



UDJAHORRESNET, DEMOCEDES, AND DARIUS I: THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LIFE AS CONSEQUENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN PHYSICIANS' FAILURE TO HEAL THE ACHAEMENID RULER

Francesco Lopez
University of Pisa

ABSTRACT

A comparative study of Herodotus III, 129–130 and of the *Vatican Naophorous* (VN) on the historical dynamics between 522 and 519 BCE, depicts a precise temporal succession ranging from the failure of the Egyptian physicians to heal King Darius, who was suffering due to a dislocated ankle (successfully healed by Democedes), to the sovereign ordering Udjahorresnet to return home and restore the offices of the House of Life either in Sais and/or throughout Egypt. A number of historical, philological and cultural evidences suggest that the two events may be correlated, according to a new interpretation of the lacuna at Reg. L of the VN, obtained with the help of modern information technology.

INTRODUCTION

Many scholars explain that Democedes of Croton and Udjahorresnet of Sais were appointed at the court of Darius I as personal physicians of the king and of the royal family.¹ A recent comparative study evidences a very singular fact. The two physicians worked simultaneously in Elam, over the years 521/520–519 BCE, a period that corresponds to the first or second year after the king ascended the throne (Hdt. III, 129–132; *Vatican Naophorous* [VN], Reg. L).² This occurred in a context of two well-identified events, which were: (1) a foot injury suffered by the king in the years 521/20 BCE, when the Egyptian court physicians failed to cure him, later successfully healed by Democedes (Hdt. III, 129–130); (2) the reorganization, in Sais or throughout Egypt, of the House of Life, assigned to Udjahorresnet by Darius, between the second half of 520 BCE and the first months of 519 BCE, at the time when both of them were in Elam (VN, Reg. L–LI).³

THE DECLINE OF THE EGYPTIAN MEDICINE IN THE EARLY YEARS OF DARIUS' RULE

The failure of the Egyptian physicians to cure Darius (Hdt. III, 129) was not only inspired by literary and ideological reasons or by popular literature (to discredit Egyptian doctors and to exalt the Hellenic hero),⁴ but it was also supported by the inscription of the *Vatican Naophorous* (Reg. L–LII). During the year 520 BCE, contemporary with the period reported by Herodotus (III, 129; summer 521/ beginning 520 BCE), the offices of the *pr-nḥ* in Sais, or even those throughout Egypt, the country where the court Archiaters came from, were in a state of ruin (*w³sm*).⁵

The roots of the crisis of Egyptian medicine, in the early years of Darius' reign, are to be attributed to multiple causes. Udjahorresnet, by underlining the ruin of the *pr-nḥ* (VN, Reg. LI), gave a very desolated general picture of Egypt during that period. The “disaster” he reports (VN, Reg. XL–

XLIII; XLVI–XLIX) was great in the nome of Sais (“at the time of the very great disaster which fell out in this entire land”). The turmoil, which the Egyptian *homo religiosus* experienced as the triumph of Seth, lord of Chaos, over Osiris, divinity of the cosmic Order,⁶ was most likely determined by the following facts: the loss of sovereignty for the first time in 525 BCE (Hdt. III, 13); a policy of administrative rigor implemented by Cambyses, especially against the revenues of the class of priests (Hdt. III, 27–29, 37–38); the ravages inflicted by foreign mercenaries and the spoliation of common goods (VN, Reg. XX–XXI); and the hostility of the people against the satrap Ariandes, accused of oppression (Hdt. IV, 166, Pol. 7, 11, 7). To the aforementioned causes we might also add the revolt of Petubastis III, who was a local ruler and self-proclaimed pharaoh, between the end of 522 BCE and the beginning of 521 BCE.⁷

The tumultuous historical conjuncture, which affected the temple institutions, explains the ruin of the offices (VN, Reg. L–LII), the progressive default of medical studies, and the decrease of qualified personnel. Greco-Roman literature has preserved memory of the diaspora towards the West of priest and magicians, especially those with medical skills, refugees from Egypt, at the time of the first Persian invasion (525–404 BCE). For the period ranging between end 6th and beginning 5th century BCE, stories like the ones of Paapis and Calasiris are quite meaningful. The first, Παάπις, is one of the protagonists of the novel *Wonders beyond Thule* by Antonius Diogenes (3rd century CE). The character is identified as ἱερεὺς αἰγύπτιος. Following the devastation suffered by his homeland (πατρίδος αὐτοῦ λεηλατηθείσης), he sought shelter at first in the Phoenician city of Tyre, hosted by a local family, and then at Leontini in Sicily, by the tyrant Aenesidemus. From Sicily, he reached the island of Thule. During his journey, he visited the territories of Italy, traveling on foot, from Rhegium to Metapontum. Of him, the text recalls, apart his τέχνη μαγικῇ, the knapsack with the books and the box of herbs (βιβλίων καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ κιβώτιον). Paapis’ duties match pretty well to those of the scribe of the House of Life (*sh3w pr-nh*) or of the lector-priest (*hry-hbt*).⁸ The reference to the disaster in Egypt is most unlikely to be identified with the consequences of the rebellion in 486 BCE; they are, rather, to be attributed to the results of Cambyses’ conquest of Egypt (525 BCE). As for Aenesidemus, tyrant of Leontini, also mentioned by Pausanias (5, 22, 7), most scholars agree to correlate his political activity

with that of Gelon and Hippocrates of Syracuse (about 498/78 BCE).⁹ The tale of Calasiris in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (3rd century CE) seems to take place in the 5th century BCE, at the time of the first Persian invasion of Egypt. The character, presented as ἱερεὺς σοφός of Isis and as a faithful to the God of the Sun, escapes Egypt after the Achaemenid invasion and flees into exile at Delphi in Greece.¹⁰

According to Diodorus (*Bibl.* 1, 82, 3), the Egyptian physicians traditionally detailed patient’s therapy in written prescriptions (θεραπείας προσάγουσι κατὰ νόμον ἔγγραφον). This practice was also confirmed during earlier historical periods. The texts, considered sacred, were written and kept in the library of the House of Life, an authentic scriptorium and a privileged place for the high qualification of the court *swnww*.¹¹ The scripts were a guarantee against every possible error or failure:

If they [the physicians] follow the rules of this law as they read them in the sacred book (ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου νόμοις) and yet are unable to save their patient, they are absolved from any charge and go unpunished (ἀθῶοι παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἀπολύονται); but if they go contrary to the law’s prescriptions in any respect (τι παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιήσωσι), they must submit to a trial with death as the penalty (θανάτου κρίσιν).¹²

In ancient Egypt there was a widespread conviction that not a single physician could ever do better than the knowledge that was consolidated over time and belonged to the best experts in the field.¹³ The obligation to respect the texts was already pointed out by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1286a 12–14): “and indeed in Egypt physicians have the right to alter their prescription after four days (μετὰ τὴν τετροήμερον κινεῖν), although if one of them alters it before he does so at his own risk.”¹⁴

Herodotus’ reference to the death penalty to which the *swnww* were initially convicted if they were found guilty of having been surpassed by a Greek doctor (III, 132) suggests that the accusation may have been made against them because they did not follow or understand the prescriptions of the sacred books. Certainly, the problem must not have been a value judgment on Egyptian medicine in absolute terms. As it seems to emerge from the study of pharaonic medical papyri (Smith, Ebers, Hearst,

Ramesseum V, Berlin n. 3038), the *swnnw* had developed a highly qualified level of knowledge in treating osteo-articular traumas, not dissimilar from the one documented in the surgical treatises of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. For example, as the Edwin Smith Papyrus attests, Egyptian physicians were able to perform, with great precision, differential diagnoses between distortion, dislocation, and fracture, as it might be described in a modern surgical treatise.¹⁵ The fact that the Egyptian doctors were saved by Democedes suggests that the Achaemenid *leadership* had judged their failure to have a more complex origin needing a special attention. To the lack of success in healing Darius (Hdt. III, 130), one could add the fatal event that took place one year before during the summer of 522 BCE, having as a protagonist his predecessor Cambyses, who died from a complication of a wound on his thigh (Hdt. III, 64, 3; Ctes. *FGrH* 688, F13, 14; *DB* I, 11, 43). The possibility that it might have been a case of ill-treated septic osteomyelitis is not to be excluded.¹⁶

Since 525 BCE Udjahorresnet was referred among the court physicians. He also followed the king returning to Persia in spring-summer 522 BCE.¹⁷ We are, however, unable to determine if Udjahorresnet treated Cambyses and Darius. Most certainly, court physicians worked in teams (Xen. *Cyr.* 8, II, 23–25) and Udjahorresnet at that time was the responsible for the health of the members of the Royal Palace.¹⁸ He came from Sais, one of the most important medical centers of the Delta, as most probably all the other doctors employed by the Great King. More specifically, the specialists for musculoskeletal disorders were not just the laic *swnnw*, but also the *w'b*-priests of Sekhmet: to the latter, for example, were dedicated the Edwin Smith Papyrus, the oldest surgical treatise of ancient Egypt (Case 1 Gloss A).¹⁹

The study and computer processing of the first color and high-resolution digital and macro photos of the lacuna in VN Reg. LI allow us to confirm and partially integrate Alan Gardiner's hypothesis (1938: 158). The analysis shows the concrete and reasonable probability of interpreting the traces present as pertinent to the signs G36–T11–W24, meaning *wr-swnw*, "Chief of physicians." The overall text at this stage becomes *smn h3 n pr-nh n wr-swnw* ("to set to rights the offices of the House of Life <and of the Chief of physicians>"). The sign in the gap N35 is purely conjectural: it is, however, well suited within the spaces of the column and to the context of the

discourse. Given this, we may believe that Darius made the decision not only to restore the offices of *pr-nh* in general but more specifically to set to rights those of the *wr-swnw* (VN, Reg. LI).²⁰

SOME COMPOSITE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HERODOTUS AND THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LIFE

A plurality of clues, unequivocally strong, precise, and concordant, allows for the proposal of a new idea to scholars: to correlate, in one same cause/effect nexus, the restoration of the offices of House of Life, either in Sais or throughout Egypt (VN, Reg. L–LI), with the story of the failure of the Egyptian physicians in giving medical care to King Darius, as related by Herodotus (III, 129).²¹

(1) The two events are contextual. Not only do they belong to the same macro-period, that is, the first years of the reign (521/19 BCE), but one also succeeds the other. The injury of the king and the arrival at court of Democedes can be dated after the death of Oroetes, the Persian satrap of Sardis, sometimes between summer 521 and beginning 520 BCE. Similarly, the order to restore the offices of the *pr-nh* and *wr-swnw* was given by Darius after the definitive conquest of Elam, in the second half of 520 BCE, and in any case no later than the beginning of the campaign against the Scythians Tigraxaudā ("wearing pointed caps Saka") in spring 519 BCE. According to the whole scenario, the *minimum* time lapse between the two events is a few months (beginning/end 520 BCE), and the *maximum* is a year or a little over a year (summer 521/beginning 519 BCE). On the other hand, using a different chronology for dating Darius' injury and Democedes' call to court (in 522 BCE or not later than spring 521 BCE; i.e., in 520 BCE), the temporal nexus between the failure of the Egyptian physicians and the restoration of the *pr-nh*, ordered by the Great King, remains very effective.²²

(2) The official motivation of Darius' provision is not unknown, since it is explicitly reported by the VN at Reg. LII (the statue was probably located in the temple of Neith, in Sais). The king, without any advice from Udjahorresnet, "gave these provisions," because "he knew well the beneficial power of these arts for preserving the life of all the sick in the body." The form *rh=f* "he knew" is related to terms that express the meaning of "being familiar, experiencing something in relation to oneself."²³ In the VN text, the lemma is parallel to *rh* in the value of "learned,

wise expert.” As such, it is reasonable to believe that, for internal consistency of the lexicon on the dorsal pillar, it did not represent an abstract knowledge, but a real and conscious one. We can deduct that the sovereign’s interest had focused on the “sick-issue” not for a generic reason, but because he had personally experienced sickness (“in relation to himself”) just a few months before, in summer–autumn 521 BCE (Hdt. III, 129). Just about the time when the Udjahorresnet’s mission was ordered, in the second half of 520 BCE, the trauma (treated by Democedes) should have been recently healed or still healing. According to the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, the tibio–tarsal dislocation required first an intensive treatment (from 1 to 7 days), in the absence of complications, and then a bed rest prognosis of 40 days (to restore joint congruity), followed by a period of variable length to restore atrophy and for motor rehabilitation therapy (*Fract.* 13–14; *Art.* 24). So it is curious that, during the entire period (from autumn 521 to spring 519 BCE), King Darius stayed away from direct engagement on the battlefields, as well as from traveling and the army. The circumstance seems fully compatible with a long convalescence, given the nature of the injury (dislocation of the *astragalus*). The prognosis of this injury is rather severe, even today, despite the extraordinary progress of medical science.²⁴

(3) Darius’ interest in medicine was probably also supported by the breast disease that shortly afterwards affected Queen Atossa, an inflammatory mastitis with suppuration, which was efficiently healed by Democedes (Hdt. III, 133) and was perhaps linked to the birth of their first son, Xerxes, in the year 520/19 BCE.²⁵ Atossa had three other sons with the king: Hystaspes, Masistes, and Achemene (Hdt. VIII, 7). According to the *Persians* by Aeschylus, the Queen was still alive when Xerxes marched against Greece (480 BCE). The fact that her name did not appear contemporarily in the Persepolis tablets does not prove that she had died by that time.²⁶ The *pr-ḥnh* of Sais in Egypt, attached to the temple of Neith and home of *wr-swnw* Udjahorresnet, was considered to be excellent in obstetric studies.²⁷ In the pharaonic age, around the temple of the Great Mother of Ra, who funded the “giving birth” (VN, Reg. XVI), stood a school of gynecology.²⁸ A *mammisi* (*pr-ms.t*), the House of Birth and the Divine Child, could also have been nearby: moreover, the Ebers Papyrus, whose scribe came from Sais and Heliopolis (Eb. 1 = Hearst Papyrus,

78), dedicated the chapters nos. 783–839 to the diseases of women.²⁹

(4) The decision to restore the offices of the House of Life in Sais, or throughout Egypt, has often been associated with a general political-administrative need, linked to an attempt of the Great King to have his authority better accepted in the occupied countries. By analogy, many similar activities have been recalled, as, for example, in the Aramaic and Demotic translation of Egyptian juridical matters (*Chr. Demot.*, V. Col. C 6–16), the mission of Ezra and Nehemiah in Jerusalem (Exod. VII, 27, VIII, 25–90, IX, 15, Nem. I, 7–5, II, 1–2, XII, 27–44, XIII, 31); the freedom of worship recognized in the *Easter Letter* from Elephantine and in the trilingual inscription of Letoon from Xanthos. By the mission assigned to Udjahorresnet, Darius demonstrated his favor towards the cults and local traditions, as Cambyses did towards the sanctuary of Neith (VN, Reg. XX–XXXVIII). The king might have intended to establish in advance the bases for his legitimation in the eyes of the Egyptians, as a pharaoh, through the support of *pr-ḥnh*, which aimed at protecting the life of the sovereign, representative on the earth of Horus, the guardian of the cosmic Order.³⁰ The closest link to the *Vatican Naophorous* was identified in the *Demotic Chronicle*.³¹ Originally, however, there was a confusion about the dating of the document. Careful reading of the text, according to Spiegelberg edition (1914: 176, Plate VII, 178, Plate VIIa, 144), allows the events to be placed not in the 3rd, but rather in the 4th regnal year of Darius (518/17 BCE). Indeed, the Achaemenid ruler started the reorganization of Egypt only after visiting Memphis, in summer 518 BCE. At the time, when Udjahorresnet was ordered to return home (second half of 520 BCE), Egypt had not been completely pacified.³²

(5) In a scenario of turmoil and instability, the decision to restore the offices of *pr-ḥnh* and *wr-swnw* (VN, Reg. LI), showing particular attention to the “sick-issue,” seems to reflect a specific interest linked to the functioning of the court healthcare, which had always been supported by Egyptian physicians since the reign of Cyrus (Hdt. III, 1). The discourse becomes even more rigorous if we consider that the word *pr-ḥnh* identified primarily the structures dedicated to the protection of the life (*ḥnh*) of the sovereign, in his quality of pharaoh. Within these offices, not only the sacred texts of medicine, magic, theology, astronomy, etc. were elaborated and transmitted, but it was also the place where doctors

usually received their formal training—and this is one of the most relevant items—especially those destined to become the court “chief physicians” who specialized in caregiving to the king and the royal family, in Egypt and outside Egypt. On the other hand, although the *pr-ḥ* was a very complex institution, Darius focused his attention on promoting those medical arts capable of keeping alive all the “sick,” literally all those who are “suffering in the body.”³³ The determinative Aa2 in *ḥ3yt* (VN, Reg. LII), referring to the “body,” reinforces the translation “sick,” which, according to Heinrich Schäfer (1899: 72–74), has been considered canonical in the medical literature. The specific and prevalent interest of Darius in restoring the offices of the House of Life and providing them with personnel and material seems to be for having more qualified physicians at his disposal, for himself and the Persian court.³⁴

(6) The custom of the ancient kings of availing themselves of the services of Egyptian physicians is widely documented since the Late Bronze Age.³⁵ On the one hand, the crisis of the institutions from which the chief-physicians of the royal family were chosen, and, on the other hand, the king’s urgent need for himself and Queen Atossa to be treated by Democedes—a physician not included in the official structure and recruited in fortuitous circumstances (Hdt. III, 129–130)—may have constituted a serious problem for Darius and the Achaemenid court. The aforementioned reasons can explain the importance attributed to the event and its exceptional nature. While excluding the possibility of employing Persian physicians (perhaps as a consequence of the political-dynastic conflict with the Magi) and having great difficulties to find expert practitioners within the Hellenic world (both for logistical difficulties and for cultural differences), the reference point remained always Egypt. After all, although Democedes was well known at Sardis in Lydia (Hdt. III, 129), he was called only during an emergency. But the appeal for Egyptian physicians continued even after the 6th century BCE, as evidenced by the presence of medical personnel aboard the ships of Xerxes (Hdt. VII, 181) and the figures of Sam-taouitef-nekht and Wn-nefer (Onnophris), physician-priests at the court of Artaxerxes II, III, IV (404/335 BCE), and Darius III (335/30 BCE).³⁶

Therefore, the reorganization of the offices of the *pr-ḥ* and the *wr-swnw*, in Sais or throughout Egypt (520/19 BCE), seems to have happened not by

chance, nor by a general tolerant *Realpolitik*, but as a consequence of the failure of the Egyptians physicians in treating the dislocated ankle of Darius. According to this concept, the different singularities evidenced by the new examination of the *Vatican Naophorous* seem to find, for each and every one of them, a more complete and organic explanation, at least according to the sources available today. The thesis, based on a comparative method, offers a new perspective.³⁷ This occurs in a very particular stage when the scholars tend to consider Democedes as a purely literary character, fruit of Herodotus’ imagination,³⁸ while the discovery of the tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir, in the late 1990s, although confirming the prominent role played by the health official from Sais, has only partially brought new relevant information to light.³⁹

THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LIFE RECONSIDERED IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

According to the most important *vexatae quaestiones*, several key elements of the reform of the *pr-ḥ* desired by Darius seemed to be justified from an historical point of view, i.e.:

(1) The *exceptional* nature of the event, linked to the conservatism of Egyptian culture and to the specific object of action, was not limited to a mere material restoration of buildings but also extended to the recruitment of teachers and students and to the professional training of court physicians;

(2) The *de-contextualization* of this initiative from any programmed political-administrative dynamic seemed evident in a moment of regional instability of Egypt and before its complete reorganization, which effectively took place at the end 518 BCE, after the Scythian campaign (519 BCE), the march of the monarch with his army upon Memphis, and, finally, his acclamation as pharaoh;

(3) The *immediate* instauration of a centralized training system to qualify medical personal was an exception to the ordinary transmission of knowledge from father to son. This was probably aimed to meet the needs of the Achaemenid court, to remedy the ruin of the *pr-ḥ* generated by the Persian occupation of Egypt, and to tackle the problem of the diaspora of teachers and students after the restrictions implemented by Cambyses upon the temples and the priesthood;

(4) Darius’ special interest in “medicine” and principally in the office of *wr-swnw* was strictly related to the medical ends of the *pr-ḥ*, with a

particular attention to the activities for “preserving the life of the sick,” of those “with the body oppressed by disease.”⁴⁰

Around the middle of the 5th century BCE, Herodotus reports on the presence of a large number of doctors in Egypt (πάντα δ’ ἰητρῶν ἐστὶ πλεῖα [II, 84]). This event seems to have appropriate historical roots. It is legitimate to assume that Herodotus (who often uses Homer’s authority, reconciling facts and literature without falling into contradictions as much as possible),⁴¹ during his journey in Egypt, did nothing but record the effects of the reform implemented by Udjahorresnet in 519 BCE in Sais or even throughout Egypt, and, in any case, more generally, the effects of the interest of the Achaemenid sovereign in medical art. After the diaspora of qualified personal, in the early years of Persian rule (the stories of Paapis and Calasiris were meaningful [Phot. *Bibl.* 166, 109a–110b; Heliod. *Ethiop.* II, 21]), it is reasonable to believe that the reform wanted by Darius in a few decades (from 519 BCE to about 455/50 BCE [Herodotus’ journey]) promoted many young talents capable of adequately renewing the praiseworthy tradition of Egyptian medicine. Referring to the specialized nature of the ἰατρικὴ τέχνη (Hdt. II, 84), the Vatican inscription (VN, Reg. LII) confirms that numerous works were carried out in the House of Life. On the other hand, the reform of *pr-ḥ* aimed to restore the offices to their previous state. Specialized knowledge belonged to the history of Egyptian medicine. According to Gérard Godron (1986: 287–288), the medical specialization, very different from how it is conceived today, was propaedeutic to the professional maturity of the *swnnw*, and it was not obtained before having learned the many disciplines of which medical art is composed, which is an art for the protection of Life (*sḥ*). The “masters” are referred to as “wise ones” in the VN, Reg. LI, namely, according to George Posener (1936: 4), as “those who know everything” (*rh nb*).⁴² Moreover, the medical art, rather than being a single well-limited discipline, having the general purpose of saving the lives of the sick, included all the works and study subjects of the *pr-ḥ*. The encyclopedic knowledge was a prerogative of the Egyptian intelligentsia, as evidenced by the affair of Peteese, a member of the College of Teudjoi in Upper Egypt, chosen to accompany the pharaoh Psammetichus II to Syria (594/88 BCE): “thou art a scribe of the House of Life; there is not a thing that

they shall ask thee to which there is not a suitable answer.”⁴³ General expertise was at the height of specialized learning. At the time of Herodotus’ journey, it is reasonable to think that, after the reform of the offices of the *pr-ḥ*, Egyptian medicine was slowly and painfully returning to normality.⁴⁴

The reform of the *pr-ḥ*, ordered by the king (VN, Reg. L–LI) at the time of the dislocated ankle (Hdt. III, 129) and the mastitis of Atossa (Hdt. III, 133), is currently the only specific event able to confirm the Democedes’ affair at the Achaemenid court. On the other hand, there is very extraordinary documentary evidence. After the therapeutic success, the doctor of Croton was indicated by the eunuchs as the “man who had restored to life the king” (βασιλεῖ οὗτος εἶν, ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε [Hdt. III, 130, 4]).⁴⁵ This locution, rather than being an exaggeration or defining the physical and psychical comfort brought to the patient,⁴⁶ is confirmed, on a linguistic and conceptual level, by the words of the *wr-swnw* Udjahorresnet at the VN, Reg. LII: Darius “knew well the beneficial power of these arts for preserving the life of all the sick in the body.” Both in Hdt. III, 130, 4 and in the VN, to the ἰατρικὴ τέχνη and to the medical arts or abilities (*hmt*) is attributed the purpose of giving back/renewing life (τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε/*sḥ*).⁴⁷ The locution formed by the lemma *ψυχή* and the verb *ἀποδίδωμι*—with *ψυχή* meaning *life* and not yet *soul*⁴⁸—constitutes a *hápax legómenon*: in the literary *panorama* of ancient Greece, this expression is present only in Herodotus’ *Historiae* and exclusively in the words of the eunuchs of Darius.⁴⁹ Similarly, the form ὑπὸ τοῦ παρῆντος κακοῦ, used to characterize the King’s incessant pain (Hdt. III, 129), seems to trace the Egyptian notion of “sick,” evidenced in the Reg. LII of the VN and within the medical papyri (Eb. 1, 3–4 = Hearst, 78), meaning a person who is “under the weight of pain” (*hr[y] h³yt*). In this regard, the linguistic symmetry about the preposition “below” (ὑπὸ / *hr[y]*) and the conceptual reference to “pain” and “suffering” as “evil” (κακοῦ/*h³yt*) are very remarkable.⁵⁰

According to the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, medical art had a specific mission: not that of “giving back life” to the sick person, but rather that of working in favor of health, nourishment, and preservation of man (ὕγιειν τε καὶ τροφὴ καὶ σωτηρίῃ [De *prisc. med.* 3, 38–39]). The link to the protection of ὑγίεια and not of *ψυχή* is quite evident in the classical sources. So

in Plato's concept, medicine is *ὑγίειν* (Carm. 165c 10–11): its purpose is to provide the body with health and strength (*ὑγίειαν καὶ ῥώμην*), offering drugs and nourishment (*φάρμακα καὶ τροφήν* [Phaed. 270b]). In Xenophon's description, the doctors' activities are configured as *ἡ τῆς ὑγείας ἐπιμέλεια* (Cyr. 1, 6, 16, 4); Aristotle, son of the physician Nicomachus, believed that medicine (*Eth. Nicom.* 1094a–1097a) has its achievement (*τέλη*) in health (*ἰατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ ὑγεία*). Herodotus, by referring to the success of Democedes in treating Darius' ankle, adopts the phrase *ὑγία μιν ἔοντα ἀπέδεξε* (III, 130) and *ὑγία ἐποίησε* (III, 130). The same thing concerns the Queen Atossa's breast disease: *ὑγία ποιήσιν* (III, 133); *ὑγία ἀπέδεξε* (III, 134). A similar picture, related to Democedes, is found in Dion Chrysostomus' text: *ὑγιᾶ ἀπέδειξεν* (Or. 77/78). Moreover, the Hippocratic surgical treatises describe, about the osteo-articular traumas, a series of proceedings aimed at *ὑγίαν ποιεῖν* (Art. 78; Fract. 1–13). The aim of restoring health is confirmed, during the archaic period, by Solon (fr. 13, 62 W [ὑγιᾶ]) and later by Pindar (Pyth. III, 73), referring to the art of Chiron and Asclepius (*ὑγίειαν*).⁵¹

The phrase *τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε*, attributed by Herodotus to the court eunuchs (III, 130, 3), should be evaluated from a perspective based on the culture to which they belonged. The eunuchs were identified both as the emasculated custodians of the harem and the closest collaborators of the Great King. To them, whose fidelity was thought to be total (Hdt. VIII, 105), very delicate administrative and political tasks were conferred (Hdt. I, 117; III, 4). Ctesias of Cnidus (Phot. Bibl. 72, 37a 26–40a 5) describes them as the figures that exerted a great influence on the sovereign (*μέγιστον δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ ἡδύνατο*). Xenophon (Cyr. 7, 5, 60–66) reports that Cyrus favored eunuchs for his personal guard (*περὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον φύλακας*). During the reign of Darius, among the most powerful characters that the sources recall were Artasyras and the eunuch Bagapate. The latter, already at the service of Cyrus, conspired against Cambyses before joining the fight against the Magician, and he died after having guarded for seven years the tomb of Darius (Phot. Bibl. 72, 37a 26–40 a 5).⁵² A leading role among the sovereign collaborators was usually reserved to the chief physicians. During the years 521–519 BCE, the physicians of Darius were Egyptians (Hdt. III, 120–

130). The Archiater and Administrator of the Palace was Udjahorresnet, since 525 BCE under the reign of Cambyses (VN, Reg. XIII–XIV). The renewal of Life and the cosmic order of Osiris (P. Salt 825) were the core objectives of the *pr-ḥ* (VN, Reg. LII) as centers of elaboration and conservation of the sacred texts. Hecataeus of Abdera, Greek historian at the court of Ptolemy I Soter (367–283 BCE), visiting the funerary complex of Ramesses II in Thebes towards the end of the 4th century BCE, translates the signs located on the Sacred Library (*ιερὰν βιβλιοθήκην*) with the expression *Ψυχῆς ἰατροεῖον* (FGrHist 264 F 25 = Diod. Bibl. 1, 49). Therefore, the equivalence with *pr-ḥ* is thought to be the most appropriate, given the Egyptian tradition. Connected to the Library stood, “wall-to-wall,” the so-called “triclinia room,” above which, on the roof, according to the story, stood the king's tomb. The place represented, in its entirety, the House of Life, the House of the Living Osiris associated with the pharaoh. The term *ἰατροεῖον* (= medical workshop) is referred to the work of the *swḥw* and the *wḥ*-priests of Sekhmet. The physicians, through the *sacrae litterae*, could renew the vital forces, the earthly and eternal processes of the Cosmos, protecting the sovereign's life, health, and body.⁵³ Sometimes the lemma *ψυχή* has been associated not with the *ḥ* but with the *k*, the “vital force” or the “soul” of the deceased king.⁵⁴ In the 3rd century BCE, as documented by the bilingual stele of Tanis (*Canopus Decree* 34 [Urk II, 151–152]), the locution *pr-ḥ* was translated in Greek with the adjective *ἱερός* or with the substantive form *τὸ ἱερόν*.⁵⁵ The expression *τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε* (Hdt. III, 130, 3) agrees with the locution *sḥ* of VN, Reg. LII: according to the lexicon of the medical papyri, this is not specifically related to the cadavers or even to the rubble, but to the “sick,” to those who are “in the body under the weight of pain” (*hr ḥḥyt*).⁵⁶ Linking the different aspects of the discourse, it is not difficult to recognize that the tradition recorded by Herodotus had collected directly or indirectly the voice of Udjahorresnet, not as a eunuch in a literal sense (we do not know if he actually was one, since only his father, mother, and brothers are remembered in the VN), but as chief physician of Darius and administrator of the Royal Palace. On the other hand, the eunuchs could not but reflect the culture of the Egyptian *swḥw* who were officially at the head of the Health Services in Persia since the time of Cyrus.⁵⁷

CONCLUSIONS

According to the comparative study of Herodotus III, 129–130, and the *Vatican Naophorous*, Reg. L–LII, we may reasonably believe that the main cause for the reform of the House of Life, in Sais or throughout Egypt, assigned by Darius to Udjahorresnet, was the failure of the Egyptian physicians to heal the Achaemenid king between 521 and 519 BCE. A plurality of clues, unequivocally strong, precise, and concordant, allows the proposal of this new idea and hopes for further insights and interdisciplinary studies.⁵⁸

References

- Allen, Lindsay. 2005. *The Persian Empire*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Asheri, David. 1990. *Erodoto Le Storie*, Vol. III. Vicenza: Mondadori.
- Balcer, Jack Martin. 1972. "The Date of Herodotus IV.1 Darius' Scythian Expedition." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76: 99–132.
- Baragwanath, Emily and Mathieu De Bakker. 2012. *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bardinet, Thierry. 1995. *Les papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique. Traduction intégrale et commentaire*. Paris: Fayard.
- . 1997. "Les médecins dans la société égyptienne à l'époque des pharaons. Mythe et réalité." *Medicina nei Secoli* 9: 177–187.
- Bareš, Ladislav. 1999. *Abusir IV: The Shaft Tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir*. Universitas Carolina Pragensis: The Karolinum Press.
- Beekes, Robert. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. 1987. "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106(3): 402–421.
- Botti, Giuseppe and Pietro Romanelli. 1951. *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio con appendice storico archivistica di Carlo Pietrangeli*. Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana.
- Boulu, Gilles. 1990. *Le médecin dans la civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique*. Amiens: University of Amiens.
- Breasted, James H. 1930. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 2 vols. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bresciani, Edda. 1985. "The Persian Occupation of Egypt." In Ilya Gershevitch (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, Vol. 2: *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, 502–528. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Briant, Pierre. 1993. "Hérodote, Udjahorresnet et les palais de Darius à Suse." *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, Note 7.
- . 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Brosius, Maria. 2000. *The Persian Empire from Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I*. London: London Association of Classical Teachers.
- . 2007. "New Out of Old? Court and Court Ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia." In Antony J. S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*, 17–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Budge, Ernest A. Wallis. 1920. *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, 2 vols. London: Murray.
- Burkard, Günter. 1994. "Medizin und Politik: Altägyptische Heilkunst am persischer Königshof." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 21: 35–55.
- Burton, Anne. 1972. *Diodorus Siculus Book I: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bury, John B. 1924. *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. London: Macmillan.
- Cameron, George G. 1943. "Darius, Egypt, and the 'Lands Beyond the Sea.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2(4): 307–313.
- Canfora, Luciano. 1990. *La biblioteca scomparsa*. Palermo: Sellerio.
- Chamoux, François. 1993. *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique. Introduction générale. Livre I*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Compton, Michael T. "The Association of Hygieia with Asclepios in Graeco-Roman Asclepieion Medicine." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 57: 312–313.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene. 2003. "The Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses." *Transeuphratène* 25: 9–58.
- Dandamaev, Muhammad A. 1989. *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*. Leiden: Brill.
- Daumas, François. 1952. *Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- . 1958. *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*. Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Troisième série: Lettres 32. Paris: Les Belles lettres.
- David, Rosalie. 2003. *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: A Modern Investigation of Pharaoh's Workforce*.

- London: Routledge.
- Davies, Malcom. 2010. "From Rags to Riches: Democedes of Croton and the Credibility of Herodotus." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 53(2): 19–44.
- . 2011. "'Unpromising' Heroes and Heroes as Helpers in Greek Myth." *Prometheus* 38(2): 107–127.
- De Rougé, Emmanuel. 1851. "Mémoire sur la statuette naophore du Musée Grégorien, au Vatican," *Revue Archéologique* VIII, Ia: 37–60.
- De Salvia, Fulvio. 1987. "La figura del mago egizio nella tradizione letteraria greco-romana." In Alessandro Roccati and Alberto Siliotti (eds.), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei Faraoni*, 343–365. Verona: Rassegna Internazionale di Cinesematografia Archeologica Arte Natura Libri.
- . 1994. "Paapis in Magna Grecia." In Mario Capasso and Enzo Puglia (eds.), *Scritti di varia umanità in memoria di Benito Iezzi*, 15–24. Sorrento: Di Mauro.
- . 2006. "Calabria antica ed Egitto: lineamenti d'una storia poco nota." In Fulvio De Salvia and Roberto Murgano (eds.), *Calabria antica ed Egitto*, 25–42. Catanzaro: Centro Studi Bruttium.
- Dillery, John. 2005. "Cambyes and the Egyptian Chaosbeschreibung Tradition." *Classical Quarterly* 55(2): 387–406.
- Farina, Giulio. 1929. "La politica religiosa di Cambise in Egitto." *Bilychnis* 18(1): 449–457.
- Forshaw, Roger. 2014. *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Fried, Lisbeth S. 2004. *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Gardiner, Alan H. 1938. "The House of Life." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24(2): 157–179.
- Ghalioungui, Paul. 1965. *Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Barnes and Noble.
- . 1973. *The House of Life: Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*. Amsterdam; Israël.
- . 1983a. *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt*. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Scientific Translations.
- . 1983b. *La médecine des pharaons. Magie et science médicale dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Laffont.
- Gmirkin, Russell E. 2006. *Berosus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch*. New York: Clark.
- Godron, Gérard. 1986. "Notes sur l'histoire de la médecine et l'occupation perse en Égypte." In *Hommages à François Daumas*, 285–297. Montpellier, Publications de l'Université de Montpellier.
- González García, Juan A. 2006. "Democedes de Crotona. Biografía de un médico de finales del siglo VI a.C." *Baetica* 28: 241–257.
- Grapow, Hermann. 1954–1962. *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, 8 Bde. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Gray, Louis H. 1912. "Eunuch." In James Hastings, John A. Selbie, and L.H. Gray (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. V: *Dravidians–Fichte*, 579–584. Edinburgh: Clark.
- Griffiths, Alan. 1987. "Democedes of Croton: A Greek Doctor at the Court of Darius." In Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History, II, The Greek Sources*, 37–51. Leiden: NINO.
- Grmek, Drazen M. 1983. "Ancienneté de la chirurgie hippocratique." In François Lasserre and Mudry Philippe (eds.), *Formes de Pensée dans la Collection Hippocratique*, 285–295. Genève: Librairie Droz.
- . 1989. *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Haikal, Fayza M. 2008. "Private Collections and Temple Libraries in Ancient Egypt." In Mostafa El-Abbadi and Omnia M. Fathallah (eds.), *What Happened to the Ancient Library of Alexandria?*, 40–54. Leiden: Brill.
- Halioua, Bruno. 2005. *La medicina al tempo dei faraoni*. Bari: Dedalo.
- and Bernard Ziskind. 2005. *Medicine in the Days of the Pharaohs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hart, George. 2005. *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*. London: Routledge.
- Hinz, Walther. 1970. "Die elamischen Buchungstafelchen der Darius-Zeit." *Orientalia* 39: 421–440.
- Houdry, Robert. 1921. *La vie d'un médecin du XIe siècle avant J.-C. Démocède de Crotone*. Paris: Imprimerie de la Faculté de Médecine Jouve et Cie Éditeurs.
- . 1923. "Démocède de Crotone médecin du roi Darius et de la reine Atossa." *Æsculape* 13: 16–21.
- Jori, Alberto. 2004. "Democede di Crotone medico insigne ed eroe della libertà greca." In Angela Teja and Santino Mariano (eds.), *Agonistica in Magna Grecia. La scuola atletica di Crotone*, 77–96. Calopezzati CS: Edizioni del Convento.
- Jouanna, Jacques. 2004. "Médecine Égyptienne et Médecine Grecque." In Jacques Jouanna and Jean Leclant (eds.), *La Médecine Grecque Antique*,

- 1–21. Paris: De Boccard.
- Kockelmann, Holger. 2012. "Mammisi (Birth House)." in Willeke Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, e-Scholarship), < <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/8xj4k0ww> > accessed 30 November 2012, 1–7.
- La Bua, Vincenzo. 1975. "Sulla conquista persiana di Samo." *Quarta Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 23: 41–102.
- Larson, Jennifer Lynn. 1995. *Greek Heroine Cults*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Leca, Ange-Pierre. 2002. *La medicina egizia al tempo dei Faraoni*. Noceto PR: Essebiemme.
- Lee, Kyong-Jin. 2011. *The Authority and Authorization of Torah in the Persian Period*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 64. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lenfant, Dominique. 2004. *Ctésias de Cnide. La Perse. L'Inde. Autres fragments*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Lesko, Barbara S. 1999. *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Lloyd, Alan B. 1982. "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68: 166–180.
- . 2014. "The Egyptian Attitude to the Persians." In Aidan Dodson (ed.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man*, 185–198. London: Golden House Publications.
- Lopez, Francesco. 2015. *Democede di Crotone e Udjahorresnet di Saïs. Medici primari alla corte achemenide di Dario il Grande*. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- Lorenzo, Giuseppe and Giuseppe Meliador. 1994. *Le fratture dell'astragalo: nostra esperienza*. Acta Orthopaedica Italica 18. Reggio Calabria: Edizioni tipografiche La Rocca.
- Luraghi, Nino. 1993. "Enesidemo di Pateco (per la storia della tirannide in Sicilia)." *Hesperia* 3: 53–65.
- . 1994. *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi*. Firenze: Olschki.
- Mallet, Dominique. 1888. *Le culte de Neit à Saïs*. Paris: Leroux Editeur.
- Marasco, Gabriele. 1997. "I medici di corte in età classica." *Sileno* 23: 267–285.
- Marincola, John. 2006. "Herodotus and the Poetry of the Past." In Carolyn Dewald and John Marincola (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*, 13–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maspero, Gaston. 1891. "Notes au jour le jour." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1: 496–525.
- McEvelley, Thomas. 2002. *The Shape of Ancient Thought: Comparative Studies in Greek and Indian Philosophies*. New York: Allworth Press.
- Meier, Gerhard. 1938. "Eunuch." In E. Ebeling and Bruno Meissner (eds.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Bd. 2: Ber-Ezur und Nachträge*, 485–486. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Menetrier, Pierre and Robert Houdry. 1921. "La guérison du cancer du sein de la reine Atossa." *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médecine* 15: 285–289.
- Miller, Molly. 1959. "The Earlier Persian Dates in Herodotus." *Klio* 37: 29–52.
- Mohan, Iyer K. 2013. *Trauma Management in Orthopedics*. London: Springer-Verlag.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. 1996. *Terzo contributo agli studi classici e del mondo antico*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Moyer, Ian S. 2006. "Golden Fetters and Economies of Cultural Exchange." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 6(1): 225–256.
- . 2011. *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Müller, Carl W. 1999. *Kleine Schriften zur Antiken Literatur und Geistesgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Myśliwiec, Karol. 2000. *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: First Millennium B.C.E.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Nordh, Katarina. 1996. *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Nunn, John F. 2002. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Oldfather, Charles H. 1933. *Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, Volume I*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Olmstead, Albert T. 1948. *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Otto, Eberhard. 1954. *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Ihre geistesgeschichtlich und litterarische Bedeutung*. Leiden: Brill.
- Parker, Richard A. 1941. "Darius and His Egyptian Campaign." *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 58(4): 373–377.
- Perilli, Lorenzo. 2009. "Scrivere la medicina. La registrazione dei miracoli di Asclepio e le opere di Ippocrate." In Christian Brockmann and Wolfram Brunschön (eds.), *Antike Medizin im*

- Schnittpunkt von Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften*, 75–120. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Petit, Thierry. 1990. *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès 1er*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Petrizzella, Michelangelo. 1999. "Attività politica ed esercizio della techne medica in Democede di Crotona: i modelli culturali pitagorici in Erodoto III 129–137." In Pietrina Anello (ed.), *Erodoto e l'Occidente*, 343–372. Roma: Bretschneider.
- Posener, George. 1936. *La première domination perse en Égypte. Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Rackham, Harris. 1932. *Aristotle, Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Ray, John D. 1988. "Egypt 525–404 B.C." In John Boardman (ed.), *The Cambridge Ancient History IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525–479 B.C.*, 254–286. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reyhl, Klaus. 1969. *Antonios Diogenes*. Bamberg: Urlaub.
- Rutherford, Ian. 1997. "Kalasiris and Setne Khamwas: A Greek Novel and Some Egyptian Models." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117: 203–209.
- Sammartano, Roberto. 1999. "Erodoto e la storiografia magnogreca e siceliota." In Pietrina Anello (ed.), *Erodoto e l'Occidente*, 393–429. Roma: Bretschneider.
- Sarri, Francesco. 1997. *Socrate e la nascita del concetto occidentale di anima*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.
- Schäfer, Heinrich. 2015. "Zwei Heldentaten des Ahmase, des Sohnes des Ebene aus Elkab." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 52: 100–103.
- Schmid, Konrad. 2007. "The Persian Imperial Authorization as Historical Problem and as Biblical Construct: A Plea for Differentiations in the Current Debate." In Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (eds.), *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, 22–38. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1987. "Atossa." In Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 13–14. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Smoláriková, Květa. 2011. "Udjahorresnet and the Others." In Vivienne Gae Callender, Ladislav Bareš, Miroslav Bárta, Jiří Janák, and Jaromír Krejčí (eds.), *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, 335–340. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.
- . 2015. "Udjahorresnet: The Founder of the Saite-Persian Cemetery at Abusir and His Engagement as Leading Political Person during the Troubled Years at the Beginning of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty." In Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*, 151–164. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.
- . 2019. "Some Reflections on Embalmer's Cache of Udjahorresnet at Abusir." *Anthropologie* 57(1): 75–78.
- Sofia, Anna. 2003. "Influssi egizi in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia: Testimonianze nella commedia dorica, nel mimo e nella farsa fliacica." *Aegyptus* 83(1–2): 133–161.
- Spalinger, Antony. 1986. "Udjahorresnet." In Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band 6.1: Stele-Zypresse*, 822–824. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Sperry, John A. 1957. "Egyptian Libraries: A Survey of Evidence." *Libri: International Journal of Libraries and Information Services*, 7(2–3): 145–155.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. 1914. *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten*. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Stephan, Joachim. 1997. "Überlegungen zur Ausbildung der Ärzte im alten Ägypten." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24: 301–312.
- . 2011. *Die altägyptische Medizin und ihre Spuren in der abendländischen Medizingeschichte*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Strouhal, Eugen. 1997. *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Takács, Gábor. 2007. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. III. Leiden: Brill.
- Tresson, Paul. 1931. "Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits de l'époque d'Amasis et de Nectanébo Ier." *Kêmi* 4: 126–130.
- Tulli, Alberto. 1940. *Il Naoforo Vaticano*. Roma: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana.
- Vanotti, Gabriella. 2002. "Ippi di Reggio." In Riccardo Vattuone (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, 33–54. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- . 2004. "I rapporti fra la Persia e Siracusa. Il V secolo." In Gabriella Vanotti and Claudia Perassi

- (eds.), *In limine. Ricerche su marginalità e periferia nel mondo antico*, 59–104. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.
- Veiga, Paula A. Da Silva. 2009. *Health and Medicine in Ancient Egypt: Magic and Science*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Volten, Aksel. 1942. *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV Verso)*. Kopenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Von Känel, Frédérique. 1984. *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les Conjurateurs de Serket*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Webb, Kerry. 2013. “‘The House of Books’: Libraries and Archives in Ancient Egypt.” *Libri: International Journal of Libraries and Information Services* 63(1): 21–32.
- Wilensky, Abraham O. 1934. *Osteomyelitis: Its Pathogenesis, Symptomatology and Treatment*. London: Macmillan.
- Wolohojian, Albert M. 1969. *Pseudo-Callisthenes, The Romance of Alexander the Great*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M. 1996. “Cambyes in Egypt.” In Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews (eds.), *Go to the Land I Will Show You: Studies in Honour of Dwight Young*, 371–392. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Yoyotte, Jean. 1972. “Pétoubastis III.” *Revue d'égyptologie* 24: 216–223.
- Zaccagnini, Carlo. 1983. “Patterns of Mobility among Ancient near Eastern Craftsmen.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42(4): 245–264.
- Takács 2007, 774.
- ⁷ Mallet 1888, 25–26; Farina 1929, 451–452; Posener 1936, 166; Cameron 1943; Balcer 1972, 129; Yoyotte 1972, 216–223; Petit 1990, 72–77; Spalinger 1986, 823; Ray 1988, 262; Briant 2002, 115, 409–410; Brosius 2000, 48.
- ⁸ De Salvia 1987; De Salvia 1994, 15–24; De Salvia 2006, 34–37; Sofia 2003, 147–148; Forshaw 2014.
- ⁹ Luraghi 1993, 53–65 n. 45; Luraghi 1994, 149; Vanotti 2004. Cf. Reyhl 1969, 3–7; 107–109.
- ¹⁰ Rutherford 1997, 205. Nectanebus in the *Life of Alexander* by Pseudo-Callisthenes is to be identified with the last pharaoh of the Thirtieth Dynasty, Nectanebus II (359/42 BCE). During the Persian invasion of Egypt (341/32 BCE), he fled to Pella in Macedonia, where he was welcomed as *ιατροσοφιστής*. See Wolohojian 1969.
- ¹¹ Gardiner 1938, 159; 175; Volten 1942, 19–20; 36–38; Bardinet 1997, 177–187.
- ¹² Leca 2002, 21. See Oldfather 1933, 281; Halioua and Ziskind 2005, 16; Strouhal 1997, 244.
- ¹³ Perilli 2009, 104–105; 114.
- ¹⁴ Rackham 1932, 255–256; Burton 1972, 239; Chamoux 1993, I, 215; Jouanna 2004, 12–13.
- ¹⁵ See Lopez 2015, 181–217. The joint traumas in P. Edwin Smith, r. 1–48 are distinguished in dislocations and sprains. The specific word for the different forms of dislocation is *wnh*. In order to the structure of the neck, the concept is determined in a precise way in Gloss A of Case 31: “as for: ‘A dislocation (*wnh*) in a vertebra of his neck,’ he is speaking of a separation of one vertebra of his neck from another, the flesh is over it being uninjured; as one says, ‘It is *wnh*,’ concerning things which had been joined together, when one has been severed from another” (10, 17–19). The matter is not different for the clavicles: “As for: ‘A dislocation in his two collar-bones,’ it means a displacement of the heads of his sickle-bone(s)” (P. Edwin Smith, 34 Gloss A). The idea of sprain was expressed through the lemma *nrrwt*: “As for: ‘A sprain,’ he is speaking of a rending of two members, (although) it (= each) is (still) in its place” (P. Edwin Smith 30 Gloss A, 10, 12). One of the most original items in P. Edwin Smith r. 1–48 is the differential diagnosis between fracture and dislocation. As a specific clinical sign of fracture, physicians employed the so-called bone

NOTES

- ¹ Momigliano 1996, 814–815; Ghalioungui 1983a, 84; Asheri 1990, 214, n. 8; Nunn 2002, 206; Marasco 1997, 176–177; Briant 2002, 265–266, 918–919; Allen 2005, 58; Moyer 2006, 225–256; Moyer 2011, 42–82; Brosius 2007, 34–35.
- ² Lopez 2015, 55–65, 159–165, 281–303.
- ³ See Miller 1959, 33; Spalinger 1986, 823; Briant 1993; Briant 2002, 127; Lopez 2015, 55–65; 159–165; 281–303.
- ⁴ Griffiths 1987, 43; Davies 2010, 34 and n. 50–51.
- ⁵ See Tulli 1940, 53; Lopez 2015, 105.
- ⁶ Dillery 2005. Cf. Tulli 1940, 50. A late text from the temple of Horus at Edfu (GR Wb II 177, 21 vs. II 186, 15), based on ancient local traditions, explicitly associates the Medes, i.e., the Persians, with the evil god Seth (Yamauchi 1996, 389). See

- crackling (*nhbhb*), that is the perceivable noise by cautiously mobilizing, from one end and the other, the surface of the fractured joints. The topic is marked in several points of the document, for a *sd*-fracture of the nose (P. Edwin Smith 13 [6, 3–7]) or of the region of the maxilla and the zygoma (P. Edwin Smith 17 [7, 1–7]); for an *hsb*-fracture of the mandible (P. Edwin Smith 24 [8, 22–9, 2]), of the humerus (P. Edwin Smith 37 [12, 15–17]), of the ribs (P. Edwin Smith 44 [15, 6–9]), sometimes accompanied by an open wound, as in the last two cases. See Breasted 1930, vol. I.
- ¹⁶ Wilensky 1934, 8; Grmek 1989, 127.
- ¹⁷ De Rougé 1851, 52; Farina 1929, 455; Tulli 1940, 69–72; Blenkinsopp 1987, 411; Myśliwiec 2000, 135; Briant 2002, 473.
- ¹⁸ See Marasco 1997, 175–196.
- ¹⁹ Maspero 1891, 501–503; Breasted 1930, 104; Bordinet 1995, 85.
- ²⁰ Gardiner 1938, 158; Lopez 2015, 105–112 and pls. IV–XV.
- ²¹ Botti and Romanelli 1951, 35–39; Asheri 1990, 162–165.
- ²² Bury 1924, III, 248; La Bua 1975, 83; Grmek 1983, 290; Asheri 1990, 341; Petruzzella 1999, 369; Müller 1999, 294; McEvelley 2002, 16; González García 2006, 256.
- ²³ Budge 1920, I, 430: “*rekh-nef*, IV, 971, one known to him, i.e., intimate friend.” Cf. Posener 1936, 1–4; 22–24.
- ²⁴ Lorenzo and Meliador 1994; Mohan 2013, 123–128.
- ²⁵ Houdry 1921, 35; Houdry 1923, 20; Menetrier and Houdry 1921, 288; Dandamaev 1989, 181. Cf. Olmstead 1948, 230; Briant 2002, 520: “Darius had waited quite a long time: in 486, he was about 65 years old (cf. Herodotus I. 209); Xerxes must have been around 30 or 35.”
- ²⁶ Schmitt 1987. Cf. Hinz 1970, 434.
- ²⁷ Ghalioungui 1965, 121; Ghalioungui 1973, 114–115; Strouhal 1997, 17.
- ²⁸ David 2003, 125; Lesko 1999, 45–63; Hart 2005, 100–101. See Veiga 2009, 34.
- ²⁹ Daumas 1958, 61; Kockelmann 2012.
- ³⁰ Lloyd 1982; Lloyd 2014, 189–190; Blenkinsopp 1987, 409–421; Schmid 2007; Lee 2011.
- ³¹ Blenkinsopp 1987, 409–421.
- ³² Spiegelberg 1914; Parker 1941, 373–374 n. 2; Cameron 1943, 311. See Briant 2002, 472–484.
- ³³ Volten 1942, 17–44; Bordinet 1997, 177–188.
- ³⁴ Schäfer 1915, 100–103; Lopez 2015, 113–119.
- ³⁵ See Zaccagnini 1983.
- ³⁶ Tresson 1931, 126–130; Von Känel 1984, 120–125; 198–201; Burkard 1994, 40–42; Briant 2002, 859.
- ³⁷ For a summary of the main critical issues that emerged in the traditional studies, see Stephan 1997.
- ³⁸ Davies 2010, 19–44; Davies 2011, 120–122.
- ³⁹ Bareš 1999, 41–44; 79–86; Smoláriková 2011; Smoláriková 2015; Smoláriková 2019.
- ⁴⁰ See Stephan 1997, 301–312; Stephan 2011, 1–8.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Marincola 2006; Baragwanath and De Bakker 2012.
- ⁴² Godron 1986, 287–288; Posener 1936, 4: “*sachant tout = savant*.” See Boulu 1990; Halioua 2005, 35.
- ⁴³ Ghalioungui 1973, 66; Ghalioungui 1983a, 92. See Gardiner 1938, 166.
- ⁴⁴ For the political support by Darius towards the Egyptian priestly class, see Bresciani 1985, 507; Dandamaev 1989, 145; Cruz-Uribe 2003, 33–34; Fried 2004, 75–80; Lloyd 2014, 185–198. As for the *pr-nh* as school of medicine, see Schäfer 1899, 73–74; Grapow 1954–1962, III, 96.
- ⁴⁵ In Herodotus ψυχή has the meaning of “life” (I, 24, 2; I, 112, 3; II, 134, 4; III, 119, 4; III, 130, 4; IV, 190; V, 192; VII, 39, 2; VII, 209, 3; VIII, 118, 4; IX, 79, 2). Sometimes it is the seat of the feelings (III, 40, 4; III, 43, 2; VII, 16). See Sarri 1997, 143–146 n. 2 and 15.
- ⁴⁶ Jori 2004, 84.
- ⁴⁷ Schäfer 1899, 73; Posener 1936, 22–24: “*art*”; Gardiner 1938, 158–159: ““revive all that are sick”; Otto 1954, 173; Briant 2002, 473: “art for reviving every sick person.”
- ⁴⁸ Sarri 1997, 143–146 n. 2.
- ⁴⁹ The research was performed using the *TLG* (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*, University of California, Irvine, 1998) and as software the SNS Greek and Latin, Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa. The lemma ἀπέδωκε was linked by Hippys of Rhegium

with the temple of Epidaurus and the god-healer Asclepius who “returned” the head of a woman to the trunk (Aelian. *NA*, IX, 33).

⁵⁰ Cf. Schäfer 1899, 73; Posener 1936, 22–24; Daumas 1952; Ghalioungui 1983b, 83–84. See Asheri 1990, 163–175.

⁵¹ As for the cult of *Hygieia* as daughter of Asclepius in Greece, see Larson 1995, 62–63; Compton 2002, 312–313. The words ὑγιής and ὑγίεια are believed to be formed from the root “living” of ζῆν/βίος and from the prefix *su-*, “good.” The original form could be **su-gwiy-es*; see Beekes 2010, 1525.

⁵² Gray 1912; Meier 1938; Briant 2002, 268–277; Lenfant 2004, CXVIII–CXX.

⁵³ Gardiner 1938, 172–175; Sperry 1957, 145–155; Canfora 1990, 170–173; Nordh 1996, 206; Gmirkin 2006, 252 and n. 56; Haikal 2008, 45–46; Perilli 2009, 108–109; Webb 2013.

⁵⁴ Canfora 1990, 16–20, 152–173.

⁵⁵ See Perilli 2009, 108–109.

⁵⁶ Cf. Schäfer 1899, 73–74.

⁵⁷ We do not know how the comment of the eunuchs came to Herodotus. Hippys of Reghium was indicated as possible source. See Sammartano 1999, 387–390; Vanotti 2002.

⁵⁸ See Lopez 2015, 281–304.