

## Egyptian remedies in the Greek medical sources



# Nicola Reggiani nicola.reggiani@unipr.it



Egypt has always been regarded by the ancient Greeks as the homeland of famous and effective φάρμακα (an ambiguous word, meaning either "medicaments" or "poisons"), not to say as the very birthplace of medicine. So Homer's Odyssey IV 229-230 Αίγυπτίη, τῆ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / φάρμακα, πολλά μὲν ἐσθλά μεμιγμένα, πολλά δε λυγρά "The life-giving land of Egypt produces lots of remedies, many good mixtures and many baneful". And Pseudo-Galen's Introduction or the Physician 1 ascribes to the Egyptians the invention of several medical branches (pharmacology, internal surgery, ophthalmology, intestinal hygiene).

The influence of Egyptian medicine on its Greek counterpart is well recognisable, especially in terms of ingredients, well before but above all after Alexander the Great's conquest of Egypt in 331/1 BC, which gave rise to deeper interconnections between the two traditions. It is not surprising, therefore, that several medicaments recorded by the Greek medical authors are labelled or recorded as "Egyptian," as either a memory of their true origin or a simple trade mark (see Gal. Meth.med. X 822, 13 τό παρά τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εὐδοκιμοῦν "the one most esteemed among the Egyptians").

This preliminary presentation focuses on a selection of famous Greek remedies taken - truly or allegedly - from ancient Egypt. I excluded from this survey the ingredients (simple substances) of Egyptian origin, which are too much widespread to be taken into consideration. The most used were natron (νίτρον), alum (στυπτηρία), mastic (μαστίχη), the Egyptian bean (κύαμος, often used as a weight unit as well), and many others. Future comparison between Greek and Egyptian medical sources will likely prove useful from many viewpoints, for example the long-lasting issue of many products of Egyptian pharmacopoeia.

### The Egyptian / Mendesian perfume aka Egyptian / Mendesian oil

As early as in the Hippocratic corpus (5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BC), in particular in some gynaecological treatises (*Nature of women, Female diseases*), we find many mentions of a product called "Egyptian oil" (τό Αἰγύπτιον Ἐλαιον), sometimes in a type called "white" (Ἐλαιον Αἰγύπτιον Ἐλαιον). Its main use is as a calming ointment for the so-called hysteric sufficiations. These products are explained by Galen (2<sup>th</sup> cent. AD), <u>Explication of Hippocratic vocebulary</u> XIX 70, 11-14 Kühn, as follows: Aἰγύπτιον Ἐλαιον Ἐλαιον ἰοἰν κρίνους σκαρ ἀἰνου ἐλαίον καλοῦσι κἰκνου, (οἰ μίντοι πλαιοι ἐκ τῆς κίκεως καὶ κίκινου. Aἰγύπτιον Ἐλαιον Ἐλαιον ἐλούν κρίνου σκοιοζόμονο, ὅπαρ καὶ κρίνους ὅπαρ αἰτοἰ καλοῦσι κἰκινου, (οἱ μίντοι πλαιοι ἐκ τῆς κίκεως καὶ κίκινου, Αἰγύπτιον Ἐλαιον Ἐλαιον Ἐλαιον ἐλούν κρίνου σκοιοζόμονο, ὅπαρ καὶ κρίνους ὅπαρ αἰτοἰ κρίνου ὑλομασται "Egyptian oil: what the same call λείλιποι (.c. "kik-ioi!", castor oil). The ancient indeed say that κίκινον comes from kiki. Egyptian white oil: the one produced from the lilies, which is also called *krininon* (i.e. 'kik-ioi!') and *sousinon*."

According to Erotian (1<sup>st</sup> AD), Hippocratic vocabulary, p. 96, 7-10 Klein, the Egyptian oil was to be identified with another known product, called "Egyptian perfume": μύρον Αἰγύπτιον οἱ μέν ἐδέξαντο τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ σκάφης, ἔστι γὰρ θερμανικόν. οἱ δὲ τὸ μαλαβάθρινον. οἱ δὲ τὸ Μενδήσιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν β΄ Tovanxion to αυτό φησιν έλαιον Alyúπτιον "Egyptian perfume: same take that from the bowl, it is indeed heating. Some call it malabathrinon Mendesian, and in the second book of the Female diseases the same is said Egyptian oil."

There is in fact some confusion. We do indeed find an ingredient called μύρον Alyúπτον "Egyptian perfume" in Galen's Composition of medicaments by place XII 569, 15; 648, 16; XIII 346, 14-16 K., used as an emollient ointment for headache and other similar diseases. At XII 570, 1-8 Galen says that to δε Alyúntrov μύρον ούχ ούτοι μόνον, δύλλ και Μενδήπου όνομάζεται, τινές δέ αυτό και μεγαλείον καλειδοιά φασιν, άπό τοῦ συντθότινος αὐτό Μεγάλου τήν δεανοιμάν έκατέραν λαβιά, τότο μοι νατόσι δο κατ' δεάχουν όνόματος δε' τη τάνι καλουμένων παρονόμων ίδας, άπό δε τῆς ατατρίδος αυτοῦ Μαρίδησυ. The sease and the sease and an emotion of κατ' δεάχουν όνόματος δε' τη τάνι καλουμένων παρονόμων ίδας, άπό δε τῆς ατατρίδος αυτοῦ Μαρίδησυ. The sease and the sease and medicament of the sease and the se

This may seem a confirmation of Erotian's identification of the Egyptian oil/perfume with the Mendesion, but Galen in fact introduces a distinction ir Inis may seem a continuation of protain s identification of the Egyptian outperfutine with the Menaeson, but Galen in fact introduces a distinction in Voc.Hipp.X12, 01, 15-71, 4. K. Arbytartou viplooy kaveky, "Barp and MeNaeson and Arbytartou pipove real protocol and the proto

Dissertides (1" AD), however, goes further in the issue, stating that the *Mendesion (Materia medica* 1 59, 3) λεγόμενον ἕκ τε βάλανίνου ἐλαίου κάὶ σμόρος καὶ καστίας καὶ μπτίγις σκειλάζεπα. Ἐνοι δὲ μετὰ τὸν κατασταθμισμὸν κτιάμομον μικρὸν προσειρίθλο κοιναν ἀκοφελοξε οὐε ἐκδίδιοσι γὰρ τὰ μὴ συνεμημένα τὴν δύσμιν, ἐμοροῆ δὲ ἔχει τὴν ἐλέγριαν τὸ μετατιδιο, ffricou μέντοι καὶ οὐ σῦ ἀτος ἔπτεταιμένην `is said to be produced from the *Manimonol* (i.e. oil from the nut of the ben-free) and from myrth, cassia, and resin. Some, after veighing out the ingredients, add a small quality of cinnamon, but to no useful purpose, for substances that have not been cocked together do not release their properties. Its activity is similat to that of *metopion*, although to a lesser degree, nor does it that solong. 'This is to compared with later authors like Actius of Amida (6<sup>6</sup> AD) and Paul of Aegina (7<sup>6</sup> AD). The former (126) states that Hoxôfônou μαλακτικότατόν έστι καὶ χάλαστικέν συμάτων καὶ πουσιών: συντίθεται δὲ ἐκ μαροβαλανίνου ἑλαίου καὶ σμόρνης και κασίας καὶ ρίττης. "The Mendesian unguent is the most emollient and has tative for the bodies and favours discharge: it is produced from ben-tree-nut-oil, myrth, cassia, and resin." The later (VII 20, 31) defines Mavôfnouv ο λι. ~ (κ čλιολ φ ζ.~), κοιμφίνους ~, νοίτο οὐχ ἐψευτα, ἀλ² ἐφίλημθεντα ἕριά κοῦ ἀ τὸ ὑ λιγότος τοὐριδανδιαν καὶ ἀριόργος καὶ ἀ μόνος τέφετα, λαμβάντα ἐὲ ἀριό μβράς τοῦ λι ~ (κ čλιολ φ ζ.~), ενώρηνς, καεσίας σύριγρος ἀνὰ ~ φ.>, τερεβινθίνης λι. ~ (ένοι ~), έναμφίσμας ~, κοίτου ἀποτθιατ "Mendesion it is said to the mendes grows. Take 10 pounds of δυλαστα δύσται ἀποτθιατα "Mandesion it is said the the because it has been discovered in Egypt, where indeed the *mendes* grows. Take 10 pounds of δυλαίοτου ἀποτθατα "Mandesion it is said like that because it has been discovered in Egypt, where indeed the *mendes* grows. Take 10 pounds of balaninon (in total 10 *sesta*), a Jounces cach of myrth acassia' quill, 1 pound (some say 10) of turpen Dioscorides (1" AD), however, goes further in the issue, stating that the Mendesion (Materia medica 1 59, 3) λεγόμενον ἕκ τε βαλανίνου ἐλαίου καὶ σμύρνης

From these passages we thus learn a different origin of the Mendesian unguent than the so-called Egyptian white perfume. There is a clear confusion in the sources, certainly due to the existence of several similar products, all coming from Egypt, all composed of aromatic substances, and all used as emollients to cure comparable diseases.



### The Kuphi

Kuphi (kp.t, κύφι) is perhpas the most known Egyptian 'perfume', which was burnt in the temples during the daily divine cult. Its occurrences in the Greek literature have already been discussed by Maria Carmela Betrö, *II kuphi e' suoi ingredienti*, "Egitto e Vicino Oriente" 14-15 (1991-92), 43-53, so that I can avoid to report here the main sources (Discordies, *Materia medical* 25; Pituarch, *Isis and Goiris* 81; Galen, *Antiolocs* XVI 117, 10-119, 8K, from Damokrates; Oribasius, *Symposis* III 220 Raeder; Aetius, XIII 99; Paul of Aegina, VII 22). Betrò studies the recipes provided by the Greek authors, stressing the fact that they hardly correspond to the original Egyptian indications, being a mess of all the possible exotic spices, further charged of symbolic values (e.g. the "solar" kuphi made up of 28 ingredients with reference to the days in a lunar month).

To her discussion, we may add that kuphi is cited several times in the Greek medical literature as an ingredient or a medicament (Gal. Loc.aff. VIII 207, 3: To be understood, we may add under its device that the set of t substance against headache, epilepsy, worms, etc

The Greek sources interestingly mention a whole category of medicaments called κυφοαδείς, "kuphi-like" (e.g. Gal. Comp.med.loc. XIII 198, 10-199, 4; 202, 15203, 8 K.; Paul. III 45, 6, 8-9 δγάζαν δὲ δόναται, ορτόν, τὰς ἐν κόσται ἐλκόσεις καὶ τὸ κόμο καὶ ἀ κυφοαδῶτῶ ἀντίδοτοι "also the kuphi and the kuphi-like antidotes are said to be effective to heal the ulcers at the bladder"), which is probably connected to the fact that several different and successful products with compositions and properties similar to kuphi circulated: see the plural form παρί κατακονής κυφίων attested by *Suda* μ 142 as the title of a work by an αρχαρεύς of Mendes called Manetho. It is noteworthy that this Byzantine lexicon seems to recognise in Manetho the very inventor of kuphi (κ 2797 κύφι οῦτο Μάνσθος ὁ Λιγύπτιος κατσσκούαζε), which cannot fail to remind us of Megalos of Mendes, the alleged inventor of the Mendesian unguent discussed

A curious papyrus letter from  $2^{nd}$ -century AD Oxythynchites (P. Warr. 13) is perhaps an unfortunately fragmentary witness to the circulation of several different recipes of this renown product: fr. A (...) Actor (1. Åivr) µerzopaţõµevoç EwiCoµ(m oil)tõ sõphe (on xöx no)ådısı; veşi (...)]  $(h_{0}$  ő sõphoc fiµöv Aprefijsi; föla]orta πal<sup>6</sup>på σ<sub>1</sub>[0) Au]µβõva tõ sõopi; åváraµevaç [tå] ! sic ö sõpa föuλöµeva µerä åöpäÅta[o] ! sch öntivö; čé fiş öntivö; täbləndöx (...) βληθήναι) fö oirádµexe; sus önµµåva(l. enµñiva() ! coi tõ åpåbv; ľua ðuætµµmç tõ lisov rotoro (...)<sup>\*</sup>... Lam very astonished and annoyed by this, sir. How ... often ... that our lord Harpebekis with great plesaver receives the kuphi from you? You have sent all the ingredients which are put into the kyphi tögether with bitumen and resin. You wished that from this resin the sufficient quantity should be added and that we (?) should announce you what has been taken (?), in order that you could send the copy of the recipe?"

Two facts must be noted: (1) the general 'confusion' about kuphi recalls the same phenomenon that we perceived apropos of the Egyptian/Mendesian perfume/oil mentioned above, and which probably affected all such products coming from the mythical homeland of medicine; (2) kuphi is not attested in the Hippocratic corpus: the term very likely came to Greek in the Hellenistic age, after Alexander's conquest of Egypt, when the Egyptian and the Greek languages came in closer and closer contact.



explains the need for a 'less unmerciful' preparation!

Many other remedies recorded in the Greek literature are identified with the attribute Alyortía ("Egyptian"), which clearly denotes their provenance. There is for example a medicament for the cars (*i*orx*i*), which is said Alyortía προζ τάς αυτάς διαθέσεις (Gal. *Comp.med.loc.* XII 639, 5-6 "Egyptian, for the same conditions"); a liquid ophtallmic eye-salve (*i*ory*i*) deploaµux*i*) called Alyortía προζ τόλς αυτάς διαθέσεις (Gal. *Comp.med.loc.* XII 639, 5-6 "Egyptian against call i and leaconas"; a liquid ophtallmic eye-salve (*i*oy*n*) deploaµux*i*) called Alyortía προζ τόλς αυτάς διαθέσεις (Gal. *Comp.med.loc.* XII 639, 5-6 "Egyptian against call i and leaconas"; a liquid ophtallmic eye-salve (*i*oy*n*) deploaµux*i*) called Alyortía προζ τόλους καλ λανκόματα (Gal. *Comp.med.loc.* XII 737, 5-6 "Egyptian against call i and leaconas"; a liquid salve XII 649, 2-2 Savőpoudµux Sudbéza; "another Egyptian against call i and leaconas"; a dato na conset of the mouth (Alyortía στοματικ*i*, Paul. VII 14, 9); and so on. Some remedies for bleeding wounds are called Egyptian though they are ascribed to names of Greek physicians: Gal. *Comp.med.gen.* XIII 643, 2-3 λνόρομάχου Alyortía δύνους τραρομγού Alyortía προζ τόχ αναγόρά "Andronachos" Egyptian for the mouth (Alyortía στοματικ*i*, Paul. VII 14, 9); and so on. Some remedies for bleeding wounds, as is recorded by Asklepiades". XIII 645, 5-6 (Kayoio Vabox y Rapouypot Alyortía προζ τόχ αναγόρά "Andronachos" Egyptian for the care site as is recorded by Asklepiades". XIII 645, 5-6 (Kayoio Vabox y Rapouypot Alyortía προζ τός αυθόσες "Surgeon Claudius Philosenos' Egyptian the aforesid conditions." This may mean that even medicaments created by Greek scientists were labelled "Egyptian" torder to guarante their effectiveness (see Gal. *Comp.med.gen.* XIII 642, 2-12 XiZiz, rthv *i*nő XacAnztáðou πρόζου αροξου γαδύτη τών τριθυ νάτ<sup>4</sup> μού γερισμμώνην δμαλαστρον Alyortívo, ην καλ ανότος τοῦ Άνδρομάχου φησίν υπάρχαν κτλ. "For instance the first (remedy) of the three (recorded) by Ask

## PRIN 2017 LitPapArs

Greek and Latin Literary Papyri from Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Fayum: Texts, Contexts, Readers

### The achariston eye-salve

A very famous remedy in Greek and Roman medicine was the effective eye-salve called dxdportor "ummeriful" due to its strenghth. In the passage providing its recipe, Galen underlines its Egyptian origin and describes its successful use in the Egyptian countryside. He also provides a second recipe created by himself, which attests to different versions of this remedy (elsewhere he also mention an *achariston* named after Philoxenos, *Comp.med.loc*, XII 731, 1 &x tow Φωδέκου tapby dxdportory, see Act. VII 79, 31-32 Φωδέκου tapby dxdportory. Gal. *Comp.med.loc*, XII 749, 13-750, 11 το δχdportor λαγραφίμενον. Φιοδάκου ξηρόν ἀχάριστον; see Act. VII 79, 31-32 Φιοδάκου ξηρόν ἀχάριστον). Gal. Comp.med.loc. XII 749, 13-750, 11 τὐ ἀχάριστον ἐπιγραφόμενον; πρός τὰς μεγίστας ἑπαφοράς, μόνοι τούσιο ἀς Αίγόπαο οἱ μεροί χράμανοι εδημανοι εδημαροιοι και μάλατα εἰα τὰν ἀχροικοτέρου, κοδμαίας δραχμάς τε΄, ἀεκαίας 5 η΄ ἀχάκοι ὅκκουμάνου και παρόμαζου 3/η διοίο δραχμάς δ΄, ἐρείκης καρτού δραχμάς δ΄, οἰρόνης 5 δ΄, κόμιας καρταγραφίμενοι; τοῦ ἀχάλατας κουμάνοι και παρόμαζου 3/η διοίο δραχμάς δ΄, ἐρείκης καρτού δραχμάς δ΄, οἰρόνης 5 δ΄, κόμας καρτού δραχμάς το δια ἀχάλατας το κοιλιωρίου. Α΄ μόσια όμαςμάς δ΄ ἐρείκης καρτού δραχμάς δ΄, όπόοι 5 δ. κόμμας μαρόμενοι; τοῦ ἀχάλατας το κοιλιωρίου. Το βοίο δραχμάς δ΄, ἐρείκης καρτού δραχμάς δ΄, όπόοι 5 δ΄, κόμας καρτού φιζα τοῦ κολλωρίου. Α΄ δ' οῦτις ἀχρηπάμην ἔχει οῦτας, <sup>4</sup> καιλμάτας δραχμάς τι΄, ἀρείκης καρπού 9 β΄, τζαρικός καισμόνοι δραχμάς δ΄, όπίου 5 στ΄, λιβατοτοῦ δραχμάς β΄, στόμους δραχμάς Γ, <sup>6</sup> σμότης της ποριόμης της διατό β΄, ἀκκαίας δραχμάς τι΄, χαλού κοκουμένου και πειλομώνου 5 δ΄, κόμμαος 5 σ΄, λιβατοτοῦ δραχμάς β΄, στάρνης 5 τ΄, λίθου σχαστοῦ δραχμάς β΄, ἀκκαίας δραχμάς τι΄, χαλού κοκουμένου και πειλομώνου 5 δ΄, κόμμασο 5 δ΄, όπίου 5 στ΄, λιβατοτοῦ δραχμάς β΄, στάρνης 5 τ΄, λίθου σχαστοῦ δραχμάς β΄, ἀκκαίας δραχμάς τι΄, χαλού κοκουμένου και πειλομμένου 5 δ΄, κόμμασο 5 δ΄, οπίου 5 στ΄, λιβατοτοῦ δραχμάς β΄, στάροης 5 τ΄, λίθου σχαστοῦ δραχμάς β΄, ἀκκαίας δραχμάς τι΄, χαλού κοκουμένου και πειλομμένου 5 δ΄, κόμμασο 5 στ΄, λιβατοτοῦ δος τοιζιάς σταθηματοις β΄ ατά καίδας δραχμάς τι΄, χρίος σκαι της διαφίμας 5 στ΄, ἐρικίας και τοι 5 στ΄, λιθητου τοι διαζιάς και τοι δια σταζιάς β΄, αιδια διαδιατια, δια δια δια διαδιας δ΄, στι διαμας 5 στ΄, μαρικοιτός στοι δια διαθιον; είσις αιδια δια διαδιον; είσις στα δια διαδιον; είσις στα δια διαδιον; είσις στα δια διαδιος είσις δια διαδιος είσις δια διαδιος είσις δια διαδιος είσις διαδια δια διαδιος είσις διαδια δια στα δια δια διαδιας δια δια διαδιας δια διαδιας είσις δια διαδιας είσις δια διαδιας δια δια δια δια στα δια δια διαδια δια διαδιας

Recipes of various types of *achariston* eye-salves have been recovered in the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt, both following Galen's prescriptions or showing different compositions (O.Bodl. II 2182, Thebes, 2<sup>ad</sup>/3<sup>id</sup> AD; MPER XIII 3, 2<sup>ad</sup>/3<sup>id</sup> AD; P.Ross, Georg, V 57, early 3<sup>ad</sup> AD; GMP 1 13, Arsinoites, 3<sup>id</sup> AD; P.Dox, LXXX 5249, Oxyrhynchus, 3<sup>id</sup> AD; GMP 1 14, 4<sup>ab</sup>/5<sup>d</sup> AD; P.Horak 14, 5<sup>ab</sup> AD]. The attestation frequency shows how widespread this remedy was in the Roman Empire. PGrent 152 (2<sup>id</sup> AD) bears also the very tild eg/aptore. Most remarkable is P.Princ. III 55 (2<sup>id</sup>/3<sup>id</sup> AD) a papyrus shert with a recipe of *achariston* copied on one side, and a milder version of the eye-salve, with reduced quantities, titled παιδικ(6<sup>iv</sup>) "pediatrio, for children," which of course

### The plaster "Isis"

Another meaningful example of an Egyptian remedy adopted by Greek medicine is the plaster called "Isis." The reference to the great Egyptian goddess is certainly not random-based: the medicament did come from priestly environments, just as other cases of similar products (the Mendesian perfume created by archpriest Manetho, the "hieratic" kuphi). The lasis plaster is frequently mentioned by Galen, who stresses its Egyptian origin (*Comp.med.gen.* XIII 758, 5-6 K. to Alynatio φαιμιάκο, rif Tools καλουμένη "the Egyptian medicament called Isis) and its effectiveness for healing skin diseases (*Meth.med*.XI 126, 1-5 K. το γιγοτιό φαριακό, τη ισόι καυούμαν, τη ειχρητία medicament caned isis) and its effectiveness for nealing sign diseases (*Meta.meta*. At 120, 1-5 K. έμπλαττά φάρμακα τλέλας δντα, καθάπερ τό τε τού Μαχρίνου και τό το Ό Επχύνου και τό προσαγορευρύμανον 'fras, εί το τόν τόν έμφιστα χρήστι, "such and be one of Egigonos and the so-called Isis are absolutely effective for the use of tampons"). Discussing the origins of its mane, Galen makes it clear that Isis came from the temples of Egypt (*Comp.med.gen*. XIII 518, 9 ås τόν ίρφόν τόν τόν Δηύστο κομισθήναι); elsewhere he reports that some said it came from 'the inner proons of the Hephaisteion in Egypt" (XIII 756, 18-19 ås τόν άφόδανο έναν και τη τόν δεμμάτου Αληύστο, διαδύστος δια το δια (774, 7-8 πολύγοηστόν έστι φάρμακον) against all types of wounds (774, 11-12 ποιούσα ποὸς πây τραψμα).

### Some other examples of medicines called Aigyptia