on them,
apply [it]. For figures of snakes [which appear to, or on] a sick person,
flower of ... with salt; lay it on them [apply it]. For ... [fat (?) of] wild
goose with ... and water; lay it on [them, ap]ply. Wounds (? Polh) . . .
gherkin (?) pounded.¹³⁸⁶

Moreover in the infirmary of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, there was part of a frieze with a dedicatory inscription of the physician Victor and his son Shoi, who prominently worked in the infirmary (Figure).¹³⁸⁷

Such medical writings from the coenobitic monasteries illustrate the therapeutic method applied in the monastic communities. Medical texts that belonged to the monastic communities contained prescriptions for both external and internal diseases, exactly like the other medical texts from lay communities. Shenoute’s

¹³⁸⁵ (See 6.2).
¹³⁸⁶ Translation: Quibell 1909: 57.
¹³⁸⁷ Quibell 1912:139.

monastic communities had strict rules concerning the internal diseases; the examination of these diseases from a doctor needed the decision of the elder.¹³⁸⁸

The coenobitic monastic medical manuscripts and inscriptions used a pharmacological technique, which usually depended on the therapeutic *materia medica*. This technique appeared in a pharmacological Coptic medical handbook relating to the coenobium of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, which prescribes some herbal medicaments for external and internal ailments. This manuscript has particular features different from the other medical documents. Its size in comparison with the other medical documents is small and has the approximate shape of a square (approximately, 9-9½ x 8-8½ cm). Therefore, it may have been used as a manual reference for the physicians of the monastery. The manuscript sequence of pages' number is high whereby the remaining pages contain numbers past one hundred: 103, 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 113, 114, 135, 136.¹³⁸⁹ In addition, Richter¹³⁹⁰ further published ten pages (F/i vo, F/ii ro (Fragment), F/ii vo (Fragment), G ro, G vo, H ro, H vo, I/i ro, I/i vo, Blatt I/ii ro, I/ii vo). Since the parchments have been significantly damaged, these pages neither provide a coherent text nor a complete prescription but preserve some herbal names with few details on these medicinal plants, such as fol. A vo ll. 8–12 ἰωβηκωβ νακρῖο(ν) ἐφρητ ἕνηενμα εὔχοσε ἐρενεφῶωβε ο ν σογρε “Wild Jôbêkôb: It grows on high ground places, its leaves are thorny”; and fol. G vo lines 1–4 πῆωωβε ἐγωωβξ ἐρεπεγστοι [ωη]ω ἐφρητ ἕμη πεκ]ρο μπερο “The pumpkin; they are small (?) and their smell is the [sa]me. It grows on the bank of the river”. An interesting feature of the manuscript is the way in which each herb is classified for its own use of processing:

P. CARLSBERG 500

... ν[α]λο ἐτβνετο νλεγκωμα ἕιειω. ἠνοντ[ιβ]οτάνη φναλο ἐτβενιρωμε ἐ[το
 ν]φεντ ἠνο ν[γ.χ.ι]τοῦ ἐπεχτ φαγλο. ἠνο ντεῖβοτανε μνογλοκ μμοοῦ ἄωκμ
 μπρωμε ἐφωνωῖερα†нок ἐτβε νετωενζητ¹³⁹¹ πσιηγε ντῖβοτανη μνογερωτε
 νεξε μαρεφογομοῦ ἄγω νφτογκογῖ ἐπεφμανημοοσ φαφαναρτε μπρεγμα
 πμμαῶτ. ψιμ μπβησ. ἰωβηκωβ νακρῖο ἐφρητ ἕνηενμα εὔχοσε ἐρενεφῶωβε ο

¹³⁸⁸ Shen., Can.5, XS 386-372bis, L.IV:73.: “No one among us shall go to a doctor for him to treat them from a hidden illness with them, in their head or abdomen or bowels, except for this only, for them to be treated for a pustule or a “*deute*” or a tooth or an eye or any other external ailment [without the permission of the elder].” Crislip 2005a: 160 (Note no. 150).

¹³⁸⁹ (see 2.1.1).

¹³⁹⁰ Richter 2014: 184–188.


¹³⁹¹ Erichsen translation: “Für die, welche Herzweh haben”, but I translate it “For those who suffer in stomach”, as the rest of the recipe mentioned that the remedy should be applied to the anus, so it refers to stomach or intestines pain rather than heart condition. Cf. νφωωνε ἐρητφ “suffer in stomach”. Crum 1993: 643a. Also, in Acts of the Apostles 28:8 ἀσωωπε δε ἐτρε πειωτ μπογιδις ἕμον ἄγω νφωωνε ἐρητφ νφωωπε νφικοτκ παγλοσ ἀφωκ ἐρογν φαρφ ἀφωλη ἀφταλε τοοφ ἐρραι εἰωφ ἀφταλσοφ “And it was so, that the father of Publius lay sick of fever and duffer in stomach: unto whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laying his hands on him healed him”.

νσογρε θνοϋ ϋι ννεϋμοογ μ̄νογεβιω εγωηϋ μ̄ννεγρηγ † ενεβαλ εγονελλοστν
 εκναταααγ εγαγγιον νρομη† αγω περιχε¹³⁹² νωωρη μ̄νε αγω ωαϋταλσο
 νιμογνρογν αγω νιμα ετταρισε ρννβαλ - ληχη η̄πησιχηρασ - πιμοογ ντειβοτανη
 φιμπετεωον̄ς - θνο ντειβοτανε μ̄νογσιβε αρικαταπλασσε μ̄νοϋ ενιμα
 ετομηωρα σεναλο σαμσογχοσ ωοπ ωοπ θνο ντειβοτανε. μ̄νογκηφεοσ¹³⁹³
 μνογρηπ † ενισπιρ ετωωνε σεναλο ετβε νιωνξω θνο ντειβοτανε
 μνογεβρατηση μνογερωτε νε [ρ]οογτ....
 μεν εωωπε ογνογα ωωνε επεϋπνεγμων¹³⁹⁴ παστϋ μαρεϋογομϋ. ετβενιρωμε
 εμεγσωτη †πεϋμοογ εροογ ωαγσωτη ... ετβενιρωμε εγκαβολ ντεγτροφη¹³⁹⁵
 πεσπερμα ντειβοτανη ριμοογ ρη[ρ]π ριεβιω μα[ρεϋ]σω ϋναλο . ετβεπιμανροογτ
 νογα εϋλοκ μαρεϋθνο ντειβοτανε νϋκαασ ριχντεϋ ρητρα¹³⁹⁶ ϋναεμτον Χοφ
 Χοφ μολοχ ετβεογρωμε ερεπεϋνοϊω ωωνε χι νακ ληλλοκ ρη̄πιμοογ ντειβοτανη
 λαρμογ ριεβιω νϋτοογ νροογ εϋωανερμογ νσελρο ϋναλο. ετβεγρηπαρ εϋωωνε
 ογλοι[ρε ρη̄πιμοογ πιτ[ειβοτανη ριεϋιω μαρεϋσω....

[unknown plant.] ... will be healed. For those suffering leukoma, grind this herb with honey and he will be healed. For those people who have worms, grind and take them down and they will be healed. (crush this herb with a measure of water.) If he suffers a urinary problem, bath the person. For those who suffer in stomach, mix up this herb with milk. Let him eat them and apply a little to his anus. It will restrict the discharge of the bowels. Falcon herb or wild *Iobekob*: It grows in field/wild, in high places and its leaves are thorny. Crush it. Take its juice which honey in equal parts. Apply it to the eyes if they are misty. You should put them in bronze vessel and anoint every morning. And he will recover...

Cooked lichen. The juice of this herb, the herb of petešons. Crush this herb with tar. Plaster it on the places that itch. They will heal. Marjoram or šop šop. Crush this herb with incense and wine. Apply to the ribs that are injured. They will be healed. For headaches: Crush this herb with leek seed and with male c(ow)'s milk, and when someone is sick in his lungs, cook it, and let him eat it. For people when they

¹³⁹² Cf. περιχρίω “to smear or cover over; to pour as unguent over, to anoint”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1394a.

¹³⁹³ κύφι, Greek word for  *kap.t* “incense”. Budge 1920: 786b.

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. πνεύμων “lungs”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1416b.

¹³⁹⁵ cf. τροφή “food, nourishment”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 1827b.

¹³⁹⁶ Cf. ἥτρον “abdomen, esp. the lower part of it”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 780a.

do not hear, give them its juice (water), they will hear. For people, they vomit their food, the seed of this herb, with water, wine, and honey. He drinks, he will recover. For a strained male member of someone, he crushes this herb and places them on the lower part of abdomen, he will be relieved. *Khoph khop*, or mallow. For someone whose spleen is diseased, take *lollok* in the juice of this plant, boil them with honey of the highest quality, [and drink?] for four days. When he makes warm water he will recover. For a sick liver, excrement in the juice of this plant, with honey. Let him drink.¹³⁹⁷

8.4 THE MONASTERY OF APA THOMAS

The Monastery of Apa Thomas, also named as “The Holy Monastery of Apa Thomas” or “The Rock of Apa Thomas” at the site of Wadi Sarga near the city of Asyut, may be named after its founder Apa Thomas. Founding documents refer to it being populated until the 8th cent. CE.¹³⁹⁸ Medical and magical writings emanated from this monastery, and it supposedly had an infirmary.

A plastered wall within the Monastery of Apa Thomas, may have belonged to the infirmary building, contained medical prescriptions, nowadays in a fragmentary condition:

P.Sarga 21

ἸΚΩΠ ἸΤΕ ἸΚΑΡΙΟΣ ἸΝΝΕ ΜΜΑΩ Π]ΕΖΜΟΜ ΕΤΩΑΒΕ ΝΘΕΡΙΚΟΝ ἸΔΙΘΕ ΖΗΡΠΠ
 ΖΙΝΕΖ ΜΕΤΙ ΕΧΩΒ ἸΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΒΤ ΜΟΑΔΥ Α.ΠΕ ΜΒΑΛ ΝΑΒ[Ω]Κ ΖΙΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΜΧΩΛ
 ΖΙΕΒΙΩ ΤΕΙ ΕΘ[ἸΟΥΜΟΝΕ ΟΥΣΙΩΕ ΝΒΑΜΠΕ ΖΙΕΒΙΩ Π[

...the] fever which the medicaments (? Teriakon) ... and wine and olive oil. Apply them to it.... An eye that waters: ... of raven’s eye and water of onions and honey. Apply [them] to [it ...a goat’s gall and honey].¹³⁹⁹

Also, from this monastery there is a fragmentary papyrus containing information concerning the medical technique applied along with a treatment:

¹³⁹⁷ English translation by me of the German translation by Erichsen 1963: 32–36.

¹³⁹⁸ Crum, Bell, Thompson 1922: 7.

¹³⁹⁹ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 52.

P.Sarga 20

+ ετβε ογα ερεζητ [ν]εφογερητε ηυσω[ντηη]βε ντεκσιλ ογαρογ [...]
ν]γχοοσ χείαω ἰάω [5] ἦωνε ετφνηζητφ [ο]γ ασφαλτον μη []. λβοῖ τααγ
εζραῖ ς[]ετβεπεχαλλκιον []μπογποοπε

Concerning someone whose (?) belly [] his feet and he ... [] fingers of
the hand; lay them [] and say: Iaô, Iaô [] the sickness wherein he is []
bitumen and []; place them on []. Concerning the cauldron [] they
have not changed [or been moved].¹⁴⁰⁰

P.Sarga 20

+ ετβε ογα ερεζητ [ν]εφογερητε ηυσω[ντηη]βε ντεκσιλ ογαρογ [...]
ν]γχοοσ χείαω ἰάω [5] ἦωνε ετφνηζητφ [ο]γ ασφαλτον μη []. λβοῖ τααγ
εζραῖ ς[]ετβεπεχαλλκιον []μπογποοπε

Concerning someone whose (?) belly [] his feet and he ... [] fingers of
the hand; lay them [] and say: Iaô, Iaô [] the sickness wherein he is []
bitumen and []; place them on []. Concerning the cauldron [] they
have not changed [or been moved].¹⁴⁰¹

P.Sarga 21 contains a combination of different methods of treatment, the *materia medica* “bitumen” combined with both the medical movements ‘lay; place them’, and the ritual incantations Iaô. This combination affirms that “the Coptic spells demonstrated that there are no lines between ‘magic’, medicine, and religion.”¹⁴⁰²

¹⁴⁰⁰ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 51–52.

¹⁴⁰¹ Translation: Crum et al.1922: 51–52.

¹⁴⁰² Meyer and Smith 1994: 79.

8.5 THE MONASTERY OF APA ELIAS

From the Monastery of Apa Elias in West Thebes, there is an ostrakon (IFAO 13315,¹⁴⁰³ Cairo, inv. no. 13315) that dates back to between 7th and 8th cent. CE. It is a catalogue of the monastery's library that contains a list of books on papyrus and parchment. In line 36 of the verso οὐχὼδὼμῃ ἴσσειν “a medicine book” is mentioned.

8.6 THE WHITE MONASTERY

The White Monastery is rich in medical documents along with other monastic writings. There are four such texts originating in the White Monastery. The medical parchments Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 214-215,¹⁴⁰⁴ Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 241-244,¹⁴⁰⁵ where each parchment contains pages' numbers, and they are supposed to be part of medical books. Further, the parchment fragment at the John Rylands Library, where Manchester P.Ryl.Copt. 107 contains a medical recipe to treat head pain and medulla (see 5.2.1), and P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro contains a medical recipe to treat eye diseases by using hoopoe's blood of hoopoe and cardamom (see 5.6.2.3).

8.7 THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

There are two ostraca (O.Mon.Epiph. 574¹⁴⁰⁶ and O.Mon.Epiph. 575) that originate in the Monastery of Apa Epiphanius at Thebes, which relate to medical procedures.¹⁴⁰⁷ Both contain one medical recipe, dating to between the 7th and 8th cent. CE. and were found among the piles of sherds at the Monastery of Apa Epiphanius in West Thebes.

O.Mon.Epiph. 574 contains a medical recipe to treat a sick intestine: οὐχὰ ἐφωδῶμῃ ἐπεφσα ἡρῶγν ἐφῆανῆχ σῆοφ ἐρραῖ, which literally means “one who is sick in his interior, where blood throws down”, hence it recommends the patient to be rubbed three times a day with a sulfur ointment (see 5.8.8). Furthermore, O.Mon.Epiph. 575 prescribes a remedy against a sick liver and knocking, consisting of nuts, wine and peppercorns, to be used as poultice (see 5.9).

¹⁴⁰³ Coquin 1975: 207–239.

¹⁴⁰⁴ It contains medical recipes to treat breast diseases and to increase the supply of breast milk (see 5.15).

¹⁴⁰⁵ This parchment mainly dedicated to skin disorders (see 5.16).

¹⁴⁰⁶ Crum1926:177; Till 1951a: 129.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Crum and White 1926: 117; Till 1951a: 129.

8.8 OUTPATIENT CARE OF COENOBITIC MONASTICISM

The second category of health care institutions in Coenobitic monasteries includes exterior clinics. This type of care principally established separate structures in coenobitic and lavra monasteries to alleviate the physical ailments of patients. Outpatient care offered treatments for the initial ailments and external wounds. Such a process mainly manifested in presenting any available possibilities of treatment to those located next to the monastery such as palliative care for external diseases. Otherwise, the internal diseases that needed careful examination or scrutiny were to be treated in the infirmary.¹⁴⁰⁸

The healthcare mechanism of monasteries through their inpatient and outpatient systems was available in a very systematic way and was free of charge.¹⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, there were initial infirmary admission proceedings based on the acceptance of the patient and his adherence to the treatment rules. The incipit phase was called “lay referral network”, thus the patient should firstly use available treatments such as folk medicine, which was provided by a layman of their family or relevant person, who did not necessarily have a medical background. This procedure was more precisely applied in coenobitic than lavra monasteries.¹⁴¹⁰

Surviving monastic documents and inscriptions of monasteries indicate that the monasteries handled diverse diseases, and provided the best type of medical treatments: pharmacology, therapeutics, religion and even magic treatments. P.Sarga 21 is a good example of this case.

Alongside the role of various monasteries in the medical healthcare system, the monks and monasteries also played a prominent role in the practice of magic. They distinguished between a normal illness $\omega\omicron\mu\eta$ and that which was demonic or false, which could even afflict members of the monastic order. This idea has been depicted by the coenobitic monastic writers who describe in the Life of St. Pachomius, who himself was afflicted by a demonic illness, which he realized was not a natural illness:

“Once he was seized by a fever in the monastery and he lay without food for two days. On his third day without eating, he got up a little for prayer, in his great desire for God, and he felt relief from the disease. And when the steward gave the signal for eating, as was the custom, he girded up his loins and went to eat at the table of the healthy brothers, realizing that the disease was not natural (me physike). And he gave thanks to God who had strengthened him. And so, when he saw another [in the same situation], he straightened him out so that he would not be mocked by the enemy.”¹⁴¹¹

¹⁴⁰⁸ Crislip 2005a:12.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Crislip 2005a:40.

¹⁴¹⁰ Crislip 2005a:84.

¹⁴¹¹ Crislip 2005a: 79.

Accordingly, Pachomius recognised two different types of illnesses: the “natural illness” and the “unnatural illness”. Shenoute also recognised two types of illnesses: “normal ὄρωνε “illness” and πῶρωνε ἄδιαιμονιον “the illness of demons”; and he assumed that the demonic diseases were a result of the τμηῆτρειζνααγ “sloth”.¹⁴¹²

The idea that monastic communities were the most prominent places for producing various magical writings was confirmed by the anecdotal writings about pagan priests who converted to Christianity. These writings have been written by literary monks who had a great knowledge of the Christian faith and its rituals. Furthermore, these writings were influenced by a group of Egyptian, Jewish and Christian elements. In this regard, they found in the priest’s figure the most appropriate form of the appearance of the new “magical” form and the monk.¹⁴¹³

Fourth and fifth century Egyptian monasticism provide us with a view of the conflict through the depiction of demons, and how these demons can deceive a monk’s soul and mind and turn them away from the teaching of God, thus causing an unusual movement in their bodies. This concept appeared in Antony’s epistles, which state that there are three movements that can dominate the body: the physical; those relating to the wrong habit in eating several times with a great amount of food; and those generated by the devil demons.¹⁴¹⁴ If the mind followed the spirit’s testimonies, the demons will afflict the body with these three movements and exhaust the soul, so it seek help and abide by the testimony of the spirit and healed.¹⁴¹⁵ The demons are hidden creatures and can be visible if the monks surrender their inspirations¹⁴¹⁶ St. Antony explains that “... if you seek, you will not find their sins and iniquities revealed bodily, for they are not visible bodily. But you should know that we are their bodies and that our soul receives their wickedness; and when it has received them, and then it reveals them through the body in which we dwell”.¹⁴¹⁷ Demons are “all hidden, and we reveal them by our deeds.”¹⁴¹⁸

Ritual spells provided concrete supernatural aid to those who were suffering. These spells were usually called “magical spells”, which helped predict future healing, generate victories and pregnancies, and offer protection from evil, and so on. Hence, every person, Christian or even nonmonastic, turned to monks to learn about the future, healing and the expulsion evil spirits.

It was argued that a monk and pagan priest had the same abilities and that they were close to gods or demons. The priest, who was professional in writing, served the god in a temple that was God’s home, and

¹⁴¹² Crislip 2005b: 149.

¹⁴¹³ Brakke 2006: 227.

¹⁴¹⁴ Antony, ep. 1.35-41. Rubenson 1995: 199.

¹⁴¹⁵ Antony, ep. 1.42-45. Rubenson 1995: 200.

¹⁴¹⁶ Brakke 2006: 17.

¹⁴¹⁷ Antony, ep. 6.50-51. Rubenson 1995: 219.

¹⁴¹⁸ Antony, ep. 6.55. Rubenson 1995: 220.

makes sacrifices in order to obtain a special relationship with God. As for the other monks or specialists, they performed their tasks outside temples and their tasks needed more effort, hence they gained a good reputation from their effective and potent writings. Moreover, there were supernatural beings that helped to make the rituals more effective. In many occasions, magical papyri disclosed the identity of this supernatural being, who aided and supported the magical process: devil, an angel or even a certain god. Also, these supernatural beings could be linked to the monk or the magician in all tasks to the extent that they would “eat and sleep with” him.¹⁴¹⁹ Thus, the monk had a specific angel, not a demon, who aided him against the evil demons. Therefore, many magical spells contain the invocation of angelic and divine powers such as invoking the angel and Archangel Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Suriel, Zarathiel, Zedekiel, Suriel, Anneal, Yoel, Tsel, and so on.¹⁴²⁰

A group of letters from anonymous persons addressed to a monk named Paphnutius include many requests to fulfil numerous desires for them and their families through his powers as a monk. Even sins were mentioned in the hope of atonement for their previous mistakes.¹⁴²¹ These rituals were usually enhanced with some other substances such as oil and water to achieve the desired results. This idea appears in the correspondent of a person called Heraclides, who asked Paphnutius to bless him with oil to relieve his sickness.¹⁴²² Even parts of certain animals were involved in the process of healing by monks to achieve the desired goal. Shenoute reports that “fox claws” were described by a monk, who stated: “Bind them to yourself, and you will recover”.¹⁴²³

These letters also, prove that the accurate healing was achieved by Christ, who was able to heal any illness, and the act of healing presented by monks or magicians was “deceptive relief”.¹⁴²⁴ In this regard, Shenoute states that, correspondence between St. Antony and a woman called Valeria, depicts her admittance that the monk’s prayer helped her to be healed as the monk has a close relation with Christ “I am confident that through your prayers I receive healing, for the revelations of the ascetics and worshippers are manifested.”¹⁴²⁵ The clients, believing in the monk’s miraculous abilities, turned to them in the hope of facilitating the obtainment of a place in the heaven.¹⁴²⁶

Throughout the history of monastic life, health and disease were one of its main concerns. This idea is evident in monastic literature. On this topic, the earliest monks in Egypt provided a substantial corpus of writings regarding health and illness, especially three collections of letters, which are considered the

¹⁴¹⁹ Brakke 2006: 229.

¹⁴²⁰ (See 6.4).

¹⁴²¹ Brakke 2006: 228.

¹⁴²² Papyrus 1928, Inv. No. 2496, date to 4th cent. CE. Bell and Crum 1924: 114–115.

¹⁴²³ Brakke 2006: 228.

¹⁴²⁴ Brakke 2006: 228.

¹⁴²⁵ Brakke 2006: 229.

¹⁴²⁶ Crislip 2012: 42.

earliest source of monastic writing: namely, the archives of the Monastery of Hathor's private letters; the letters of Pachomius, the founder of coenobitic monasteries in Upper Egypt; and the letters of Antony. Each collection's particular content is different from the other, however they do share a common feature: the health and illness of monks living an ascetic life.

8.9 ARCHIVES FROM THE MONASTERY OF HATHOR

The documents of the Melitian Monastery of Hathor are kept in three archives; each archive preserves documents relating to a certain monastic individual: Paieous (330s), Paphnutius (340s) and Nepheros (350s).¹⁴²⁷ These archives contain both the letters of the monks and letters written to the monks sent by their clients outside the monastery, accumulating to approximately thirty-five letters. These letters provide a close view of the different positions of the followers of the monk's efficiency: noble or layman, monastic or nonmonastic, men or women.

The two archives of Paphnutius (340s) and Nepheros(os) demonstrate the concept of monastic health and the monk's broad abilities as healers through prayer and the application of blessed oil, as they believed that these remedies were effective even in different and remote places. Usually, these followers were relying on the monks as further spiritual models to gain miraculous healing of their difficulties and illness through the monks' prayers.

The basic subject of these letters is the health of the monastic persons and wishing their continued health. This is clear from the sentences included in the letters such as "I pray you are healthy (*erriasthai se euchomai*)", "I pray you are healthy in soul and body (*psychēi kai sōmati*)", or "I pray that you may be healthy for a long time (*epi megiston chronon*)".¹⁴²⁸ In addition, these letters included beseeching God to protect the monks because of the perceived benefits that they offer.¹⁴²⁹

Correspondence sent from Heraclides to Paphnutius states: "I pray that you may be healthy in the Lord for a long time, praying on my behalf continuously, most pious father." It continues stating:

"You always have the chance to pray on my behalf and I need help from you who are stronger (*kreittonos*) on account of prayer. Both because of my name and because of the sickness that has seized and oppressed me (*pros ten katalabousan me noson epigousan me*), I now beg you to do this additional thing: send me the oil. . . . For I do not believe that I will be

¹⁴²⁷ The archives of Paieous and Paphnutius (PLond. VI 1913-21 [Paieous] and 1923-29 [Paphnutius]) Bell and Crum 1924. The archive of Nepheros (ENeph.). Kramer, Shelton and Browne 1987: 35-83.

¹⁴²⁸ Crislip 2012: 42. Paphnutius' prayer is the close link between the holy man and his correspondents. Rapp 1999: 68.

¹⁴²⁹ Crislip 2012: 42.

helped otherwise. May you hold up Christ as long as you have health (*heös hugeiian ekheis*). [second hand 1 . . . The prophet also shouted, “In affliction I called out and he heard me.” Now truly it is an affliction in which I live, where help can be received neither from a brother nor from any other, except for the hope through our Lord Christ expected on account of your prayers.”¹⁴³⁰

The writers’ interest in the health of the monks and their concern for them stems from the privileged cultural meanings and values. Ensuring the health of the monk is a guarantee of the survival of the relationship between the Christian and the monks who provide them with numerous benefits, and guarantee God’s blessing.¹⁴³¹

8.10 THE LETTERS OF PACHOMIUS

In ca. 323 CE, synchronous with the Hathor community, Pachomius founded his first monastery, in the Theban area. Pachomius’s own writings show a great concern about monastic health and illnesses, especially *Letter 3*, and *Letter 5*. It is all the more valuable considering the paucity of sources from these early decades of Egyptian monasticism.

The importance of Pachomius’s letters lies in their literary context. They are directed to several monasteries in his federation, unlike the private document archives of Paieous, Paphnutius and Nephros: “The differences between the documents from Hathor and the literature of Pachomius are reflected in the significance attributed to monastic sickness and health therein. Pachomius presents the presence of sick ascetics in his monasteries not as a reflection on the sanctity of the sick or as a reflection of their own ascetic practice but as a risk and opportunity for the proper enactment of ascetic ideals by the healthy.”¹⁴³²

Pachomius’s *Letter 5* was composed during the annual Easter celebration at Pachomius’s home monastery of Pbow and was written as an encyclical to the monks. The congregation of Pachomian monks at Easter was considered an important occasion since traveling was difficult and involved almost one hundred kilometers. There is no doubt that the monks abandoned their monastic life routine during this period, and they needed special behavioral guidelines for reentering the coenobium. During the Easter

¹⁴³⁰ Crislip 2012:43.

¹⁴³¹ Crislip 2012:44.

¹⁴³² Crislip 2012: 45.

celebration, Pachomius appointed leadership positions for all federal monasteries. On this occasion, Pachomius implies the matter of monasticism and health.¹⁴³³

The letters were used to put emphasis on Pachomian instruction to his spiritual children. Pachomius often quoted scripture and presented a general moral instruction and limited particular guidance at the feast: “Pachomius exhorts his children to the virtues of obedience to superiors, kindness to others, and mutual aid, the foundational monastic precepts of Pachomius system.”¹⁴³⁴

Pachomius always exhorted his children to follow the instructions, as Noah obeyed God’s commands. “And as the Apostle commands, the brethren should [bear] one another’s burdens.” With his oratorical skills, Pachomius advised his children to care for the sick monks among them: “When you come to us [for the Easter feast], take care to make the bed of the sick and not to be short of bread, and also, if possible, to find a pillow or a head-cushion, so that those who are weak may rest.” He illustrated that the importance of caring for the sick is an execution of the scriptures:¹⁴³⁵ “This [care for the sick] is in order to fulfill the warning left to us in writing: ‘Anyone who does not look after his own relations, especially if they are living with him, is worse than an unbeliever.’”¹⁴³⁶

Pachomius’s community provided a suitable life for the biological family, namely dwelling places, food, clothing, reassurance, and health care.

In fact, the exhortation to care for the sick is the only specific administrative instruction in the fifth Letter, Letters 5.11, 3.3: “In the other passages in which Pachomius draw attention to the sickness and health of monks.”¹⁴³⁷

The context of Pachomius’s letters indicates the significance of monastic sickness, and indeed it was significant. According to Pachomius letters it is argued that the importance of providing care to the sick is due to keeping all monks healthy, especially in the context of the Easter celebration, where they should also return to the monastery in good health. And the blame would have fallen on them if some people became sick because their illness would have indicated negligence. Thus, patients were relieved of their requirements to worship, diet and manual labor, and left to rest and recover: “That this was indeed a risk during occasions of collective travel is reflected by the later Rules, attributed to the Father but actually a later accretion, which mandate that an officer—here identified as a minister [aegrotatum], a “nurse”—

¹⁴³³ Rousseau 1985: 74–75; Crislip 2012: 46.

¹⁴³⁴ Crislip 2012: 46.

¹⁴³⁵ “Use of the Bible in the surviving magical papyri increased dramatically in the fourth century and remained high through the sixth. This was one strategy by which the Christian monk could distinguish himself from the magician and by which the ill-defined demonic specialist could take on the more specific identity of Christian monk.” Brakke 2006: 233.

¹⁴³⁶ Crislip 2012: 46.

¹⁴³⁷ Crislip 2012: 46.

remain behind with any sick monk during funerals, the most common occasion for all monks to travel outside the monastery in masse.”¹⁴³⁸

Monastic sickness meant a lot to Pachomius, as he was aware of the concerns about the risk of his spiritual children’s negligence. Pachomius explains: “Let us toil, ‘carrying each other’s burden,’ as Christ ‘carried our diseases in his body’ without flinching. If Christ is our master, then let us imitate him and bear his injuries, lest in the age to come we be separated from our brothers who suffered afflictions.” According to Pachomius, Christ was considered the ideal and symbolised the healthy, contrary to Cassian’s and Paul’s evocations of Christ as the model for the sick. The sick monks in the Koinonia were considered by a cross, which showed who was notable or not notable; it prompted monks to present the highest ideal of Pachomian monasticism: The Christ-inspired provision of mutual support. On the other hand, this was considered a risky occasion for the monks if they were to be unsuccessful in achieving this obligation.¹⁴³⁹

According to Pachomius, sick monks are a matter of theological and moral import. The disease of monks in Pachomius’s monastery lies not in the behaviour of the sick or in the interpretation of the moral significance of the disease, but in the specific difficulties that arise to provide mutual assistance between the monks. Monastic illness warns against the moral volatility of healthy people, rather than pointing to the merits or failure of asceticism.¹⁴⁴⁰

8.11 THE LETTERS OF ANTONY

The seven letters of Antony (ca. 255-356 CE) are synchronous with the letters of Hather and Pachomius, and date back to the early 4th cent. CE. In these Letters, the essential elements that characterise the theological, hagiographical, and disciplinary reflections on the meaning and function of disease in the practice of asceticism are found.¹⁴⁴¹ Antony conceived asceticism as a recovery and healing procedures, not only from physical illness but from the great universal wound inflicted on mankind as a result of Adam and Eve’s disobedience. The seven letters of Antony provide real treaties that appropriate to the pastoral needs of several communities. He addressed his instructions to various monastic communities and addressed his correspondents by saying: ‘beloved sons in the Lord’, ‘beloved brothers’, ‘my dear children’.¹⁴⁴²

¹⁴³⁸ Crislip 2012: 47.

¹⁴³⁹ Crislip 2012: 47.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Crislip 2012: 47–48.

¹⁴⁴¹ Term ἀσκησις, ἄσκησις definitely means exercise, training, “exercise regimen” than “asceticism,” it argues that it was used for sports term before its using in a monastic pattern. Antony’s ascetic follows a pure physical exercise. He spent the day on self-working (such as weaving baskets), he spent his night without sleeping in vigilant prayer. He used to eat only one time per day bread, salt, water, no meat, no wine, and fasted many so he can eat only every two days, with continuing praying, and weighing. his “thoughts,” so that he abandons the emotions that keep him away from his goal. Harmless 2004: 61-62.

¹⁴⁴² Rubenson 1995: 46.

According to the content of the letters, scholars have divided them into two separate groups: I and II-VII. Health and illness occupy an important part in Antony's letters "Letters 2-7 establish the centrality of fallen existence as disordered, demon-afflicted, and sickly and the role of Jesus Christ and the saints as the physicians of the cosmic wound. Letter 1 lays out the practical disciplines by which the Christian—particularly the ascetic—may reclaim spiritual health that prefigures the future reunion with the divine."¹⁴⁴³

Antony's letters prove the concept of the "Physician", an idea that was derived from early Christology. As on many occasions, the New Testament¹⁴⁴⁴ and the Gospels reference Jesus as a healer who is able to cure diverse diseases. According to Antony's faith, the practice of asceticism plays the main role in healing illnesses, matter which he explains in his letter. He typified the world and its creatures in a medical way.

Antony tried to synthesise his Christian monasticism and the history of Christian salvation, indicating to the providential economy of salvation, based on definite teachings such as Origen's *Peri Archon*.¹⁴⁴⁵ According to Origen theology, the creation of the world was compatible and convenient for the several otherworldly creatures. All spirits and otherworldly creatures were according to their innate nature created by God. But they fell and turned into ψυχή "souls" when they were exhausted by this endless heaven.¹⁴⁴⁶ Presumably, the word ψυχή is derived from ψύχομαι, because they were ψύχομαι "cooled" and fallen.¹⁴⁴⁷ "This 'first movement' (6.102), the cooling-off of the mind, engendered the created order's present and confusing diversity: angels, in all their multiplicity; demons, with all their subcategories; and humans. For humans, apparently unlike the angels and demons, the cooling-off that followed the first movement caused the death of the "faculties of the mind" and the loss of *gnosis*, "so that they [humans] can no longer know themselves after their first formation," and "they have all become irrational and serve the creatures instead of the Creator".¹⁴⁴⁸

In correlation to this ascetic theology, the cosmos took another form different from its primary nature; as a result, messy creatures were found and caused what Antony stated a "great wound". It is argued that the separation of the universe was a sign of fall and further perpetration of sins.¹⁴⁴⁹

Antony's philosophy of healing included the usage of Christ's saving medicine of ascetic practice, achieved by practicing early Christian asceticism, which would help the monks to heal and return to their health. He further stressed the need for purification of the whole body, and he explained how to purify the

¹⁴⁴³ Crislip 2012: 50.

¹⁴⁴⁴ The reference to the New Testament in the magical texts has been confirmed many times even in the texts outside the monastery and it seems that it has proven effective in expelling evil spirits, as happened with this monk "In one anecdote, a demon shows up in a monk's cell and recites by heart the book of Numbers. The monk asks it whether it can recite from the New Testament as well, and at the sound of the word *New* the demon disappears." Brakke 2006: 232.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Rubenson 1995: 67.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Rubenson 1995: 51.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Rubenson 1995: 66.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Crislip 2012: 51.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Crislip 2012: 51.

eyes, ears, tongue, hand, reaching to feet and even the gentiles with the help of the mind. This illustrates how purification with the aid of the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ (the physician) cures an illness. The idea of sickness and proctological health appears as the main elements characterising the salvation history; beginning from man's separation from god and fall into sin the prophets' endeavor to heal the "great wound", to the instructions of Jesus Christ to help humankind to heal from their "great wound", and the expectation of reaching salvation: "In Antony's stage of salvation history, humanity possessed the cure, but some still refusing it, preferring to immerse themselves lasciviously in irrationality." Heretics too, such as Arius, continued to threaten humanity's health, by wounding it with false teachings. All of the preceding is very much in the tradition of Origen's medical Christology."¹⁴⁵⁰ Thus, the main feature of Antony's letter is to stress the importance of the ascetic life in relation to the health of the monks, which is a process that differs from the Hathor and Pachomius letters.

8.12 ILLNESS, DONATION AND HEALING

Another role of the monastery in the healthcare system was manifested through the act of laymen giving donations to be healed, especially in the form of donating a child. The monastery was involved in this process as it was the center for forgiveness and providing healing. The children were gifted to the monasteries on the account of different circumstances, to become a monk or to become a long-life servant in the monastery. Here I will discuss the case of being a servant in the monastery in light of various texts that mention this type of donation and its relationship to medicine. In addition, I will highlight the examples of self-donation, which I consider pertinent in this regard. Usually, parents endowed the monastery with their child, due to the miracle healings granted by the saint of the monastery. They felt indebted to the holy saint who granted their healing, so they decided to enrol their children to serve in the monastery. The same thing also happened in regards to self-donation. After becoming cured, the patient felt that he owed him the honourable saint who granted him this miracle, so he donated himself or any other precious savings he had to the monastery. It is worth noting that this process was carried out legally: the donor or his parents would have to enter into a legal contract regarding their donation to the saint's sanctuary. Such contracts reflected the cognitive background of the families that were aware of the relationship between illness, donation, and curing.

These legal documents provided details concerning the circumstances of donation, as some parents would commit perjury to and neglect their obligation. Furthermore, they made such donations to atone for their sins, as they connected their misdemeanour with the illness of their child. Firstly, the parents brought their

¹⁴⁵⁰ Crislip 2012: 57.

ailing child to the *topos* of the saint to heal their disease, and when they would be healed, they decided to grant this child to serve there for a lifetime.¹⁴⁵¹

Such donations occurred at the shrines of renowned Egyptian saints such as Colluthus, Menas, and Phoibammon. In these monasteries, many proceedings related to the healing process occurred there.

The donation process formed an important part of the monasteries' role as a health care centre in Egypt. Through the miraculous powers of saints and the use of sacred materials such as oil and water, monasteries played an integral role in the healing process. These miraculous stories reflect the perspective of those that turned to the monastery as a holy place in the belief that their suffering will be eradicated without depending exclusively on medicine and drugs. They realised that by approaching God and the holy saints through the monk's prayer, there was another way to be healed excluding medicine and magic. These documents provide us with a number of different diseases that are not mentioned in the medical or even the magical documents such as dropsy, blindness, and devil diseases. These documents tell us that each of the diseases included in these documents lasted for a long time, and were not new diseases. Hence, the patient decided to resort to a miraculous cure since he had suffered for a long time (three years, from the time of birth), and in many cases had he tried all medicines prescribed to him by doctors with no avail.

8.12.1 THE MONASTERY OF APA PHOIBAMMON

The Monastery of Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme contains a number of documents relating to donations “ἐνγραφον ναυρηαστικον, δωρηαστικὸν ἔγγραφον”. These documents concern children who have been granted to the monastery by their parents as life-long servants and date back to the 8th cent. CE;¹⁴⁵² only a single document dates back to 781-791.¹⁴⁵³ The parent's primary motive was to obtain the miraculous cure of Apa Phoibammon at his holy shrine, a procedure that used holy water of the altar.¹⁴⁵⁴ In some cases, the donation was for the sake of an incomplete vow or a false vow promised to the holy saints, or for the corrupt behaviour of the wrongful parents. A deadly illness was inflicted on the child of such parents as a punishment for their action, therefore, as a result they donated their child at young age to the monastery, in particular to the shrine of Apa Phoibammon since this was a site of healing.

Documentation on child donation at the Monastery of Apa Phoibammon, reveal that Apa Phoibammon punished parents for their mistakes, often due to the carelessness of previous pledges, by bringing illness over their children. Consequently, the parents brought their sick children to dwell in the *topos*, beseeching

¹⁴⁵¹ Schenke 2016: 497.

¹⁴⁵² Biedenkopf-Ziehner 2001: 89–92.

¹⁴⁵³ Crum and Steindorff 1912: nos. 78–103.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Schenke 2016: 497.

the saints to receive the receive communion and be purified with sacred water to ultimately be granted healing. After that the parents donated their children to serve at the Monastery of Apa Phoibammon in gratitude for his miraculous healing.¹⁴⁵⁵

Documents on Child donations were drawn up in official contracts in which there was a summarised paragraph referring to the circumstance of the miracle healing. Each contract had a fixed formula for accepting the covenant created by the scribe, who signed his name at the end of the contract. It was authenticated by a notary and usually two witnesses would have to testify the contract as in any legal contract. These contracts contain details for the reason of the donation and information on the disease that the donor or his child suffered from, as well as the type of denotation such as serving in the holy *topos* or paying a fixed sum of money.¹⁴⁵⁶

Nine donation documents mention several lethal infancy illnesses that the saint helped to heal, whereby the child subsequently became healthy and was donated to the shrine of Apa Phoibammon (P.KRU 78, 79, 81, 84, 88, 91, 93, 98, 102).

In P.KRU 78, the father Viktor donates his son John to express his appreciation and gratitude for the saint's prodigious healing.¹⁴⁵⁷ The donated child was obliged to pay the monastery one solidus per annum.

P.KRU 78, ll. 15–25

ΜΗΝΝΑ ΘΑΜΟΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΔΙΝΤΑΙΔΠΟΘ ΔΦΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΥ[ΝΟ]Ϛ [ΝΩΩΝΕ]
ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΣΚ ΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΩΩ[ΝΕ ΕΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ] ΝΤΑΛΘΟ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΦ ΔΙΠΡΟΣΔΟΚ[ΕΙ]
ΔΙΕΡΗΤ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΙΟС [? ΔΠΑ.] ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΝΙΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ ΕΙΧΩ
Μ[ΜΟС] ΔΕ ΕΡΩΔΑΝΠΙΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΝΦΑΓΙΟС ΔΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΙΓΓΑΛΘΟ
ΩΑΙΔΩΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΕΦΩΩΠΕ ΕΦСΥΝΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΠΕΦΩΝΖ
ΤΗΡΦ ΕΝΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ[ΟΤΤ]Ι[ΝΟС] ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΩΔΕΝΕΖ

After three years I had begotten him, he fell into a great sickness. When he remained ill then with no healing occurring to him, I thou[ght] and I promised him to the *topos* [of Apa] Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme, saying, “If God of saint Apa Phoibammon grants him healing, I will donate him to him and he will be contributing to him lifelong (the payment of) one solidus per year eternally.¹⁴⁵⁸

¹⁴⁵⁵ Schenke 2016: 506.

¹⁴⁵⁶ For instance, P.KRU 78.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Maccoull 2009: 160.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Crum and Steindorf 1912: 254.

Donation contracts were usually issued by the father of the child, however some of them were issued only by the mothers who might have been widowed or divorced. For example, in ca. 765 and 785a, a widow named Kalisthene donated her son Merkourios as a servant to the shrine. Her son became ill, and she subsequently beseeched the saint to cure her child promising to grant him to the holy monastery. When her son became an adult, he accepted this agreement:

P.KRU 79, ll. 43-52

ΑΙΔΩΡΙΖΕ ΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΜΟΝΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΠΡΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΒΒΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΜΠΤΟΥΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ ΤΑΡΕΦΩΩΠΕ ΕΦΩ
ΝΒΑΥΟΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΠΕΦΩΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΝΟΥΧΚ ΜΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΧΡΙΑ ΕΝΑ
ΠΜΟΝΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΡΠΕΦΧΘΕΙΣ ΦΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΜΝ ΠΡΙΣΕ ΝΝΕΦΘΙΧ ΜΝ ΠΜΙΣΘΟΣ
ΜΠΕΦΩΩΜΑ ΕΙΔΕ ΕΦΖΝ ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΔΕ ΕΦΗΝΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΚΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΕΠΡΩΕΣΤΟΣ¹⁴⁵⁹

“I declare that I donated my beloved son Merkoure to this holy monastery of saint Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme in order that he be a servant for it for its sweeping and its sprinkling and for any necessary thing for those of the holy monastery, and so that this holy monastery be his master eternally, and (master over) the work of his hands and the wages of his body, whether he be in the monastery or outside of the monastery, in accordance with the demand of this superior (*proestos*, i.e. Sourous).”¹⁴⁶⁰

Moreover, P.KRU 86 attests that a woman called ΤΑΧΗΛ “Tachel”, who was accompanied by her sister ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ “Elisabeth”, endowed the monastery with her son ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ “Athanasios” but she did not follow through with her vow. She donated her sick child as a small infant of seven months; however, when her son became an adult, the mother Tachel acted against the donation. As a penalty for this contravention, God inflicted her son with a demon possession. The mother promised the saint that she would grant her son to the topos to be a life-long servant, if he received the saint’s healing:

P.KRU 86, ll. 18-36

¹⁴⁵⁹ Crum and Steindorf 1912: 258.

¹⁴⁶⁰ The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity [<http://csia.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00180>], (last accessed: 13.09.2019).

ἀγχοπε οὐδὴρε ὦνιμ νῆσοῦτ ναι ἀνοκ ταχὴλ τεσῆιμε ἀγῶ τεελεεῦθερα
 ῥηπεφμεῖσαῶγ νεβοτ ἀιεῖητ μμοῦ νῆσοῦον ἐροῦν ἐπιμοναστηριον
 ἐτοῦααβ ναιπα φοιβαμων μιπτοοῦ νχῆμε χεερωανπινοῦτε τοῦχοῦ
 ἐπιμοῦ ἱνατααῦ ἐροῦν ἐπιτοποσ ἐτῶααβ μῆνσῶσ ῥηπιτρεπινοῦτε ἀγζαν
 μπκοῦι νῶηρε νφει ἐρραι παι νταιῖ ρανῦ ῥηββαπτισμα ἐτοῦααβ
 χεαθανασειοσ ἀπαλογισμοσ ἐτσορμ νοχτ ἐγνοσ μνοβε ειεπιβοῦλεγε
 ἐπεικοῦι νῶηρε χε ννειτααῦ {χε νηατααῦ} [ἐπ]μα ῥη πιτρεπινοῦτε
 ῶῶῶτ ἐχ.ν τανομεινταιαασ ἐφνεχ πκοῦι νῶηρε ἐρραι ἐγνοσ ἐῶῶνε
 ἐαφρ οῦνοσ νοῦοειῶ ῥη ῥῶστε νταοπιῦ ντοοτ μν οῦον μμ ἐτναῦ ἐροῦ
 χε ἐφμοῦ ῥη πιτραρ πνεγε μπνοβε μ[ν τ]τολμηρια νταιαασ διοεῖρμ κτοι
 ἀπαραλκαλει μπιπετοῦααβ ῥη πεφτοποσ χε ἐκῶανπαρακαλει μπινοῦτε
 νφχαριζε μιπταλσο μπειῶηρε ὦνιμ ἱνανοχῦ ἐροῦν ἐπιτοποσ ὦα ἐνεῖ
 πρὸσ ταῖρομολογεια νῶορπ ἀπναιητ ννοῦτε πῶανῡηητῦ ὦν ῥηητῦ ῆβν
 πκοῦι νῶηρε ἀφχαριζε ναῦ μιπταλσο ἀιῖητῦ νηασιχ ἀινοχῦ ἐροῦν ἐροῦν
 ἐπιτοποσ ἐτοῦααβ ἐβολ χε ἀφῖε ἐρραι ἐγῶῶῶῶ νδαιμῶν ἀρῶμε μμ ναῦ
 ἐροῦ ἀγρ ὦπῆρε μμοῦ

“At this time in which we are now, a small male child was born to me, Tachel, the wife and married woman. In his seventh month, I pledge him as a servant to the holy monastery of Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme, in the following manner: “If God saves him from death, I shall donate him to the holy place (*topos*).” Afterwards, when God let the small boy grow up and he developed, this one who I have named Athanasios at the holy baptism, my confused reasoning led me into great sin, deciding with respect to the young boy, that I shall not donate him to the holy place. When God looked onto the lawlessness I had committed, he cast the young boy into a severe illness, which lasted a long time, so that I, and anyone who saw him, assumed that he died. When I remembered the sin and audacity I had committed, I turned around again and I entreated the saint in his place (*topos*) in the following manner: “If you entreat God and he grants healing to this small child, I shall place him in the *topos* eternally in accordance with my first agreement.”- Now, the merciful God, the compassionate, took pity on the young boy and granted him healing. I had

carried him in my arms and had placed him in the holy place (*topos*), because he had fallen into a demonic illness. Everyone saw him and marveled at him.”¹⁴⁶¹

P.KRU 80 is a donation document dated on 12 March 776 CE issued by a father called ζαηλ “Zael” from Hermonthis, who granted his child αβρααμ “Abraham” at birth to be a servant to the saint, but he ruled against the vow. Thus, his son became very ill, and the father intended to donate his child to the holy shrine to recover from his illness.

P.KRU 80, ll. 27–30

ΜΝΤΩΔΑΝΖΗΤΥ ΖΜΠΤΡΕΥΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΟΥΝ ΜΠΤΑΛΒΟ ΑΙΤΑΛΟ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ
ΑΙΧΙΤΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΙΤΑΑΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥΝ
ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΚ ΣΟΥΡΟΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΕΣΤΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ
ΜΠΜΟΝΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ [...]ΑΙΤ ΠΑΟΥΘΕΙ ΕΠΕΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣΤΙΚΩ(Ν)

“When he had granted him healing, I lifted the small boy and brought him to the holy *topos*. I donated him to the *topos*. As a security for the saint, represented through you Sourous, the *proestos* and *oikonomos* of the holy monastery,[...] I produced this donation document.”¹⁴⁶²

Donation documents that belonged to the monastery are often witness to the miracles, therefore they were preserved in the archive of the monastery. This is unequivocally expressed in P. KRU 100, ll. 50–52:

P. KRU 100, ll. 50–52

ΑΙΤ ΠΑΟΥΘΙ ΔΙΣΜΗ ΠΕΛΔΩΡΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΙΤΑΑΥ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΩ(ΟΠΟΣ) ΜΗ
ΠΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΑΡΕΥΚΑΑΥ ΖΝ ΤΒΙΒΛΙΩΘΗΚΗ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁶¹ Translation: G. Schenke. The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity [<http://csia.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00188>], (last accessed: 13.09.2019).

¹⁴⁶² Schenke 2016: 509.

¹⁴⁶³ The Coptic text found in: Papyri.info [<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5607/>], (last accessed: 14.09.2019).

“I proceeded and produced this donation document. I handed it over to my father, the bishop and *oikonomos*, so that he would place it in the library of the holy place.”¹⁴⁶⁴

Certain donation contracts report that once the child reaches the age of adulthood, they have the right to choose between continuing living in the monastery or not. In certain cases, they would grant money to the monastery. In P.KRU 78, the parents confirmed to pay “one solidus per year eternally”:

P.KRU 78, ll. 21-25

ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΝΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΠΤΑΛΣΟ
ΩΑΙΔΩΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΕΦΩΩΠΕ ΕΦΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ
ΝΠΕΦΩΩΠΕ ΕΦΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΟΡΦ ΝΠΕΦΩΩΝΖ ΤΗΡΦ
ΕΝΟΥΟΖΟΛΟΚ[ΟΤΤ]Ι[ΝΟΣ] ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ

“If God of saint Apa Phoibammon grants him healing, I will donate him to him and he will be contributing to him lifelong (the payment of) one solidus per year eternally”¹⁴⁶⁵

It is clear that the children who were brought into the monastery became servants. In P.KRU 91, dates back to the 27. March - 25. April 781, both the father “Pesynthe” and the mother “Tasia” preferred to give the superior (προεστώς) of the monastery the decision whether he would like the child to be a servant at the holy *topos* or for money to be donated to the monastery. When the child Πανίας “Panias” recovered, the superior accepted him as a servant of the sanctuary.¹⁴⁶⁶

P.KRU 91, 11-20

ΑΝΧΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΩΝΑΣΤΗΡΙ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΝΝΟΥΧ ΝΝΛΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΧΝ ΠΦΣΩΜΑ ΑΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΩΛΗΛ ΜΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ
ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΠΤΑΛΣΩ ΑΦΣΩΚ ΕΘΗ ΚΟΥΙ ΚΟΥΙ
ΑΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΤΠΠΟΡΙΣΤΑ ΑΧΝ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΤΑΡΦΧΙ

¹⁴⁶⁴ Schenke 2016: 511.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Schenke 2016: 508.

¹⁴⁶⁶ P.KRU 91 (21–26). Crum 1905: 184. The Coptic text in: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5602/#from-app-app01>.

ΤΗΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΤΟΤΗ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΜΩΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΛΙΠΟΝ ΑΝΚΑΑΦ
ΝΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΡΕΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΖΙΠΟΡΓΕ ΕΡΟΦ
ΝΗΜΜΑΙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕC(Υ)ΝΘ(Ε) ΠΦΕΙΩΤ ΦΑΝΤΕΦΖΕ ΕΠΤΑΛΩ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΜΑ
ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΦCΩΚ ΔΘΗ ΚΟΥΙ ΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΙΖΑΠ ΜΜΕ CΝ ΠΩΙΝΕ
ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΦΗΜ ΝΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ ΜΠΤΑΛΩ ΔΝΧΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΔΠΝΕΗ ΔΝΡ ΖΔΖ ΝΖΟΥ
ΕΝΖΥΠΟΡΓΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΦΑΝΤΕΠΦCΩΜΑ ΤΩΚ ΛΙΠΟΝ

We brought him into that monastery and we poured the water bowl of the holy place upon his body, God and the prayers of that martyr granted him healing, and he improved little by little. We asked the *oikonomos* who presides over that topos, to receive our offering in the holy monastery, then we brought him into the holy place a few days, while the *oikonomos* took care for him together with myself, I am Pesynthios, his father, up until he gained healing at the holy place and improved little by little. Then, when God, the one of the true judgments, had visited the little boy, and granted him healing, we took him to our home and spent many days taking care of him, until his body became stronger.¹⁴⁶⁷

In addition, in P. KRU 88, a person called Theodoros, a bricklayer and his wife Maria grant their boy named Sonchem to the topos of Phoibammon where the boy will repay what he reaps of his labor in the form of a servant of longevity:

P.KRU 88, ll. 5-9

ΔΝΟΚ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΙCΖΑΙ ΗΠΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΙΤΕΡΙΖΕ ΝCΟΝΧΗΜ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΙΧΟΥ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΜΕΛΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΕΦΜΑΔΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΙΔΩΡΙΖΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΔΥΩ ΕΙΤ ΗΜΟΦ
ΝΕΡΗΤ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΦΟΥΒΑΜΩΝ ΗΠΤΟΥ ΝΧΕΜΗ
ΝΕΝΕΦΖΟΥ ΤΥΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΩΝΖ ΔΕΚΑC ΕΦΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΦΩΝΖ ΕΦΩ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ
ΝΑΦ ΝΦΩΩΠΕ ΕΦΤ ΜΠΕΦΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΩΩΝΚ ΕΧΩΦ ΚΑΤΑ
ΠΕΦΟΥΩΩ ΔΙΝΤΕΦΜΗΤΚΟΥΙ¹⁴⁶⁸

¹⁴⁶⁷ Author's own translation.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Crum and Steindorff 1912: 282

“I Theihodore am writing today to donate Sonchem my son whom I engendered of my body from his mother Mary, donating him and giving him by vow to the holy topos of the holy Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme, for all the days of his life, so that it (the topos) will become and be his lord all the days of his life, he being a servant to it and giving it his efforts all the days of his life: because God brought a sickness upon him, according to his will, since his childhood.”¹⁴⁶⁹

In P.KRU 89, a child called Abraham is to serve in the monastery in which his parents add to the donation contract that if their son does not wish to serve in the monastery, he would have to donate anything from his own work after arranging it with the *oikonomos*:

P.KRU 89, ll. 42–45

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΡΩΑΝΠΕΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΕΜΙΝΕ ΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΜΡΖΜΖΔΛ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡ(ΙΟΝ)
ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΦΟΥΧΔΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΠΕΤΥΝΑΧΠΟΥ ΤΗΡΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΕΡΓΩΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΕΦΝΑΤΑΔΥ
ΕΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΕΤΥΝΑΠΟΛΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΥΡΩ ΕΚΩΝΟΜΟΣ

“Furthermore, if this particular young boy wishes not to be serving at the monastery, the place where he has been healed, he shall donate to the monastery whatever he will bring forth through the work of his own hands, according to the manner in which it will be arranged with the *oikonomos* at the time.”¹⁴⁷⁰

Another donation text P.KRU 81 contains an obligation to donate a child called ΔΗΔΡΕΑΣ “Andreas” to the saint after healing him from his illness, without determining the type of grant.¹⁴⁷¹ Also, P.KRU 85, ll. 15–20, contains a vow from the parents Severos and Lia in which they and they clearly decide to grant money for the lamp of the saint’s shrine due to the miraculous healing of their child Panias. Another document (P.KRU 95, ll. 22–25) contains a special donation in which the mother called Mary decides to bypass the donation to include her son Komes and his children to serve all their life in the monastery.¹⁴⁷²

¹⁴⁶⁹ Maccoull 2009: 158.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Schenke 2016: 513-14.

¹⁴⁷¹ P.KRU 81 (ll. 20–23).

¹⁴⁷² Schenke 2016: 514.

Furthermore, the self-donation documents found within the donation documents related to the Monastery of Apa Phoibammon, like P. KRU 104, written in 771-772 CE may have been found at the monastery site. This document related to a man called Peyronios, son of Georgios, presumably he was belonging to Jeme town. He donated himself to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon because he was recovered from his deadly illness only after using altar's holy water. In line 32-33 he stated:

P. KRU 104, ll. 32-33

ΝΤΑΩΠΕ ΕΙΩ ΝΖΜΖΛΛ ΕΡΟQ ΕΙΕΥΕΝΤΙΛΙΑ ΕΡΟQ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΟΥΖΜΖΛΛ
ΝΩΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΖΟΜΝΤ

And I shall be serving it and act towards it in the manner of a
servant acquired by money.

8.12.2 TOPOS OF SAINT COLLUTHOS

Evidence of miracle healings was also found also the *topos* of St. Colluthos. White Monastery manuscripts Paris B.N. 129,¹⁵ and Borg. Copt. 109, composed of only 13 parchment leaves (i.e. 26 pages of a former codex) contain evidence of the miracles at St. Colluthos. The preserved sheets are distributed between Paris and Rom: six sheets are in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, and seven sheets that were once in the Museo Borgiano at Velletri in Rome and are now in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. The Paris pages 165-172 contain four miracles, two are incomplete and two complete miraculous of the saint, three healing and a learning miracle. It is argued that the first 26 lines of page 165 conclude a story in which doubters are convinced by a sign of Saint Colluthos that it is indeed the place of his bones. Then they went there and got cured.¹⁴⁷³

P 129¹⁵ fol. 22 ro, col. I, ll. 9-26

ΑΥΤΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ · ΔΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑ Ν̄ΝΚΕΕΣ ἸΠΡΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΣ
ΩΔΖΡΑΙ ΕΠ̄ΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ · ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΝΑΥ
ΕΠΜΑΕΙΝ ΝΤΑΩΩΠΕ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΥΜΑΤΕ ἸΠΤΑΛΒΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤQ

¹⁴⁷³ Schenke 2013: 212–213.

They were convinced that this was the place of the bones of Saint Colluthos, until this very day. So, when each one of them had seen the sign which had occurred, they themselves went and got healing through him.¹⁴⁷⁴

The following pages 165-167 contain the tale of a young woman named Pellagia whose breast has been invaded by a demon and become very swollen. After a long period of suffering, she visits the sanctuary of Colluthos and gets healed by the power of the cross. She decides to donate all her jewellery to the saint's shrine because of the miraculous healing:

P 129¹⁵ fol. 22 vo, col. I,7–col. II,5

ΔΣΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ἸΠΡΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΣ ΔΣΝΚΟΤΚ · ΑΥΩ ΝΕΣΧΩ ἸΜΟΣ ΔΕ
ΠΡΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΪ Ζῆ ΠΙΡΙΣΕ ·
ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ · ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΣ ΔΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΩΩΡΠ
ΝΤΕΒΩΚ ΝΤΕΔΕΡΑΤΕ ἸΠΜΑ ἸΠΕΣΨΟΣ ἸΖΑΤ ·
ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΤΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΕΙΩΩΝΕ

She went to the martyr shrine of saint Colluthos and lay down. She was saying: “Saint Colluthos, help me in this suffering.” He then appeared in a dream at night and said to her: “Rise early and go and stand by the place of the silver cross. You will be safe from this illness immediately.”¹⁴⁷⁵

The woman acts in accordance with these directives and the demon is subsequently expelled. At the end of the story, we read that she donated all of her precious trinkets to the shrine:

P 129¹⁵ fol. 22 vo, col. II, 27– P 129¹⁵ fol. 23 ro, col. I, 17

ΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΣΕΪΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΝΕΣΚΟΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ · ΔΣΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΕΚΙΒΕ ΣΝΤΕ ἸΖΑΤ ·
ΔΣΤΩΣΕ ἸΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΡΟ ἸΠΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ

¹⁴⁷⁴ Schenke 2013: 216–217. The English translation by the researcher adapted from the German translation by Schenke.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Schenke 2013: 218–220.

ετρεψωπε ηρπμεεγε ιπταλλβο ηταψωπε ηας εβολ ριτοοτγ ιπραγιος
κολογθος

She then brought forth all her jewelry. She made two silver breasts and affixed them to the door of the martyr shrine to let them be a remembrance for the healing which occurred to her through saint Colluthos.¹⁴⁷⁶

Pages 167-170 contain a story about a rich man whose valuable belongings are stolen from his house, while he spends the night in the sanctuary of Colluthos. He accused his servants and put them in jail. After that, he goes to the sanctuary of Colluthos to ask St. Colluthos about this matter. There, the saint appears to him in a dream and tells him where the valuables are located. The archon finds them and thanks the saint, and hence the prisoners are released. As a result, he donates half of his valuables to the saint's shrine:

P 129¹⁵ fol. 24 vo, col. I,14–25

αγω τπαψε ηνεταψεντογ τηρογ αψτααγ ερογν ειπτοπος ιπραγιος
κολογθος. εβολ δε εψαρερ ερογ ηψκα σνογ

Half of all the objects he had found, he donated them to the shrine of saint Colluthos, because he had kept watch over him and (thus) he did not cause any bloodshed.¹⁴⁷⁷

Moreover, pages 170-172 tell us the story of a woman who has been suffering from dropsy, for a long period of time. When she hears of the miraculous healing in the sanctuary of Colluthos, she goes there with her husband and asks the saints to help her. The miracle act of their healing is no longer preserved, but the saints do state that it will happen to their delight and to the astonishment of all those present.

Borg. Copt. 109: The healing of a blind man by the milk of a woman

Borg. Copt. 109: ⲉⲕⲁ to ⲉⲕⲗ (221-227) contains a miracle that happened to a blind man who was told by the saint that he would be healed and be able to see again by the help of a woman. And when he finds her, she anoints his eyes with milk from her breasts in the name of the saint. After doing so, the miracle takes place and the blind man begins to see. Moreover, the woman becomes pure and her wrongdoings are atoned

¹⁴⁷⁶ English translation by me of the German translation by Schenke 2013: 227.

¹⁴⁷⁷ English translation by me of the German translation by Schenke 2013: 227.

through the power of the saint at the shrine. Due to the miracle, the man and woman dedicates donations to the martyr's shrine:

Borg. Copt. 109, p. 227, col. I, 21–col. II, 12

ⲙⲏⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲩ
ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲟⲟⲩⲟⲥ. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲙ ⲁⲩⲥⲱ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ. ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ
ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲏⲓ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲏⲏ ⲉⲩⲧⲉⲃⲟⲩⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲕⲟⲟⲟⲩⲟⲥ

After these things, each one brought from his house what he had vowed (to give). They donated it to the martyr shrine (*martyrion*) of saint Colluthos. They ate and drank at his shrine (*topos*) and went back to their home in peace glorifying God and saint Colluthos.¹⁴⁷⁸

Another almost completely preserved miracle pertains to a rickety man and a prostitute. The man suffers a great deal, and after all the tribulations of this lame man. Saint Colluthos comes to him in a dream and tells him to search for a prostitute named Maria who will heal him. He crawls himself on the city roads searching for Maria's house in order to spend the night with her and pay her, as the saint has told him to do so. When he finally reaches her home, he feels that he is not convinced by her, and so he decides to go to a famous magician in the city to ask him for a suitable drug to give it to her. Unfortunately, the following lines are missing from the text, but he seems to ultimately convince her to visit the martyr's shrine and to become a respectable woman.¹⁴⁷⁹ The text states that she gets a vision telling her to follow the steward. She returns to her house, gives the shrine all her possessions, and remains there as a servant and craftswoman:

Borg. Copt. 109, p. 244, col. I, 16–col. II, 8

ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲓ · ⲁⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲥⲭⲣⲓⲁ̅ ⲧⲏⲣ̅ · ⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣ̅ · ⲁⲥⲥⲱ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲟⲟⲩⲟⲥ
ⲉⲥⲧⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲥⲣ̅ⲉⲱⲃ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲓⲭ

¹⁴⁷⁸ English translation by me of the German translation by Schenke 2013: 245.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Borg. Copt. 109, p. 244, Col. 11,24-26. Schenke 2013:267.

She then rose and went back to her house. She brought all her necessary items and all her furniture and remained in the shrine of saint Kollouthos performing any service and working with her hands.¹⁴⁸⁰

8.12.3 THE SHRINE OF APA MENA

The miracles of Apa Mena are a part of a Coptic manuscript found at Hamuli in al-Faiyum, which dates back to 893 and is now preserved in the Morgan Library and Meuseum (Cod. M. 590). The manuscript is composed of three parts: the Martyrdom of Apa Menas, the Encomium on St. Menas, and the Miracles of St. Menas.¹⁴⁸¹ The miracles of Apa Mena occurred at his shrine in the village of Maryut, where many pilgrims from all over the Christian world came to visit: “(in) the place where thy body is laid great wonders and healings shalt be wrought through thee in the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ”.¹⁴⁸²

The Saint Apa Mena text (Pierpont Morgan Codex M 590 ff. 19-49) comprises a collection of 17 miracles, in which some of them include self-donations due to miraculous healing.

The Fifteenth Miracle “Cure of Alexandrian man possessed with demon”:

In the fifteenth miracle wrought through the holy Apa Mena, there is a man in the city of Alexandria who has been possessed by a ruthless devil from his youth. The devil has forced the man to crush his teeth like a wild boar. Overwhelmingly, the devil would throw him into the sea to kill him. His relatives send him to the shrine of Apa Mena to grant him healing. On their way, Apa Mena appears to them on the road in the form of a soldier. He takes the possessed man and goes back with him to the shrine. There he hangs the man topsy-turvy, as if the man is suspended between the sky and earth. After that, the demon promises to leave the man, they release and carry him to the crypt (katabasis) where the saint’s body is reposed:

Col. I, l. 28–col. II, l. 32

ΑΥΧΙΤΥ ΕΠΕΧΤ ΕΤΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΣ · ΕΠΙΝΑ ΜΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ
ΑΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΠΠΟΠΟΣ ΧΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΝΕΖ Ζῆ ΠΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΤΜΟΥΖ [Ε]ΠΣΩΜΑ
ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ · ΑΦῆΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ :- ΑΥΣΩΤῆ ΔΕ ΕΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
ΕΦΩΑΧΕ ΝῆΜΑΦ Ζῆ ΟΥΩΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ
ΠΕΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΟΥΧΑΙ ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΝ · ΑΙΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ [ΕΙ]ΝΑΠΑΤΑΣΣΕ
ΜΜΟΚ Ζῆ ΤΕΖΙΗ · ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΙΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ · ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕΨ[Ι]ΠΕ ΝΑΚ · Ζῆ

¹⁴⁸⁰ English translation by me of the German translation by Schenke 2013: 267.

¹⁴⁸¹ Drescher 1946: 105.

¹⁴⁸² Drescher 1946: 109.

ΤΗΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΙΜΗΗΦΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟΣ · ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΦΡΟΥΩΔΖ
ΝΚΩΖΤ · ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῪ ΑΠΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ · ΑΦ† ΝΤΕΦΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ·

“And they lifted him up and carried him down to the crypt to the place where the holy Apa Mena’s body reposed. The *aeconomus* of the shrine took a little oil from the lamp burning before the saint’s body and made the sign of the cross over him. And they heard the holy martyr sternly addressing the devil and saying, ‘Come out of God’s handiwork, unclean one, and let him be cured. For I came to smite thee in the way but brought thee hither that I might shame thee in the midst of all these multitudes that come to my shrine.’ And immediately the devil became a flame of fire and came out of him. The man became well forthwith. He made his offering to the shrine and went home, glorifying the God of the holy Apa Mena.”¹⁴⁸³

The sixteenth miracle is about a Samaritan woman from Alexandria who is suffering from a one sided headache called a *ἡμικράνιον* “hemicranium”.¹⁴⁸⁴ No doctor has so far been able to cure her illness. Hence, she opts to go to the shrine of Apa Mena after a Christian woman tells her” “You might rise and go to the shrine of Apa Mena; for everyone who goes to his shrine is cured”. On her way, at the port of Philoxenité, a lodge keeper sexually assaults her but she resists. She preferred death than completing this vile act. She invokes Apa Mena to help her and the holy Apa Mena appears to her and says:

ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΡΕΙ ΝΧΙΝ ΠΟΥΗΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῪ · ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΝΑΖΜΕ
ΝΤΟΟΤῪ ΜΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ · ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Ε[Ι] ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΜΗ ΕΠΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ· ΑΥΩ
ΠΤΑΛΒΟ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΕ.¹⁴⁸⁵

“He said to her ‘I am Mena for whom you left your home. I am come to save you from this wicked man. When day dawns, come to my shrine and you shall be healed.’”¹⁴⁸⁶

¹⁴⁸³ Translation: Drescher 1946: 119.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *ἡμικράνιον*, *ἡμικρανιον* is exactly the migraine. A Greek loanword cf. *ἡμικράνιον* “pain on one side of the head or face; migraine”. Liddell/Scott/Jones 1996: 772b. *ἡμικρανιον* الشقيقة (scala n° 44, p. 160). This disease occurred in a medical recipe Ch 209. (See 5.2).

¹⁴⁸⁵ Col. II, ll. 13-22. Drescher 1946: 30.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Translation: Drescher 1946: 122.

She is protected from the violator and completely cured. As a result, she converts to Christianity and serves the monastery for the rest of her life:

ΜΗΝΝΩΔΩ [ΔΣ]ΩΩΤ ΜΠΩΩ ΝΤΕ[ΣΑΠΕ] ΔΣΩΩ [ΕΣ]ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ
ΩΔ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΥ

Afterwards she cut off the hair of her head and remained serving in the martyr shrine until the day of her death.¹⁴⁸⁷

The rapist also falls ill and his hand becomes like a stone. He goes to the Monastery of Apa Mena and asks the holy Apa Mena for forgiveness. Thereupon he is healed after showing that he repents his sin and plight. He remains in the monastery and continues to serve Apa Mena for the rest of his life:

[Ν†ΝΔΣΕ]Ν[Τ] ΠΕΚΤΟ[ΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ Ε]ΙΟ ΝΖ[ΜΖΔΛ ΝΔ]Κ ΩΔ ΠΕΖ[ΟΟΥ
ΜΠΑ]ΜΟΥ¹⁴⁸⁸

“I will never leave your shrine but be your servant for you till the day of my death.”¹⁴⁸⁹

The man donates all his belongings to the holy shrine after asking the arch-priest to give him the oil of the lamp, which is burning in front of the saint’s body to anoint himself:

ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΩΩΩΒΕ Δ[Ϟ†] ΜΠ[ΕΩΟ]ΥΟΙ [ΕΠΑΡΧΗΠΡΕΣΒ]Υ[ΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΝ
ΠΟΙΚΟ]Ν[ΟΜ]ΟΣ . ΔϞΠΑΡΑΚΑ[ΛΕΙ] ΜΜΟΟΥ. ΧΕ ΔΡΙ ΤΑΣΑΠΗ Νῆ[ΜΑΙ
ΝΟΥΚΟΥ]ΝΝΕΖ ΝΤΑΤΑΖΣΤ ΝΖΗΤῆ. [ΔΡΗΥ]ΝΤΕ ΠΕΩΝΑ ΤΑΖΟ[Ι] ΝΤΕ ΠΕ†ΤΚΑΣ
Λ[Ο] Ζῆ ΤΑΣΙΧ Δ[ΠΕΠΡΕ]ΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΔΙ ΜΠΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ[Μ Π]ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΤΜΟΥΖ ΖΙΘΗ
ΜΠΩΩΜΑ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΔ[ΔΒ · ΔϞ]ΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΩΣΙΧ · ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ · ΔϞΛΟ [ΕΒΟΛ] ΖΗ
Π†ΤΚΑΣ · ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΔϞ† Μ ΠΕΤΝ ΤΑϞ ΤΗΡϞ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ·

¹⁴⁸⁷ Col. II, ll. 13–18. Drescher 1946: 122.
¹⁴⁸⁸ Col. I, ll. 24–27. Drescher 1946: 32.
¹⁴⁸⁹ Drescher 1946: 123.

αφω εφδιακονει ζμ πεφτοπος ωα περοου ηπεφμογ¹⁴⁹⁰

“And in the morning, he went to the arch-priest and the *oeconomous* and besought them, saying, ‘Please give me a little oil to anoint myself with. Perchance the saint’s mercy will come upon me and put an end to this affliction in my hand.’ The priest took the oil from the lamp burning before the saint’s body and made the sign of the cross on his hand. At once the pain ceased. And the man gave all that he had to the shrine of Apa Mena and along with the Samaritan woman remained in the service of the shrine till the day of his death. And in the sixth month they received their visitation and both of them went to their rest on the same day. In peace. Amen.”¹⁴⁹¹

The other part of St. Menas’ miracles is found in a separate manuscript of the Hamouli collection: “It is anonymous but the mention of Apa Damian, Archbishop of Alexandria shows Monophysite auspices. The two Miracles related are not found elsewhere, either in Coptic or any other language.”¹⁴⁹²

The miracle occurs during the period of Apa Damian, the Archbishop of Alexandria, who was responsible for laying the foundation of the shrine. He brought workmen to complete the building and there was one of workmen called Mark, who was a pauper. He was very ill due to a poor liver and he had spent all his money on the doctor:

παρχιεπισκοπος δε αφωινε ετβη̄η̄τϥ. αϥταμοϥ δε αφωεπ οϥνοσ ησωνε.
αλλα απνοϥτε μη εκω(sic)ληλ βοηια εροϥ. αϥταλλβοϥ. αλλα αφρε εϥρᾱι
εϥνοσ η̄η̄η̄τϥηκε¹⁴⁹³

“The archbishop asked about him and was told: He has had a severe illness. But God and your prayers came to his aid and cured him. But he has fallen into extreme poverty.”¹⁴⁹⁴

¹⁴⁹⁰ Col. II, ll. 1–29. Drescher 1946: 32.

¹⁴⁹¹ Translation: Drescher 1946: 123.

¹⁴⁹² Drescher 1946: 149.

¹⁴⁹³ Drescher 1946: 75, ll. 8–20.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Translation: Drescher 1946: 151.

One day this man receives a message from his wife because she and her children are hungry. While he is speaking with his son who works with him about this matter, the holy Apa Mena comes to them, disguised as a soldier on a white horse. When Mark tells him that he is poor and his children are hungry, Apa Mena tells him that he will pay him after work.¹⁴⁹⁵ The next day, Apa Mena comes to him and he gives him a clay brick as a wage for his labour; the man is astonished but Apa Mena asks him to take the brick back to his house in the city. When he reaches his city, he tells his wife what has happened and the brick turns into gold:

col. II, II.1-28, col. I, II. 1-9

ατεφσρime †ñτεσσιχ επεσнт επβιρ. ασεινε ερραϊ νττωβε. χε εσνανοχс εβολ
 ρη ογσωντ: - ντερεсente δε μ̄μοс ερραϊ ρ̄μ̄ πβ̄ιρ. πεχас χε παсon ñгсooγn
 αν ρω. χε ογ πε нтаφтаαφ νακ ᾱιερφπнpe ρω ντερεкχooс νᾱι. χε ογωтbe
 nome. те нтаφтаαс ναn ειс ρ̄ñ̄te σε тenoγ. †наγ ερoс εγβαρωт те. †наγ
 εрoс εγβαρωт те. †наγ εрoс εγβαρωтте. αφαωκακ εβολ ñσi πεсραι. χε
 φ̄on̄ ñσi πχoε̄ic χε ανοκ пента̄ιтам̄ioc ρен νασiχ ñρoсon δε εγχω μ̄μοс
 χε ογβαρωтте. ειс ρ̄ñ̄te αсωωne αсep noγb ñχαρ̄χ̄ :- αγειme ñтеγnoγ χε
 πρaγioc αпа мhна пе нтаφ† наγ нтτωβε :-¹⁴⁹⁶

“His wife put her hand in the basket and took out the brick, intending in her anger to throw it away. And when she had taken it out of the basket, she said, you yourself do not know what he gave you, brother. I myself was surprised when you told me that he had given you a brick of clay. Behold now, I see that it is bronze. Her husband cried out, as the Lord lives, I made it myself with my (own) hands. And while they were saying that it was bronze, behold it was transformed and became beaten gold. At once they knew that it was the holy Apa Mena who had given them the brick.”¹⁴⁹⁷

¹⁴⁹⁵ Drescher 1946: 152.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Drescher 1946: 82–83.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Translation: Drescher 1946: 154.



Figure 16. Limestone doorjamb, (After Quibell et al 1909: Pl. XIV).



Figure 17. A group of chambers (perhaps a hospital) (After Quibell et al 1909: pl. VI)

9. MEDICAL PROFESSIONS AND NURSING

A medical practitioner is a person who is in charge of providing healing measures in a systematic way to sick people. Healthcare services were provided in private houses, monasteries, or infirmaries. Coptic documents refer to different health care providers including doctors, nurses, elders, and lay practitioners.¹⁴⁹⁸

9.1 DOCTORS

Medical care as an organised profession commenced at the time of Imhotep.¹⁴⁹⁹ The medical hierarchy in ancient Egypt was ranked by the following: the *swnw* “regular doctor”, *imyr swnu* “overseer of doctors”, *wr swnw* “chief of doctors”,¹⁵⁰⁰ *smsw swnw* “eldest of doctors”, and *sbd swnw* “inspector of doctors”.¹⁵⁰¹

One of the most honorable and important physicians was *Peseshet* according to the stela inscriptions found in an Old Kingdom tomb (about 3100-2100 B.C.); she was recognised as an *imyr-swny* “overseer of doctors”. She was also responsible for supervising or administering the staff of female physicians.¹⁵⁰² Another example of a female physician from ancient Egypt is *Merit Ptah*, who is believed by Egyptologists to be the first-ever named physician. Her son immortalises her as “the chief physician” on her tomb. Another noticeable female physician in the field of obstetrics and gynaecology, who lived during the 2nd century CE, was *Cleopatra*. She wrote extensively about pregnancy, and women’s diseases; her texts were enlarged upon by the Greeks and Romans and used by doctors and midwives until the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰³

The Greek physician Herodotus claimed that Egyptian medicine was characterised by idiosyncrasy:

“The practice of medicine is divided in Egypt as follows: each doctor is a specialist in one disease, and not more [...]. Some are doctors of the eye, others of the head, others of the teeth, other of the stomach, and others of hidden diseases.”¹⁵⁰⁴

Medical practice in ancient Egypt became increasingly specialised, and each doctor was an expert in treating a certain disease. *Sekhetnankh* (V Dyn.) was called the “nose doctor” and “doctor of nasal

¹⁴⁹⁸ Crislip 2005a: 14.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Sullivan 1995: 142. Sir William Osler described Imhotep as “the first figure of a physician to stand out clearly from the mists of antiquity” Nunn 1996: 122.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Papyrus Leyden 1. 371.

¹⁵⁰¹ Nunn 1996: 118.

¹⁵⁰² Nunn 1996: 124–125.


¹⁵⁰³ Romm 2010: 9.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Jouanna 2012: 10

passage”. A limestone relief of Iry (IV Dyn.), a royal physician, described him as a “guardian of the royal bowel movement”. Moreover, some deities were connected with particular medical problems: “Duaw (eye diseases); Taurt and Hathor (childbirth and its complications); Sekhmet (pestilence); Horus (snakebites, toxicology). Deities were also connected with particular organs like Isis (liver); Nephthys (lungs) and Neith (stomach)”.¹⁵⁰⁵ In addition, some physicians allied themselves with particular gods or goddesses, according to their specialisation.¹⁵⁰⁶

The Greek term *ιατρός*, *ιατρος*¹⁵⁰⁷ usually referred to the professional healers.¹⁵⁰⁸ Some Coptic texts contain references to the physician’s profession, but what survives in the documents, however, does not correspond to the more detailed descriptions in ancient Egyptian medical literature. The public physician practiced his work in a private place, which could have been attached to his house as a clinic or in the patient’s house.

In the Post-Pharaonic period, no explicit hierarchy of doctors existed such as it did with the ancient Egyptians; nevertheless, there were some specialists physicians. From the first to the fifth century CE, public physicians also doubled as forensic medical examiners. In legal procedures, a public physician seemed to be confined to determining the reason of death, whether it was of unnatural or natural causes.¹⁵⁰⁹

The term *σαειν* “practicing physician” goes back to the ancient Egyptian  “swnw”, and occasionally we find a second field of activity such as *σαειν ρι μαρκας* “doctor and chiropractor”¹⁵¹⁰ or *σαειν νεζτωωρ* “doctor of the horses”.¹⁵¹¹

In addition, there were monastic medical practitioners who practiced a unique dualism, combining the professions of medicine and religion. The duties assigned to them covered medical treatment, prayers, herbal remedies, and religious rituals to treat sick people. From the 7th-8th cent. CE in Western Thebes, some persons designated as *ιατρος* also carried ecclesiastical titles, for instance, John bore the titles of *ιατρος* and *μοναχος*; and Phoibammon, carried the title of deacon and *ιατρος*, as identified in a commemorative inscription at the Theban monastery with the title: “healing specialists among the saints Phoibammon”.¹⁵¹² Moreover, there were *σαξ νχηινι* “teaching doctors” or “masters”,¹⁵¹³ “medical practitioners”, and the highest position in the medical hierarchy was the “senior physician”.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Sullivan 1995: 142.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Willerson 1996: 194.

¹⁵⁰⁷ It also appeared as *ριατρος*. Ahmed 2010: 125.

¹⁵⁰⁸ *σινι νναξρι* “the dentists”; *σινι ντεβνωουγι* “veterinary” (Abdelnoor 1999: 363; Ahmed 2010: 198); *σινι νβαλ* “ophthalmologist” (Crum 1939: 31b), as well as “*ρεμφορκας* bone-setter, mugabir”. Abdelnoor 1999: 91; Crum 1939: 119b.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Crislip 2005a: 125

¹⁵¹⁰ Kolta 2004: 152.

¹⁵¹¹ Crum 1939: 342b.

¹⁵¹² Richter 2016a: 37.

¹⁵¹³ Crum 1939: 383b.

Doctors of both sexes significantly participated in the medical professions.¹⁵¹⁴ Female doctors pursued medical careers alongside male physicians. In Shenoute's monastery,¹⁵¹⁵ there is a mention of a female doctor who conducted her work in the monastic communities:

ΝΝΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΣΑΕΙΝ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΗΝΕΙΣΥΝΔΑΓΩΓΗ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΡΕ ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΤΕΙΖΕ.
ΕΣΩΔΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΣΑΕΙΝ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΕΝ ΕΡΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΞΕΝΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΜΟΚΖ
ΝΖΟΙΝΕ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΗΝΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ, Η ΝΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΩΩΠΕ, ΝΤΕΣΑΕΙΝ ΖΡΑΙ
ΝΖΗΤΕΝ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΔ ΕΤΗΜΔΥ¹⁵¹⁶

May no female physicians in these communities (monastery) at any time again act according to this manner. But if a physician among us treats painful of certain persons in these places, or if a dire necessity occurs, physicians among them go to that place.¹⁵¹⁷

Another text contains a reference to the existence of a female doctor, where the head of a family advises a female doctor, not to attend to a disabled girl where there is no hope of recovery: ΤΣΑΙΝ ΕΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ.¹⁵¹⁸

The Chassinat papyrus proves the existence of an experienced generation of physicians within one family and indicates the form of interaction that took place between physician and patient. In addition, the document indicates the extent to which medical services were provided to patients on many occasions, noting that it was a paid service, and that doctors charged his money for their service. Accordingly, we can suppose that there was a private place or hospital where these services were provided. It is clear from some recipes that the father was a physician and he intended to document the recipes to pass onto his son. This is apparent in the father's advice to his son. These instructions announce that the father wrote these experienced prescriptions to record it for his son; this is clear from some recipes which contain a direct instruction to his son, such as recipe

Ch 109

(224) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖ̄Ν ΝΒΑΛ ΔΙΤΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ Ν̄ΜΟΥ
ΔΙΘ̄Ν Ν̄ΜΕ Ν̄Ν ΟΥΟΝ (225) ΕΥΤΕΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΠΕΩΗΡΕ ΕΚΩΔΑΝΣΜΗΝΤ̄Υ

¹⁵¹⁴ Kolta 1991: 1582b.

¹⁵¹⁵ Male and female communities were both founded by Pachomius and Basil, but female doctors are not explicitly listed in the origins of these communities. Crislip 2005a: 150.

¹⁵¹⁶ Leipoldt & Crum 1913: IV, 161, l. 6.

¹⁵¹⁷ Author's own translation.

¹⁵¹⁸ Kolta 2004: 152.

ΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΕΨΩΙ Ν[ΖΑΖ] (226) ΝΣΟΠ ΕΚΨΑΝΣΜΗΝΤΨ ΤΕΚΧΟΝΤΨ ΟΥΧΡΗΜΑ
 ΠΕ ΕΚΩ ΜΗΜΟÇ ΓΗΝ ΠΕΚΤΑΜΙΟΝ (227) ΚΑΔΜΙΑΣ ΘΟΥΘΙΕ ΣΤΗΜΕΟΣ ΥΣΚΡΣΑ ΘΩΝΗΡ
 ΕΡΑΚΙ ΖΛΧ ΝΨΘΦ ΟΥΨΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ (228) ΘΝΟΥÇ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΩΛΩΨΛΟΥ
 ΣΤΟΥÇ ΕΤΕΜΧΑΘ ΤΙ ΠΖΛΧ ΝΨΘΦ¹⁵¹⁹ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΘΝΟΥÇ ΚΑΛΩΣ (229) ΨΑΝΤΕΚΝΑΥ
 ΕΠΖΛΧ ΝΨΘΦ ΔΦΡΑΤΟΥΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΨΤΩΞ ΜΗ ΝΠΑΞΡΕ ΤΣΟΥ ΜΟΥÇ ΝΗΒΟΞ
 (230) Ξ ΨΦΡΞ ΕΨΣΛΖΒΔ ΝΨ ΚΑ ΕΚΣΩΜ ΝΣΩΨ ΜΗΜΗΝΕ ΜΗΜΗΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΨΧΡΟ
 ΤΕΨΨΟΥΕ (231) † ΟΥΚΟΥΨ ΜΗΜΙΧ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΗ ΟΥΚΟΥΨ ΝΚΑΦΩΡΑ ΘΝΟΥÇ ΚΑΛΩΣ
 ΨΑΝΤΟΥΡΨΑΥ ΤΑΑΨ (232) ΕΨΕΙΤΟΣ ΝΑΒΑΣΑΕΙΝ ΣΙΚΗΞΕ ΜΗΜΟÇ ΝΤΟΤΚ ΖΩΣ
 ΧΡΗΜΑ ΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΝΤΟΤΤ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ (233) ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΠΚΑΞ ΧΡΩ ΕΡΟΚ
 ΜΗ ΝΑΠΕΚΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΣΗΝΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΡΨΛΑΨΕΙ ΧΡΩ ΝΨΩΡΨ (234) ΜΗ ΡΟΥΞΕ
 ΝΖ ΝΖΟΥÇ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΒΟΤ ΕΣ Γ ΝΖΟΥÇ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΒΟΤ ΔΨΧΩΚ

(224) A very good powder for all eye diseases. I examined it and I found it is genuine, (225) it has no equal in efficiency, my son. If you prepare it, (you will see) it is precious many times beyond its weight; (226) if you prepare it, you will find that it is a wealth to keep in your treasure (227) cadmia, oxide zinc, antimony, sublimed yellow sulfur, mercury, the same amount of each. (228) Crush them well; shake them; bring them back in a mortar; add mercury; crush well (229) until you see the mercury disappear, mix with the other drugs. Sprinkle with lemon acid pulp juice (230) for twenty-one days, mixing daily, until the material hardens and dries up. (231) Add a little musk and a little camphor; crush as much as it should; put (232) in a glass vessel. Keep/cover it up for you as a good treasure. For me it is more valuable than all treasures (233) of the earth. Use it for you, for the people of your house, for your relatives, and for your neighbors. Use it morning (234) and evening for seven days per month or (for) three days per month. It is finished.¹⁵²⁰

Ch 114, Ch 157, Ch 212 and Ch 226 present exhortations from a father to his son indicating to only apply the remedy to the patient after receiving his payment: ΝΨΡ†ΠΑΞΡΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΚΧΙ ΝΠΕΚΒΕΚΕ “Do not

¹⁵¹⁹ ΠΖΛΧ ΝΨΘΦ, ΜΟΥÇ ΝΞΑΤ “silver water, mercury”.

¹⁵²⁰ Author’s own translation.

give the remedy to man until you receive your wage” (Ch 114); ΦP $\text{πετσοϋν δε νανοϋ πιπαρε εματε}$ $\chi\iota$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ “God who knows how this remedy is very good! Take your wage” (Ch 157); and $\chi\iota$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ $\eta\omega\rho\bar{\eta}\pi$ “Take the wage firstly” (Ch 212). Moreover, Ch 49 encompasses advice from the father to his son to preserve the recipe, which proves that this person was an experienced person who had everyday interactions with patients: $\sigma\upsilon\bar{\omega}$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\eta\alpha\omega\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ “know (it) for you, my son!”.

Within Ch 117 and Ch 122, the author of the recipes explains that the method that he followed in recording recipes was also inherited from his father as well $\sigma\upsilon\eta\sigma$ $\eta\pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}\zeta\omega\beta$ $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ $\mu\eta\eta$ $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ “A great remedy that I work on it with my father” (Ch 117); and $\sigma\upsilon\eta\sigma$ $\eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}\zeta\omega\beta$ $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ $\mu\eta\eta$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau$ “A great collyrium that I work on it with my father” (Ch 122).

Some documents that belonged to monasteries were issued without a specific author name but were, however, mentioned under the general idiom of $\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota\eta$ (O. Louvre 1315, vo, l. 36)¹⁵²¹ or $\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma$ meaning “physician books”. These books presumably refer to the medical texts written by a practicing physician. Even the non-medical texts refer to the books of physicians, such as (O.Crum 253)¹⁵²² a letter from a man named Athanasius¹⁵²³ to his reverend father, Athanasius from Medinet Habu, by requesting him to send the “the book of physician”:

O.Crum 253

ρ $\dagger\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\lambda\theta\eta\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\pi\lambda\eta$ $\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\zeta\alpha\pi\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ $\eta\zeta\lambda\zeta$ $\eta\sigma\omicron\pi$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega$ $\mu\eta\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\tau$ $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ $\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\upsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$
 $\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ $\lambda\eta\lambda\zeta\iota\epsilon$ $\beta\omega\lambda\gamma$ $\mu\mu\omicron\iota$ $\dagger\eta\sigma\upsilon$ $\rho\tau\eta\pi\alpha\upsilon\alpha\kappa\lambda\gamma\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\Gamma\eta\eta\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$
 $\kappa\alpha\eta$ $\eta\Gamma\tau\alpha\alpha\upsilon$ $\eta\zeta\alpha\upsilon\omega\eta$ $\eta\upsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\gamma$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\eta$: $\sigma\eta\lambda\gamma$ $\eta\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$
 $\epsilon\iota\omega\lambda\eta\mu\omega\tau\gamma$ \dagger $\eta\lambda\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$: $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$

Greetings to my father Athanasius as I spoke to you regarding the book of physician and often desired to go south (to fetch it but) the care of the place (= monastery) has not allowed me to do so and the roads prevented me; so now do the kindness to send it me, either by the soldier or by giving it to Aaron, who will send it me by his brother. When I have studied it two days, I will send it (back), my father.¹⁵²⁴

¹⁵²¹ Coquin 1975: 212.

¹⁵²² Ostrakon, dates back to 500-799? AD (*Trismegistos*), from Medinet Habu. Crum 1902: (transcription and translation).

¹⁵²³ Richter mentions that this man is calling himself $\lambda\theta\eta\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\chi$ “Athanasios this humble (priest)”. Richter 2018: 154.

¹⁵²⁴ Translation: Crum 1902: 63, with slight modifications.

9.2 NURSES

The second type of medical professions that appeared in Coptic documents was the ‘nurse’. The term that used for this profession according to Shenoute was $\text{NET}\Delta\text{IAKONEI ENET}\omega\text{WNE}$ “Those who serve the sick”. This term reflects the duties and service that were carried out by nurses. In the fourth-century monasticism, nursing appeared as profession with specific duties different from both physicians and lay caregivers. The nursing profession is a characteristic feature in Shenoute’s monasteries, and is literary called $\text{NET}\Delta\text{IAKONEI ENET}\omega\text{WNE}$ “The servers of the sick”. This title indicates that the nurses were servants as well, whose role was to serve the sick people under the supervision of elders in the monastery.¹⁵²⁵ The coenobitic monasteries owned considerable nursing staff for the sick.¹⁵²⁶ Shenoute’s writings refer to the job of a nurse as being very hard, and they had to deal even with distasteful diseased cases. Those who rejected such hard tasks were denounced: “If anyone goes in to a sick man or woman ...saying, ... ‘We cannot suffer the stench,’ they shall be condemned.”¹⁵²⁷

There is no exact information on the number of nurses in an infirmary; the numbers vary according to the total space of each monastic institution. The spacious areas such as the White Monastery, which consisted of four thousand monastics, must have had a large number of nurses working there. The duties of nurses included performing hygienic matters such as bathing patients, offering them clean beds and changing chamber bedpans; providing them with healthy foods; as well as comforting the monastic sick with regular medical attention:¹⁵²⁸

The monastic rules of Pachomius provide a perspective on nursing responsibilities, including those relating to patient attitudes:

- “1. The patient should repose and rest on the bed.
2. The bathing and anointing the patient with oil not allowed to any person without clear permission.

¹⁵²⁵ Canon.5, XS, IV. 56:16 “But if sick people among us, whether male or female, they need to eat in the place of the sick people and they ask for a small amount of oil for their small salted fish or salt or greens or any other dish of this sort, they shall give it to them in the limited measure, neither pouring it out beyond the established measure, nor leaving them lacking. Again, anything that they shall cook for those who are sick, either greens or gruel or any other thing at all which is cooked in that place of the sick, they shall not pour much oil for them beyond the limited measure nor shall they leave them lacking. If there is a medical emergency and someone asks for a little wine in his sickness, whether it be a man, a woman, a boy or a girl, in any case if they ask for a little wine in their sickness they shall give it to them- if they are truly sick and in need of it-but also they shall keep watch over them so that they do not deceive them and drink too much. And those who serve in that place shall do what is fitting in the measure which the elder shall command them to do for each one according to each type of sickness”. leipoldt & Crum 1913: IV, 55–56.

¹⁵²⁶ Crislip 2005a: 15–16.

¹⁵²⁷ Crislip 2006: 89.

¹⁵²⁸ Crislip 2005a: 16–17.

3. In case of any monastic person suffered an injury, the hospital manager had to go to the place of the community and bring what was necessary”.¹⁵²⁹

9.3 ELDERS AND STEWARDS

Coenobitic monasteries in the fourth century had an additional profession associated with caregivers in the health care system; this was a position of a professional who oversaw the work of nurses. This functional role was accomplished by stewards, housemasters and elders. The steward or οἰκᾰκός “housemasters” (*oikiakos*, *praepositus*, *rmnēi*) played an essential role in the health care system in the rules of Pachomian. The elders in Shenoute’s monastery took charge of providing the medical tools, suitable clothing, and exceptional food.¹⁵³⁰ In addition, the elders had the right to define the type and amount of food for each patient according to their type of illness: “When a brother has been injured and is not bedridden but is up and around, if he needs a garment or a bit of oil, his housemaster (*praepositus domus*) shall go to the stewards’ place to get them until he is well again; then he shall return them to their place” (Pach., Praecepta 105, tr Veilleux); “And if he needs a mantel or a tunic or anything else by way of covering or food, let the master (*Praepositus*) himself get these from the ministers and give them to the sick brother” (Praecepta 42, tr. Veilleux); “If some sickness is alleged, the housemaster (*praepositus domus*) shall proceed to the ministers of the sick (*a ministris*) and receive from them whatever is necessary” (Praecepta 40, tr. Veilleux).¹⁵³¹

The elders were the only ones who could determine the seriousness of a monastic’s illness and were responsible for giving him the order to go to the infirmary. They were also responsible for determining the type and quantity of food for sick monks.¹⁵³²

9.4 MEDICAL EDUCATION

Medicine was the only science in ancient Egypt that was associated with scientific methodology and taught with scientific curricula. The “Houses of Life” functioned as hospitals; they were close to the temples. Where doctors received their training and primary medical science. The strongest evidence for the suggestion that the doctors obtained their training in a per ankh “House of life” exists in the rear plinth of the statue of Wedja-hor-resnet:

¹⁵²⁹ Kolta 1991: 1582b.

¹⁵³⁰ Crislip 2005a: 17

¹⁵³¹ Crislip 2005a: 153 (Note no. 53).

¹⁵³² Crislip 2005a: 17.

“His Majesty King Darius commanded me to return to Egypt ... in order to restore the deparatement[s] of the House[s] of life [dealing with medicine] after [they had fallen] into decay ... This his majesty because he knew the virtue of his art to revive all that are sick ...”¹⁵³³

Medicine had a direct connection with people’s lives more than any science, so the Egyptians choose their native language ‘Coptic’ to write medical documents. Medicine was an exception because almost all Coptic scientific writings were not written in the Coptic language in the periods before the tenth century.¹⁵³⁴ Richter¹⁵³⁵ mentions that “The most practical sorts of medical texts, prescriptions, are attested in Coptic record centuries before that time, as early as the fourth and fifth centuries”.

Because of the lack of academic resources from Coptic medical literature, the various techniques for learning and practicing medicine in the post-pharaonic Egypt are not sufficiently clear. The medical texts that are available to us presume that there were two possibilities of medical education methods: ‘educational’ or ‘non-educational’.¹⁵³⁶ The first ‘non-educational’ method relates to traditional and local skills. It is likely that most Coptic medical writings were orally transmitted between generations: from father or mother to son or daughter. A Coptic document from Edfu (649 CE), which is a receipt of a pepper consignment conveyance, represents an organisation called $\tau\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\omicron(\tau\eta\varsigma) \mu\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma$ “guild of the physician”. This guild was represented by a person named “Dios, the head of the guild of the physicians.” Dios must not have been able to write, since he asked another doctor ‘Djoker’ to write for him as he declared: $\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa \chi\omega\kappa\rho \mu\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma \lambda\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota \mu\mu\omicron\iota \lambda\iota\varsigma\zeta\lambda\iota \zeta\lambda\rho\omicron\upsilon \chi\epsilon \mu\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\iota \bar{\nu}\zeta\zeta\lambda\iota$ “I Djoker, the doctor, he asked me, and I wrote for him because he cannot write”. This text tells us that being a doctor did not need to have any academic studies or to hold an academic degree. Hence, any official practitioners or professional healers could gain the title of ‘Physician’. Richter¹⁵³⁷ declares that: “the same fact has been observed by Shlomo Goitein in the Cairo Geniza documents from Fatimid times. He writes: As to the study of medicine, we must beware of applying modern notions to medieval conditions, particularly in the Islamic world with its individualistic approach to higher studies. In order to work independently as a physician, one needed a license granted not by a prominent physician, who was authorized by the government, but normally, it seems, by the chief of the market police.”

Secondly, the ‘educational’ method, the prospect of acquiring medical acknowledgment was the ‘academic’ part that included a curriculum of written texts not in Coptic alone but also in Greek and

¹⁵³³ Nunn 2005: 131.

¹⁵³⁴ Richter 2009: 24.

¹⁵³⁵ Richter 2016a: 42.

¹⁵³⁶ Richter 2016a: 42.

¹⁵³⁷ Richter 2016a: 42–43.

Arabic.¹⁵³⁸ In terms of the meaning of school of medicine; it might have been something analogous to those medical schools of Greece and Alexandria.¹⁵³⁹ As it is written in Chassinat papyrus mentioned recipe Ch 65: οὐπαρρε... ἡανσῆτῆ ἐφρηζ ῥῆ ἡχῶμῆ ἡηαρχαιον “A remedy that we found written in the ancient books”. Perhaps this sentence refers to the ancient medical books of Galen and Hippocrates.

This formal way of teaching medicine spanned to the teaching of late antiquity, which depended on involving classroom education and attending lectures of a professor of medicine along with practicing the medical procedures.¹⁵⁴⁰

9.5 PERSONS MENTIONED IN MEDICAL TEXTS

All known Coptic medical texts were written between the third and eleventh century CE. The Greek resources and the Arabic documents, which overlap with the Coptic period, contain several Coptic medical names. We are dependent on Coptic-medical fragments to know whether the copies of Coptic medicine are given by physicians, or as authors of works. The existing Coptic medical resources present modest information concerning their authors and doctors. Some of the medical resources mentioned specific personal names, and these names were sometimes associated with certain drugs or mentioned by themselves.¹⁵⁴¹ Stelae and inscriptions from the sixth and seventh cent. CE, and some medical texts explicitly stated the names of the Coptic physicians, as follows.

The Monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara presents an inscription of a frieze with a monumental inscription¹⁵⁴² dated to approximately the 7th cent. CE,¹⁵⁴³ which mentions the physician Victor and his son Shoi: ΔΟΞΑ ΘΥ ἸϞ ΧϞ ΝΙΚΑ ΨΑΞ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΨΑΙΕΝ ΜἸΝ ΩΟΙ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΑΜΗΝ “Glory to God, Jesus Christ. The master Viktor, the doctor and his son Shoi, Amen.” Here, the author uses the Coptic term ΨΑΙΕΝ, ΠΣΑΕΙΝ for “physician”, instead of the Greek term ἰατρος.

From Arment¹⁵⁴⁴ two inscriptions contain different names of Coptic physicians.¹⁵⁴⁵ The first inscription is a sand stone dated to approximately the 7th cent. CE, which mentions ΠΛΗΝΙϞ ἰατρος “Plenis the physician” (figure 18). The name of Plenis was common – as there was a monk called Plenis ΑΠΑ ΠΛΗΝΙϞ ΠΗΟΝΑΧΟϞ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΟΙΑΚ ΚΕ “Apa Plenis, the monk, (died) on the 25. Khoiak”.¹⁵⁴⁶ The second inscription

¹⁵³⁸ Richter 2016a: 42–43.

¹⁵³⁹ Andorlini 2007: 385.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Andorlini 2007: 387.

¹⁵⁴¹ Kolta 1983: 190.

¹⁵⁴² Quibell 1912: pl. 43, no. 3

¹⁵⁴³ Schulze 2005: 61.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Arment, Greek ‘Hermonthis’ Coptic ‘Ermont’, on the western bank of the Nile south Thebes, about 15 miles south of Thebes.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Kolta 1984: 190.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Kolta 1984:190.

is a sandstone stele with a triangular truss, dating back to the sixth or seventh cent. CE, where the name of the physician Pathermuthis is preserved: παθερμουθις ιατρος “Pathermuthis, the physician.” (figure 19).

Originating in Edfu, Upper Egypt, there is a unique document that dates back to about the seventh or eighth cent. CE. concerning the pepper monopoly, which refers to the existence of a Coptic medical professional organisation: τκοινο(τ) ν̄νηριατρος “The guild of doctors”. In addition, the text announces the names of two physicians, one of whom is designated as απη “chief/ head”. Thus, this text reports on the head of doctors, the doctor Dios, and the doctor Djoker, who wrote the text:

KSB I 242, ll. 106–115

+ τκοινο ν̄νηριατρος ριτοοτ̄ϥ ν̄Διοϥ παπη εφρομογογει¹⁵⁴⁷ δεαειΔι
ριτοοτ̄ϥ ν̄πκϣρ/ λιβεριοϥ πιμεγαλοπρ/ ν̄παγαρχοϥ ν̄σοε ν̄λιτρ/ ν̄πιπϣρ/ †ω
ν̄ρετοιμωϥ ν̄ταΔια-νη̄ινε μμοοῡ εχ̄ν̄νηριατροϥ τηροϥ δεενεχ λαγε
εχ̄ν̄νηρεκη αγω ν̄τ̄ν̄† τεγτιμη ετεογρολοκ/ πε Ϙ ανοκ ρωκρ πριατροϥ
αφεται μμοϊ Διϣραϊ ραροϥ δε μαφνοι ν̄ϣρα[1¹⁵⁴⁸

The association/ community/guild of physicians, by the hand of Dios, the head: he declares, I have received by the Lord Liberius, the most glorious pagarchos, 6 pounds of pepper. I am ready to distribute them among all the physicians, (and I declare) that I do not impose anything on the poor and that we (sic) its price, which is 1 Solidus. I, Djoker, the doctor, he asked me to (and) I wrote for him, for he cannot write.¹⁵⁴⁹

The text proclaims that Dios was not perfect in terms of writing; therefore, he asked doctor Djoker to write for him: ανοκ ρωκρ πριατροϥ αφεται μμοι Διϣραϊ δε μαφνοι ν̄ϣραϊ “I Djoker, the physician, he asked me, and I wrote for him, because he cannot write”. Buchheim¹⁵⁵⁰ notes that: “in contrast to the highly educated medical profession in ancient Egypt, the doctors had an illiterate board member in the Coptic period”.

The fact that the physicians obtained little respect at that time becomes evident in another passage from the protocol of Edfu, which shows that in contrast to the physicians, who the Egyptians were so proud of, the Coptic physicians were placed in the group of craftsmen: stonemasons, potters, masons, boatmen,

¹⁵⁴⁷ ρομογογει, for ρομολογει.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Crum 1925.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Author’s own translation.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Buchheim 1960: 269.

shoemakers, oil traders, patch workers, stickers and smith (professions that are mentioned in the Edfu papyrus).¹⁵⁵¹ These passages reflect a contrary dignity of the profession of the physician.

Another ostrakon O.Crum 296,¹⁵⁵² dating back to the seventh or eighth cent. CE, mentions the physician's name John: ἀνοκ ἰωδαννης πατρι[ο]ς ἀγω μονοχ/ "I am John, the Physician, and the monk".



¹⁵⁵¹ Crum 1925: 103–111.

¹⁵⁵² Crum 1902: 53.

Figure 18. Sandstone brick from Erment (After: Kolta 1983: 191)



Figure 19. Sandstone stele from Erment (?) (After: Kolta 1983: 192)

Concerning the papyri examples, the Chassinat papyrus, unlike the other medical texts, is the only text that mentions some doctors' names. The author of the papyrus, who, like his father, was a physician and whose name is unfortunately unknown, passed on the recipes to his son in the event that he would also take the profession of a physician:¹⁵⁵³

Ch 109

(224) ΟΥΖΥΡΟΝ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΞ̄Ν̄ ΝΒΑΛ ΔΙΤΟΚΚΙΜΑΖΕ Ξ̄ΜΟΥ
ΔΙΘ̄Ν̄ Ξ̄ΜΕ Ξ̄Ν ΟΥΟΝ ΕΥΤΕΤΩΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΥ ΠΕΩΗΡΕ

(224) A very good powder for all eye diseases. I examined it and I found it is genuine, (225) it has no equal in efficiency, my son!.

Ch 117

(248) ΟΥΝΟΣ Ξ̄ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΙΡ̄ΞΩΒ Ξ̄ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΔΝΟΚ Ξ̄Ν ΠΑΕΙΩΤ

(248) A great remedy that I work on it with my father

The author of the Chassinat papyrus indicates that he sometimes depended on the previous experience of the predecessors, as he says in the recipe Ch 65: ΟΥΠΑΖΡΕΞ̄ΤΑΝΘ̄ΝΤ̄Υ ΕΥΧΗΞ̄ Ξ̄Ν Ξ̄ΧΩΩΜΕ Ξ̄ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ “A remedy that we found written in the ancient books”. He was not just a compiler, but also a medical practitioner, as he declares in his remarks in Ch 53: ΔΝΔΟΚΙΜΙΖΕ Ξ̄ΜΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ “We examined it well”, and Ch 80: ΕΥΧΟΝ̄ΤΥ ΓΑΡ Ξ̄ΤΟΤΕΝ ΔΝΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ Ξ̄ΜΟΥ ΔΝΘ̄ΝΤ̄Υ ΕΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΕΩΩΝΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΞ̄Ν̄ ΝΒΑΛ “it is tested by us. We tested it and we found it be profitable for any eye diseases”. In the recipes Ch 53 and Ch 80, the first person, plural pronoun ‘we’ is used. In Ch 109, the author clarifies what he means by using the plural pronoun ‘we’: ...ΔΙΤΟΚΚΙΜΑΖΕ Ξ̄ΜΟΥ ΔΙΘ̄Ν̄ Ξ̄ΜΕ ...ΠΑΩΗΡΕ “I examined it and I found it is genuine..., my son”. Therefore ‘we’ means “father and son”, the latter seems to have been a general practitioner. Recipe Ch 117, announces that the father and his son were physicians ΟΥΝΟΣ Ξ̄ΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΙΡ̄ΞΩΒ Ξ̄ΖΗΤ̄Σ ΔΝΟΚ Ξ̄Ν ΠΑΕΙΩΤ “A great remedy, that I work on it with my father”.

¹⁵⁵³ Till 1951a: 5.

With respect to the father's obligation to offer exhortation to his son, the following instructions provide us with some advices given from the father to the son: $\eta\pi\bar{\rho}\tau\text{-}\pi\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\chi\iota\ \eta\pi\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ "Do not administer the remedy to man until you have received your wage" (Ch 114) and $\chi\iota\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \eta\omega\rho\bar{\rho}\iota$ "Take your wage firstly" (Ch 212).

The Chassinat Papyrus did not announce the name of the author nor of his father's, although the papyrus mentions in various places others doctors' names. The first doctor's name appears in the recipe Ch 56: $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\eta\eta\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\pi\alpha\ \kappa\gamma\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\iota\omicron\varsigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\rho\chi\eta\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma$ "Collyrium of Apa Cyrillo, the wise/clever official physician". Here, the doctor's name appears in connection with the remedy, which could indicate that this remedy has been attributed to Apa Kyrillos or he himself had compiled it.

In a similar way, Ch 211 mentions another physician name, who is called Colluthos: $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\eta\eta\ \mu\omicron\eta\alpha\delta\gamma\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\eta\eta\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\rho\chi\eta\alpha\tau\rho\upsilon\gamma\ \kappa\gamma\mu\alpha\rho\tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma$ "One-day collyrium of the senior physician and martyr Colluthos". The name Colluthos $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ with the known abbreviation $\kappa\omega\lambda\theta\epsilon$, is used among present-day Christian Egyptians in its Arabic form as Qolta قلوته, قلوطس .¹⁵⁵⁴ Colluthos is the name of the famous Apa Colluthos, the doctor, martyr, miracle healer and saint, to whom many medical miracles are attributed to him. Makrizi recognises him as "the physician and master of marvels in the curing of ophthalmia". One of the miracles shows that a blind man has regained his sight by using the milk of a chaste woman; and the saint sends a paralysed man to the house of a certain harlot to be healed. Moreover, it includes a woman who has suffered from hydropsy for a long time.

Another recipe (Ch 203) ends with Arabic script: $\omicron\gamma\alpha\ \eta\tau\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\ \rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \dots$ عرفه هنس "Someone whose eye shine well ... 'arafahu Hennis". The recipe ends with an Arabic script, it is an Arabic sentence consisting of the two words "'arafahu Hennis", meaning "Hennis knew it". Hennis could indicate a name such as "Johannes", or it can be assumed that this person was he was a well-known physician or produced the remedy so he named it after himself, like the other remedies in the same papyrus.

In the Greek evidence, there are some names of Coptic doctors' names, as follows:

Aurelios Anouthis

$\text{Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦθις Ἰωσηφίου}$
 $\text{διάκονος ἀπὸ Ἑρ(μοῦ πόλεως)}$
 $\text{καὶ ἰατρὸς ἀξιοθεὶς ἔγραψα.}$ ¹⁵⁵⁵

"I, Aurelius Anouthis, son of Joseph,
 deacon of Hermoupolis, and

¹⁵⁵⁴ Crum 1929/30: 324.

¹⁵⁵⁵ P. Lond. III 1044, 38 (donation contract) dates back to the 6th cent. CE, Hermopolis Magna (?), Schulze 2005: 105.

worthy doctor, wrote this.”¹⁵⁵⁶

Aurelios Theodoros

† Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος Παύλου ἰατρὸς
μαρτυρῶ τῇ πράσει ἀκούσας παρά τῆς θεμένης, μαρτυρῶ δέ καί τῇ
καταβολῇ τοῦ χρυσείου
τῶν δύο νομισματιῶν τῆς τιμῆς. †¹⁵⁵⁷

“I, the physician Aurelius Theodoros, son of Paulus, testify to the purchase, after I have heard of the woman who caused it (the purchase). I also testify to the payment of the purchase price (actually., gold) worth two Nomismata”.¹⁵⁵⁸

Christodoros

† .[] Χριστόδωρος ἰατρ(ός).¹⁵⁵⁹

“The Physician Christodoros”

Christodoros

Χριστοδώρω ἰατρῶ ὁμοι(ως).¹⁵⁶⁰

“Like the doctor Christodoros”¹⁵⁶¹

Pheue

Φῆϋ Παπνουθίου ἰατρὸς....¹⁵⁶²

“The physician Pheue, son of Panouthios....”

¹⁵⁵⁶ The English translation is adapted from the German translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 105.

¹⁵⁵⁷ P.Mich. XIII 664, 43, Aphrodito. Schulze 2005: 105–6.

¹⁵⁵⁸ The English translation is adapted from the German translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 106.

¹⁵⁵⁹ P.Ant. III 193^v, dates back to the 6th or 7th cent. CE, Antinoopolis. Schulze 2005: 106.

¹⁵⁶⁰ P.Ant. III 202, dates back to the 6th or 7th cent. CE, Antinoopolis, Schulze 2005: 106.

¹⁵⁶¹ The English translation is adapted from the German translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 106.

¹⁵⁶² P.Apollo. 58, 3, dates back to the 7th cent. CE, Apollonopolis Magna. Schulze 2005: 110.

Phlaouios Markos and Ioannes

† Φλ(αούιος) Μάρκος σὺν θεῷ ἰατρὸς, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς λογίας μνήμης

Ἰωάννου γενομέ(νου) ἀρχιατροῦ, συναινῶ...¹⁵⁶³

“I, Phlaouios Markos. Doctor with God (with the help of God), son of the chief doctor Ioannes, to whom one has an eloquent memory, agree”¹⁵⁶⁴

Phiauios Phoibammon

Φλάυιος Φοιβάμων Εὐπρείου ἀρχιατρός.¹⁵⁶⁵

Phlauios Phoibamon, chief doctor son of Euprepios.

Anonymous

διά(κονος) κ(αί) ἰατρ(ός).¹⁵⁶⁶

Deacon and doctor

Anonymous

ἔσχαμεν ἤμεν ἡμεῖς Οννοφριου υἱός Μηνᾶ Πμουει καί
Πανισκου υἱὸς Πεκυσίου
ἀμφοτέροι ἀπὸ κώμης Οννη τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου νομο(ῦ) παρὰ σο(ῦ)
Μηνᾶ υἱὸς εἰατροῦ
ἀπὸ κωμης Λευκογιο(υ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο(ῦ)...¹⁵⁶⁷

¹⁵⁶³ P. Oxy. 1126, 23, dates back to the 6th cent. CE, Oxyrhynchos. Schulze 2005: 111.

¹⁵⁶⁴ The English translation is adapted from the German translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 111.

¹⁵⁶⁵ P.Cair.Masp. II 67151, dates back to the 6th cent. CE, Antinoopolis. Schulze 2005: 112.

¹⁵⁶⁶ SPP VIII 789., 6th cent. CE. Schulze 2005: 112.

¹⁵⁶⁷ SPP VIII 68, dates back to the 7th cent. CE, Herakleopolis. Schulze 2005: 112.

“We both (i.e., the son of Men Pmouei (from Onnophrion), and the son of Pekysios from Paniskon/-os, which we come from the village of the district of Herakleopolis, are of thee, Menas, son of the doctor of the village of Leukogion/-os from the same district ...”.¹⁵⁶⁸

Ioannes

Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθ(ησον) τόν δ[οῦλόν]
σου ἅπα Ἰωάν[νην]
ἰατρὸς καί πα[ντί]
[τῷ οἴκ]ῳ α[ὐτοῦ, ἀμήν].¹⁵⁶⁹

“Lord, help your servant, the priest and doctor Joanna and his whole house, Amen”

Ioseph

Ἰωσήφ.
Κ(ύρι)ε, βο(ήθ)ησον τὸν δουλόν σου
Ἰωσήφ ἰατρ(ός) καί Ἰωάννης
ἀδελφός αὐτ[ου] καί παντί τῷ οἴκῳ
αὐτοῦ καί Ἀνανίας, ἀμήν
κ[α]ί τοῖ Ἀναστάσιος πβεσνητ
Πληνε πνηυ.¹⁵⁷⁰

“Joseph. Lord, help thy servant the physician Joseph, and his brother John, and all his house, and Ananias, Amen, And the blacksmith Anastasius and the rope makers”.¹⁵⁷¹

The above-mentioned sources indicate that these medical texts lacked the names of their authors and physicians. Kolta¹⁵⁷² mentions that there are two hypotheses for the absence of doctors and author names from the medical texts: The first relates to the incomplete, unpreserved state of the source itself, whether

¹⁵⁶⁸ The English translation is adapted from the German translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 112.

¹⁵⁶⁹ From Thebes, dates back to the 5th –7th cent. CE (?). Schulze 2005: 61.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Dates back between the 5th –7th cent. CE, Thebes. Schulze 2005: 63.

¹⁵⁷¹ The English translation is adapted from the Greek translation by Schulze. Schulze 2005: 63.

¹⁵⁷² Kolta 1984: 194.

papyrus or ostraca; hence, we can assume that the names of the authors have been lost over time. The second hypothesis is that it was an ancient Egyptian tradition, to not mention the name of the author in the text.

Walter Till¹⁵⁷³ argues that the absence of the author's names is because some recipes of the Coptic medical papyrus, Chassinat, were considered secret between a father and his son. Many drugs have been written with encrypted codes, thus to prevent any reader from using the recipes. Hence, his son was the only one who could use the book. It was rather a private collection created for the son's medical practice. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in most recipes one or two words usually the names of drugs were written in cipher, as the knowledge of this cipher was probably very uncommon. Consequently, during the Post-Pharaonic period, medicine was regarded as a guild for the Copts, which remained restricted to a particular family or group of persons of the same profession and passed on from generation; therefore, they avoided mentioning the name of the actual physician or the author. The only exception, which does not belong to the medical texts, is the Edfuer text, in which the names of the executive committee of a Coptic physician and his colleague are mentioned.¹⁵⁷⁴

¹⁵⁷³ Till 1951a: 5-6.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Kolta 1984: 194.

10. CONCLUSION

This study's findings regarding the practice of medicine and magic as a part of daily life in Coptic Egypt have been illuminating, thought-provoking and challenging to previous scholarship on this matter. As the main aim of this study was to investigate all methods of treatment used against diseases, I have divided this concluding section into two main parts: the medical healing methods and non-medical healing methods (magical and religious practices).

10.1 MEDICAL HEALING METHODS

This study is based on an inductive approach that uses all the available data related to medicine and pharmacology in the Coptic language from the period between the 4th and 11th cent. CE. This corpus of evidence has provided my study with important information on medicinal procedures despite the majority of data being fragmentary and, in some cases, incomplete. Further, exploring various texts and documents from others fields, rather than only medicine, provided us with even more information.

The most crucial result of this study is scientific medical practices were pervasive in every corner of Egypt and were not strictly limited to a specific region. My collection of sources includes medical texts originating in various areas of Egypt such as Saqqara, Al-Faiyūm, Wadi Sarga, Sohag, the Red Sea, and Thebes. The vast majority of texts came from Upper Egypt, Thebes, and date to between the 7th and 8th cent. CE. Sources from Asyut and Al-Faiyūm date between the 5th and 7th cent. CE; while the provenance of other sources containing medical prescriptions are unknown. Although the places of origin of some texts are not determined, monasteries have emerged as the most prominent location that has produced numerous medical texts. Specific monasteries have been identified: I identified two medical texts from the Monastery of Phoibammon; two from the Monastery of Epiphanius; three texts have been attributed to the White Monastery; one text to the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Deir el-Gandala (near Asyut); two texts to the Monastery of Jeremias, and one text to the St. Anthony's Monastery at the Red Sea. As a result of this survey, I have demonstrated in this study that monasteries, whose texts constitute almost a quarter of the available medical corpus, played an important role in providing basic medical sources. monasteries were considered the main place to provide medical care for various types of diseases, even those in the gynaecological or paediatric branches. These medical texts prove the extent of services and facilities provided by monastic hospitals, which opened their doors to all people, not only to the monks or nuns.

One of the results of this study is the confirmation that the dates of the Coptic medical sources reach beyond the Arab conquest. Therefore, many of the medical recipes contain Arabic loanwords. Noticeably, the majority of Arabic words in medical texts were almost nouns, including the names of drugs, measurements and colours. In addition, Greek words were used intensively in the recipes' ingredients, measurements, and verbs. Most of the medical texts reveal the interaction between Arabic, Greek, and Coptic languages through their use of loanwords. Some of the Arabic loanwords were unknown to the editors (in already published texts), but as a native speaker, I could identify these words and their meanings, which enabled me to provide an updated version of certain texts and offer more details concerning the drugs and their properties. Moreover, researching more deeply in Arabic medical sources enabled me to find the properties of many drugs and understand the reason of the use of these specific drugs to treat particular diseases.

Another important finding of this study is the conviction that Coptic medical texts were the result of accurate practical procedures that were systematically composed by a number of experienced physicians. Some medical texts were very compact in size and were likely used as manuals for private doctors during home visits. Although, there is evidence of the doctor receiving the fees for the treatment given, there is, however, no indication of how much the doctor earned.

The most prominent result of this study is a confirmation that healing practices, whether medical or magical, were the prevailing type of solicitude in Late Antique Egypt. While the number of texts is small in comparison with those from ancient Egypt, there are, however, medical prescriptions for all body organs of the human body. An analysis of each prescription reveals information concerning the methods of treatment and techniques used against diseases and shows that the most common diseases appeared in specific periods or geographical areas. The medical recipes covered all body organs of the human body and every recipe began with the name of the disease followed by the recipes' ingredients and the instructions in preparing the medicament. A clear division to every symptom shows the experience of the physicians in that particular period, who diagnosed the diseases and prescribed the suitable medication. As a result of the survey in Chapter Five, I discovered that eye diseases (section 5.5) and skin diseases (section 5.14) were broadly treated. The medical texts mention an extensive variety of diseases affecting the eyes and the skin, and even the literary sources paid attention to these disorders.

There is no mention of contagion in the medical recipes but the literature of both *lavra* and *coenobitic* monasteries indicates the existence of the concept of isolating the sick and infirm through the statement that the sick should be exempt from prayer, common worship, or mass. According to Shenoute's writings, the monastery infirmary was spatially and physically isolated from the rest of the monastic live quarters. It's possible that the separation was made to protect the monks who were in good health from any illness, since the infirmary had its own storeroom, refectory, and kitchen (section 8.1).

10.2 PHARMACOPEIA

Examining the components preparation of the medical recipes and medications reveals the awareness of the pharmacodynamics of plants, mineral and animal substances. A number of ingredients, and even some remedies, were precisely named after their place of origin such as ροῶμ ἡδαρανικον/ αραβικον “Arabia soda”, νεχε ἡεσωω “Ethiopian tooth”, χωζῆρ ἀσπιζενι “Persian cabbage”, and οὔκολλιον ἡ περσι “Persian collyrium”. This suggests the influence of both the Greek and Arabic pharmacy on Coptic medicine. This influence is also demonstrated through the use of either Greek or Arabic units of measurement in various Coptic medical recipes (Tables 3, 4).

Within the recipes, there are many forms of remedy administration that have been mentioned. Every final remedy consisted of a combination of various substances delivered in accurate measurements. I have divided the remedies into four main categories: orally ingested as a syrup or pill; internally applied as a pessary or paste; externally applied as a powder, ointment or poultice; and applied through fumigation, inhalation or smoking. As a result of this research, I have discovered that the external treatment constituted the largest proportion of methods of application while internal and oral treatment ranked second.

An important finding of this study regards the linguistic features of the remedies. I have found that Greek terminology was more preferable to indicate types of remedies such as ἐκζωτα, καθαρτικον, κολλιον, ζῦρον, καταπασμα, καπνιζε, πλαστρον and τροχιζκος. The Coptic terms for remedies were less represented than the Greek expressions, and included κρηε, σαζ, σολ, σιοογν, σω, σπελελιν, σωωσσεω; while Arabic terms represented only two types of remedies السعوط and البرود (Chapter Three).

Analysing the medical recipes and the types of remedies, I have found that each form of remedy dedicated itself to a specific disease. Hence, oral remedies were mainly used against fever, vomiting, painful breasts, penis disorders and a migraine; external remedies were the preferred type of treatment against eye diseases, intestinal worms, blood-stilling, rheumatism, skin diseases, stomach or toothache. Internal remedies were mainly used to treat anal diseases and problems of the intestines; and inhalation methods were specially prescribed to treat rheumatism or earache. Finally, it appears that certain drugs were particularly popular as a universal remedy against all diseases due to their pain-relieving properties, for example, myrrh, aloes, acacia or opium.

10.3 MAGICAL HEALING METHODS

Another way to treat diseases was through magic. The use of magic had a major influence on medicine along with the medical procedures. A clear differentiation between the purely medical texts and those of magical orientation can be observed, as the magical texts distinctly included magical characters, names, and signs; and were supported by religious sentences, prayers, and invocations to Jesus Christ, alongside “non-canonical” texts.

The survey of magico-medical texts illustrates the relationship between religion and magic in the domain of medicine. The present study, therefore, reveals the function of religion among the magical spells used in the texts surveyed in this study. Religious influence appears in invoking, e.g., “Jesus in the name of your powers, and your names”; “Jesus the Lord”, and citing quotations cited from the Bible, mainly from the Psalms, and the Gospels (section 6.2).

The verses of Scripture quoted in the magical texts for healing purposes were consistent with the type of disease treated; thus, certain parts of the Bible were employed in delivering magico-medical treatments.

Healing spells are believed to be a continuation of Egyptian healing traditions during the Post-pharaonic period and therefore, provide detailed knowledge on diseases common at that point in time. By investigating all magico-medical evidence, this study shows that the magic was the preferred method of treatment for certain health issues such as bleeding, breast milk problems to induce lactation, chills, fever, fire diseases, jaundice, limb diseases, mental disorders, paediatrics-related issues, demonic possession, pregnancy, skin problems, swellings and spleen disorders. Some of these diseases were medically treated; however, health issues such as mental disorders and demonic possessions were treated only with magic (section 6.6.12).

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is the confirmation that the magico-medical texts reveal the interaction between Coptic and Greek cultures and language; a fact that is already ensured by the number of Greek loanwords used and the Greek domination in many spells as the main language in invoking God’s power. Moreover, many texts began with a brief Coptic instruction in how to make an amulet for specific diseases; however, instructions and spells composed in Greek as in (P.Köln 425), and (P.Mich. MS 136, ll. 10–20), which contain a prescription to treat gout are composed in Greek. Furthermore, some texts borrowed Greek quotations such as the citation of a Homeric verse (Iliad 3), which was written in Greek in a recipe for treating chills, and snake sight, as a part of a Coptic magico-medical text. The utilisation of such citations is also found also in Galen’s experience in treating stings, thus revealing the interaction between the Coptic and Greek recipes. At the same time, this interaction between language and cultures in the medical domain is demonstrated in medical texts, since the same Homeric verse is utilised in a medical recipe for a swelling, or wound; and the figures of snakes, which appear to a

sick person (I.Saqqara 103), from the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara. Also, the usual epilogues of the amulets are the Greek exclamation ταχι ταχι “quickly, quickly”. The mixture of languages in the magico-medical texts reveal the bridging between language and culture, and express the importance and meanings of the phrases used by the magician or practitioner.

In closing, the various medical texts were a classification of a highly scientific system and a well-educated society. The writer or reader was familiar with the Greek and Arabic terms and incorporated them well into the Coptic texts, forming a special character for the medical sciences of that time. Despite the small number of these texts discovered, they provided a clear picture of treatment methods and the most important diseases that were prevalent at that time. Of course, it was important to study other non-medical texts to get a complete picture of the medical system and discover the religious and magical elements affecting the medical side and the reasons for resorting to it.

Appendix A

Inventory of Coptic medical texts

No.	Checklist siglum	Collection, inv. No.	Provenance	Date	Material	Dimensions
1	BKU I 27	Berlin, Pap.-coll., inv. P4984	Thebes	7th-8th	Ostracon	5.5 x 10.5 cm
2	BKU I 28	Berlin, Pap.-coll., inv. 880	Thebes	7th-8th	Ostracon	6.5 x 5 cm
3	O.Brit.Mus.Copt. I 49	London, BM inv. 27422	Thebes	7th-8th	Ostracon	21.90 x 14.80 cm
4	O.Brit.Mus.Copt. II 37	London, BM inv. 50216	Deir al-Bahari	7th-8th	Ostracon	10.50 x 13.50 cm
5	O.Crum 487	London, EEF 151	Deir al-Bahari	7th-8th	Ostracon	—
6	O.Mon.Epiph. 574	New York, MMA inv. 12.180.79	Monastery of Epiphanius	7th-8th	Ostracon	—
7	O.Mon.Epiph. 575	Kairo, Äg. Mus., inv. 44674.130	Monastery of Epiphanius	7th-8th	Ostracon	—
8	O.Bachit 1170+1172	—	Deir el-Bachit (Dra' Abu el-Naga) Thebes	—	Ostracon	11,8 x 9,3
9	BM 527 (P.Lond.Copt. I 527)	Or.4920(3)	Al-Faiyūm	10th–11th	paper	7 x 5.5 cm
10	BKU III 396	Berlin, Pap.-Smlg. Inv.22164	Unknown	4th–5th	Papyrus	5.5 x 13 cm

11	P.Heid. G 698c	Heidelberg, Pap.- Smlg. inv. G 698c	Unknown	4th–5th	Papyrus	2.9 x 5.8 cm
12	P.TT157- 470	TT157, Fj. 470	Dra' Abu el-Naga (Thebes)	4th–5th	Papyrus	10.8 x 8.2 cm
13	P.Mich. 593a	Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, inv. 593a	Unknown	5th-6th or later	Papyrus	7.25 x 9 cm
14	P.Ryl.Copt. 109	Manchester, John Rylands Library	Unknown	6th-7th	Papyrus	5 x 10 cm
15	SBKopt. I 006	Wien, ÖNB, Pap.- Smlg. inv. K 5595	Unknown	7th	Papyrus	28 x 8.5 cm
16	SBKopt. I 003	Vienna, ÖNB, Pap.-Smlg. inv. K 5504	Unknown	6th-7th	Papyrus	17 x 7.5 cm
17	P.KölnÄgypt. 12	Köln, Pap.-Smlg. inv. 5948	Al-Faiyūm	7th	Papyrus	9 x 8.8 cm
18	P.Sarga 20	London, BL?	Wadi Sarga	7th-8th	Papyrus	6.5 x 8.5 cm
19	SBKopt. I 004	Wien, ÖNB, Pap.- Smlg. inv. K 5506	Unknown	8th	Papyrus	16 x 12 cm
20	P.YCtBR inv.3353 ¹⁵⁷⁵	New Haven, Beinecke Library P.YCtBR 3553	Unknown	7th-8th	Papyrus	6.7 x 13.8 cm

¹⁵⁷⁵ Letter.

21	SBKopt. II 1043	Berlin, Pap.-Smlg. inv.3262	Al-Faiyūm, (propably Arsinoe) ¹⁵⁷⁶	7th-8th	Papyrus	9.5x 8 cm
22	BKU III 329A	Berlin Pap.-Smlg. inv. 22061	Unknown	7th-8th?	Papyrus	19 x 16 cm
23	BKU III 393	Berlin Pap.- Smlg. inv. 22190	Unknown	7th-8th?	Papyrus	14.5 x 16.5
24	Ch	Cairo, IFAO	Naga al- Meshaikh	9th–10th	Papyrus	248 x 27 cm
25	P.Louvre AF 12530	Paris, Louvre AF 12530	Sohag ?	9th–10th	Papyrus	90 x 9 cm
26	P.Mich. MS 136, pag.2–14	Ann Arbor, Michigan MS 136	Unknown	5th-6th or later	Parchment	4.125 x 4.875 cm
27	P.Mich. 593b, pag. 167–168	University of Michigan, inv. 593b	Unknown	6th	Parchment	7 X 11 cm
28	P.Carlsberg 500, Pag.103- 106, 111- 114, 135- 136	Copenhagen, Carlsberg coll., inv. 500	Saqqara	6th	Parchment	9-9.50 x 8-8.50 cm
29	Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 214–215	Paris BN 132,5, fol. 1	White Monastery	9th–10th	Parchment	15 x 12 cm

¹⁵⁷⁶ Hastizka 2004: 135.

30	Cod.Med.Copt., pag. 241–244	Napoli BN IB.14.06-07	White Monastery	9th–10th	Parchment	—
31	SBKopt. I 001	Leuven Univ. Libr. frag. 114	Unknown	10th	Parchment	11.51-12 x 12 cm
32	P.Ryl.Copt. 108 Ro	Manchester, John Rylands Library	White Monastery ¹⁵⁷⁷	10th– 11th	Parchment	6.5 x 8.5 cm
33	BKU I 25	Berlin, Pap.-coll. inv. 8109	Unknown	—	Parchment	18 x 11 cm
34	CAT. NO. 137 (98:Ms4)	—	Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea	9th–10th	Parchment	12.4 x 11.5 cm
35	SBKopt. I 002	—	—	10th– 11th	Paper	—
36	SBKopt. I 005	—	—	10 th -11th	Paper	—
37	P.Ryl.Copt. 104	Manchester, John Rylands Library	—	11th	Paper	19 x 14 cm
38	P.Ryl.Copt. 106	Manchester, John Rylands Library	—	11th	Paper	25 x 17 cm
39	BKU I 26	Berlin, Pap.-Smlg. inv. 8116	Al-Faiyūm	11th	Paper	28 x 29 cm; 14 x 18 cm

¹⁵⁷⁷ Trismegistos. [<https://www.trismegistos.org/magic/detail.php?tm=111286>], (last accessed: 02.08.2019).

40	P.Sarga 21	—	Monastery of Apa Thomas Wadi Sarga	7th-8th	<i>dipinto</i>	—
41	I.Saqqara 103	—	Monastery of Jeremias	—	<i>dipinto</i>	—

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