

HEALTH AND HEALING IN THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI:
A COMPARISON WITH THE HEALING TEXTS IN LUKE-ACTS

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INTRODUCTION

The Impact of Papyrus Discoveries

The impact of the papyrus discoveries of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be seen in a quote from Bishop Lightfoot in 1863, who wrote thirty years before Grenfell and Hunt began to unearth huge amounts of papyri documents near the ancient settlement of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt:

You are not to suppose that the word [some New Testament word which had its only classical authority in Herodotus] had fallen out of use in the interval, only that it had not been used in the books which remain to us: probably it had been part of the common speech all along. I will go further, and say that if we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the New Testament generally.¹

Most biblical scholars have made use of the papyrus discoveries for the purposes of textual criticism and philological study. Many of the papyri from these and other archaeological discoveries have provided for us new discoveries of early manuscripts of the biblical texts and other ancient literary texts. On the other hand, the non-literary documents (often referred to as the documentary papyri)² have also enhanced our understanding of Koine Greek because we have greater access to the use of language in day-to-day life. However, NT scholars have not yet fully tapped into another great value of the documentary papyri, which is the expansion of our understanding of the ancient social world.

The major archaeological finds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided the initial impetus for scholarly work that compared the biblical texts with the newly discovered papyrus documents. These finds led to monographs on the papyrus plant itself and its use as ancient writing material. It cannot be overstated how important the papyrus discoveries have been to the field of biblical studies. As Naphtali Lewis states, “[T]he Greek (and Latin) papyri and ostraca have made and continue to make an unprecedented contribution to our knowledge of ancient civilization.”³ However, the “non-literary” papyri have not been fully explored for the contributions they have to offer our understanding of ancient life and culture.⁴

Prior to these and other archaeological discoveries, our knowledge of ancient life primarily relied on literary documents. These literary documents have helped us understand much about ancient culture, but they primarily represent the experiences of the upper classes. Adolf Deissmann highlighted a century ago that these documentary papyri could shed new light on the everyday life of people in the ancient

¹ Quoted in George Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), xx.

² The distinction between literary and non-literary papyri will be explained more fully below.

³ Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 8.

⁴ The documentary papyri have also contributed to studies in ancient letter-writing, more often applied to studies in the NT letters. See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006); and S. K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986).

world.⁵ However, the effective use of these documentary papyri has been limited, largely because of the sheer mass of the papyri that have been discovered. The papyri also require a great amount of expertise to decipher and edit the texts. The tens of thousands of papyri texts and fragments are spread out among a number of different collections worldwide. The consolidation of these varied collections into one central database (the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, or DDbDP) has made it possible to search the papyri in one search engine, with all the papyri texts from various collections available on one online site. This resource has made it possible to gain a larger picture of the ancient social world than was previously possible. The research in this dissertation shows the value of using the documentary papyri for NT interpretation. I have studied issues of health and healing in the documentary papyri. The new insights gained from these texts have been used to offer new insights into the healing passages in Luke-Acts.

Literary vs. Non-Literary Papyri

Papyri discoveries have been ongoing for more than one hundred years. When the word “papyri” is mentioned, many scholars and students of the Bible focus on ancient copies of biblical texts recorded on papyrus sheets. The papyri, however, have also provided a great deal of insight into the cultural life of the ancient world, particularly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Deissmann led the charge of scholars who argued in the early twentieth century that the NT texts bear a closer similarity to the “non-literary” papyrus writings than the more numerous literary texts of ancient authors. A number of studies arose during this period on the cultural life of ancient Egypt in particular (where most of the papyri have been found). Since the mid-twentieth century, however, only limited studies have made targeted use of the documentary papyri to explore the cultural life of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (ca. 320 BC-320 AD).⁶

The terms “non-literary” and “documentary” refer to papyrus documents that have been discovered in archaeological digs as opposed to “literary” papyrus texts, which are primarily works of ancient literature. These literary works primarily survived through the centuries (though some versions of literary texts have also been discovered in these archaeological digs). The biblical texts are frequently compared with works of literature, a comparison that has yielded great benefits for NT studies. Works of literature, however, do not provide as many details on the daily life of people in the ancient world as the documentary papyri.⁷ We need to take into greater consideration the value of the documentary papyri for their value as a necessary complement to literary studies.

⁵ He makes this argument throughout his work, but see especially p. 10 (A. Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East: The New Testament; Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922]).

⁶ Lewis (*Life in Egypt*) and David Frankfurter (*Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998]) have used the documentary papyri to study the life of Egypt under Roman rule, but these works are not focused specifically on the papyri. They use the papyri as only one of their sources of evidence. Also, these works do not address issues of health in healing in any great detail.

⁷ See the discussion of Deissmann below.

Writing Social History

*Papyrology has tended to be one of the most resolutely technical and positivistic disciplines of antiquity. This characteristic has justifiable roots in the enormous investment of time and expertise, in palaeography and philology, that is necessary for reading and interpreting the texts, often preserved only fragmentarily and in difficult handwritings. Many papyrologists do not seek to go beyond reading, translating, and commenting on unpublished papyri, or improving the texts of those already published.*⁸

This quote from Roger Bagnall signals the largely untapped potential of the documentary papyri for going beyond technical matters. The technical requirements of this field of study have long kept papyrologists from extending their work beyond deciphering, editing and translating these texts (a monumental task in itself!). Several works have appeared over the years offering translations of papyrus texts and brief discussion of their contents. Most of these works simply provide scattered collections of texts, though some works have offered studies on more focused topics.⁹ The *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* series (10 vols., 1981-2012) has also helped to open up the documentary papyri for study of ancient history as it relates to biblical study. They treat focused topics in each volume along with translations of newly published papyri. The difficulty with this series is that certain topics (such as NT context or Judaica) are treated in each successive volume, so one has to search through multiple volumes in order to track down what the papyri have to say on each topic. A greater benefit for biblical studies would be to have single volumes on focused topics in order to make the papyri more accessible to those not trained in papyrology.

The documentary papyri have great value for studying the social context of Palestine and the eastern Mediterranean,¹⁰ even though the vast majority of texts come from the deserts of Egypt. Bagnall has observed that there is value in the fact that these texts come from the less populous and less cultivated regions of Egypt. Irrigation water has destroyed most of what may have been found in the more populated and farmed areas. The documentary papyri have shown us that the bureaucracy and official proceedings of the Roman Empire extended into the less populated areas of Egypt, which suggests that these official procedures were widespread throughout all corners of the Empire.¹¹ So, we can assume that official proceedings from Roman Egypt also carried over into Judea and Galilee.¹²

⁸ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London-New York: Routledge, 1995), vii.

⁹ Most notably Naphtali Lewis (*Life in Egypt*) has made use of the papyri (among other documents) to study life in Roman Egypt. Also, Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore have provided an excellent resource on the voice of women in the papyri (*Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006]).

¹⁰ Paul Roesch, in speaking on the importance of the documentary papyri for historical study, writes, "Mais ce sont des documents de première main, indispensables, qu'on n'a pas le droit d'ignorer quand on écrit l'Histoire" (Paul Roesch, "Médecins publics dans les cites grecques," *Histoire des Sciences Medicales* 18 [1984]: 279). My translation: "But these are documents written firsthand, indispensable, that we do not have the right to ignore when we write History."

¹¹ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri*, 12-13.

¹² There was also vibrant trade between Egypt and Palestine. The Zeno papyri record the travels of a businessman, Zeno, through Palestine and Phoenicia. They reveal that Palestine was an exporter of grain to Egypt when harvests were bad there. Also, olive oil and wine were important exports, and Palestine

Approaches to Health and Illness in NT studies

NT studies have seen a variety of approaches used for studying health and healing in NT times. Studies on illness in the NT have usually involved some level of comparison with other ancient writings, whether literary or documentary. These studies have often coincided with social-scientific interests.¹³

For example, Pieter Craffert (*Illness and Healing in the Biblical World: Perspectives on Health Care*, 1999) attempts to argue for ways of studying health care across cultural boundaries and between modern and ancient times. He makes use of paleopathology to study prevalent diseases in first century Palestine. He then turns to the Hippocratic writings, Galen and other literary writings that describe traveling “folk healers” such as Apollonius of Tyana and Hanina ben Dosa. He draws comparisons with Jesus as a similar type of folk healer. However, he does not draw comparisons with any of the papyrus texts, which could offer broader insights on the health care concerns of the general public. Similarly, H. C. Kee (*Medicine, Miracle and Magic*, 1986) makes use of literature about Asclepius, Apollonius, and the medical writers (Galen and Hippocrates), along with the *Greek Magical Papyri*. The magical papyri are helpful in that they provide access to popular views of medicine. The documentary papyri, however, give us access to the social world of people in times of illness.

Robert Garland has also used paleopathology and literary documents to show how beauty and wholeness were generally considered a mark of divine favor in religions of classical antiquity. By contrast, deformity generally received a negative social response as a sign of disfavor.¹⁴ Garland even states that no ancient Greek or Roman author can answer the question of how Roman society perceived the deformed. Were they considered to be evil in and of themselves or was their deformity considered to be the result of external causes?¹⁵ The documentary papyri are able to address this and similar questions because they represent the perspective of the general public.

Craffert makes the observation that there have been no archaeological excavations of hospitals or buildings devoted solely to health care. Persons could seek treatment in temples, at home from doctors or self-help, or from traveling folk healers who moved from place to place.¹⁶ The non-literary papyrus texts do not tell us every location where people sought out healing for illness, but they do give evidence of persons attending temples for healing and caring for sick persons at home.

became capable of purchasing luxury goods from Egypt. Martin Hengel has also observed that these trade ties between Egypt and Palestine would have also brought with them an interaction of cultural habits and values (Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. John Bowden [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 42).

¹³ A recent example of combining modern social theory with ancient medical texts is Annette Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke: Insights of Ancient Medical Texts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). See also H. C. Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 44-46; who proposes using the sociological theory of *ideal types*, developed by Max Weber, as a way to understand Jesus as an ancient charismatic leader.

¹⁴ Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁶ Pieter F. Craffert, *Illness and Healing in the Biblical World: Perspectives on Health Care* (Pretoria: Biblia Publishers, 1999), iii-iv.

Many of the studies on ancient health and illness have also focused on modern sociological models applied to the social world of the biblical texts.¹⁷ For example, John Pilch has proposed using models from medical anthropology to analyze illness in light of the cultures represented in the NT. He observes that in cultures outside of the Western world, health and sickness involve much more than physical or bodily health.¹⁸ While his attention to anthropological models is helpful for offering big picture views about health, the limitation in his approach is that he relies too heavily on conceptual models instead of actual ancient documents. Bagnall critiques the use of sociological models because even though they can help stimulate thinking and raise new questions, we should not use them as “historical laws.”¹⁹ Models are suggestive, not definitive.

Other scholars have taken a more comparative approach by studying ancient medical documents and other health-related passages in ancient literary documents.²⁰ For example, Annette Weissenrieder critiques the tendency of current exegetes to apply modern views of illness and psychological theories on the biblical texts. She refers to the work of F. Fenner, who published a comprehensive study of illness in the NT in the 1930s and attributed most of the instances of illness and possession to “hysteria.” But she points out that hysteria was a typical phenomenon of Europe in the early twentieth century, so Fenner was imposing his own images of illness on ancient texts because they did not fit his own ideology. She goes on to say that by interpreting ancient texts in terms of our own contemporary cultures and patterns of thought, we are neglecting the cultural thought patterns of the contemporary world of the biblical texts: “[T]he illness phenomena are disengaged from *indigenous experience* and *robbed of their specific characteristics*. As far as the ancient period is concerned, they are removed from experience and reality.”²¹

The value of comparative approaches, such as that of Weissenrieder, is that they allow actual documents to give insights into ancient beliefs about health and medical practices in people’s own words. Most comparative studies, however, have focused on specifically medical documents such as the Hippocratic Corpus and the writings of Galen. They have also used the specifically medical papyri (i.e. Kahun Papyrus, ca. 1850 BC; Edwin Smith papyrus; Papyrus Ebers, ca. 1550 BC; and the Magical Papyrus).²²

¹⁷ See John J. Pilch, ed., *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000).

¹⁸ Pilch, *Healing in the NT*, 2.

¹⁹ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri*, 3.

²⁰ See Robert K. Ritner, “Medicine” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Donald B. Redford, ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; published to Oxford Reference, 2005). On disability in larger Greco-Roman literary works, cf. Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*. For a comparison with the ancient Greek literary tradition about sight and blindness, see Eleftheria A. Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a Culture of Light: Especially the Case of Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

²¹ Annette Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke: Insights of Ancient Medical Texts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 9.

²² Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Frequent comparisons have also been made with writings about the healing god Asclepius²³ or traveling healers, such as Apollonius of Tyana or Hanina ben Dosa.²⁴

These comparisons are valuable, but they do not offer an accurate picture of how issues of health, medicine and processes of healing were viewed by the general public. The medical writings teach us about ancient medical theory and practices, but the documentary papyri include texts written by physicians in practice. Most of the evidence points to doctors in service of the state rather than serving individual medical needs. No focused study of ancient health and healing has been done based specifically on the documentary papyri.

Studies in the Documentary Papyri

Study of the papyrus documents has been ongoing for more than a century. Adolf Deissmann was especially influential in the application of the documentary papyri to NT studies.

In Deissmann's view, the majority of the NT texts (especially the letters) were not written for a broad public or for posterity but were originally intended to be personal letters for a limited audience. This makes the NT texts primarily *non-literary*, which distinguishes them from the *literary* writings of antiquity, which were primarily written from the point of view of the upper classes.²⁵ While Deissmann somewhat overstated his case,²⁶ he was correct to point out the great importance of the documentary papyri for learning about the cultural and social life of the ancient world. However, even in his own examples, Deissmann did not offer comparisons on a focused topic, such as health and healing.

Similarly, in another example of early twentieth century papyrus studies, George Milligan (*Here and There Among the Papyri*, 1922) provided sections on the daily social life of persons as described in the documentary papyri. He did not, however, provide a section on issues of health and healing. While he did reference medical sections in the Greek magical papyri, he never mentioned issues of health in the documentary papyri.

²³ There are several examples of stories about Asclepius and the use of incantations in Paul J. Achtemeier, "Gospel Miracle Tradition and the Divine Man," *Interpretation* 26 (1972): 174-97; esp. p. 181. This article was reprinted in *Jesus and the Miracle Tradition* (Eugene: Cascade, 2008).

²⁴ See Craig S. Keener, *Miracles: The Credibility of the New Testament Accounts* (2 vols; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 35-58, for a good overview of ancient miracle workers and the literature related to miracle claims.

²⁵ Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 148-49.

²⁶ A vast array of studies have been done over the past three or more decades making comparisons between ancient literature and the NT writings, such as David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987); Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* (Macon, GA: Smyth and Helwys, 2002), to name just a few. In my view, non-literary writings can still hold significant literary features. For example, Deissmann includes a letter where a young son uses an extreme amount of *irony* toward his father to express his anger at not being included in the father's plans to leave town (Letter from Theon, an Egyptian boy, to his father Theon; *Light From the Ancient East*, 201-4). Also, Deissmann admits that certain books of the NT displayed a tendency toward literature and high art, particularly the book of Hebrews (*ibid.*, 250-51).

In a similar vein, the studies of Naphtali Lewis and David Frankfurter on the life of native Egyptians under Roman rule do not offer focused studies of particular aspects of daily life, such as health and disease. Given the prominent place that Luke gives to the healing work of Jesus and the apostles, it seems appropriate to seek to better understand the perspective of the persons who received healing. This study in the papyri will show both similarity and dissimilarity with the NT texts.

The series *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (2003-present) is taking a lead role in directly applying the information in the documentary papyri to NT commentary. Only four volumes have been published to date (Philemon, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, and 2 Thessalonians), but several other volumes are in process.²⁷ This series follows closely with the aims of this present study, but volumes involving Lukan studies are forthcoming.²⁸

Ancient letter-writing is one area of study that explores health concerns in the documentary papyri. Hans-Josef Klauck has observed the importance of the health wish in ancient letter-writing, especially in the openings of letters. He observes that letter writers often used formulaic wording when wishing good health on recipients, particularly in the case of the *formula valetudinis* (“If you are well, it is well, I am well.”), which was common in Old Roman letters and in Greek letters from the early and middle Hellenistic period.²⁹ The prominence of the health wish in ancient letters suggests that the threat of disease and poor health was in the forefront of people’s minds as they corresponded with each other. The correspondences in the documentary papyri give us some insight into how people reacted to the threat of illness and poor health.

A New Approach (based on the documentary papyri)

Part of my goal in pursuing this line of inquiry is to resist the tendency to treat the healing stories as spiritualized accounts, such as was often found in Bultmann. The healing accounts can have both symbolic and real life implications.³⁰ The gospel accounts reflect prevalent, real life concerns of everyday people in the ancient world, and they reflect actual events in the ministries of Jesus and the early church.

²⁷ This information comes from the University of Salzburg website, which gives a list of contributors for present and subsequent volumes: <http://www.uni-salzburg.at/bwkg/pknt>.

²⁸ A volume involving many of the contributors for the PKNT series offers insights from a series of papers based on the work of applying papyrological study to NT studies: Peter Arzt-Grabner and Christina M. Kreinecker, ed., *Light from the East: Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament. Akten des internationalen Symposions vom 3.-4. Dezember 2009 am Fachbereich Bibelwissenschaft und Kirchengeschichte der Universität Salzburg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010).

²⁹ An exact equivalent of the *formula* is found in a Greek letter from Artemidorus to Zenon (252 BCE; Sel. Pap. I 93). Klauck, *Ancient Letters*, 21-22.

³⁰ Cf. Dennis Hamm, “Sight to the Blind: Vision as Metaphor in Luke,” *Biblica* 67 (1986): 457-77, who acknowledges that the evangelists believed in the historicity of Jesus’ healings and goes on to also speak of the symbolic reality of Luke’s desire to show Jesus as the fulfillment of the Isaianic program. Hamm also argues that a growing consensus among Lukan scholars (at least in the late 1980s) held that, “[s]ymbolic writing and history do not necessarily conflict; it is possible to assume the essential historicity of a healing/deliverance ministry in Jesus’ public life (as the evangelists clearly do) and still recognize that some of those healings are recounted with symbolic dimensions in the Gospels” (Dennis Hamm, “The Freeing of the Bent Woman and the Restoration of Israel: Luke 13.10-17 as Narrative Theology,” *JSNT* 31 [1987]: 24).

My approach, drawing heavily from the documentary papyri, is not meant to replace other methods, but rather to supplement them with the wealth of data available to us from the non-literary papyri. At times, the information from the documentary papyri may critique or cause us to re-think social models and other information we have at times taken for granted in biblical studies. My approach is similar to that of Wayne Meeks, who in reflecting on his initial writing of *The First Urban Christians* (1983), wrote, “What I wanted to do was simply to *describe*, in as much detail as I could, the social forms, the social environment, the customary cultural assumptions embedded in that environment, and the peculiar subculture being invented by some of those groups.”³¹ My attempt is to provide as much context as possible for the social environment of those who sought healing from Jesus as described in Luke’s writings.

The approaches to studying illness in the ancient world described above have had the benefit of helping us look at illness and health from a viewpoint that does not fit neatly into our modern, Western views of health. In other words, we need to remove ourselves from our immediate context in order to understand ways in which people responded differently to health and illness in ancient times. They also sought out healing in ways different from those of us who immediately think of going to a doctor’s office or local urgent treatment clinic at the first sign of sickness. However, the ancient world was not entirely different from our own when it comes to health and healing.

As mentioned above, this research is an attempt at writing a social history of sorts of how people responded in times of illness. This study in the documentary papyri offers a better understanding of the situations in which people found themselves when they approached Jesus or the apostles with health concerns. As John Pilch has stated, sickness in the ancient world was not just about the disease itself. He argues that when speaking of the ancient world, we need to talk about disease as part of a larger concern with fortune and misfortune. When people fell sick, they saw it as a sign of misfortune, not just a sickness that needed to be treated. Pilch prefers the term “illness” over “disease” because disease is a biomedical term that focuses on the individual and his or her own individual disease. Illness, on the other hand, reflects a social and cultural perspective on misfortune.³² In this sense, people’s mindset in the ancient world when they or family members became sick was very different from our typical mindset in the West (though it may be much closer to many people’s mindset in other parts of the world). This study offers some insight into people’s priorities in times of illness. Some of the social and cultural modes of thought include the importance of family and prayer to the gods in times of illness. The social implications also include similarities and differences for people with disabilities such as lameness, blindness and deafness.

This study addresses two concerns. First, there is an untapped opportunity for the documentary papyri to play a bigger role in NT studies. These documents provide a wealth of information and perspective for helping us better understand the social environment of persons in NT times. Second, this study will show the contribution of the documentary papyri in helping us better understand the social history involved for people in times of illness. These papyri help to confirm Pilch’s view that sickness was

³¹ Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (Second Edition; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), ix.

³² John J. Pilch, “Sickness and Healing in Luke-Acts,” in Jerome Neyrey, ed., *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 191.

not only about sickness. There was a social perspective behind how people acted in times of illness. In turn, by gaining a better understanding of the social issues involved in times of illness, we will be better able to understand the social environment in which people approached Jesus for healing in the New Testament (specifically Luke-Acts).

At times, it has been difficult to put into words the exact implications of this research for biblical studies. Immersion in the documentary papyri has helped me look at life in the ancient world from an insider's perspective. I have gained access to the daily lives of a number of families and individuals, but I have also come away with as many questions as answers. It has greatly challenged my view of ancient social living. I have observed similarities with the situations of people in the NT, such as anxiety over a family member's sickness and divine appeals for help. I have also noticed disparities such as blind and lame persons who are able to work to support themselves instead of begging. The greatest value of studying the documentary papyri is to see how life in the NT was both similar and different from life in the world outside of the NT.

Organization of this Research

My research focuses on the era of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt leading up approximately to the reign of Constantine in the early fourth c. AD, and so following the approximate time period used by Deissmann.³³

The healing texts in Luke form the basis for this research into the documentary papyri. I define the healing texts simply as any account where a person is presented with an illness or injury and is subsequently cured by Jesus or another. My count is 19 healing accounts (21 actual healings) and 5 summaries in Luke with 7 healing accounts and 4 summaries in Acts (see Appendix 3 for a full listing of texts).³⁴ These texts include a number of primary terms related to illness and healing: ἰατρός, θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι, νόσος, ἀκάθαρτος, τυφλός, κωφός, λεπρός, λεύκωμα, ξηρός, παράλυτος, πυρετός, χωλός, τραῦμα, and πληγή. I have searched these and all related terms found in the NT³⁵ using the DDbDP and organized the results according to the contexts in which these terms appear in the documentary papyri. I have made note of how these terms are used in their various contexts, people's behavior in times of illness, and the implications for the social location of the persons who appear in these texts. I have then compared my findings in the documentary papyri with Luke's healing texts.

Chapter 1 considers illness at the macro level, treating general issues of health and sickness. Chapter 2 looks specifically at named illnesses in the documentary papyri. This chapter will address how people with permanent illnesses and disabilities (such as blindness, lameness, etc.) functioned in their world. Chapter 3 considers the effects of bodily harm (accidental and intentional) in the documentary papyri. This chapter focuses on both injury and physical disability. Chapter 4 considers healing from the perspective of physicians. This chapter will review the various roles physicians played in their world. It will also consider broadly the methods of healing people sought out. Chapter 5 brings all this research to bear on the healing texts in Luke and Acts. It treats

³³ Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 4.

³⁴ These healing accounts include Jesus' resurrection from the dead. Joel Green, by contrast, identifies twenty healing texts and three summaries in Luke without listing the actual texts themselves (*Luke*, 16).

³⁵ Illness-related terms in the NT are based on Louw and Nida, domain 23 (subdomain I).

individual illnesses in Luke-Acts as well as larger themes in Luke's writings. Finally, the various *topoi* from both the documentary papyri and the texts in Luke-Acts will be summarized in the Conclusion. This final chapter will break down various themes discussed throughout this work and include lists of texts that relate to these *topoi*. Three appendices provide supplemental data. Appendix 1 is a list of the various terms related to illness and healing that were searched as part of this research. A list of documentary texts appears under each term. Appendix 2 is a list of each documentary text with the terms that can be found in each text. Appendix 3 offers a list of healing texts and summaries that I identified in Luke-Acts. These texts form the basis for comparisons to the Lukan texts in Chapter 5.

Translations of many documentary papyri appear in a number of works, so I have not provided extensive translations throughout the text. My own translations in the major sections of each chapter give a representation of the most significant texts.³⁶

This study informs our understanding of the social environment of people in ancient times of illness in several ways. First, the household serves as the most immediate and important context for seeking help in times of illness. We will see that physicians do not feature prominently in the documentary papyri in the context of healing from sickness. Instead, the evidence from the documentary papyri suggests that people turned to immediate family and their household for help. As Pilch states, "In all cultures, no sick person suffers alone; kin are always affected and involved in all the stages of an illness."³⁷ In broadening this view out, Pilch states that people turned to their "social network" for help in an illness, which could include relatives, friends, neighbors, etc.³⁸ The documentary papyri, though, suggest that extended family and other relations were not involved to the extent that immediate family was involved.

This is not, of course, to suggest that no one sought healing from physicians. We have ample evidence from the medical texts that physicians did treat people. However, it seems that physicians were largely a luxury of the upper classes and urban areas.

In a related sense, a second way in which the documentary papyri inform our understanding of ancient views on health and healing is the very limited use of medical terminology. It is to be expected that the non-literary papyri feature less use of technical medical terminology than in the ancient medical texts (Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, etc.), but even the Gospels feature significantly more medical terminology than the documentary papyri (e.g. πυρετός, παράλυτος, λεπρός, etc). Another piece of information from the documentary papyri is the presence of prayers for healing and attendance in the temples for the purpose of seeking healing from a divinity.

In summary, we have seen that the papyrus discoveries of the past century and a half have provided us with a wealth of information on the ancient world. This study informs our understanding of the social environment in which people sought out healing in times of illness. In turn, we will be better able to perceive the social implications involved when people sought out healing from Jesus.

³⁶ A good follow-up to this study would be translations of all complete texts related to this topic and others in the documentary papyri, excluding fragmentary texts that offer no significant insight. This would make research into the documentary papyri much more accessible.

³⁷ Pilch, *Sickness and Healing*, 195.

³⁸ Pilch, *Sickness and Healing*, 195.

CHAPTER 1 – GENERAL ILLNESS IN THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

Key Terms: νόσος, ἀκάθαρτος, ἀρρωστία

Threat of Illness

The fear of illness was very real in the ancient world, a fear to which the documentary papyri offer evidence. The prevalence with which ancient letters began and ended with wishes for the health of others indicates that illness and disease were a constant concern for most people.³⁹ While it could be said that wishes for health in letters were simply a formality, a number of texts make these health wishes in the context of a specific illness.⁴⁰ We will discuss these texts in detail later in this chapter, but it is worth pointing out a text such as P.Brem 61, where several family members write with anxiety and concern over the recipient's sickness. They also express a desire to help. This text is representative of a number of texts where the wish for health accompanies the imminent threat of illness.

The primary concern in this chapter will be issues related to illness at the macro level. When speaking of general illness, the emphasis will be on social constructs and how people related to each other in times of illness. One of the driving questions we will seek to ask is what did people do when they or someone they knew were ill? The next chapter will address individual, named illnesses as they are discussed in the documentary papyri. As we will see below, the majority of references to illness in the documentary papyri do not use medical terminology, but speak in more general terms.

While many of the documentary papyri focus on business matters, petitions, and other aspects of daily life, many of the personal letters address illness among family members. Even among the more business-minded documents, we see references to issues of health and illness. Searches of general words of illness (νόσος, ἀκάθαρτος, ἀρρωστία) result in a significant number of documents that mention illness briefly but which nonetheless offer us some clues to how people dealt with illness in their lives.

I will use terms such as “illness,” “sickness,” and “disease” interchangeably to speak of any medical condition other than perfect health. So, illness in this work does not only refer to internal disease but rather to any condition (internal or external) that causes a hindrance to normal life. We will follow the suggestion of John Pilch that we need to conceive of illness in terms of social constructs regarding fortune and misfortune.⁴¹ All matters of poor health affected the normal course of life, so illness functions as a blanket term for a variety of health issues. Illness could refer to a fever, plague, blindness, eye disease or a limp.

Obligation to Help

³⁹ Georgia Petridou makes a similar comment in regards to the fear of death and disease as crises in the lives of individuals and communities. (“Asclepius the Divine Healer, Asclepius the Divine Physician: Epiphanies as Diagnostic and Therapeutic Tools” in *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Demetrios Michaelides [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014], 297).

⁴⁰ Cf. BGU 3.948; P.Brem 61; P.Flor 3.371; P.Lond 6.1926; P.Mich 8.478; P.Oxy 6.939, 10.1299, 41.2981, 46.3314; SB 6.9605.

⁴¹ John J. Pilch, “Sickness and Healing in Luke-Acts,” in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 191.

The documentary papyri reveal a great deal about how family members related to each other in times of illness. The personal letters are especially informative for telling us where people sought out help in these times. We will see in Chapter 4 that the documentary papyri give us very little evidence of people requesting help from physicians when they were ill. Instead, the letters document people turning more often to immediate family in times of illness. This, of course, is not to suggest that people never sought out the help of doctors when they, or family members, were ill. However, it does imply that doctors were not necessarily the first recourse for help in times of sickness. This seems to be especially true in more rural areas, which are the source of most of the documentary papyri discoveries. We will discuss a number of letters that illustrate the ways in which family members turned to each other in times of illness.

Request for Help

First, P.Oxy 6.939 (AD 326-375) is a letter from a man named Demetris, presumably a servant,⁴² to his lord Flavianis. As J. G. Winter observed, this letter gives us a glimpse into the distress that was created by a serious illness of a member of the household. In this case, it is the illness of a prominent household member (the mistress of the house) that has caused a very stressful and serious situation for the servant.

P.Oxy 6.939 (AD 326-375)

1

[τῷ κυρίῳ] μου Φλαβιανῶι

[Δημήτ]ριος χαίρειν.

[ὡς ἐν ἄλ]λοις πλείστοις νῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς σέ

[τοῦ δεσπό]του θεοῦ γινώσις ἀνεφάνη ἅπασιν ἡμῖν

5

[ἐν τῷ τῆν]⁴³ κυρίαν ἀνασφῆλαι ἐκ τῆς καταλαβούσης

[αὐτὴν νόσ]ου, καὶ εἴη διὰ παντὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμο-

[λογοῦντα]ς διατελεῖν ὅτι ἡμῖν ἴλεως⁴⁴ ἐγένετο

[καὶ ταῖς εὐ]χαῖς ἡμῶν ἐπένευσεν διασώσας ἡμῖν

[τὴν ἡμῶν] κυρίαν· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ πάντες τὰς ἐλπίδας

10

[ἔχομεν.] συνγνώμην δέ, κύριέ μου, σχοίης μοι

[καὶ εὖ]νουσ] ἀποδέξει με εἰ καὶ ἐς τηλικαύτην σε

[ἀγωνία]ν ἄκων ἐνέβαλον γράψας περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα

[ἔπαθεν].⁴⁵ τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐν θλίψει αὐτῆς

⁴² George Milligan takes this to be a letter from a servant to his master. He also observes that the style of this letter is more literary than most letters of the time period, so it might be said that this was a very well educated servant. Milligan also makes note of several echoes of NT language in this letter (*Selections from the Greek Papyri* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912], 128-29). Winter also reflects Milligan's observation that this letter is reminiscent of NT language (John Garrett Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933], 93-94).

⁴³ BL 6.99 : [ὥστε τὴν] prev. ed.

⁴⁴ ἴλεωσ papyrus.

⁴⁵ BL 6.99 : [ἐκομίσω] prev. ed.

[πολλῆ οὐ]σης οὐκ' ὦν ἐν ἑμαυτῷ ἀπέστειλα

15

[Πλούταρχον]⁴⁶ εἶ πως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δυνηθείης
[πρὸς ἡμᾶς] ἀφικέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ καθήκοντος
ἀπ[α]μ[ι]τουήντος· ὡ[ς δὲ ἐπὶ τ]ὸ ῥᾶον ἔδοξεν τετράφθαι
ἕτερά σε γράμματα ἐπικαταλαβεῖν ἐσπούδασα διὰ
Εὐφροσύνου ἵνα⁴⁷ σε εὐθυμότερον καταστήσω.

20

νῆ γὰρ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, κύριέ μου, ἧς μάλιστά
μοι μέλει, εἰ μὴ ἐπινόσως ἐσχίκει τὸ σωματίον
τότε ὁ υἱὸς⁴⁸ Ἀθανάσιος αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σέ
ἅμα Πλουτάρχῳ ἠνίκα ἐβαρεῖτο τῇ νόσῳ. νῦν δὲ
πῶς πλείονα⁴⁹ γράψω περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπορῶ, ἔδοξεν

25

μὲν γὰρ ὡς προεῖπον ἀνεκτότερον ἐσχηκέναι ἀνακαθεσθεῖ-
σα, νοσηλότερον δὲ ὅμως τὸ σωματίον ἔχει. παρα-
μυθούμ[ε]θα δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάστης ὥρας ἐκδεχόμε-
νοι τὴν [σ]ὴν ἄφιξιν. ἐρρωσθαί σε, κύριέ μου,
διὰ παντὸς τῶ τῶν ὄλων

30

δεσπότη εὐχομαι.

Φαρμουῦθι ς.

verso:

Φλαβιανῶι

Δημήτριος.

To my lord⁵⁰ Phlabianos,⁵¹ Dēmētrios, greetings. As among many other ones now even more is the regard of the Lord⁵² God for you made known to us all, so that our lady⁵³ has recovered⁵⁴ from the illness seizing her, and let us always continue swearing gratitude⁵⁵ for he has been gracious⁵⁶ to us and listened⁵⁷ to our prayers by preserving⁵⁸ for us our lady. For in her we have all our hopes. May you have pardon⁵⁹ for me, my lord, and receive me kindly⁶⁰ if I

⁴⁶ BL 6.99 : [σπουδάζων] prev. ed.

⁴⁷ ἵνα papyrus.

⁴⁸ υἱὸς papyrus.

⁴⁹ Read πλείονα.

⁵⁰ κύριος. Much of this translation is indebted to the translation in J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters*, 93-94; though I differ from his translation in several places.

⁵¹ Or more commonly translated as Flavianis.

⁵² δεσπότης.

⁵³ κυρία.

⁵⁴ ἀνασφάλλω, *rise from a fall, recover*.

⁵⁵ χάρις (pl.).

⁵⁶ ἴλεως, *propitious, gracious, blameless*.

⁵⁷ ἐπινεύω, *nod, assent, approve, make a sign, incline towards*.

⁵⁸ διασώζω, *preserve, maintain, save for oneself*.

⁵⁹ συγγνώμη (here: συγγνώμην), *forbearance, lenient judgment, excuse, pardon*.

⁶⁰ εὖνους, *well-minded, well-disposed, kindly, friendly*.

unwillingly⁶¹ threw you into any great anguish⁶² by writing about her what she suffered. For the first news while she was in great affliction, not being in my right mind, I sent Ploutarchos, whether in any way possible you might be able to come to⁶³ us, duty⁶⁴ demanding⁶⁵ this. But since it seems she has taken a turn⁶⁶ for the better⁶⁷ I am hurrying for another letter to overtake⁶⁸ you through Euphrosynos, so that it may make⁶⁹ you more cheerful.⁷⁰ For your well-being,⁷¹ my lord, which is my greatest concern,⁷² if his body had not been carrying illness,⁷³ then I would have sent my son Athanasios to you with Ploutarchos at the time she was weighed down by illness. But now I am at a loss⁷⁴ what more I should write about her. For she seems, as I said before, to be more comfortable,⁷⁵ having sat up, but her body still has a tendency to be ill.⁷⁶ But we encourage⁷⁷ her every hour, expecting your coming. I pray, my lord, always to the lord⁷⁸ of the universe for your good health.

Pharmouthi 6.

Verso:

To Phlabianos

Dēmētrios

The servant mentions a previous letter he had written to his master with an urgent appeal that he come at once because of the severity of her illness. Now, the servant speaks of her recovery from this illness because of God's gracious answer to their prayers. She has not made a full recovery, but the fear for her life seems to be over and she is able to sit up. It is very clear from this letter that the servant has a close relationship with his master and mistress. He is genuinely concerned for the life of his mistress. In fact, his concern for her health was so strong that when she was at her worst, he was not in control of himself and had sent his first letter. It seems he may have overstepped his limits a little by attempting to remind his master of his duty to be there with his wife. It is clear that the servant felt it was his master's duty to come while his mistress was in extreme sickness. There is no reference to the master and mistress having any children, so the servant seems to have taken on the role of next in

⁶¹ ἄκων (contr. form of ἀέκων), involuntary, constrained, unwillingly.

⁶² ἄγωνία, agony, anguish.

⁶³ ἀφικνέομαι, arrive at, come to, reach.

⁶⁴ καθήκω, come/go down, be meet/fit/proper, one's due/duty (part.).

⁶⁵ ἀπαιτέω, demand back, require.

⁶⁶ τρέπω, turn, alter, change.

⁶⁷ ῥάδιος (here: ῥᾶον), easy, ready, easier, get better (of a sick person).

⁶⁸ ἐπικαταλαμβάνω, follow and catch up, overtake. The idea here seems to be that the second letter catch him before he leaves, or even possibly that the second letter-carrier will overtake the first letter-carrier before he reaches his master.

⁶⁹ καθίστημι, set down, replace, restore, set in order, bring into a certain state.

⁷⁰ εὐθυμος (comp.), kind, generous, cheerful.

⁷¹ σωτηρία.

⁷² μελέω, be an object of care/thought, care for, take an interest in.

⁷³ ἐπινοσέω, be ill after.

⁷⁴ ἀπορέω, be ἄπορος (without means/resource), be at a loss, be in doubt.

⁷⁵ ἀνεκτός (comp.), bearable, sufferable, tolerable.

⁷⁶ νοσηλός (comp.), morbid, diseased, with a sickly tendency (comp.).

⁷⁷ παραμυθέομαι, encourage, exhort, speak soothingly.

⁷⁸ δεσπότης.

command while the mistress is sick and the master is absent. He wrote to the master to come quickly as was his duty.

Another fact that is clear from this letter is the servant's strong sense of piety. Milligan identifies this as a Christian letter.⁷⁹ This is most likely due to the reference to "the Lord God [τοῦ δεσπότου θεοῦ]" at the beginning of the letter and his prayer "to the Lord of all [τῷ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότη]" at the close of the letter. Given that this letter is likely written after the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, it is likely that this household has been exposed to Christianity. However, neither of these terms is decisively Christian, and nowhere in the letter is there any reference to Jesus or Christ. It is not definitive, then, that this letter is Christian. However, it is very definitive that this servant, and probably the household as a whole, is pious and practiced regular prayers. The object of the servant's prayers is not clear. He makes two references to prayer. The first is in reference to "our" prayers for the mistress' recovery (so it was probably the household as a whole praying for her). The second reference is to his general prayer to "the lord of all" for his master's continued good health. The servant also expresses his pious loyalty to his master at the beginning of the letter when he states that the mistress' recovery is a sign of divine favor towards his master.

Two people in this letter are actually identified as being ill. Besides the mistress, the servant's own son, Athanasios, is also said to have taken ill. One indication of the type of illness the lady experienced is that Demetris describes her recovery using the word ἀνασφάλλω, which can be translated as "rise from a fall or illness." So, it is likely that her illness caused her to be bedridden, at the very least. This is especially clear since one sign of her recovery is that she was able to sit up. The type of illness experienced by Athanasios is not any clearer. Demetris states that his son was "weighed down [ἐβαρεῖτο]" by illness. This term and a similar construct of phrase are used in Luke 9:32, where during the transfiguration it says that Peter and the others were "weighed down by sleep [βεβαρημένοι ὕπνω]." ⁸⁰ This term may be used to show that the illness was not life threatening but was enough to keep him from being able to travel. Once again we see the sense of duty on the part of the servant to his master in that he felt it his obligation to try and send his own son to accompany the master in his travel back home.

In similar fashion, in P.Oxy 46.3314 (fourth c. AD), a letter writer from a Jewish family in Oxyrhynchus writes to his family from outside the region asking for help in his time of illness. The illness this person (Judas) experiences is most likely the result of a fall from a horse.⁸¹ The primary focus of the letter is on asking for help, so he does not dwell significantly on the extent of his illness, but he does state that he is unable to turn over from one side to the other without the help of two men. The fact that two men are required to turn him over means that he was probably completely incapacitated and unable to make any use of the core of his body to turn or shift his body at all. So, the very least we can say about his injury is that it is either a strain to his back or some other injury to the core of his body. He may also be suffering from

⁷⁹ This letter also is part of Ghedini's list of Christian letters (Milligan, *Selections*, 128).

⁸⁰ cf. also P.Tebt 2.327, where a woman states she is "weighed down by many years [πολλοῖς ἔτεσι βεβαρημένη]."

⁸¹ There is a slight possibility that the illness is actually the result of coming into contact with the corpse of a horse. The word in question is πτώμα, which could either be translated as "fall" or "corpse/carcass."

cracked ribs or an injury to his vertebrae. What is of interest is his use of the word “illness” (νόσος). It is possible that he is simply using the word νόσος to describe his injury from falling from the horse (or possibly the horse falling on him). In this case, that would mean that νόσος could be used not only for sickness or disease but also for simple injuries to the body, such as broken bones or cracked ribs. On the other hand, the man may also be describing a secondary illness brought on by the incident with the horse, such as internal bleeding or other feelings of sickness. However, the man does not describe any secondary symptoms, only his inability to turn over. He does not state whether he is able to walk, but since he requires someone else to go seek out a ship for him to sail home on, it is unlikely he could move around on his own.

Unfortunately, he is stranded and needs someone to accompany him. So he turns to his family in time of need to send a close relative to bring him back home. It is not clear why he is away from home (presumably on business of some sort), but he finds himself in a situation where he has no one close by to help him. His injury has produced a crisis of sorts for him. He states that he is in Babylon, most likely the Egyptian city of Babylon⁸² (located across the Nile from Memphis). He is unable to find anyone to help him with basic needs (he states that he cannot even find anyone to provide him with so much as a cup of water). And even more importantly he cannot find anyone to help him find a way back home. He requests his wife to send her brother to help him make his way back home. This highlights the importance of close kin to provide help in times of illness. The fact that Judas fell from a horse suggests he was a man of some means since horses were a mark of social class. However, the only help the man can find is for two men (possibly his own servants) to help him turn over, as well as a scribe and messenger to take his letter to his family. His closing greeting in his own hand likely was needed to validate that the truth of his letter, suggesting he was not using a messenger that he or his family would have known personally. So, Judas relies heavily on his own close family to help in his time of need.

One interesting final note is Judas' closing statement that his wife can turn to Isak the cripple for money to cover expenses. It is worth mentioning that this letter, along with the frequent reference to crippled persons in the tax lists, shows that crippled or maimed persons were not excluded from acting as regular members of society. They could even be relied upon to act as beneficiaries when needed.

⁸² Some suggestion has been made that since Judas is a Jew (or possibly a converted Jew to Christianity), the reference to “Babylon” is figurative of his feeling of being in exile with no one to help. However, the geographical sense is the simplest and most likely meaning of his reference to Babylon. Since there is no known evidence of a Jewish community in Babylon, this may explain why he had such difficulty finding help. See the discussion in Eldon Jay Epp, “The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri” in *New Testament Manuscripts – Their Texts and Their World* (ed. Thomas J. Kraus & Tobias Nicklas; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 43. G. H. R. Horsley raises the possibility that this letter is written by a Christian family. He references the evidence of a study by Roger Bagnall, who suggested that Christian conversion was rapid in the period AD 310-20, citing the leap in Christian names. The name Judas is unlikely to be a Christian name because of Christian hostility to that name, but Horsley suggests he is a Jewish convert to the Christian faith (*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1978*, vol. 3 [North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1983], 146-47). However, Horsley does not answer his own question, which is why fourth c. Christian letters are not more explicitly Christian. Without more explicit reference to Christ, it seems more likely to take this as a Jewish letter, especially given the biblical names.

On the other hand, we can also see evidence of people's expectations by the reprimands when a family member does not come or offer help in time of need. So, in BGU 3.948 (fourth-fifth c. AD), a mother makes use of the expectation that her son would provide for her to express her disappointment at his poor behavior. She has been ill for thirteen months, and her son has not even so much as written her a letter asking how she is. She writes to remind him that he received news of her illness from a messenger, and he did not respond with either a letter or by sending anything to help her. From this mother's express of disappointment, we can gather that there was a sense of expectation that a son in this situation would write to his mother to express concern. She also expects him to offer to send provision of some sort to help her in her time of need. She does not chide him for not making a personal visit, but it seems that sending a letter of concern (see below in P.Brem 61) would have substituted for his personal presence. The letter has no information about the distance that separated them,⁸³ but if it was a great distance that may explain why she did not expect him to come in person. She seems to rely on her son's feeling that he is in her debt by requesting him to send some cloth (linen and wool) so that she can make some clothing for herself and her son. She also requests him to send her some grain. It seems likely that her illness has left herself and her household (which also includes the son's child, sister and nieces/nephews) in some difficulty. She expects her son to make up for his dishonorable neglect by helping her now that she has recovered and is able to request his help directly.

Desire to Help

Letter writers often express a desire to help or a sense of obligation to care for a family member or close friend in times of sickness. P.Oxy 12.1582 (2nd c. AD) is an interesting expression of this idea because the letter writer addresses his brother⁸⁴ with a claim that he was ready to come and care for him. He did not, however, need to come once he heard news that his brother had recovered by the grace of the gods. He conveys relief that his brother's sickness turned out not to be fever, which suggests that fever may have indicated a long, drawn-out time of illness.

Similarly, in P.Brem 61 (AD 113-120), three letters in one document write with concern over the illness of the letter's recipient, Apollonios. His sister,⁸⁵ who has recently returned from visiting him, writes the first letter. She first recounts an episode where she has dealt with a theft at home, and then she inquires about his illness. She

⁸³ The only thing we know is that the papyrus was found in Herakleopolis.

⁸⁴ The address "brother" in his closing statement might be taken to be figurative, but he also offers a greeting from his brother's children, who are apparently staying in his home. So, the man is already caring for his brother's children as an act of familial duty.

⁸⁵ The sister writes a postscript in her own hand. According to Bagnall and Criboire, her handwriting is very formal and her postscript is filled with alliteration, which signals that she was well-educated. The scribal handwriting and language throughout all three letters is correct and suggests this was a well-educated family as a whole (*Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006], 142-43). Also, since Apollonios is a στρατηγός and his sister mentions the time she has spent personally working with the στρατηγός in her own νομός, this is likely a high-class family with connections among the Roman administrators.

expresses a feeling of distress over his safety and health.⁸⁶ She says she is distressed that he is ill again, so this may be a recurring illness. The second letter, presumably written by his brother,⁸⁷ expresses agony over Apollonios' sickness and an urgent desire to hear good news of his healing (σωτηρίαν). The third letter is written by Diskas, who addresses Apollonios as "my lord," but their relationship is not clear. Bagnall and Criboire take it to be his uncle, but he nowhere states he is his uncle.⁸⁸ He does, however, express an even more urgent concern for Apollonios' health, and he states that he is coming in order to bring him some relief (ἀπαλλαγή). He also expresses that he offers prayers for his healing to the god Herme at every hour. All three letters express a strong feeling of distress over Apollonios' illness, and Diskas' promise to come bring relief reveals the sense of duty to help in Apollonios' time of need. It is difficult to know for sure whether these persons writing these letters were genuinely in personal distress over Apollonios' sickness or if they simply felt it was their duty to express these types of sentiments for a close relation in time of illness.

In P.Flor 3.371 (fourth c. AD), a certain Isiados writes to Agathinos with a request to send the tunic belonging to a certain Apollonios.⁸⁹ The reason is that Isiados has taken him in due to his illness. No specific mention is made of their relationship, but the letter-writer does make reference to the fact that Agathinos has also cared for Apollonios "as a son [ὡς υἱός]." The letter-writer appears to be making an appeal to the recipient's concern and personal care for Apollonios. However, he does not appear to be the recipient's actual, physical son. Rather, the sentiment that is expressed is a feeling that this man needs someone to care for him as they would their own son, and the letter-writer appears to be doing just that.

In P.Oxy 8.1121, a woman (Aurēlia Techōsis Diodōros) makes a petition⁹⁰ to retrieve land that was stolen from her by two neighbors during her mother's time of fatal illness. In the course of her petition, the woman describes the time she spent caring for her mother as the duty of a child to her parent. She states, "My mother Techōsis, being stricken by illness, according to my own modest circumstance I tended to her and served (her) and did not cease to be there, supplying what is fitting by children to (their) parents." The substantive use of πρέπω ("be clearly seen, be conspicuous") suggests matters or actions that are fitting in a given circumstance. The message of what Aurēlia is saying is that she was fulfilling the appropriate duties of a child to her mother in her time of illness. This was most likely done in an attempt to prove her moral character in support of her argument against those who acted wrongly against her. This appeal to the appropriate act of care for her mother suggests a wider value in her culture that the right thing for children to do was to take care of their

⁸⁶ Bagnall and Criboire take this to be an example of the woman's outspoken personality because she launched into an account of her personal theft before inquiring about Apollonios' illness. Now she feels guilty and is making up for her oversight (*Women's Letters*, 143).

⁸⁷ Bagnall and Criboire take this to be a close personal acquaintance, apparently taking the fact that he addresses Apollonios as "the brother" as an expression of close personal friendship and not to be taken literally (*ibid.*, 142).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 142. They give no evidence for why they take this to be their uncle.

⁸⁹ This is not the same Apollonios from the previously discussed letter, P.Brem 61.

⁹⁰ This petition is made to a βενεφικιαρίος, which appears to be a borrowed term from the Latin *beneficiarius*, which refers to a privileged soldier. Here, the *beneficiarius* is said to belong to the ἑπαρχος, or governor, of Egypt.

parents in time of illness and supply their need. There is no mention of a physician, or even any other family members or neighbors involved in the care of Aurēlia's mother. Instead, the neighbors are the ones who take advantage of the woman's situation for their own personal gain. Meanwhile the daughter taking care of her mother presents herself as the virtuous one.

As with the text above, SB 6.9605 (AD 301-325) is a private, Christian⁹¹ letter that also expresses the expectation for family to write with news of each other's health. The letter writer is writing to clear up any confusion or miscommunication because he recently left from a visit with Apamiōs, the letter's recipient. As he left, he had promised to send his brother, Koprean, as soon as he found him. But he found Koprean to be ill when he met him, so he was not able to send him up. He does not divulge the reason for sending Koprean, but it may have been because Apamiōs was sick himself. He requests Apamiōs to send news of his health quickly in order to relieve their worry about his health. He also asks him to send the medicine (φαρμακοθὲν), possibly to help Koprean recover from his illness more quickly. Since this is a Christian letter, it is possible that the references to brother and sister are not meant to express blood relation but rather brother and sister "in the Lord." However, they are interacting using the expectations of physical family relations.

SB 1.4426 (AD 274) is a fragmentary text, where the first part of each line is missing, so it is difficult to fully understand the meaning of each line. However, this text is a petition to the prefect⁹² of Egypt, and the writer makes reference to "repaying the need [ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρεῶν]" on account of the illness. Just before the reference to illness, the writer mentions his wife and children, so there was likely some sort of illness in the family. Nothing more can be determined for certain, but there is at least a sense that illness has left one person indebted to another, possibly someone who provided for their means during a time of illness in the family.

Types of Illnesses

The term most frequently used to speak of illness in a general manner is νόσος. At times, this term is used in the documentary papyri to simply state that a person was found to have some sort of unspecified illness, and at other times the term is followed by a description of symptoms accompanied by the illness. The term could also be used with another word to specify a particular illness, most notably the "sacred disease" (ἱερός νόσος), which was used to indicate epilepsy. We will see below that νόσος was used to cover a wide variety of illnesses.

One of the noteworthy features of illness in the documentary papyri is the fact that medical terms are very rarely used. Most persons in these texts simply use general terminology such as νόσος or ἀρρωστία. Unlike in modern times, where we generally speak in terms of named medical conditions (i.e. cancer, influenza, colds, etc.), the persons writing in the documentary papyri generally reveal very little familiarity with medical terminology. Other than terms such as τυφλός, χωλός, and κωφός, most language for illness speaks in general terms with some reference to specific symptoms

⁹¹ The letter writer opens by saying he prays "to the most high God and to the divine foreknowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."

⁹² ἑπαρχος.

such as shivering or shortness of breath (see below). Even terms that appear frequently in the gospels, such as πυρετός and λεπρός, appear very rarely in the documentary papyri.⁹³

The terms νόσος and ἄρρωστος (along with cognates ἄρρωστέω and ἄρρωστιά) frequently describe several different types of illness or injury in the documentary papyri. These can be grouped into illness in a general sense and specific illnesses.

These terms were most often used without providing further details about the specific nature of the illness. Texts that make reference to νόσος but do not describe a specified illness are: BGU 3.948; P.Brem 61; P.Leit 1; P.Lond 6.1926; P.Mert 1.26; P.Mich 8.478; P.Michael 18; P.Oxy 6.939; P.Oxy 8.1121; P.Oxy 8.1161; P.Oxy 10.1299; P.Oxy 12.1414; P.Oxy 40.2936; P.Oxy 41.2981; P.Oxy 46.3314; P.Oxy 77.5112; P.Oxy.Hels 46; P.Sakaon 48; P.Select 18; SB 6.9605; SB 24.16282.

Likewise, ἄρρωστος and its cognates are used without reference to specified illness in: BGU 10.1942; O.Claud 1.83-96; O.Claud 117; O.Claud 4.708; O.Claud 4.714; O.Claud 4.717; P.Amh 2.35; P.Cair.Zen 1.59029; P.Cair.Zen 1.59034; P.Cair.Zen 1.59042; P.Cair.Zen 3.59435; P.Col 3.10; P.Enteux 33; P.Fouad 80; P.Genova 1.45; P.Genova 3.117; P.Iand 6.111; P.Lond 7.2044; P.Lond 7.2131; P.Petr 1.30; P.Polit.Iud 7; PSI 4.333; P.Sorb 3.127; P.Tebt 1.52; P.Tebt 3.1.798; SB 18.13222; SB 18.13589; UPZ 1.62.

The ostraca found at Mons Claudianus feature a number of name lists that reference sick persons. The vast majority of these lists simply name a person followed by the term ἄρρωστος or the date with the number of sick persons (i.e. O.Claud 1.93: Χοιάκ η ἄρρωστοι),⁹⁴ followed by a list of names. One text, O.Claud 4.708, states there were three sick persons at the time, one of whom had dysentery (likewise also in O.Claud 4.717). This text also mentions one physician (ιατρός), so the quarry at Mons Claudianus had a physician available to offer medical help to workers (and likely other similar work sites as well).

Even though these texts do not name specific illnesses, they do often provide some hints at the type of illness afflicting a person. So, for example, in P.Lond 6.1926 (326-75 AD), a woman, named Valeria, writes to a Christian monk asking for him to pray for her healing. She describes her illness briefly, saying that she is in “great illness” (μεγάλῳ νόσῳ)⁹⁵ and short of breath. The woman’s description of her symptoms as difficulty breathing suggests asthma as the likely illness. The term she uses to describe

⁹³ Other terms that appear in the Gospels but appear rarely or not at all in the documentary papyri include ὕδρωπικός (*dropsy*, 0 occurrences in the Documentary Papyri, rare even in Medical documents; cf. Hp.Aph 6.8, 27, 35. Also see the discussion of dropsy in the Philosophical writings in Chad Hartssock, “The Healing of the Man with Dropsy (Luke 14:1-6) and the Lukan Landscape,” *Biblical Interpretation* 21 (2013): 349-52.

⁹⁴ This is an alternate spelling for ἄρρωστοι.

⁹⁵ In Greek, the woman uses the word περίκειμαι (“lie round about, have round one, wear”) to give the sense that she is “wearing” or “enwrapped” in this great sickness. She may have felt this way if she was feeling some sort of pressure on her chest or constricted breathing like having tight clothing on.

her shortness of breath is δύσπνοια.⁹⁶ It is likely this woman was enduring this shortness of breath for a long span of time, and this is not simply a brief episode.⁹⁷

Another text describes an illness involving difficulty breathing and wheezing. P.Oxy 12.1414 (AD 271-72) records the proceedings of a senate. The end of the document records an exchange between the πρύτανις (chief magistrate) and the βουλευται (senators). There are several gaps in the text that make it difficult to grasp the full meaning of the conversation, but the πρύτανις seems to be pushing the senators to make a decision to appoint his successor because of his illness. He states that he is wheezing from the lung, though it does not seem that his illness has prevented him from speaking publicly since he is able to converse with the Senate. Hippocrates uses the word for wheezing (ῥέγκω) to describe a symptom of a condition that leads an otherwise healthy person to death when accompanied with pains in the head. The πρύτανις does not make any mention of head pains, but it is possible the condition of his wheezing was very serious and required his successor to be named if he was at risk of dying from his illness.

P.Leit 1 (ca. AD 160) records the need for people in official positions to be replaced because of illness. In this text, two presbyters are no longer able to fulfill their duties in liturgical office because of illness and must be replaced. The primary purpose of this document is to provide a list of well-suited candidates for their replacement, and nothing is said about the nature of their illness.⁹⁸

Another papyrus treats an illness involving “shivering.” In P.Mert 1.26 (AD 274), a selection of minutes of an ἐξηγητής, the text gives a description of a child who is suffering from a “shivering [φρικώδης]” illness. The father of the child apparently is trying to dispel the assumption that the child will die from this illness. He claims that he has also cured other children with this shivering illness in other places. The shivering in this case is most likely caused by a fever, even though the word πυρετος is not used. Throughout the Hippocratic corpus, the symptom of “shivering [φρικώδης]” is always accompanied by fever.⁹⁹ The cases described in Hippocrates’ work are also very severe cases in which almost every patient dies as a result of the illness. The threat on the child’s life was very real. So, it is likely that the child described in P.Mert 1.26 was considered to be incurable by most people at the time, despite the father’s claim to

⁹⁶ This is the only occurrence of this term anywhere in the documentary papyri. The term is described in Celsus *De Medicina* 4.8 as moderate difficulty in breathing without choking. It is considered by Celsus to be one level short of an asthma attack. It can be a long-lasting illness, unlike the more acute attacks of *asthma* or the more severe *orthopnoea*.

⁹⁷ The term δύσπνοια also appears in Hippocrates’ *Aph.* 3.31 in a list of illnesses attributed to old persons, suggesting the possibility the woman was of advanced age. Other references to δύσπνοια in the Hippocratic corpus also generally say this illness is accompanied by coughing. Cf. *Prog.* 17, *Prog.* 18, *De diaeta acutorum* 11, *Epid.* 3.4.8, *Art.* 41, *Aph.* 4.51. As a side note, Herodotus, in his *Histories* 3.33 refers to one man’s case of epilepsy as νοῦσον μεγάλην (similar to the μεγάλη νόσῳ the woman uses to describe her own illness), which some call “sacred [ἱερὴν].” Also, *Hipp. Morb. Sacr.* 1 identifies a severe case of epilepsy, where a person, among other symptoms, is seized with asthma.

⁹⁸ Interestingly, the two required qualities of the replacement candidates are that they be εὖπορος (“well-off, wealthy”) and ἐπιτήδεια (“useful, serviceable, friendly”).

⁹⁹ *Hp.*, *Epid.* 1.4.9; 1.4.11; 1.4.14; 3.1.7; 3.1.12; 3.3.2; 3.3.4; 3.3.7; 3.3.10; 3.3.12; and 3.3.14-16. The one possible exception to this can be found in *Epid.* 3.3.16, where a patient is said to be “shivering” but there is no mention of fever; however, the patient does suffer from delirium, which may have been brought on by undiagnosed fever.

the opposite. This papyrus document is especially interesting because the documentary papyri have very limited references to the word “fever [πυρετός].”¹⁰⁰

P.Oxy 8.1161 (fourth c. AD) is generally considered to be a Christian letter because of the reference to the “Savior and his son.” The letter-writer says he is extremely sick and unable to rise from his bed. He repeats several times how sick he is, which may be a result of his illness making him somewhat less coherent as he dictates.

Several texts describe an illness that has inhibited the person’s ability to write. P.Mich 8.478 (AD 101-125) is a letter written by a man who was appointed to travel for a business matter but was unable to go because he was overtaken by an attack of an illness. The illness was so severe that he could not write any news for five days or travel. The man makes a recovery and expresses gratitude to the gods for his recovery. The second half of the text appears to say more about his recovery from the illness, but the text is too fragmentary to be able to determine what more is said.

A very similar situation is described in P.Oxy.Hels 46 (first-second c. AD). In this letter, a man states that he was not able to write back a report upon his arrival because he was recovering from illness and chilliness. He most likely became sick during his travel and needed some time when he first arrived at his destination to recover from his illness. It was apparently not a life-threatening illness, but it was severe enough to keep him from being able to write a report back for a time. His illness may be related to traveling to a colder or wetter climate, depending on how we take his reference to a “great chilliness [ψυγμοῦ¹⁰¹ μεγάλου].”

In P.Oxy 10.1299 (fourth c. AD), a father and mother write news to their son that they had been suffering from “much sickness [πολλά ἐνοσοῦμεν]” since the New Year but have now recovered. They express gratitude to God for their recovery. The letter is addressed the tenth of Hathyr, the third month in the Egyptian calendar, so the sickness probably lasted about two months. The use of the term πολλά (in the plural) could be meant to express that they were severely ill, or it could mean they experienced multiple types of sickness. In the latter case, they could be referencing multiple symptoms, but they say no more about what type of illness they endured. It was apparently not serious enough for their son to come, but they do express their expectation that he will come soon, perhaps because of the news of their illness.¹⁰²

Another text that uses the verb form of νοσέω is P.Oxy 41.2981 (second c. AD), which is written from one man to his brother. He states that he went to two places looking for a certain person named Μαρκεῖνος, whom he found “being ill [νοσοῦντα].” Μαρκεῖνος was apparently not gravely ill, though, because he immediately gives orders to the man writing the letter to take himself and a group of men with him to Alexandria. The writer makes no further mention of the type of illness. In a similar situation, P.Oxy 77.5112 (AD 212-246) documents the journey of another man, named Αὐρήλιος, who is sent by a business associate to seek out a certain person. He reports

¹⁰⁰ Some form of the word πυρετός is found in P.Gur 5; P.Oslo 3. 95; and P.Oxy 12.1582. These texts were treated in Chapter 1.

¹⁰¹ Every other reference to ψυγμός in the documentary papyri is referring to some sort of a drying-place (usually for crops), which would presumably at times be a damp place from the wetness of crops being dried. The context in this papyrus does not make sense for it to be a reference to a “drying-place,” so this is a unique use of the word in the papyri to refer to damp, or possibly cold, weather.

¹⁰² For more on the handwriting and language of this letter, as well as the possibility that it is a Christian letter, see Bagnall and Cribiore, *Women’s Letters*, 274-75.

back that he found the man lying in bed “exceedingly sick [πάνυ νοσοῦντα].” The man’s illness is not described in any more detail, but it is clear that his illness has hindered their business relations. A third document uses the verb form νοσέω and reports a person finding an associate sick. In SB 6.9605 (AD 301-325), a man writes that he was going to send his brother up, but he found him ill, and so he has to wait for another opportunity to send him alone.

One other feature of illness in the papyri is the danger of people’s lives when they were ill. So, in P.Sakaon 48 (AD 343), a man writes a petition to an official because his son’s wife was stolen from him while he lay ill, at the point of death. The son eventually dies from the illness, but no more is said of the cause of his illness. The man’s petition focuses on the lawless and brutal history of behavior from these men.

Another papyrus text speaks to the importance of social relationships related to illness. In P.Select 18 (AD 312-318), a son or daughter writes to their father regarding several matters, including the importance of sending a certain Εὐχάριστος. This person is important to the letter-writer because they state: “If Εὐχάριστος is not sent to me, how will I not fall into illness and be unable to fill water for myself or do other such tasks?” The identity of this Εὐχάριστος is not clear. They may be a family member, member of their household or possibly a physician of some kind. It is clear, though, that this person is reliable enough to keep this son or daughter in good health. Depending on how the context is to be understood, it may be that Εὐχάριστος will be a traveling companion, able to assist with basic duties during travel.

One papyrus letter may involve an illness related to hunger. In SB 24.16282 (fourth c. AD), a man writes to his lord and patron that he has spent his share of what he was given on doctors trying to heal him of his illness. He also writes that he had suffered through continuous famine, and the expense he paid to the doctors may have been to treat malnutrition or another related illness.

P.Michael 18 (AD 226-275) is a very fragmentary list of an inventory of goods, and one of the final lines has the words: τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς νοσοῦ[σης] (“the peculiarity of being ill”). The text is too fragmentary to be able to tell anything from the context. Another fragmentary text comes from P.Oxy 40.2936 (AD 271-272), which is a list of officials. One official is mentioned to be ill, but the text is too fragmented to be able to tell the reason or significance of this person being ill.

In a number of instances, the term refers to an unspecified illness that puts a person’s life in danger. These references are most often found in last wills and testaments written in the face of an apparent terminal illness: Chr.Mitt 318rpdupl; P.Col 7.188; P.Oxy 6.990, 54.3758, 60.4075; P.Palaurib 1; SB 20.14379. It should be noted that none of these references appear to include an illness affecting the mental state of a person since they are able to record their will in a right state of mind.¹⁰³ The specifics of the illness are almost never discussed, with the exception of Chr.Mitt 318rpdupl, which states the person suffers from νόσος ὑφορωμένη (“jealous disease”).

One of the interesting points in the previous documents, where they do not give the specifics of the illness, is the way that violent language used to describe the onset of the illness. For example, in P.Mich 8.478, the man states he received a “violent attack [ἐπιηρασμὸν]” of an illness. This word is not attested frequently, but it is also found in

¹⁰³ P.Oxy 6.990 even makes special mention that the writer of the will is in their right mind (νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα, lit. “perceiving and understanding”).

P.Tebt 1.28 (line 4), an official letter describing a complaint about the fiscal irresponsibility of the κωμογραμματεὺς in a certain nome. The letter-writer complains that their “insolent conduct [ἐπηρεασμὸν]” is hindering their work. The language used by the letter-writer in P.Mich 8.478, then, sounds like the type of language a person would use to describe a personal attack or wrongdoing from another person. The man feels he was attacked by the illness in the way he might be shamefully treated by another person. Similarly, the terms ἀναλαμβάνω or καταλαμβάνω are used multiple times to describe being seized by an illness: P.Lond 6.1928; P.Oxy 6.939; P.Oxy.Hels 46; P.Sakaon 48; PSI 4.299; SB 20.14379.¹⁰⁴ We also find the term βαρέω (“weigh down”) in P.Oxy 6.939 and δεινός (“fearful, suffering”) in P.Oxy 8.1161.

Plague and Famine

There are a few texts that speak to more widespread illness. First, P.Lond 6.1912 (AD 41) includes a letter written from the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians. This letter references a certain common disease that had risen up in the known world.¹⁰⁵ Also, in SB 6.9218 (AD 319-320), a fragment of a letter, the text makes reference to a group of people wholly destroyed by a plague (νόσου λοιμώδους τινος). Similarly, in P.Oxy 73.4963 (2nd-3rd c. AD), a woman writes to her brother to inform him that she has spent the winter in illness, and it has happened to her twofold. The duration of her illness is signaled by her use of the word ἐπιδημία, which suggests the possibility that this was a more widespread illness of an epidemic nature.

P.Lond 7.2007 (248 BC) references those people who died from famine or from an illness associated with religious festivals (ιερεῖα).

Threat of Death

The outcome of illness in the ancient world was very uncertain, and the threat of death was very real. Letters attest to the presence of extreme sickness, to the point where persons express that they had been to the very point of death (P.Oxy 55.3816; SB 18.13222). Also, persons make appeals to the gods to be delivered from the threat of death (UPZ 1.122). Words of condolences at the loss of a child reveal a mindset that accepts the truth that we can do nothing to stop death (SB 12.10840) and no one is immortal (SB 18.13946).¹⁰⁶

The threat of death because of violence was especially strong. Petitions made to Egyptian officials preserve the violence done against people either because someone was taking advantage of a death to rob from the family (P.Mil.Vogl 2.73; P.Oxy 8.1121) or actually causing death (BGU 8.1816; P.Oxy 3.472). Many of the petitions also show that people were beaten to the very point where their life was in danger (P.Abinn 51, 52; P.Kell 1.23; P.Tebt 2.304).

¹⁰⁴ This violent imagery in reference to disease is similar to Galen’s use of “attack” or “seize” to refer to persons taken over by fever (Susan Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008], 156).

¹⁰⁵ κοινήν τεινά [τινά] τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας.

¹⁰⁶ See also SB 10.10483, a mummy epithet, which states the somber truth that “no one is *immortal* (ἀθάνατος) in the world.”

Two texts speak to the threat of death in prison. In P.Petr 3.36, a released man gives personal testimony to the fact that he himself observed extreme poverty and death because of unmet needs while in prison. Similarly, in PSI 5.532, a man expresses his fear that he will be destroyed (διαφθείρω) in prison.

The threat of death is also evidenced in several slave contracts, where stipulation is made concerning the possibility of the slave dying: BGU 4.1059; P.Dura 20; P.Oslo 2.40, 3.485; PSI 6.710.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, contracts for wet-nurses also contain stipulation against the death of the child (C.Pap.Gr 1.4, 1.5, 1.7). Also, multiple contracts define the terms for leasing out livestock and guard against the animals not being returned alive (P.Alex.Giss 5; P.Amst 1.41; P.Cair.Preis 41; P.Cair.Zen 3.59422; P.Iand 7.144a; P.Monts.Roca 4.81; P.Sakaon 71; P.Stras 1.30; PSI 4.377; P.Wisc 2.78; SB 5.8086).¹⁰⁸

Divine Appeals for Healing

The modern, western distinction between divine healing and empirical medicine does not generally apply to the people involved in the documentary papyri. Georgia Petridou observes that even in the popular healing cult of Asclepius, people found healing from the god through both divine revelation and empirical medical cures. Even when people received epiphanies in the form of dreams during incubation, these epiphanies could include simple instruction for following a particular course of medical treatment.¹⁰⁹ So, the line between medicine and divine intervention was not necessarily drawn distinctly for people in antiquity.¹¹⁰ People took medical courses of action at the same time as appealing to the gods for divine help.

So, in P.Petr 1.30 (third c. BC), we have a letter that directly references a person's attendance in an Asclepius temple in Memphis because of sickness. The letter writer (Φιλωνίδης) writes a brief letter back to his father, wishing him good health while stating that he is himself in good health. He also states that he has not yet received the linen cloths, possibly indicating the reason for his travels. He then informs his father that a certain Σάτυρος (his exact relationship is not given) has fallen ill in Memphis. They are now, in his words, "wasting time" in the Asclepion. This man is most likely indicating that he is bothered by the unnecessary delay in their plans, but it is also possible he does not feel the visit to the Asclepion will result in an actual cure.

As we have already seen in several texts above, it was a frequent practice to pray for healing from disease or sickness. For example, in P.Brem 61 (see above), a close personal associate of Απολλωνίος (the letter's recipient) writes that he makes obeisance every hour to the lord Έρμή for the sake of Apolonios' health. Whether this means every hour of the day or only at certain designated prayer times throughout the day is not clear. Still, he prays regularly for his associate's health. Another strong indication of people's pious belief in prayer for another's health comes from P.Oxy

¹⁰⁷ Most of these also mention the threat of a slave fleeing from his or her master.

¹⁰⁸ All contracts for wet-nurses and leasing livestock use the term ἀθάνατος.

¹⁰⁹ As Petridou states, "Asclepius was both a divine healer and a divine physician, both a god and a doctor" (Petridou, *Asclepius the Divine Healer*, 305).

¹¹⁰ This line is not necessarily drawn for many people in the world today as well, especially in non-Western parts of the world. See the many examples in Craig S. Keener, *Miracles: The Credibility of the New Testament Accounts* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011).

6.939. In this text, a servant expresses an earnest concern over his mistress' severe illness, and he expresses gratitude to God for heeding his prayers. He is now finally able to write good news about her recovery. By contrast, in P.Lond 6.1926, a woman writes to a Christian monk requesting prayer for her own healing from a "great illness."¹¹¹

Besides intercessory prayers for healing, there is also evidence of people attending the temples in search for healing. So, in P.Tebt 1.44 (114 BC), a man states that he was in the temple of the great Isis, worshiping in the temple because of the sickness he was experiencing. The man does not seem to indicate that there was anything special or out of the ordinary in his motivation for being there, so it can be assumed he was one of many sick persons seeking healing in the Isis temple.

It is documented that people often wrote down their requests to an oracle in a standard format (some may have been delivered orally before the god's statue), and these questions document a variety of requests.¹¹² What is much more rare are papyrus texts documenting answers from the oracle concerning these requests. One of these rare answers can be found in P.Vindob.Sal 1, which documents an answer to a request for healing. It is translated as follows:

Concerning the things about which you asked. You are well.¹¹³ What you desire night and day will be yours. As for what you want the gods will guide you and your livelihood will be for the better and your life will be distinguished.¹¹⁴

While we do not have a papyrus containing the questions this text is answering, it is clear that the first question put to the oracle was a request for healing from an illness. The answer to this request for good health and healing is very short and concise. What is most instructive from this text is the concern not only with healing but also with the overall quality of life for this individual. It seems fairly clear that not only has this individual suffered from health concerns, they have also met with an overall sense of disappointment with their position in life. They have desires that are unmet, and this oracle offers reassurance that the requestor's life will improve. From a social point of view, it is interesting that the oracle's petitioner is not concerned with health alone but also with the honorable quality of his life in general. This is another piece of evidence in support of the view that health concerns were almost never medical concerns only. Rather poor health was a sign of misfortune, leading people to be concerned with their overall social position and well-being.

In summary, the documentary papyri have more to say about the social implications of illness than about the details of specific diseases or sickness. We have seen a general expectation that family and household members will take care of each other in times of illness. We have also seen indications that people made frequent appeals to the gods as they sought out opportunities for healing. The language used in reference to illness also indicates the severity of some of the sickness expressed in personal letters.

¹¹¹ This is possibly epilepsy. See the discussion in Chapter 2.

¹¹² See the discussion in Horsley, *New Docs 2*, 37-44.

¹¹³ ὑγιαίνεις.

¹¹⁴ Translation from Horsley, *New Docs 2*, 37.

CHAPTER 2 - NAMED ILLNESSES IN THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

Key Terms: τυφλός, κωφός, λεπρός, λεύκωμα, ξηρός, παράλυτος, πυρετός, χωλός

This chapter treats specific, named illnesses referenced in the documentary papyri. Some illnesses that receive little to no treatment in the papyri were dealt with in a limited capacity in Chapter 1 under *unspecified illnesses*. The three terms for illness that are found most frequently in the documentary papyri are τυφλός, κωφός, and χωλός.

ΤΥΦΛΟΣ

Eye conditions received a considerable amount of treatment in Egyptian and Greek medical texts.¹¹⁵ The Bible includes varying levels of eyesight concerns, but blindness is generally seen as an irreversible illness (except by way of miracle). In the NT, when blind persons come to Jesus (or are brought to him) they are generally beggars with little means to survive. The picture of blind persons in the documentary papyri, however, is very different. The papyri texts give us a picture of blind persons who were fully functioning members of society, able to pay taxes and even render service.

Blindness as an Identifying Mark

Because of the nature of the documentary papyrus texts, we are only able to catch a very limited glimpse of what people with blindness experienced in life. In this study, there were no examples found of anyone seeking treatment for blindness. We will see below an example of a person treating τράχωμα, an eye condition that could lead to blindness. However, every mention of blindness that applies to a person¹¹⁶ is used as an identifying mark, whether as a description or in some cases as part of their actual name. These references are typically found in tax lists or other business accounts. They are BGU 14.2425; CPR 8.49; O.Elkab 147; O.Mich 1.104; P.Corn 22; P.Koeln 4.198; P.Mich 4.223; P.Mich 4.1.224; P.Mich 4.1.225; P.Ross.Georg 3.1; and SB 26.16675.

Among these texts, three are simple lists of names with no explanation for the purpose of the lists: BGU 14.2425 (first c. BC); CPR 8.49 (fourth-fifth c. AD); and O.Elkab 147 (first-second c. AD). Two of these lists also give the associated professions. In the first text (BGU 14.2425), the profession is a “grinder [ἀλέτης]” and in the second text (CPR 8.49), the word is incomplete: νομισματ. The profession apparently has to do with coins, possibly a moneychanger, which would be difficult considering the person’s condition, but not impossible. The word Τυφλός appears as the person’s actual name in BGU 14.2425 and O.Elkab 147.

¹¹⁵ Philippa Lang, *Medicine and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15.

¹¹⁶ There are multiple texts where τυφλός refers to a street name: CPR 17B.18; P.Lond 3.870; P.Oxy 1.99; P.Oxy 10.1276; P.Oxy 34.2722; SB 10.10571; SB 24.16000. Most of these street names are in Panopolis or Oxyrhynchos. There is also a waterway that is named τυφλός in SB 1.1974, in reference to some kind of a ford or strait. There is also one occasion where τυφλός is used in a financial sense in P.Oxy 36.2783, where a sibling writes, “your brother forced me to sell *the blind*.”

Two other texts are account lists, detailing money that is owed but not related to taxes. In one case (SB 26.16675, AD 161-210), the person listed is identified as “Isatos, son of Hōros, the blind.” In the other text (O.Mich 1.104, AD 276-325), everyone on the list owes 140 drachmas, but the reason is not listed. One person is identified as “blind,” but their actual name is missing due to a lacuna in the text. In addition, P.Corn 22 (AD 1-25) identifies a blind man on a census roll listing persons living in other villages. Finally, three extensive tax rolls from Karanis (AD 172-175) include blind persons as taxpayers: P.Mich 4.223; 4.224; and 4.225. These tax rolls include two persons identified as “blind” who actually are responsible for taxes themselves and two sons of blind persons. This evidence suggests that blind persons were not wholly exempt from paying taxes.

There are two exceptions to these lists. First, P.Ross.Georg 3.1 (ca. AD 270) is a letter written by a physician named Markos completing a time of service in the military. He writes about several business and personal concerns of the family, and one of these includes payment to a man referred to as Apollōnios the Blind (Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τυφλός). The man writes that he was approached personally by this Ἀπολλώνιος, claiming that Markos’ mother had been given a certain amount of money (ἀρούρας), apparently for animal feed. Markos recommends testing out the man’s intentions and giving him the money if his intentions are good. Otherwise, he should offer wheat as payment. It is not clear the exact role of the blind man in the business deal. It seems to be that he is offering a service of some kind, possibly selling them animal feed or feeding the animals himself. In either case, the blind Apollonios clearly has a role in this business transaction. It is possible that Markos does not fully trust Apollonios because he is blind, but there is no clear evidence from the text to determine his suspicions.

Second, P.Koeln 4.198 (third c. AD) is a fragment of a business letter, which states that fleeces were sold to persons about (περὶ) Diodoros the Blind and Maximos. There may have been other persons involved as well, but the text breaks off at this point. The description of persons surrounding Diodoros may well be caretakers of the blind man, who did the actual buying and selling of items for him. In this case, he was likely a man of some means if he was able to have persons conducting his business affairs for him.

In summary, the documentary texts, though limited, indicate that blind persons were able to be functioning members of society. We see evidence that they were able to conduct business affairs and have their own professions. The documentary papyri do not preserve evidence of blind persons reduced to begging or other lower class activities. The blind persons in the papyri by and large are not cut off from the business affairs of the world around them.

Other Eye Conditions – τράχωμα

In addition to these cases of blindness, we also have some evidence in the documentary papyri of less serious eye conditions, and one of these texts speaks to a possible cause of blindness: τράχωμα.

PSI 4.299 (AD 275-300) is a letter written by a very pious man, likely a Christian,¹¹⁷ in which he gives a report of an illness, involving trachoma¹¹⁸ of the eyes, that has spread throughout his whole family:

1
τῆ κυρία [ἀ]δελφῆ Τιτιανὸς εὖ πράτ'τειν.
τυχῶν τ[οῦ]¹¹⁹ [ἀ]νερχομένου πρὸς ὑμᾶς προήχθη
γράψαι σο[ι τ]ὰ συμβάντα μοι ὅτι κατεσχέθη
νόσω ἐπὶ πολὺ \. / ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲ σαλεύεσθαι.
5
ὡς δ' ἐκουφίσθη μοι ἡ νόσος, ἐπύθετό μοι ὁ ὀ-
φθαλμὸς καὶ τραχώματα ἔσχον καὶ δεινὰ
πέπονθα ἔτι τε καὶ ἕτερα μ[έρ]η τοῦ σώματος
ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τομὴν ἤκειν μ[ε]¹²⁰ ὀλίγου, ἀλλὰ θεῶ χά-
ρις. ὁ δὲ πατήρ μου [μέχρι] \. / {τ[ο]ύτου}, δι' ὃν καὶ νο-
10
σῶν παρ[έ]μεινα [μέχρι] \. / τού[τ]ου], νοσεῖ· καὶ δι' αὐτὸν¹²¹
ἔτι ἐνταῦθά εἰμι. μακροψ[ύ]χ[ει] οὖν, ἀδελφή, ἄχρεις¹²²
οὔ ἄν με θεὸς εὐοδώσῃ [πρὸς] ὑμᾶς. καὶ συνε-
χῶς τούτου ἔνεκεν εἴϋχομαι τῷ θεῷ ἕως οὔ ἄν με
πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐοδώσῃ. ἐνόσησαν δὲ πάν-
15
τες οἱ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ τὰ παιδί-
α πάντα, ὡς μηδὲ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ὑπηρεσίαν,¹²³ ἀλλὰ
τὰ πάντα συνεχῶς¹²⁴ τοῦ θεοῦ δέε[σ]θαι. καὶ αὐτὸς
δὲ πειρῶμαι, ἐπὰν πλοίου εὐπορηθῶ, καταλα-
βεῖν ὑμᾶς.¹²⁵ ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριός μου
20
πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, ἀσπάζο\ν/ται ὑμᾶς οἱ κα-
τὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πάντες, ἀσ[π]άζομαι τὸν κύρι-

¹¹⁷ This letter does not make a specific reference to Christ, but he does mention God in four places. He gives thanks to God (θεῶ χάρις), mentions his desire for God to bring him on a safe journey (με θεὸς εὐοδώσῃ), and prays to God twice (εἴϋχομαι τῷ θεῷ; τοῦ θεοῦ δέεσθαι). In all three cases, he refers to God in the singular. John Winter uses this text as part of his discussion about how to determine whether a letter is Christian or not. He states that the use of ὁ θεός by itself is not definitive proof that the letter-writer was Christian. But when the use of θεός in the singular is accompanied by “a tone and point of view which stand in marked contrast to the pagan” it is highly probable that the letter is written from a Christian point of view (*Life and Letters*, 146). The tone of the letter is not altogether different from non-Christian letters, but the reference to “calling upon God” in the singular is certainly a strong indicator of belief in the God of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures.

¹¹⁸ This is the only text in the DDbDP containing the word τράχωμα.

¹¹⁹ Τύχων[ος] prev. ed.

¹²⁰ μ[οι] prev. ed.

¹²¹ αὐτὸ(ν) prev. ed.

¹²² Read ἄχρις.

¹²³ ὑπηρεσίαν in the papyrus.

¹²⁴ [σ]υνεχῶς prev. ed.

¹²⁵ ὑμας in the papyrus, twice in this line and once in line 20.

[όν] μου [ἀδελφὸ(?)]ν καὶ [. κ]αὶ Κυρίλλαν
[-ca.?-] . . .

To my lady sister, Titianos, be well. Since Tuchon is going to you, I am led to write to you the matters that have happened to me. For I have been held back¹²⁶ by much illness...as not being able neither to sail.¹²⁷ And since the illness has been lightened up¹²⁸ for me, my eye has rotted¹²⁹ and they (eyes) have trachoma¹³⁰ and such¹³¹ I have suffered¹³² yet even more in my body as also I have come upon a little clearing,¹³³ but grace to God. And my father, because of whom I stayed till now, ill as I was, is ill. And because of him I am still here.¹³⁴ So, have patience,¹³⁵ sister, until when God may help bring¹³⁶ me to you. And continuously on account of¹³⁷ this, I pray to God until when he may help bring me to you again. And all those from the house have fallen ill, both the mother and all the children, since we have not had help,¹³⁸ rather all things are continuously bound by God. And the same let me try,¹³⁹ since I will obtain¹⁴⁰ a boat, to bring¹⁴¹ you. My lord father and mother greet you, all those from the house greet you, I greet my lord brother and...and Kyrilla...

The primary purpose of this letter is to explain that he was delayed in coming to his sister because of his illness (as well as that of his father and other family members) and that he will soon be free to come to her. This letter is addressed “Titianos to my lady sister.” It is not readily clear whether this is actually his physical sister or, assuming this is a Christian letter, his “sister in the Lord.” Titianos mentions his father later in the text, but nowhere does he say “our father.” This suggests he is writing to a close personal associate of some sort but not his literal sister. It is very clear that the letter recipient is at least a very close, personal friend, given that Titianos’ father, mother and whole household send their greetings to her.

The text does not give a name to Titianos’ specific illness, but it is certainly a severe one that even spread to his entire family. The illness affects his entire body to the extent that he is unable even to move for some time. He also states that he continued to suffer throughout his body even after the severity of the illness had passed, to the point that he was almost in need of an operation. The aches in multiple places of his body may indicate that he was suffering from a fever of some kind. But the

¹²⁶ κατασχεθεῖν, hold back.

¹²⁷ σαλεύω, put out to sea, toss like a ship, cause to rock, totter, shake...Winter translates this as “not able to move.” All references to Winter’s translation can be found in John Garrett Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933), 146-47.

¹²⁸ κουφίζω, lighten, make light, be light, be relieved (of a sufferer).

¹²⁹ πύθω, cause to rot; pass: become rotten, decay.

¹³⁰ τράχωμα, trachoma (in the eyes).

¹³¹ δεῖνα, such an one, so-and-so.

¹³² πάσχω (here: πεπονθα, pf), suffer.

¹³³ τομάς, clearing (in a forest). Winter takes this to mean he almost had an operation.

¹³⁴ ἐνταῦθα, here, there, then.

¹³⁵ μαχροψυχέω, have patience.

¹³⁶ εὐοδώ, help on the way; pass.: have a prosperous journey, prosper, be successful.

¹³⁷ ἔνεκα (follows its case), because of, on account of.

¹³⁸ ὑπηρεσία, service, body of rowers, ship’s crew.

¹³⁹ πειράω, try, attempt, endeavor.

¹⁴⁰ εὐπορέω, prosper, thrive, supply; pass. (=intr. act.): have plenty of, abound in, obtain use of (a boat).

¹⁴¹ καταλαμβάνω, seize, lay hold of (in this usage, it seems to simply mean “bring” or “take”, transporting someone by boat).

main symptom he describes is the deterioration of his eyes. As the illness began to lighten up, his eye began to rot,¹⁴² and both eyes had trachoma (τραχώματα).

His reference to trachoma is most likely what is known as Egyptian ophthalmia or *chlamydia trachomatis*, which was a frequent illness in ancient Egypt. This was an endemic infection, and repeated infection caused blindness.¹⁴³ The rotting of his eyes probably meant his eyesight began to fail and he had discharge from his tear ducts. His condition may be similar to what Celsus describes in *De Medicina* 6.6,¹⁴⁴ where he states that if a patient experiences tears and mucus discharge with moderate swelling in one eye only, then the condition will last a while without causing long-lasting damage. It could last from twenty days up to two months. When Celsus speaks of τράχωμα in the same section, he describes a hardening and inflammation of the eyes. He describes a practice of scraping the underside of the eyelid with a fig leaf or other instrument and daily rubbing medication under the surface of the eyelid. Celsus suggests, instead, a diet of acrid foods and proper medication.¹⁴⁵ He also prefers exercise and frequent baths along with flushing the eyelids with hot water.¹⁴⁶

So, the fact that the man uses the term τράχωμα indicates that either the man was familiar with some medical terminology or the term τράχωμα was in ready use as a way of describing this eye condition. However, since this papyrus text is the only place where the term is found in any of the documentary papyri, the former seems more likely.

Other Eye Conditions as Identifying Marks

In addition to the example above, other examples of less serious eye conditions can be found in the tax lists, which often use eye conditions to help identify individuals. Most of these lists focus on the appearance of the eyes. For example, they may comment on a person as having beautiful eyes (εύοφθαλμος).¹⁴⁷ Other descriptions of the eyes included hollow-eyed (κοιλόφθαλμος),¹⁴⁸ large eyed (μεγαλόφθαλμος),¹⁴⁹ small-eyed (μικρόφθαλμος),¹⁵⁰ with prominent eyes (εξόφθαλμος),¹⁵¹ and with a clear or

¹⁴² πύθω, *cause to rot, become rotten*. Winter translates this as “my eye ran with pus” (*Life and Letters*, 146).

¹⁴³ Lang, *Medicine and Society*, 15. It was not until the twentieth c. that this disease was discovered to be carried by flies, and its effects were heightened by the bi-annual breeding season of flies (Douglas J. Coster, “Ancient Egypt to Modern Ophthalmology: via Otago, New Zealand,” *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology* 37 [2009]: 810-13).

¹⁴⁴ Celsus uses the word *lippitudo*, which is his translation of the Greek word ὀφθαλμία in Hippocrates. Later, Celsus translates the term τράχωμα as *aspiritudo*.

¹⁴⁵ The medicine he prescribes is a salve called caesarianum, which can also be used for other eye inflammations. Other eye treatments involved daubs, drops, plasters, washes, salves and bandages. A pharmacist could apply eye ointments, called “spoons”, apparently because they were applied to the eye using a tiny lead spoon (Scurlock, *Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine*, 361). SPTU 2.50 speaks of daubs for dimness, and the first 4 lines use ground stones in the daub, apparently to penetrate the skin surrounding the eye. Most of the eye illnesses seem to involve dimness of the eyes accompanied by tears. (*ibid.*, 363-67).

¹⁴⁶ The sections of Hippocrates and Galen on τράχωμα and treatment of eye disease are not extant.

¹⁴⁷ BGU 1.316; SB 24.16169; and SB 24.16170.

¹⁴⁸ CPR 18.9; CPR 18.11; and UPZ 2.175.

¹⁴⁹ P.Petr 2.22.

¹⁵⁰ SB 12.10859

¹⁵¹ P.Ryl 2.119.

conspicuous eye (εὔσημος).¹⁵² This last descriptive term is one of the more frequent terms, and it most likely refers to one eye being more prominent or conspicuous than the other. Part of this conspicuousness could also mean that one eye was clearer than the other. Since these descriptions are part of official documents, this would have to refer to a permanent feature of the person's eye rather than a temporary inflammation or swelling.

Many of these descriptions also focus on a white color or white spots found on the eyes. The terms used in these descriptions are either λευκός¹⁵³ or λεύκωμα.¹⁵⁴ It is not clear from these texts whether this means the pupil of the eye had turned white or if a white film had formed over or around the eye.¹⁵⁵ One possible clue comes from a man who states that he cannot see in his one seemingly good eye as whiteness (λεύκωμα) shows through from the pupil (κόρη).¹⁵⁶ This text suggests that whiteness in the eye typically referred to the pupil of the eye being white. A search of these terms in the Hippocratic writings yielded no results related to eye conditions.¹⁵⁷

The vast majority of eye descriptions involved some sort of injury or disability to the eyes. Most of these texts simply list a quick description of the defect as a way of identifying the person. One stand out description, however, comes from a petition made by a man who claims he was given a false name and assigned a term of service in liturgical duty.¹⁵⁸ In P.Mich 6.426 (AD 199–200), he states that he is μονόφθαλμος, apparently meaning one eye is missing or that it is closed up. He also states that even though it appears his other eye is good, he is unable to see out of that eye, effectively rendering him blind. The man, whose real name is Gemellos son of Gaios Apolinarios Nigeros,¹⁵⁹ states that the elders of Karanis gave him a false name, Horos son of Apolinarios, a name of which he was previously ignorant. He uses his poor vision as part of his defense because the name given him by the elders of Karanis did not include any distinguishing marks, such as his disabled eyes, which are clearly visible. According to his logic, if the name they gave him were true, they would have surely included these obvious distinguishing marks. The value of these distinguishing marks is clearly seen in this man's self-defense. It is interesting that even though this man's disability left him vulnerable to being maltreated, he was still able to make use of the judicial process to make his appeal and set the record straight.

¹⁵² BGU 8.1734, 13.2338; P.Amh 2.74, 2.102; P.Flor 1.51, 3.316, 3.383lin39_71; P.Mich 5.241, 5.321; PSI 8.921, 8.922, 9.1028; and P.Mich 2.121.

¹⁵³ Stud.Pal 22.42; P.AdI G5; P.Ant 3.187a; P.Hamb 1.38; P.Mich 5.285/286dupl; PSI 13.1324; P.Tebt 2.397; and SB 24.15987.

¹⁵⁴ BGU 3.834; P.Aust.Herr 2, 11; P.Berl.Frisk 1; P.Grenf 1.33, 2.51; P.Mich 6.426; and SB 1.4414.

¹⁵⁵ The term περίλευκος is used in PSI 6.569 (253–252 BC) to describe an animal with a ring of white around its eye. This term is never used of a person in the documentary papyri.

¹⁵⁶ P.Mich 6.426.

¹⁵⁷ One example can be found, however, in the Jewish apocryphal writing Tobit. In 2:10, he describes the incident in which he slept next to a wall, and sparrow droppings fell in his eyes, causing λευκωμάτα (translated as “white films” in NRSV) in his eyes. He goes to the physicians for healing, but the ointments they place on his eyes do nothing to keep him from going completely blind.

¹⁵⁸ The man is also taken advantage of in multiple other situations. In P.Mich 6.425, he describes his blindness in the same way and describes a situation involving a tax collector's assistant who takes advantage of him and beats his mother. This text and others will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁹ He is also a landholder in Karanis, according to his own statement. He likely was able to see through the one eye previously in life but has since lost vision in that eye.

Other distinguishing marks of a disabled eye appear in name lists and other official documents.¹⁶⁰ The most frequent term for a wounded eye is βλάπτω.¹⁶¹ The term πλήσσω is also used once for an injured eye,¹⁶² as well as κρούω.¹⁶³ Several persons are also called μονόφθαλμος (“one-eyed”).¹⁶⁴ The term ὑποχέω refers to a cataract.¹⁶⁵ The term μελανόφθαλμος (“black-eyed”) is used of two young slaves,¹⁶⁶ and one person is said to have an eye that squints (ὑπόστραβος).¹⁶⁷ Frequently, a scar was also identified on or near one eye or the other.¹⁶⁸

ΚΩΦΟΣ

As with blindness, it seems that deafness/muteness was not always an impediment to success in life.

Deafness as an Identifying Mark

The word κωφός was often used as an identifier for people in various lists of names. These texts involving name lists are: BGU 4.1196; BGU 16.2577; BGU 16.2673; CPR 28.9; P.Cair.Goodsp. 30; P.Laur 4.175; P.Mich 4.1.224; P.Oxy 7.1050; P.Stras 8.703; P.Tebt 3.2.891; SB 1.5220; SB 16.12498; SB 16.13035; SB 18.13934;¹⁶⁹ and Stud.Pal 22.67. Most of these texts are either tax lists or business account lists detailing what each person owes. One text (P.Cair.Goodsp 30, AD 192), describes a person in a list of accounts as “the son of a deaf woman.”

Of these texts, three identify professions. So, in BGU 4.1196 (11-10 BC), a list of priests includes two men identified as deaf: Ὅρος Πετειμούθη κωφός and Ἄρσιῆσις κωφός.¹⁷⁰ These men’s disability did not exclude them from service as priests. Similarly, in SB 1.5220 (30 BC-AD 323), a deaf servant (ὑπηρέτης κωφός)¹⁷¹ is one person on an account list, owing 4 drachmas. Also, in P.Oxy 7.1050 (second-third c. AD), an account list for games itemizes payments to various people involved in the games. One of those persons involved is identified as Κώφος, πύκτης (“boxer”). We do not have any definite information about this person other than what he was owed on the business

¹⁶⁰ Injuries and disabilities are almost equally distributed between left and right eyes in the texts available to us: twenty-seven in the left eye and twenty-six in the right. Two texts describe defects in both eyes, and in eleven cases either no side is specified or the text is indistinguishable due to a damaged text.

¹⁶¹ BGU 6.1258; P.Flor 1.1; P.Koeln 4.187; P.Lips 1.2; P.Petr 2.6, 2.25; and P.Stras 1.52.

¹⁶² P.Kell 1.23.

¹⁶³ O.Claud 1.119. One other example in P.Lond 2.219 describes an eye as pierced (τετραίνω), a possible reference to injury from a sharp object.

¹⁶⁴ P.Brux 1.10; P.Mich 6.425, 6.426; and P.Oxy 61.4126.

¹⁶⁵ P.Mich 5.321.

¹⁶⁶ P.Cair.Zen 1.59076.

¹⁶⁷ P.Oxy 49.3477.

¹⁶⁸ BGU 3.834, 3.896; Chr.Wilck 200; CPR 1.102; P.AdL G13; P.Amh 2.74; P.Aust.Herr 8, 20; P.Berl.Frisk 1; P.Cair.Zen 1.59070dupl; 1.59076; P.Freib 3.12b; P.Genova 3.119; P.Koeln 4.187; P.Lond 2.219, 7.1949rpdupl; P.Meyer 13; P.Mich 2.121; P.Oxy 3.504; P.Petr 2.14, 2.16; P.Ryl 2.153, 2.159; SB 18.13288, 22.15866, and 24.16001.

¹⁶⁹ The name in this text (Κώκωφος) may not be related to deafness, but it is included because of the possibility that the person’s name is based on the root κωφός.

¹⁷⁰ This is an alternate spelling for κωφός.

¹⁷¹ A lacuna in the text obscures his name.

account, but it is possible he received this nickname as a result of some injury to his ears due to boxing.

In the last example above, along with several others (P.Laur 4.175; P.Mich 4.1.224; P.Sijp 16; P.Tebt 2.283; P.Tebt 3.2.891; SB 16.12498; SB 16.13035; SB 18.13934; and Stud.Pal 22.67), the term Κώφος could be used as someone's actual name, or possibly a nickname. In most of these name lists, any feature that could set a person apart from others was usually notated to make identifying them easier. These texts do not make it clear whether their name had any link to being deaf.

Two of these texts, however, are not name lists. P.Sijp 16 (AD 155) is a petition from a goldsmith, accusing the wife of a certain donkey-driver named Κῶφος of coming to his place of work, beating him with many blows and stealing from him. P.Tebt 2.283 (93-60 BC) is also a petition where a man accuses a certain "Patunis, who is called¹⁷² deaf" of beating his mother severely. It is very likely from the way this description is worded that the man was not actually deaf or mute, but simply given this as a nickname. This information would clearly distinguish him from other men named Patunis. The man may have suffered from partial hearing loss. It also may be possible that this is a figurative use of κωφός if the man was tagged with this nickname after not listening or not speaking to others.

This would be a similar use to P.Mich 15.751 (AD 176-200), where a son writes a letter to his mother. He makes reference to the letters of an associate,¹⁷³ which seem to fall on deaf ears as far as his mother is concerned. He writes: κωφῶ σοι ἔγραψεν (lit. "he wrote to you as if you were deaf"). In other words, the news he shared in his letters never reached his mother, so it is as if the letters were written to a deaf person. This colloquial phrase indicates that a deaf person would have an extremely difficult time communicating in an illiterate world. Interestingly, this is another reminder that letters had to be read out loud to most people, and a deaf person would not be able to know the contents of a letter unless they were literate or had someone who could translate using sign language.¹⁷⁴

ΧΩΛΟΣ

Lameness as an Identifying Mark

We saw earlier that the terms τυφλός and κωφός were frequent identifiers for persons in tax lists and other business accounts. The term χωλός, by comparison, is much more frequent; appearing no less than thirty-eight times. These texts are: BGU 3.712; BGU 4.1196; BGU 7.1515; BGU 7.1620; BGU 9.1893; BGU 9.1896; BGU 16.2614; BGU 16.2674; CPR 18:24; CPR 28.9; O.Douch. 4.447; O.Mich. 2.952; O.Narm. 72; P.Brook 8; P.Cair.Goodsp. 30; P.Col. 8.230; P.Corn. 22; P.Freib. 4.55; P.Hamb. 1.117; P.Kell. 1.24; P.Kell. 1.65; P.Leipz. 11r; P.Lond. 2.189; P.Mich. 5.323-325; P.Oxy. 19.2240; SB 22.15353; P.Ryl. 4.642; PSI 8.903dupl; P.Tebt. 1.120; P.Tebt. 1.123; SB 1.428; SB 1.4168; SB 8.9740; SB 20.14468; SB 24.16000; T.Mom. Louvre 616; UPZ 1.122; and UPZ 2.180.

¹⁷² ἐπικαλουμενον.

¹⁷³ The text is too mutilated in the preceding context to determine this person's identity.

¹⁷⁴ One other use of the word κωφός in SB 16.12830 seems to indicate a unit of measurement.

Of these texts, eight times *χωλός* refers to a person's name or nickname: P.Kell 1.24; P.Kell 1.65; P.Ryl 4.642; P.Tebt 1.120; P.Tebt 1.123; SB 20.14468; SB 24.16000; and T.Mom.Louvre 616.

At times, these texts give detailed descriptions of a person's physical features, and *χωλός* appears as part of that description in three texts. First, in CPR 18.24 (232-206 BC), a man of about forty years named Ἀπολλοδότος is described as mid-sized, with an olive complexion, round-faced and his right leg being lame (*χωλός*). This text is a loan document, and the purpose of the description is to clearly identify him in case he is not able to do his part in paying back the loan. These descriptions often highlighted aspects of a person's appearance that caused them to stand out from others.¹⁷⁵

The section containing the physical description of this man and his associates is as follows:

ἦν Θράσυλλος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ εὐμεγέθης μελίχρως μακροπρ(όσωπος)
οὐλή ὄφρυι ἀριστεραῖ ἄκραι.
Πτολεμαῖος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ μέσος μελάγχρως στρογγυλοπρ(όσωπος).
Ἀπολλόδοτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ μέσος μελίχρως στρογγυλοπρ(όσωπος)
χωλαίνων τὸ δεξιὸν σκέλος.
Στρατοκλῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) λβ μέσος μελίχρως μακροπρ(όσωπος)
ἐπίγρυπος ὡς¹⁷⁶ δεξιὸν τετρημένος.

Thrasyllos,¹⁷⁷ being 30 years old, heavy-set,¹⁷⁸ honey-colored,¹⁷⁹ long-faced,¹⁸⁰ a scar¹⁸¹ on the edge¹⁸² of his left eyebrow.¹⁸³

Ptolemaios,¹⁸⁴ being 40 years old, medium-sized, dark complexion,¹⁸⁵ round-faced.¹⁸⁶

Apollodotos, being 40 years old, medium-sized, honey-colored, round-faced, the right leg¹⁸⁷ being lame.¹⁸⁸

Stratoklēs, being 32 years old, medium-sized, honey-colored, long-faced, somewhat hook-nosed,¹⁸⁹ the right nostril being pierced.¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁵ The text describes two other recipients of the loan similarly in terms of complexion and facial features, but the text describes no other physical defects or disabilities. One of them, named Στρατοκλῆς, is said to be hook-nosed, with a piercing in his right nostril.

¹⁷⁶ The relative pronoun (οὗς) is intended, but it is spelled ὡς in the papyrus, possibly indicating a phonetic spelling if ου was pronounced very closely to ω in this particular region. It is also likely that the string of ως introducing the age of each person caused the scribe to spell it this way.

¹⁷⁷ This is the lender.

¹⁷⁸ εὐμεγέθης, of good size, large, considerable, weighty, important.

¹⁷⁹ μελίχρός, honey-colored (with olive complexion).

¹⁸⁰ μακροπρόσωπος, long-faced.

¹⁸¹ οὐλή, wound scarred over, scar.

¹⁸² ἄκρα, highest/farthest point, hill-top, height, end, extremity.

¹⁸³ ὄφρυς, the brow, eyebrow.

¹⁸⁴ Πτολεμαῖος, Απολλοδοτος, and Στρατοκλῆς are the loan recipients.

¹⁸⁵ μελάγχρως (= μελάγχρους), swarthy, dark-complexioned.

¹⁸⁶ στρογγυλοπρόσωπος, round-faced.

¹⁸⁷ σκέλος, leg.

¹⁸⁸ χωλαίνω, be/go lame, make lame (trans.).

¹⁸⁹ ἐπίγρυπος, somewhat hook-nosed, somewhat hooked (of the beak of an ibis or muzzle of an ox).

¹⁹⁰ τετραίνω, bore through, pierce, perforate. To the best of my knowledge, an English translation of this text has not yet been published.

Similarly, a title contract in SB 1.428 (99 BC) gives a very similar list of descriptions as the previous text. Unlike the previous document, though, in this text the man is simply χωλός. It does not specify whether one leg or the other is lame. He most likely has a severe disability when it came to walking, but he is still able to serve as a guardian to help secure the contract. His disability does not discredit him as part of this contract.

Finally, in the divorce contract found in P.Brook 8 (AD 177), the guardian of the former wife making the agreement is identified according to his father, grandfather, age,¹⁹¹ and his limp. The term used is χωλαίνω, which does not mean he was unable to walk. It probably indicated he walked with a limp or unsteady movement. Given his fairly advanced age, he likely walked with a gait of some sort caused by aging legs and/or knees. The term χωλός may not have always referred to a serious illness or disability. It could also refer to the general failings of the body due to old age.¹⁹²

Lame Persons with Professions

Similar to the role of the guardian above in SB 1.428, there are several indications of someone being χωλός while still holding an important role or profession in their community. First, the list of priests in service in BGU 4.1196 (11-10 BC) has a man listed as Ταθοῆτος, “lame.” We also saw two examples from this text identifying two priests as κωφός. These disabilities did not exclude priests from service. Similarly, in P.Oxy 19.2240 (AD 211), a man is listed as both χωλός and the chief of police (ἀρχέφοδος) of the village. It is interesting that a job requiring making the rounds on foot around the village would identify a man as lame. Most likely, the man had a limp but was still capable of doing a good amount of walking. There is also an example of a nominee for the office of σιτόλογος in P.Col 8.230 (AD 201-25). Most nominees are simply listed by their name and the name of their father. One man, Πτολεμαῖος, son of Χαϊρήμων, is identified as χωλός. There is no other indication given as to the severity of his illness, but it seems likely he was able to move around without too much difficulty according to the demands of the position of σιτόλογος.

In addition to these more prominent positions, there are two examples where the profession of a lame person is given. So, in P.Leipz 11r (third c. AD), a person is listed as lame-footed (χωλόπους) and a linen-weaver (λινουργός). The fact that this person’s foot is specifically mentioned suggests this was a defect of some sort in his foot. This document is a business account recording what each person owes. Also, the documents in P.Mich 5.323-325 (AD 47) are contracts established among 3 brothers for the division of four slaves inherited from their father. One of the (female) slaves is Heraklous, identified as lame, but the text makes no mention of the type of work she does. She is still considered to be of childbearing age because the contract identifies all of her offspring as property of the third son. Heraklous may be considered of less value

¹⁹¹ 52 years old.

¹⁹² In Epictetus’ *Disc.* 1.16.20, he writes, “For what else can I do, a lame old man, than sing hymns to God?” So, in this sense, χωλός could refer to limbs not able to function properly due to an aging body. It may not have been due to a particular illness, injury or deformity.

because the third son receives 2 of the 4 slaves.¹⁹³ For this reason, we may consider her condition to be fairly severe.

Maltreatment of Lame Persons

Three documents describe a situation where a lame person is taken advantage of or treated poorly. First, in P.Berl.Moeller 11 (AD 33), a lame man in a soldiers' encampment offers a petition in which he complains of not being given the money owed to him. The text is fragmentary in places, so it is difficult to determine the exact cause of the dispute or the reason for owing the money. The second text also has to do with a money dispute.

In SB 6.9105 (AD 198), a Roman citizen makes an appeal against a tax collector for the unlawful tax collection of a lame man:

1

Φιλίπ[π]ω ἐξ εὐ[σχ]ημων¹⁹⁴ γ
αίρεθέντι εἰρηνοφύλ(ακι) Θεαδ-
ελφείας

παρὰ Οὐλπίας Ἡρωείδος

5

μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδ[ο]μέ-
νου μοι κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἔθῃ Γαίου Λουκρητίου
Παπιριανοῦ. οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς
τὰς ἀναιδεΐας καὶ τὰς πει-
10

ράσεις τὰς περὶ Ἀβαβῆ-
κειν, ᾧ καὶ ἄλλοτε πλη-
γὰς ἐπέθηκας ἀναιδειῶν
ἔνεκεν· καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς
τὴν τυραννίαν ἐπιδεί-
15

ξασθαι ἠθέλησεν· τὸν
γὰρ ἐν τῷ πωμαρίῳ
μου τρεφόμενον ἐπι-
σινῆ χωλὸν ἀπολελυ-
μένον ἀπάσης ὀχλή-
20

σεως καὶ λαογραφίας
κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
δικαιοδοσίαν ἀπ[λή]ιτη-
σεν¹⁹⁵ [[αὐτὸν]] ἀργυρείδιον¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ But the other slave he receives besides Heraklous is designated for their mother until her death, so this may also be the reason he inherits 2 slaves.

¹⁹⁴ Read εὐσχημ<όν>ων.

¹⁹⁵ Read ἀπήτη]σεν, corr. ex απ[[α]ιτησεν.

¹⁹⁶ Read ἀργυρίδιον.

προφάσει τοῖς πρεσβυ-
25

[τέ]ρο[ι]ς χωρεῖν. ἐπεὶ
οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖται
ἐγδικίας μεγάλης, ἢ μά-
λιστα ἀπολυτέον ἄν-
θρωπον διασεῖσθαι,
30

ἐπιδίδωμί σοι τόδε τὸ βι-
βλίδιον ὅπως μετ' ἀσφα-
λείας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν μη-
τρόπολιν ἀγάγῃς σὺν τῷ
χωλῷ· φάσκει γὰρ καὶ δε-
35

δωκέσαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ
θησαυροῦ δημοσίοις
τὰ ἴσα. [[ι]] \Ϙ̄/ καὶ μάρτυρας
ἐπέστησα.

Γαῖος¹⁹⁷ Λουκρήτιος Παπιριανὸς
40

ἐπιγέγραμμαι) κύριος τῆς Οὐλπίας Ἡρωίδος¹⁹⁸
(ἔτους) ς Μεσορῆ η.

To Philippos, of the three euschemones, chosen eirenophylax¹⁹⁹ of Theadelpheia, from Oulpria Heroeis, with the guardian²⁰⁰ given to me according to Roman custom, Gaios Loukretios Papirianos. You are not ignorant of the shameless acts²⁰¹ and attempts²⁰² concerning Ababikein, to whom also at another time²⁰³ you inflicted lashes²⁰⁴ on account of shameless behavior.²⁰⁵ And now he has been willing to put his tyranny²⁰⁶ on display²⁰⁷. For in my pomarium²⁰⁸ the increasingly²⁰⁹ feeble²¹⁰ lame man, free²¹¹ of all disturbance²¹² and enrollment²¹³ according to the jurisdiction²¹⁴ of

¹⁹⁷ γαῖος in the papyrus.

¹⁹⁸ ηρωίδος in the papyrus.

¹⁹⁹ lit. “guardian of peace,” title of a police magistrate.

²⁰⁰ κυριος.

²⁰¹ ἀναίδεια, *shamelessness*.

²⁰² πείρασις, *attempt* (at seduction, Thuc. 6.56). May also be πεῖρας, *completion, achievement, execution, final decision, verdict* (spelled here: πειράσεις).

²⁰³ ἄλλοτε, *at another time*.

²⁰⁴ as punishment.

²⁰⁵ ἀναίδεια, see above.

²⁰⁶ τυραννία, *tyrannous conduct*.

²⁰⁷ ἐπιδείκνυμι, *show off, exhibit (as a specimen), display*.

²⁰⁸ πωμάριον, *potarium, orchard*.

²⁰⁹ τρέφω, *thicken, cause to grow/increase, rear, bring up, educate, maintain, support*.

²¹⁰ ἐπισινής, *liable to be injured by, infested with, injurious, blemished, feeble, diseased*.

²¹¹ ἀπολύω, *loose from, set free, release, relieve from*.

²¹² ὄχλησις, *disturbance, annoyance, distress*.

²¹³ λαογραφία, *enrollment, census, assessment for poll-tax* (cf. P.Teb. 103.1).

²¹⁴ δικαιοδοσία, *jurisdiction, trial, administration of justice*.

our lord, he demanded²¹⁵ payment²¹⁶ on the pretext²¹⁷ of deferring²¹⁸ to the elders. Therefore, since such actions demand severe punishment, so instead the man should be released from being extorted.²¹⁹ I give to you then this petition that under guard you may lead him into the mother-city²²⁰ with the lame man. For he says also he gave to the public officials²²¹ of the storehouse²²² the equal sums.²²³ For which I have also provided²²⁴ witnesses...” I, Gaios Loukretios Papirianos, offer my signature, being guardian of Oulpia Herois. Year 6, Mesore 8.

The Roman citizen holds a *πωμάριον*, where it appears he housed and sheltered an increasingly feeble and lame man. The tax collector approached the man, demanding payment, and it appears this tax collector has already received punishment for this type of behavior. This seems to be a clear example of a person in a position of some power trying to take advantage of a physically disadvantaged person. There was, however, an avenue for making a petition to protect just such a person.

In UPZ 1.122 (157 BC), we have an example of an injury that caused a man to become lame. In this petition to the *στρατηγός*, a man describes the moment when he was stabbed in the leg with a dagger, which has left him with a limp as a result. He needs the help of the chief of the bodyguard because he claims to have been unfairly injured by a member of the bodyguard.²²⁵

In summary, the documentary papyri give us a picture of a mixture of people with severe disability and some with an ability to walk with only a limp. There seems to be a range in terms of the severity of this illness.

ΠΥΡΕΤΟΣ

The term *πυρετός* appears only a few times in the Documentary Papyri. There are only three clear instances of fever using the term *πυρετός* or *πυρετέω* before the fifth c. AD.²²⁶ First, in P.Oxy 12.1582 (second c. AD), a man writes to his brother, telling him that he was ready to come and serve his brother, apparently hearing of his illness.

²¹⁵ *ἀπαιτέω*, demand back, demand to have returned, demand in payment.

²¹⁶ *ἀργυρίδιον* (spelled here: *αργυρειδιον*).

²¹⁷ *πρόφασις*, motive, alleged cause, pretext, pretense, excuse.

²¹⁸ *χωρέω*, make room for another, give way, withdraw, go forward, advance, make progress.

²¹⁹ *διασείω*, shake violently, confound, intimidate, oppress, extort money.

²²⁰ *μητρόπολις*, mother-state, mother-city, capital city.

²²¹ *δημόσιος*, belonging to the public, public servant (notary, crier), treasury, public prison.

²²² *θησαυρός*, store, treasure, strong-room, magazine, granary, offertory box.

²²³ *ἴσος*, equal, equally divided/distributed, even, flat.

²²⁴ *ἐφίστημι*, set, place upon, set up, establish.

²²⁵ This text will be treated in greater detail in the following Chapter 3 on Bodily Harm.

²²⁶ There are two Christian amulets from a later period that speak to the continued use of magic after Christianity became the official religion of the Empire. P.Oxy 8.1151 (fifth c. AD) holds a sign of the cross and begins with a command (lines 1ff): “Flee hated spirit. Christos pursues you, the son of God and the Holy Spirit has already seized you” (translation my own). There is also a later plea to chase away every fever and every sort of shivering, lasting two, three, or four days. This confirms not only the connection between fever and shivering, but also the intermittent nature of fevers lasting multiple days. A second amulet is found in P.Batav 20 (sixth c. AD), which contains a staurogram at the start of each line. The amulet gives a brief formula (Christ suffered, died, was raised, reigns, etc.). The final request is for Christ to save a certain Ouibios from all fever and shivering. The word used in both texts for “shivering” (*ῥίγος*) yielded no further results when searched in DDbDP.

But a certain goldsmith wrote him and told him that his brother did not have fever (ἀπύρετος) as was originally feared. It seems likely he was ready to come care for his brother for some time if it was indeed fever. It is curious that a goldsmith is qualified to speak to this man's medical condition. Apparently he had some education in medicine since he uses the medical term πυρετός instead of only describing the symptoms of fever.

Another case of fever comes in P.Gur 5 (215 BC), where a man writes a petition to the Comarch claiming that while he lay in bed with a fever (πυρετέω), someone broke in and stole 385 bundles of cut hay from royal farmland. It may be a sign of the man's education that he was able to use a somewhat more technical term for his illness. The focus of his concern in this document, of course, is not on his medical condition but on the fact that he was robbed while he was weakened. However, the fact that he is making a petition suggests that however severe the fever was, he has made a recovery. Similarly, in a report from a public physician, P.Oxy 3.95 (AD 96), the attending physician reports that in addition to a wound on the finger, the victim is also vomiting and feverish (πυρετέω). The fever is apparently the result of trauma from being attacked and wounded severely.

Two of the lists of patients on ostraca from the rock quarry at Mons Claudianus (O.Claud 2.212 and 2.213) make very brief mention of a feverish patient. The term used there is πυρεκτικός. These are the only two uses of this term in the documentary papyri.

P.Mert 1.26 (see Chapter 1) is a text that treats shivering. Even though fever is not specifically mentioned, it is very possible that this text relates to feverish symptoms because of the shivering accompanied by fevers.²²⁷

ΛΕΠΡΟΣ

A search for λεπρός did not yield many results. This term is very rare in the documentary papyri. Of the few texts that mention leprosy, of particular interest is P.Oxy 63.4356 (third c. AD), which is a fragment of a register of land and rents. The first person listed in this register is a certain Patermouthis, *leper* (λεπρός), *comarch* (κωμάρχης). The extent of his illness is not clear, but it is interesting that a person with a skin disease could hold the office of village-chief.

The tax registers of P.Mich 4.1.224 (AD 173) and P.Mich 4.1.225 (AD 175) identify a man as Ioulios Ptolemaios son of Maximos, *leper*,²²⁸ who is listed in both years.

²²⁷ In ancient Mesopotamia, physicians recognized five grades of temperature (including normal) and they carefully notated fever patterns. The most common treatments were salves and bandages (Scurlock, *Sourcebook for Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine*, 407). BAM 147, lines obv. 25-33 describe a ritual meant to transfer the fever from the patient to a clay figurine, which was taken to the steppe, made to face the sun and tied to a tree (ibid., 408). The ritual also involves writing on the figurine's left shoulder: "figurine of anything evil" (ibid., 411). Several of the treatments involve a lizard-based salve, in which the freshly boiled lizard is combined with plant medicines (ibid., 407, 410). In BM 42272:32-36, the lizard is to be removed and thrown away (ibid., 412).

²²⁸ λεπρός is in the genitive, so this man is the son of a leper.

ΙΕΡΑ ΝΟΣΟΣ

The vast majority of occurrences of the term νόσος combine it with ἱερός to refer to epilepsy (ἱερά νόσος, “sacred disease”).²²⁹ These occurrences are found in texts documenting the sale of slaves and agreed upon terms of sale. They do not usually refer to actual cases of epilepsy. Instead, they are found in a clause that allows for the annulment of the sale if the slave is found to have the “sacred disease.”²³⁰ Every instance where ἱερά νόσος refers to epilepsy is found in a slave document, and nowhere in these forty-eight occurrences of the term in the documentary papyri does it state that a slave actually has epilepsy. Papyri that refer to the “sacred disease” are BGU 1.193; BGU 1.193; BGU 1.316; BGU 3.887; BGU 3.937; BGU 3.987; BGU 4.1059; BGU 11.2111; Chr.Mitt 171; C.Pap.Gr 1.34; P.Abinn 64; P.Col 8.219; P.Col 8.222; P.Coll.Youtie 2.75; P.Fam.Tebt 27; P.Freib 2.8; P.Hamb 1.63; P.Iand 4.54; P.Koeln 5.232; P.Mich 5.264/265dupl; P.Mich 5.278/279dupl; P.Mich 5.281; P.Mich 15.707; P.Mil.Congr 14; P.Oslo 2.40; P.Oxy 1.94; P.Oxy 1.95; P.Oxy 2.263; P.Oxy 2.375; P.Oxy 2.380; P.Oxy 9.1209; P.Oxy 36.2777; P.Oxy 41.2951; PSI 3.182; PSI 12.1228; PSI.Congr 20.14; P.Stras 4.264; P.Stras 6.505; P.Turner 22; P.Vind.Bosw 7; SB 3.6016; SB 5.8007; SB 6.9145; SB 22.15702; SB 24.16002; SB 24.16167; SB 24.16168; SB 24.16170; and Stud.Pal 20.71.²³¹

These instances merely refer to the possibility that a slave could have the illness. The fact that this annulment clause was used so frequently in the sales of slaves indicates the serious threat that the illness posed to the value of servants in the ancient world. Since the documentary papyri do not record any actual instances of a slave having epilepsy, we should probably not deduce that a very high percentage of slaves were stricken by the illness. However, the frequency of the protective clause tells us that the illness posed enough of a threat to warrant protection against buying a slave unable to fulfill their intended use.²³² The danger of the illness was probably found in the fact that epilepsy could not be identified in a slave upon simple examination of the person in the way that other illnesses could be found.

We identified in Chapter 1 the possibility that the illness described by a woman in P.Lond 6.1926 was actually epilepsy. She uses the term μεγάλη νόσος, which is similar to Herodotus’ description of epilepsy in *Hist.* 3.33 (νοῦσον μεγάλην), and she describes the symptoms of an asthma attack. Hippocrates’ description of a severe manifestation of the disease includes shortness of breath: “But should the defluxion make its way to the heart, the person is seized with palpitation and asthma, the chest becomes

²²⁹ In Herodotus’ *Hist.* 3.33, he refers to a man named Cambyses, who was said to have suffered from birth with a grievous disease [νοῦσον μεγάλην], which some call “sacred [ἱερά].” Epilepsy was said to be divine because it looked similar to the ecstasies of the diviners. Hippocrates, *De Morbo. Sacr.* 1 speaks concerning “the disease called sacred”: περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς νοῦσου καλεομένης. He takes a more skeptical view and denies that the disease is more supernatural than others. For more on Hippocrates’ view of epilepsy, see below.

²³⁰ It should be noted that the term ἱερά νόσος is almost always paired with the word ἐπαφή (“touch, handling”), which could refer to an external claim, severe handling (at the hands of the former master) or leprosy (as the editor of SB 24.16002 translates the phrase).

²³¹ Multiple slave contracts also include stipulations against fleeing and death: BGU 4.1059; P.Dura 20; P.Oslo 2.40, 3.485; PSI 6.710.

²³² The frequency of the protective clause also points to the significant amount of mistrust among those buying and selling slaves.

diseased, and some also have curvature of the spine.”²³³ He goes on to say that the epileptic attacks of the lungs and heart come from the breath (πνεῦμα) being cut off to the lungs and heart. But if the defluxion is on the bowels, the person will be attacked with diarrhea.

Hippocrates asserts that the disease is no more divine or sacred than other diseases because it has a natural cause like other diseases. He also claims that the origin of the disease is hereditary. He argues that the cause of this illness (and other severe illnesses) is the brain, and it is related to the circulation of πνεῦμα through the veins that run to and from the brain to the rest of the body. Persons who do not have discharge of saliva or mucus run the risk of being seized with this illness. He also states that many charlatans and conjurors claim the disease can only be treated by purifications, incantations and forcing people to keep away from baths, certain foods, and certain animals.

ΠΑΡΑΛΥΩ

There are no occurrences of paralysis that could be found in the documentary papyri. All uses of παραλύω are unrelated to medical concerns.

In summary, we see a number of named illnesses that appear in documentary papyrus texts. The vast majority of the time, these illnesses are treated as identifying markers for persons involved in legal matters. The use of physical defects and other impairments (blindness, deafness, etc.) indicates that persons with these illnesses were constantly met with reminders of their impairments and forever identified by these markers. There is very little evidence in these texts of persons seeking out treatment for these illnesses, so they can be regarded as permanent features of their identity. We also see some evidence of persons being treated poorly as a result of their impairments, such as the lame man who is extorted for money in SB 6.9105.

²³³ Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 1, p. 360.

CHAPTER 3 – BODILY HARM IN THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

Key Terms: τραῦμα, πληγή

The previous chapters have primarily focused on illness and disease, including the various ways people sought healing from these illnesses. This chapter will focus on the bodily harm people experienced due to injury, attack, or other means of causing harm. Some of the texts below appear in other chapters, but this chapter will highlight the elements involved in injury or harm. We will first look at injuries and then abuse or harassment of persons with disabilities or deformities.

Some texts are clear about whether the injury was accidental or from a deliberate attack. Others simply list the injuries without specifying whether they were accidental or deliberate. We will look at each in turn.

Accidental Injuries

P.Oxy 46.3314²³⁴

1

κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ἰωσή²³⁵ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ μου
Μαρίᾳ Ἰούδας.
προηγούμενως εὐχομαι τῇ θείᾳ²³⁶ προνοίᾳ
περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ὀλοκληρίας ἵνα καὶ ὑγιαίνοντας

5

ὑμᾶς ἀπολάβω. πᾶν οὖν ποιήσον, κυρία μου
ἀδελφή, πέμψον μοι τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, ἐπειδὴ²³⁷
εἰς νόσον περιέπεσα ἀπὸ πτώματος ἵππου.
μέλλοντός μου γὰρ στραφῆναι εἰς ἄλλο μέρος,
οὐ δύναμαι ἀφ' ἑμαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἄλλοι δύο ἄνθρωποι

10

ἀντιστρέψωσίν με καὶ μέχρις ποτηρίου
ὑδατ[ο]ς οὐκ ἔχω τὸν ἐπιδίδοντά²³⁸ μοι.
βοήθησον οὖν, κυρία μου ἀδελφή. σπουδαῖόν σοι
γενέσθω ὅπως τὸ τάχος πέμψης μοι, ὡς
προεῖπον, τὸν ἀδελφόν σου. εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας

15

γὰρ ἀνάγκας εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἴδιοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
ἵνα οὖν καὶ σοὶ²³⁹ παραβοηθήσης μοι τῷ ὄντι
ἐπὶ ξένης καὶ ἐν νόσῳ ὄντι. καὶ πλοῖον
ἐπεζήτησα ἐνβῆναι²⁴⁰ καὶ οὐχ εὔρον τὸν

²³⁴ Greek text adapted from papyri.info.

²³⁵ ἴωση papyrus.

²³⁶ Read θεία.

²³⁷ Read ἐπειδὴ.

²³⁸ Read ἐπιδίδοντά.

²³⁹ Read σὺ.

²⁴⁰ Read ἐμβῆναι.

ἐπιζητοῦντά μοι. ἐν τῇ γὰρ Βαβυλῶνεί εἰμί.²⁴¹

20

προσαγορεύω τὴν θυγατέρα μου καὶ πάν-

τας τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς κατ' ὄνομα.

καὶ ἔαν χρίαν²⁴² ἔχῃς κέρματος, λάβε παρὰ Ἰσακ τον²⁴³ κολοβον,²⁴⁴
τον²⁴⁵ ἔγγιστα²⁴⁶ σοι μενον[τ]α²⁴⁷

(hand 2) ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι
πολλοῖς χρόνοις.²⁴⁸

verso:

ἀπόδος συμ . . .

To my lord father Ioses and to my wife²⁴⁹ Maria, from Judas. First off,²⁵⁰ I pray to the divine²⁵¹ providence for your wholeness so that I may also regain²⁵² you (pl.) in good health.²⁵³ So, do everything, my lady²⁵⁴ sister, to send to me your brother, since I have fallen into illness from a fall²⁵⁵ from a horse. For when I want to turn over²⁵⁶ to the other side, I am not able to by myself unless two other men turn me over²⁵⁷ also and I do not have anyone to offer²⁵⁸ to me even as much as a cup²⁵⁹ of water. So, send help, my lady sister. Please be in haste²⁶⁰ that you may send your brother quickly to me, as I said before. For to such ones that are forced²⁶¹ [into such a situation] their own are found [out] by a man.²⁶² Therefore in order that you also may come to my aid²⁶³

²⁴¹ Read εἰμί.

²⁴² Read χρείαν.

²⁴³ Read τοῦ.

²⁴⁴ Read κολοβοῦ.

²⁴⁵ Read τοῦ.

²⁴⁶ Read ἔγγιστα.

²⁴⁷ Read μένοντος.

²⁴⁸ This is most likely written in Judas' own hand.

²⁴⁹ σύμβιος, *living together, companion, partner, husband, wife.*

²⁵⁰ προηγουμένως (adv. of προηγέομαι, *go first, lead the way*), *previously, principally, chiefly, first.*

²⁵¹ θεία, here spelled θία.

²⁵² ἀπολαμβάνω, *take/receive from, regain, recover.*

²⁵³ ὑγιαίνω, *be sound, be in health, be healthy, be of sound mind.*

²⁵⁴ κυρία (here and the rest of the document).

²⁵⁵ πτώμα (from πίπτω), *fall, fallen body, corpse, carcass, misfortune, calamity, injuries from a fall.*

²⁵⁶ στρέφω, *turn about/aside, twist, cause to rotate.*

²⁵⁷ ἀντιστρέφω, *turn to the opposite side, correspond, be interdependent, have a reciprocal nexus, be suited conversely* (for one or another purpose). There is an interesting play on words here between στρέφω (where he talks about trying to turn over on his own) and ἀντιστρέφω (where someone helps him turn over).

²⁵⁸ ἐπιδίδωμι, *give besides, administer* (doctor).

²⁵⁹ ποτήριον, *drinking-cup, wine-cup.*

²⁶⁰ Lit.: "let there be haste to you."

²⁶¹ ἀναγκάζω, *force, compel.*

²⁶² This is a very elliptical saying. Epp translates as "a man finds out who his true friends are" ("The Jews and the Jewish Community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-Religious Context for the New Testament Papyri" in *New Testament Manuscripts - Their Texts and Their World*, ed. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas, [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 38-39). The idea seems to be that when people are forced into difficult situations, they find out who is loyal to them.

since I am in a foreign country²⁶⁴ and in illness. I was searching for²⁶⁵ a ship to embark on²⁶⁶ but I did not find anyone to search²⁶⁷ for me. For I am in Babylon.²⁶⁸ I greet my daughter and all those who love us by name...and if you have need of a kerma coin, take from Isak the cripple²⁶⁹ who remains nearer²⁷⁰ to you. (hand 2): I pray many times for you (pl.) to be well.

This text is an example of accidental injury. P.Oxy 46.3314, which we discussed back in Chapter 1, is a letter written by a Jewish man in Babylon (Egypt), who was injured when he fell from a horse. He is writing to his family to request help for bringing him back home. What is significant about this letter is the desperate situation this man seems to be in as a result of his accident. The man seems to belong to an upper class since he was able to ride a horse and most likely of the equestrian class.²⁷¹ He also has some level of literacy because he is able to write a greeting in his own hand at the end of the letter.²⁷²

The man's elliptical saying about discovering who is truly loyal in times of difficulty (lines 14-16) suggests he may have been abandoned by his travel partners as a result of his accident. He is now in desperate need of a loyal family member to come to his aid. For this reason, he requests his brother-in-law to come help him travel back home. As in the cases we saw in previous chapters where persons with sickness turned to close kin for help in their time of need, so now in this man's predicament, he relies heavily on his wife and her family to help him return home safely.

The man expresses himself somewhat eloquently in Greek, but an image of the text reveals sloppy handwriting, indicating a hastily written letter in a time of great urgency.²⁷³

Another interesting takeaway from this letter is the man's note at the end for his wife to turn to their neighbor, Isak the cripple, for money if she is in need. It is possible the money would be for her brother to use in his travel or more likely for his wife to use for any need she may have until he returns. It continues to speak to the ability of disabled persons to hold important positions in their world, even if, as we will see below, they were taken advantage of at times as well.

Another similar accident comes from P.Oxy 1.52, which is a report from a public physician reporting on the wounds a girl sustained from a fall off a house. The petition

²⁶³ παραβοηθέω, *come to aid (someone), come to the rescue.*

²⁶⁴ ξένη, *foreign (country, woman).*

²⁶⁵ ἐπιζητέω, *seek after, wish for, miss, request, demand, require.*

²⁶⁶ ἐμβαίνω, *step in, embark (on a ship).*

²⁶⁷ ἐπιζητέω, *see above.*

²⁶⁸ A city in Egypt across the Nile from Memphis.

²⁶⁹ κολοβός, *docked, curtailed, maimed, mutilated, a measure.*

²⁷⁰ ἐγγίω (here: ἐνγιστά), *nearer, nearest, approximately (of numbers).*

²⁷¹ The fact that he refers to his wife as "lady" (κυρία) may also indicate higher social status. See line 1 where he refers to her as συμβίω μου ("my wife") and then in lines 5-6, where he addresses her as κυρία μου ἀδελφή ("my lady sister"). The letter is only addressed in lines 1-2 to his father and wife, so his address to "my lady sister" must be to his own wife. He also refers to his father as "lord/sir" (κύριος), but this seems to have been fairly common. A study of the titles used to address persons in the documentary papyri would be an interesting follow-up to this research.

²⁷² His handwriting is very difficult to decipher, most likely because he is not able to sit up properly to write.

²⁷³ An image of the papyrus document is located on papyri.info.

apparently comes from the girl's father, and the physician makes his report on her injuries. She is said to have scratches and bruises on her hips and an injury to her knee. It is not clear why the girl's father made a petition or why a physician's report was necessary since there is no mention made of anyone pushing the girl off the house.

Unspecified Injuries

A number of texts describe injuries where it is not clear if they were accidental or the result of a deliberate attack. Several of these come from ostraca, especially from Mons Claudianus, an Imperial stone quarry in remote Eastern Egypt. O.Claud 1.120 (ca. AD 100) is a brief message requesting someone to bring some sort of medical instrument²⁷⁴ for wounds, and the message states where this person will be dining, apparently so that the instrument can be brought to that house. The transport of medical instruments indicates that the technology for surgical/medical instruments was available, but they were still in relatively scant supply and had to be transported as needed, especially in non-urban areas.

Several ostraca contain lists of occupations and names followed by various injuries and illnesses. The main purpose of these lists appears to be to document health concerns for workers within the quarries.²⁷⁵ Even though the cause of these injuries is unstated, most likely they are accidental job-related injuries. They are organized by occupation, sometimes detailing more than one name for each occupation. It seems these lists were most likely the product of the Roman government overseeing these mines and keeping track of injuries by occupation. It is possible there was an official physician²⁷⁶ who was entrusted with the care of these workers.²⁷⁷

Most of these ostraca are very fragmentary and only contain a few names, but a few are more complete. The first of these, O.Claud 2.212 (AD 137-145) mentions an eye condition (ὀφθαλμίαι, possibly indicating an intermittent eye condition), a man stung by a scorpion, a man who is feverish, a man with apparent burns (καυσάρις), one patient recovering from an unstated illness, and four injuries, the extent of which is not

²⁷⁴ διαστολείδιν. The meaning of this word is not clear. The editor's note corrects the spelling to διαστολίδιον, possibly an alternate spelling of διαστόλιον (=διαστολεύς), an instrument for examining body cavities (dilator). This may be an instrument used for cleaning out a wound or examining inside an open wound.

²⁷⁵ Archaeological work at Mons Claudianus has challenged the former assumption that work in the imperial stone quarries in the deserts of eastern Egypt was a prison sentence of hard labor. Josephus wrote that prisoners were put under forced labor in remote stone quarries. But excavations of Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites have revealed a skilled workforce that was paid about double the average pay for civilians in the Nile valley. Most workers in Mons Claudianus were paid 47 drachmae per month, compared to the average of 25 drachmae in the Nile valley (Hélène Cuvigny, "The Amount of Wages Paid to the Quarry-Workers at Mons Claudianus," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 [1996]: 140-141).

²⁷⁶ Hirt Raj suggests there was no more than one attending physician at the site. She also observes that workers on site sent letters with requests for medical supplies to be sent, but these workers were probably not physicians. Most of the medical recipes in these letters relate to eye injuries (Marguerite Hirt Raj, *Médecins et Malades de l'Égypte Romaine: Étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du Ier au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 266-267).

²⁷⁷ Occupations include stone-masons, stone carriers, chemical workers? (φαρμαξάρις, likely someone who used chemicals or other medication/mixtures to treat metal or possibly stone), chisellers, wedgers, general workers and a "hearer" (ἀκουάρις; the function of this occupation is unknown).

indicated. Similarly, in O.Claud 2.213 (AD 137-145), there is mention of another case of ὀφθαλμία (also in the plural), inflamed uvula, the same case of fever from the previous document, another patient recovering, and one case of injury. Finally, O.Claud 2.217, contains a third case of ὀφθαλμία and at least two cases of injury to general laborers (possibly as many as five). The relatively frequent cases of ὀφθαλμία (considering the small sample size) can probably be attributed to the amounts of dust and rock particles in the air stirred up by the work of quarrying stone.²⁷⁸ As stated earlier, the presence of these lists suggests the likelihood that an official physician was kept on site for the treatment of these conditions. At the same time, the lack of any reference to treatment for these conditions raises the possibility that these were simply temporary documents meant to keep track of the types of conditions suffered on site. These workers may have sought out treatment from home remedies, an outside physician or a religious site if the conditions did not improve quickly.²⁷⁹

In addition to these ostraca, several reports from public physicians offer official reports on the condition of persons who had been wounded, though they do not state the cause of these wounds: P.Louvre 2.116; P.Oxy 45.3245; P.Oxy 54.3729; P.Oxy 64.4441. The injuries include wounds/bruises on both hands and forearms (P.Oxy 45.3245), a wound on the left buttock²⁸⁰ (P.Oxy 54.3729), multiple wounds and deep cuts to the bone on the head along with bruises and swelling on the right shoulder-blade area, right hand and on the left thigh (P.Oxy 64.4441), and probably some sort of wound to the temples of the head²⁸¹ (P.Louvre 2.116).

Deliberate Harm

The documentary papyri provide evidence of the deliberate maltreatment of others for a variety of reasons. These include robbery and various types of maltreatment because of disabilities and other illnesses.

²⁷⁸ Eye ailments were also the most common complaint in the village of Deir el-Medina, across the Nile from Thebes, which housed tomb-builders during the New Kingdom era in Egypt. This community also housed both a doctor, who prepared prescriptions, and a scorpion charmer, who provided magical cure for scorpion bites. In a letter from a certain draftman named Pay to his son, he laments his loss of sight and asks his son to send medication: honey, ochre and black eye-paint, which are common ingredients in Egyptian eye remedies. This mixture is also found in Papyrus Ebers no. 371 (A. G. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* [Oxford: Clarendon, 2002], 53-56).

²⁷⁹ Analysis of the animal and food remains from this archaeological site along with the documentary evidence has revealed a location where people were paid well above the average along the Nile valley. The extremely arid conditions have allowed remains to be well preserved on this site. They had a highly organized system of transportation for bringing a large variety and quality of food into the work site (Marijke van der Veen, "A Life of Luxury in the Desert? The food and fodder supply to Mons Claudianus," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 [1998]: 101-115). So, it seems likely that the same transportation network would have allowed for physicians and medication to be readily available to workers in this area. It seems likely, then, that a variety of treatment options were available to workers on this site.

²⁸⁰ ἰθῶνος, the meaning of this term is uncertain.

²⁸¹ The text cuts off at the moment the physician begins to report on the patient's condition, only the word κροταφός ("temples") survives.

Deliberate Injuries

A number of texts attest to the reality that people were often attacked deliberately, resulting in varying levels of injury. Most injuries caused by purposeful attacks can be found in petitions submitted by the injured parties. Two petitions in particular come from devoted temple worshipers in Ptolemaic Egypt. The first of these petitions is translated in full below:

UPZ 1.122

1

Π[οσ]ειδωνίωι [ἀρ]χισωμα[τ]οφύλακι
καὶ στρατηγῶι παρ' Ἀρμάιος
βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ του²⁸² ἐκ Πααναμεύς
τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. εἰθισμένος

5

ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ πρὸς Μέμφει μέγα
Σαραπιεῖον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ὅπως θυσιάσω,
τοῦ δὲ κε (ἔτους) Ἀθὺρ κη θυσιάσαντός μου
κατέλυσα ἐν τῶι Ἄνουβιεῖωι. τῆι δὲ κθ
ἀναβάντος σου εἰς τὸ Ἄνουβιεῖον ἐπὶ

10

τοὺς ληστὰς καὶ εὐλαβῶς μου σχόντος
καὶ βουλομένου ἀναχωρῆσαι εἰς τὸ
Σαραπιεῖον, τῶν μετὰ σοῦ τις ἐν τῶι
θορύβωι βουλόμενός μου περιελέσθαι
τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀντιποιοιμένου

15

σπασάμενος λέπει με τῆι μαχαίραι
εἰς τὸ σκέλο[ς], ὥστε χωλὸν ἕως τοῦ νῦν
μ' εἶναι. διὸ ἀξιῶ, ἐπεὶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ τῆι σῆι τύχηι ἐκ θανάτου σέσωμαι,
ἐὰν φαίνηται, συντάξαι τοῖς παρά σου

20

μὴ κωλύειν με, ἐὰν βούλωμαι ἐπανάγειν
εἰς τὴν κώμην διὰ τὸ χωλὸν ὄντα τοῖς
ἀναγκαίοις θλίβεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς
λιμοῦ διαλ[υ]θῶ. τουῦτο[υ]²⁸³ γὰρ γενομένου
[ἔσομαι τετευχῶς τῆς παρά σου βοηθείας(?)]

25

[εὐτύχει.]

To Poseidōnios, chief-bodyguard²⁸⁴ and stratēgos from Harmais, royal husbandman from Paanameus of Hērakleopolitos. I am accustomed²⁸⁵ to go to Memphis for the great Sarapieios²⁸⁶

²⁸² Read τῶν.

²⁸³ Read τουτο[υ].

²⁸⁴ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, chief of the body-guard.

every year that I may sacrifice.²⁸⁷ But in year 25, on the 28th of Hathyr, after I made my sacrifice I lodged²⁸⁸ in Anoubieios. But on the 29th, while you were going up to Anoubieios, (to deal with) robbers²⁸⁹ I had reverent²⁹⁰ intentions and wished to go back²⁹¹ to the Sarapieios.²⁹² One of those with you in the clamor²⁹³ wished for me to strip off²⁹⁴ my clothing and I resisted.²⁹⁵ He plucked out²⁹⁶ from his sheath²⁹⁷ and with the dagger²⁹⁸ (struck) me in the leg,²⁹⁹ so that I am³⁰⁰ lame ever since.³⁰¹ So, I am worthy, since with the gods and by your providence³⁰² I am saved from death. If it should be made known, let it be arranged by you for them not to hinder³⁰³ me if I wish to go up into the village so that I will not be destroyed³⁰⁴ by hunger.³⁰⁵ Since on account of being lame I am afflicted³⁰⁶ in the prisons.³⁰⁷ For by this happening, I will be made ready³⁰⁸ for aid³⁰⁹ from you. Be prosperous.³¹⁰

In the example above from 157 BC, the man petitions the chief bodyguard to grant him safe passage since he has been injured by one of the members of the bodyguard. It appears that the member of the bodyguard thought the man to be one of the robbers who were being investigated by the bodyguard. The man was asked to remove his clothes (apparently as part of a search of his belongings), but he resisted and was stabbed in the leg as a result. He makes it clear that his intentions were honest, since he was only in the area in order to offer sacrifice at the great temple of Sarapis in Memphis.³¹¹ So, he wants it to be made known to the chief that he was unjustly

²⁸⁵ ἐθίζω, *accustom, be/become accustomed or used to do* (pass.).

²⁸⁶ The temple to the god Sarapis. Inscriptions from AD 117-119 at the Serapeum in both Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites dedicate the temples to “Zeus Helios Sarapis the Great [Διὶ Ἡλίωι μεγάλωι Σαράπιδι]” (Robert A. Wild, “The Known Isis-Sarapis Sanctuaries of the Roman Period,” *ANRW II* [1984], 1793-1799). The emphasis on Sarapis being “great” testifies to the prevalence and popularity of this god during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

²⁸⁷ θυσιάζω, *sacrifice*.

²⁸⁸ καταλύω, *put down, destroy, dismiss, unloose, take up one’s quarters/lodge* (intr.).

²⁸⁹ ληστής, *robber, pirate*.

²⁹⁰ εὐλαβής, *taking hold well, holding fast, clinging, discreet, cautious, reverent, pious*.

²⁹¹ ἀναχωρέω, *go back, retire, withdraw*.

²⁹² That is, the temple of Sarapis.

²⁹³ θόρυβος, *noise (of a crowded assembly), uproar, clamor, applause, tumult, confusion*.

²⁹⁴ περιαιρέω, *strip off, remove, take off from oneself*.

²⁹⁵ ἀντιποιέω, *do in return, contend with, set up opposition* (m/p, abs.).

²⁹⁶ σπάω, *draw (of a sword), pluck off/out (of violent actions), wrench, sprain, draw in, suck in*.

²⁹⁷ λέπος, *rind, husk, scale*.

²⁹⁸ μάχαιρα, *large knife, dagger, sword*.

²⁹⁹ σκέλος, *leg*.

³⁰⁰ μ᾽εἶναι (inf. + acc. subj.).

³⁰¹ lit. “until now” (ἕως τοῦ νῦν).

³⁰² τύχη, *fate, fortune, providence, success*.

³⁰³ κωλύω, *hinder, prevent*.

³⁰⁴ διαλύω, *loose one from another, dissolve, break up, destroy, relax, weaken*.

³⁰⁵ λιμός, *famine, hunger*.

³⁰⁶ θλίβω, *squeeze, compress, oppress, afflict, distress*.

³⁰⁷ ἀναγκάιον, *place of constraint, prison*. Or ἀναγκαῖος, *of/with/by force, constraining, applying force*.

³⁰⁸ τεύχω, *make ready, make*.

³⁰⁹ βοήθεια, *help, aid*.

³¹⁰ εὐτυχέω, *be prosperous/fortunate*.

³¹¹ This Serapeum was actually located west of Memphis not far from the pyramid complex (Herbert C. Youtie, “The Kline of Sarapis,” *Harvard Theological Review* 41 [1948]: 15).

attacked, since he would likely be accused by the member of the bodyguard of being one of the robbers. It is not readily clear whether he is in prison or at his own lodgings, but he is clearly aware of the danger he has in venturing out on his own as a result of the incident with the bodyguard. He may even be in fear that his new limp will cause him to be harassed by others on the road, and he wants a secure note from the chief of the bodyguard to offer him some security on the road.

If we consider the man's statement that he goes to the temple on a yearly basis to offer sacrifice, his journey may coincide with a yearly festival for Sarapis in Memphis. If so, there would have been heightened security in the area with greater numbers of faithful worshippers coming to the temple, much like the times of Jewish festivals in Jerusalem.

The man's description of the incident certainly heightens the sense of danger felt by anyone who might be in the wrong place at the wrong time. The presence of robbers in the area apparently brought suspicion on even this man who was only traveling with pious intentions, as he states. His resistance to the bodyguard, however, indicates that even the official bodyguard could not always be trusted.

A similar incident is recorded in a petition from another royal husbandman to the κωμογραμματεύς of Kerkeosiris in 114 BC. In P.Tebt 1.44, the man states that he was attending worship in the temple of the great Isis seeking healing³¹² from the sickness he was experiencing.³¹³ Without giving the details for how the argument began, he makes the claim that a resident of the temple picked a fight with him, began to abuse him verbally, and then beat him severely with the staff he was carrying. He states that he was beaten so severely that his life was in danger, and he desired for his petition to be kept on record so that the offender would be held accountable if his situation worsened. He is likely not at the point of death since he is still able to dictate a letter. So, he is likely submitting the petition in case his situation worsens and so he or a family member can submit evidence for the abuser to be held accountable for his actions. The man does not make any mention of having been robbed, and so it is difficult to ascertain the reason why he was attacked. Did the temple resident feel the man was being disrespectful or desecrating the temple area? Was this simply a violent man? Was he a permanent resident or was he simply staying at the temple, possibly seeking healing himself? The scant amount of detail in the petition does not reveal much to us about the attacker's motivation. Perhaps the petitioner played a role in the argument himself and simply wanted to gain the upper hand by submitting his petition first.

These two petitions speak to the danger people faced even when they were acting out of seeming piety and religious devotion. Even the temples were not a safe haven against abuse and attack.

³¹² A private shrine dedicated to Isis in Ras el Soda (lower Egypt) preserves an inscription to "the Blessed One" who has saved the person who dedicated this shrine. The cult site includes five cult statues, but the most prominent statue is the one of Isis, who is principally honored in this religious site. The builder of this site, probably named Isidoros, apparently experienced a profound sense of healing from Isis (Wild, "The Known Isis-Sarapis Sanctuaries," 1810-1811).

³¹³ The term he uses is περιέχω, which typically carries the sense of *embrace, surround or encompass*. Without pressing the issue too far, it could be said that his experience with this unspecified sickness was the feeling of being enwrapped in the illness.

Another example of an attack in a temple comes from the Ptolemaic era document P.Tebt 1.39 (114 BC). In this petition, an oil contractor describes his experiences attempting to confront a certain black market seller of oil, who was known to be housing contraband oil in a temple. On the first occasion he and his associate are attacked, beaten and driven out of the temple. The contractor makes a second attempt to arrest the man outside of another temple, but the man had a group ready to protect him. They attack the oil contractor and his associates by beating them with cudgels, wounding the contractor and his wife on the hand.

Robbery

The reasons for attacks are not always stated outright. Most attacks, though, are presumably the result of attempted robbery. A few texts state outright the product that is being stolen (or at least attempted to be stolen). So, in P.Tebt 3.1.797 (second c. BC), a petitioner writes that he was robbed with violence. He is beaten several times, and he is specifically wounded in the shins and face. The robbers take honey and linen cloth worth 2,000 drachmas. In SB 18.13087 (4 BC), the petitioner writes that a wife and her son invaded his house and stole their clothing (worth 20 silver drachmas) with violence.

In P.Fay 108 (AD 169-170), two pig merchants petition to the στρατηγός, stating they have been attacked violently and robbed while traveling on the road. The men state they are from the μητρόπολις, traveling up from a village (Theadelphia), apparently on their way back home.³¹⁴ So, it seems that these are businessmen from a city traveling in a rural area. According to their account, the attack occurred in the early morning (just before dawn). They were accompanied by a watch-guard, but in spite of this protection, they were hemmed in by “evil-doers”³¹⁵ and beaten severely. One small pig (χοιρίδιον) is stolen, along with the tunic of one of the two merchants, Πασίωνις. This merchant appears to have been severely injured during the attack and robbery. The early morning hour seems like an unlikely time for such an attack, but the accompanying guard suggests that such attacks were a constant concern for road-travelers. Also, the presence of such petitions shows that attack victims were not without recourse because of the Roman judicial process.

Another petition (P.Oxy 31.2563) from the same time period (AD 170) details an attack upon a man, his son and his son’s nurse (τροφός). In this petition, the man references a physician’s report that was used as evidence to support his claim. The reason for the attack is apparently some furniture that his son’s nurse inherited from her brother. The letter of inheritance was registered with the chief judge to guard against the confiscation of this property that rightfully belonged to her. The attack on this household was apparently an attempt to forcefully take this piece of inherited property, which implies that the attacker was a family member of Heras, the boy’s nurse, or another associate of her deceased brother. The petitioner seems to be very well connected because he mentions that he made a personal appeal to the king’s scribe, who appointed an administrator to handle the case and look over the evidence.

³¹⁴ This is the sense in the translation by Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 134. Deissmann provides a translation of this text but makes no comment on the social context involved in the robbery of these pig-merchants.

³¹⁵ κακοῦργοί

It is also interesting that his son's nurse does not appear to be a slave because she is able to inherit property that is officially recognized as a piece of public record. The man nowhere in the document refers to her as a slave.

Unknown Reason

In addition to the more isolated instances of attack noted above, there are several cases of attacks by people in a group. In some cases, robbery is the reason for the attack, but in other cases, the reason is not clearly stated. In BGU 8.1780 (57-50 BC), thieves³¹⁶ attack a group in public. The persons in the group are said to be wounded, dealt blows and stripped of some clothing. In P.Athen 34 (AD 347), a public physician's report describes an incident where a senator's shepherds are beaten, possibly in an attempt to steal the sheep. P.Mich 18.776 (194 BC) tells of two men who were attacked and discovered by a night patrol. The names of the group of men who did the attacking are appended to the report, but not yet found. P.Oslo 3.95 (AD 96) is another report of a public physician, describing the ambush of a slave, who is wounded on the hand. P.Petr 3.28 (224-218 BC) speaks of a gang of robbers that falls upon a group of persons, apparently using small clubs. Similarly, in P.Tebt 1.230 (125-101 BC), a group attack results in one of the attackers snatching one of the victims' javelins in the process.³¹⁷ In P.Tebt 2.304 (AD 168) a man claims that he and his brother were attacked "for no reason" by a gang led by a certain Satorneilos. The brother is wounded to the point of his life being in danger. The petitioner requests the group leader be made responsible for damages. P.Tebt 3.1.793 (183 BC) contains multiple petitions concerning multiple attacks. In one of these petitions, a man describes being attacked with a sword at night by a member of the desert guard. The attack was apparently mutual because a skirmish arose between the two men, and another petition states that the original petitioner cut the ear off the member of the guard. SB 20.14086 (4 BC) describes a man injured by blows from a group. SB 20.14639 (AD 330-340) is another physician's report telling of a man attacked by a father and his two sons. A public physician inspects the wounds, but the text cuts off at the moment he begins to describe the injuries.

Other documents describe attacks made on persons without specific mention of a group being involved in the attack. BGU 2.647 (AD 130) is a report made by a Roman citizen who conducted a medical practice in the village of Karanis.³¹⁸ He describes a deep head wound on the victim, with fragments of stone. No specific mention of an attack is made, but the nature of the injury implies that someone attacked the man. By contrast, in O.Wilck 1150 (145-134 BC), two brothers swear an oath that they were not the ones to have wounded a man. In P.Fouad 29 (AD 224), a mother petitions on behalf of her son that someone threw a rock at her son's head, resulting in serious injury. In P.Oxy 33.2672dupl (AD 218), a petitioner tells of a female servant beaten, causing injury to her lip. The petitioner also testifies that a rock was thrown against his own head.

³¹⁶ ληστήαις in the papyrus, alternate spelling for ληστείαις.

³¹⁷ This document is very fragmentary, making it difficult to determine the exact course of events being described.

³¹⁸ This citizen does not identify himself as a "public physician," but the formal nature of his report and structural similarities to other public physician's reports shows that he is functioning in the role of an official *ιατρός* for the village. The term "public physician" was not consistently employed for persons serving in this official capacity until the late second c. AD.

P.Oxy 44.3195 (AD 331) is a public physician's report, detailing head wounds on the right side of the head and bruises (πελίδνωμα) on both arms. In P.Ryl 2.68, a woman is beaten because of a dispute (the reason is unknown) while five months pregnant. The term ἀρρωστέω describes her condition after receiving this beating. PSI 4.313 (third-fourth c. AD) is a fragment of a lawsuit, describing one man who is attacked and left senseless and injured. PSI 5.455 (AD 178) is a public physician's report, in which three head wounds are identified.

In addition to these accounts, P.NYU 2.3 (AD 5) documents one case of animal negligence. In this petition, a man tells of the negligent care of sick donkeys. He also states that one donkey of some worth³¹⁹ was wounded and killed.

In the majority of these instances, the texts give no indication for why people were attacked. Since many of them appear in doctors' reports or parts of other official petitions, it may be assumed that most of these are robberies, where something was lost and the petitioner is seeking to recover what was stolen. However, in the case of P.Tebt 1.44, where the petitioner gives no indication that anything was stolen, there may be cases where someone is simply attacked as an act of violence. So, in the case of UPZ 1.122 (see above), a member of the guard stabs a passer-by, apparently because the man was either disrespectful or non-compliant.

Maltreatment Because of Disability

It is well documented that people with physical deformities were often mocked as part of entertainment at dinner parties for the social elite.³²⁰ This mockery at dinner parties is indicative of a more widespread contempt for persons with various disabilities. That is not to say that all people with disabilities were abused at every turn, but there is enough evidence to say that they were often in danger of being mocked and abused or at the very least taken advantage of as a result of their illnesses.

Gemellos Alias Horos

Several papyri speak to the abuse and injustice endured by persons with disabilities or deformities in the ancient world. Of particular interest is a group of petitions written by one man with little to no vision that chronicles the repeated difficulties he endured from people trying to take advantage of his disability. In his case, his disability opens himself up to being robbed of his rightful property. These petitions date from AD 197-200 and can be found in P.Mich 6.422, 423, 425 and 426.

³¹⁹ The exact value of the donkey is obscured by a hole in the text, but the petitioner gives the value in order to be afforded restitution.

³²⁰ Robert Garland documents such mockery in early Greek writings. He highlights a scene at the end of book 1 of the *Iliad*, in which "unquenchable laughter" breaks out among the gods as they sit at a banquet and the cripple Hephaistos bustles about filling their cups (Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995], 79). He also documents other Greco-Roman examples of mockery at dinner parties: Horace describes the trading of insults at a *convivium* (*Sat.* 1.5.50-70). Plutarch describes the types of commands that an insensitive symposiarch might give (*Mor.* 621e). In the emperor's house (*Heliogab.* 29.3), Lampridius alleges that Elagabalus was in the habit of inviting eight deformed persons of some kind, including eight fat men to try to sit on a couch on which they could not all fit (Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*, 85-86).

In all four documents, the man references his poor eyesight. In the earliest document (P.Mich 6.422, AD 197) as well as his follow-up petition concerning the same incident, the man states that he has weak vision (ὄψις ἀσθενεία). In the next two petitions for separate incidents, the man gives further details into his poor vision. In both petitions, Gemellos states that he is “one-eyed” and has one eye that appears to be sound, but in reality he cannot even see through the one eye, making him effectively blind. An amanuensis for his petition in P.Mich 6.425 corroborates the fact that the man cannot see by stating the reason he was needed to write the petition is that the man “could not see letters [μὴ εἰδότης γράμματα].” This is more likely to be a statement on the condition of the man’s eyesight rather than saying he was uneducated.

According to Gemellos, his poor eyesight is the direct reason for the harassment he receives from each of the offenders. In the first two petitions (6.422, 423), the offenders are two brothers, acting in violence and arrogance according to Gemellos. They have taken over his agricultural fields and harvested crops for themselves. One of the brothers dies in the interim between the two petitions, but the other brother’s wife assists in stealing the harvest from Gemellos. He owned several properties, and we would expect him to have had some hired help to work the land and protect it. According to the text, this man owned, at the very least, hay fields and an olive grove, suggesting he was a man of some means. However, nowhere does the man speak of other servants or guards being beaten during the course of his petition. So, it may be that the man was unable to secure reliable guards for his property to keep trespassers off his land. These men arrogantly thought they could get away with their actions because the blind man was inferior to them and incapable of defending himself.

The third and fourth petitions chronicle slightly different methods of harassing the blind man. In 6.425, a tax collector’s assistant victimizes Gemellos and his mother by publicly shaming them, beating his mother, destroying all four doors of his house with an ax (leaving the house open to any kind of outsider to take advantage of them), and extorting them out of money. He does not state exactly how he was extorted, but the tax collector’s assistant seems to have claimed the man and his mother owed taxes.³²¹ In any case, the tax collector’s assistant clearly had the same attitude toward the man as the other offenders because he felt he could easily get away with stealing from the man due to his infirmity. It is possible that the tax collector’s act of destroying the doors of the house was an acceptable act against someone withholding taxes, but Gemellos references the fact that the assistant was not even willing to produce a receipt, which would have acted as evidence against the assistant’s attempt at extortion.

Similarly, in 6.426, the final petition from Gemellos details his defense against the elders of Karanis who attempted to force him into liturgical service under false pretenses, even though he was legally exempt from such service as a citizen of the Antinos πόλις. He refers to his situation as one where he is “suffering violence [βίαν πάσχω].” The violence he is referencing does not appear to be physical. He is referring to a type of psychological or mental harassment. Clearly, this man does not look at liturgical service as a mark of honor but rather as an obligatory duty that does not yield

³²¹ It is possible that this tax collector was taking advantage of the fact that the man’s harvest was stolen in the previous year, claiming he needed to pay taxes on the allegedly stolen produce. This is not specifically mentioned however.

positive benefits for him.³²² Depending on what would be expected of him in this position of service, he may not have been able to perform the duties required of him because of his poor eyesight. It is possible this was a form of mockery because he would not have been able to perform his duties properly. Or it may be possible that this type of service required payment of some kind, so they were seeking a way to extort money from him.

This series of petitions reflects Gemellos' ability to make use of the judicial process available to him. He states his case very convincingly in each petition, which suggests he had at least a decent level of education. His status as a landowner makes it likely he had available access to education. His third petition (P.Mich 6.426) makes especially good use of argumentation, as he points out the flaws in his opponents' argument. This man's case is interesting because even though he is a landholder and enjoys relatively good status in his community, he is still taken advantage of on at least three occasions in the span of three to four years.

It is a testimony to at least the appearance of justice in the Roman system at the time (late second c. AD) that the petitioner appeals to the promise of "our savior" (an apparent reference to the Caesar) that all victims of injustice should be able to make their petition without fear of retribution from the Prefect or any other Roman official. However, the threat of abuse was very real, as evidenced not only by the petitioner's claim to being abused and extorted, but also by his fear that since the doors of his house³²³ were destroyed, others would come in and take advantage of him. This collection of petitions from Gemellos reveals that even though a man could own property and apparently have a good education available to him, his eyesight disability made him a target of multiple attacks and robbery. These persons felt they could get away with taking advantage of a man with such a disability. How many others were never able to defend themselves because they did not have an appropriate level of education or were not familiar enough with the legal system to be able to reliably send up their petitions?

Maltreatment Because of Sickness

In addition to abuse because of disability, the documentary papyri also provide a few cases of persons being abused in a specific time of illness. In P.Sakaon 48 (AD 343), a

³²² See the larger discussion of liturgical appointments in Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 177-84. Liturgical appointment came at a great personal cost to the person appointed to these positions. Liturgists were required to defray the expenses of the office themselves and also had to turn in the full quota of taxes assessed for their district. Under the Roman government, the village officials who appointed nominees were required to guarantee that the nominee was qualified and would in fact serve in this capacity. Interestingly, if a nominating official attempted to appoint someone who was exempt from public service or otherwise not qualified, the burden would fall to the official to either find a replacement or take on the liturgy himself. (Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 179-80). It may be that Gemellos is attempting to turn the tables on the village elders and force them into taking on his liturgical service for themselves.

³²³ It is worth noting that the man most likely had some means since he has 4 doors to his house (at least one or two were presumably doors to a courtyard of some sort), which indicates he owned a home of some size. Also, his formal use of the judicial process and the attention he receives from Roman officials indicates some level of education. His use of an amanuensis was probably a result of his blindness, not an indication of illiteracy or lack of education.

father writes a petition to the *πραιπόσιτος* of his *πάγος* in the Arsinoites nome. In the petition, he states that when his own son was at the point of death because of illness, a reckless man named Sakaon broke into his house and took his son's wife for his own. Although it is not clear to what extent the wife was involved in this matter, the man hints that she was not happy in their home and may have wished for this to happen. This is an example of someone taking advantage of the moment of weakness because of the son's life-threatening illness. This petition is submitted by a deacon of the catholic church, and he makes reference to his own "quietism" (*ἄσκέω*). The man is apparently making reference to some sort of pacifism because he was unwilling to involve himself in any sort of violence or fighting to defend against the taking of his daughter-in-law.

A case of robbery is recorded in a woman's petition from 114 BC, P.Tebt 1.52. In this petition the woman claims while she was seriously ill a woman and her son attacked her house and made off with the house contract and other financial papers. This robbery may have been an attempt to seize control of her property.

Another possible instance of abuse because of illness comes in P.Cair.Zen 1.59018 (258 BC), where a man writes that he could not deliver a pledge of money personally because of his own sickness (caused by medicine of some kind). He sent a young servant in his place with a letter, but the servant was not received. He was attacked and thrown out of the village with no attention paid to the letter. It is not clear whether the young messenger was disregarded because of the sickness of his master or for some other reason. At the very least, it can be said that the sick man was severely hindered in conducting his business because he was temporarily incapacitated by his sickness.

So, also in P.Tebt 3.1.798, a man seeks relief from a "weighty" illness by going to the public baths and soaking in the water. The man, however, is attacked in the bath and seriously beaten, to the point where his life is in danger.

In summary, we have seen from the documentary papyri that, much as we would expect, injury due to maltreatment was a very real concern in the ancient world. The petitions preserve for us several specific, real-life situations in which people were beaten and robbed, often on the public roads. However, people could also be attacked in their own homes. Disability and illness could open up the opportunity for a person to be taken advantage of and robbed. These examples from the documentary papyri allow us the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the real-life situations that persons in the NT faced as a result of injury and/or illness. These should help us better appreciate the difficulties people faced in the time of Jesus' ministry.

CHAPTER 4 – PHYSICIANS AND HEALING IN THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

Key Terms: ἰατρός, θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι

The work of physicians in ancient times was similar to modern times, but in many ways also very different. In Luke 4:23, Jesus says, “Physician, heal yourself [ἰατρέ θεράπευσον σεαυτόν],” which indicates that people talked about physicians in public discourse during Jesus’ time. Jesus calls this statement a parable, so people held certain views about the roles of physicians.³²⁴ This chapter will address the roles of physicians and what the documentary papyri have to say about methods for healing.

The documentary papyri tell us about many facets of the lives of physicians, including their role in submitting official reports to be used in court, advice for healing, the use of medicine and surgical instruments, and their involvement in business.

PHYSICIANS³²⁵

Doctor as Healer

One of the surprising finds of this study has been the extremely limited number of texts that make any direct mention to a doctor providing medical care to the general populace.³²⁶ This evidence comes in spite of frequent references to ἰατροί. The public physicians generally make examinations of injuries and provide reports of their findings for official reasons. Only one of these reports (P.Oslo 3.95),³²⁷ however, mentions servicing any of the wounds medically, and this seems to only be in passing while he conducts his report. The letters found within the papyri collections frequently speak of illness and make requests for immediate family to come help. These letters, however, make very little mention of a doctor coming to treat these illnesses. It is likely there were persons familiar with medical techniques but who did not assume the title ἰατρός.³²⁸

³²⁴ I will discuss the relationship between Jesus’ statement in Luke 4:23 and the roles of physicians in greater detail in Chapter 5.

³²⁵ The discussion of each concept will feature key texts in Greek with translation in English and notes. The purpose of placing the texts at the beginning of each section is to highlight the importance of the texts themselves as the source of the information in this study. It is only by encountering these texts on their own, in the original language, that we can truly begin to appreciate the rich value they offer for our understanding of the ancient world.

³²⁶ Many physicians were likely more concerned with general, scholarly interests than with practical medical care of the general populace. Physicians kept collections of manuscripts of medical authorities of the past, especially Hippocrates: “In view of the fact that these include several manuscripts of the *Epidemics* and the *Letters*, texts that can have had little practical application, we can infer an interest in the scholarship of the profession detached from everyday utility” (Alexander Jones, “Mathematics, Science, and Medicine in the Papyri,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger Bagnall [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 355).

³²⁷ This is the earliest report I found (AD 96), and the physician simply calls himself ἰατρός, the term δημόσιος has not yet been attached to doctors serving in this capacity.

³²⁸ There was a great deal of fluidity in Antiquity when it came to determining who could be termed ἰατρός or not. These lines changed based on individual choice. There were no legal criteria for determining who could or could not be called a doctor (Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 248-49).

One person assuming the title *ιατρός* speaks in a general way about his medical service to persons in the community. In P.Oxy 1.40, a physician makes reference to the fact that his trade is as *ιατρός*, and his treatment of patients is his public service. His statement is part of his attempt to be freed from obligatory public service (*λειτουργία*). One text indicates a physician who took up a medical practice in a village. In BGU 2.647 (AD 130), a physician by the name of Gaios Menikios Oualerianos offers a report very similar to the reports of public physicians in which he swears an oath to the truth of his findings on the injured man.³²⁹ He reports that the man has a deep head wound with small fragments of stone, indicating he was attacked. The physician states at the beginning that he holds a medical practice (*ιατρείον*) in the village of Karanis.³³⁰ This medical practice was likely in his own home where he received patients.³³¹ His name suggests he came from the aristocracy.

A few select texts make indirect references to patients being treated by a physician. The first comes in a letter written to a military patron concerning the disbursement of funds. In SB 24.16282 (fourth c. AD), a new recruit named Apollo writes to his military officer concerning the need for funds to be delivered to his mother and wife. Even though he addresses his officer as *πατρων*, this seems to be a non-technical use of the word because his officer is essentially disbursing funds to the recruit and his family that have already been allocated for his use.³³² The reason he needs funds given to his family is that he has been forced to spend his share of the money already given to him on care from a doctor. He and his associate have been short on food because of the extra expense. As he states in his own words: “For I have spent my share on the doctor until he may heal me from the illness.”³³³ He gives no further details on the nature of his illness, but from the way he phrases his statement, it seems that this is an ongoing illness, possibly requiring multiple treatments. As a soldier, he may have had easier access to medical care that he may not have had previously. The timing of his medical care (just after being recruited) suggests the possibility that he could not afford a doctor’s care before he was recruited into the military. On a related note, in BGU 13.2350 (second c. AD), a woman suffers a foot injury and makes reference to being healed at great expense.³³⁴ She makes no direct statement that she saw a physician, but her reference to “great expense” might be an allusion to expensive medical treatment.

³²⁹ He also has two elders of the village present with him to serve as additional witnesses. Naphtali Lewis offers a translation of this text that indicates the physician treated the injured man (*Life in Roman Egypt*, 151), but there is no verb supplied in the original Greek to indicate he himself treated the man. It might be implied that the man treated him since he held a medical practice there.

³³⁰ This village appears frequently in the Oxyrhynchos papyri.

³³¹ Hirt Raj notes that former scholarship considered the *ιατρείον* to function much like a hospital, receiving and holding patient. The medical and literary sources, however, indicate it served as a place where a doctor could give consultations. It was generally also his home (*Médecins et Malades*, 158). The excavations of Pompeii have revealed consulting rooms of a medical doctor (Pieter Craffert, *Illness and Healing in the Biblical World: Perspectives on Health Care* [Pretoria: Biblia, 1999], 39).

³³² See the technical discussion of the officer’s function involving a comparison with P.Lond 3.985 in Rea, *Letter of a Recruit*, 190.

³³³ ὁ γὰρ [μέρος] μου ἀνήλωσα εἰς τὸν ἰατρόν, ἕως ἄν [θεραπ]εῦσθαι με ἐν τῇ νόσῳ. Translation is my own. For a full translation see Rea, *Letter of a Recruit*, 190.

³³⁴ The translation of this section of the letter in Bagnall & Criore states, “my foot was trodden by a horse and I was in danger, so that I have been healed at great expense, and until today I have been out of

The second occurrence comes in SB 18.13589 (also a fourth c. text), which is a letter from a certain Herminos. This may possibly be the same Herminos from the previous text, but there is nothing to link these two texts together except his name. In this letter, he writes of his own sickness (ἀρρωσσία) and writes that he has sent for a physician named Sarapiōn.³³⁵ Both of these texts appear to be written from or to persons in the upper classes. In this second letter, Herminos addresses his letter to “my lord son” (τῷ δεσπότη μου υἱῷ). Since both letters are fourth century texts, the documentary papyri do not document persons seeking personal medical service from a regular physician before this time. It is not clear whether these two texts were written in an urban or rural environment.

Third, P.Oxy 42.3078 (second c. AD) is a question posed to an oracle about seeing a certain physician to treat an eye condition. This question reflects a certain uncertainty regarding seeing a physician. This person may have other options available for treating their condition, but it is telling that they are making a religious request first before seeking out a physician’s medical expertise.

Finally, P.Oslo 3.87 indicates a possible expense owed for medical service (ιατρευμένη). The text, however, is very fragmentary and the context for this medical service is unclear.³³⁶

The findings above reveal that documentation of physicians engaging in medical service is scant. Naphtali Lewis confirms these findings, stating that while the physicians appear more often in the papyri than other professionals, they only rarely appear in the exercise of their medical profession. He further states that most rural populations took care of their own health needs.³³⁷ As he states, “With the prime medical facilities concentrated in the cities and towns, villagers relied for ordinary ailments on their own local pharmacopoeias of simples and nostrums, developed through trial and error over the centuries. More than a hundred medicinal recipes are written on papyri of Roman date, remedies for everything from abdominal complaints to zymosis.”³³⁸ Even though Alexandria had a medical school,³³⁹ this school had very little influence on the doctors of the χώρα. If more papyri were found in urban areas

action” (Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006], 366).

³³⁵ There may possibly be some link with the Sarapis cult, possibly a Sarapis temple physician.

³³⁶ PSI 4.413, a man makes a request to send for sweet wine, honey and salt fish as prescribed by doctors. These items may be a prescription to treat a certain medical condition, but it seems more likely that they are supplies requested by multiple physicians.

³³⁷ Some rural areas apparently did have doctors who had some skill in medical practice, even if their methods were more rustic than what we generally find in the medical writings. They may or may not have been trained in the Hippocratic method. In *On the Powers [and Mixtures] of Simple Drugs (De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus)*, Galen reports on a rural doctor (ιατρός τις τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς τε καὶ κώμαις ιατρευόντων), who used a vinegar mixture for snake bites. The same doctor also used goat excrement in multiple medicinal mixtures (Véronique Boudon-Millot, “Greek and Roman Patients under Galen’s Gaze: A Doctor at the Crossroads of Two Cultures,” in *‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ in Latin Medical Texts: Studies in Cultural Change and Exchange in Ancient Medicine*, ed. Brigitte Maire [Leiden: Brill, 2014], 13).

³³⁸ Lewis, *Life in Roman Egypt*, 152. He also observes that papyrus findings throughout Middle Egypt have turned up discoveries of medical writings, indicating that persons did have access to medical learning (ibid, 152-53).

³³⁹ P.Ross.Georg 3.2 appears to mention a doctor serving his own private medical practice in Alexandria, which keeps him extremely busy.

like Alexandria (which is doubtful because of the wet conditions), we might see more evidence of physicians operating medical practices.³⁴⁰ But no matter how important physicians were in terms of advancing medical knowledge, they could never claim to be the dominant source of healing. Priests, magicians and local healers, as evidenced in the surviving documents, had a greater influence among the general populace. Medical practice also continued in the temples until they closed toward the end of the fourth c. AD.³⁴¹

Public Physicians

One of the most informative types of documents in the papyri is the report of a public physician. Several of these reports exist in almost identical format and terminology from the first through fourth centuries AD.³⁴² The exact role and function of the “public physician,” (δημόσιος ἰατρός) is not clear. Doctors were likely appointed or elected into the role of “public physician” for a designated period of time. Some may have been hired on a contractual basis, depending on the need at the time. The Classical and Hellenistic Greek world had a custom of designating a physician for service in each πόλις in order to guarantee that each city had a trained medical person available at all times. The opportunity for such state service was only available to a very small percentage of doctors.³⁴³ The term “public physician,” however, does not appear in Roman Egyptian documents until AD 173 (P.Oxy 1.51).³⁴⁴ As can be seen in the text below, P.Oxy 3.95 (AD 96) follows the exact format and terminology as later reports of public physicians, but the physician simply identifies himself as ἰατρός (lines 2-3).

³⁴⁰ Galen shares an anecdote that reveals the general level of medical knowledge surrounding Alexandria, where a peasant was bitten on the finger by a snake and tied the finger off at the base with a string and ran into the city to his regular doctor (ἰατρὸν συνήθη) to have the finger amputated. He survived without needing any other treatment. In a similar vein, a vinegrower amputated his finger himself with a sickle after a snake bite. Both anecdotes come from Gal. *De loc. aff.* 3.11 (Boudon-Millot, *Galen's Gaze*, 14).

³⁴¹ Hirt Raj, *Médecins et Malades*, 306.

³⁴² These reports exist even into the fifth and sixth centuries AD as well, but my research did not extend into these later centuries.

³⁴³ Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004), 87. Doctors could also serve in state service by accompanying the military on campaign.

³⁴⁴ The term ἀρχιατρός will eventually come into greater use for this role in the later fourth-fifth c. AD (Marguerite Hirt Raj, *Médecins et Malades de l'Égypte Romaine: Étude socio-légale de la profession médicale et de ses praticiens du Ier au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 102-103).

P.Oslo 3.95 (AD 96, Oxyrhynchos)

1

Πείσιδι στρα(τηγῶ)
παρὰ θέωνος τοῦ Ἄρπαήσιος ἰα-
τροῦ τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλε-
ως. τῆ μιᾶ καὶ ἰκάδι³⁴⁵ Σεβαστῆ

5

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς
Φαρμουῦθι τοῦ πεντεκαίδε-
κάτου ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ —
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἔπε-

10

τράπη μοι ὑπό σου διὰ Λό-
χου τοῦ Ὀννώφριος ὑπηρέ-
του ἐφιδεῖν³⁴⁶ Ἀλεξάνδραν
δούλην Κιλαυδίας³⁴⁷ Διονυσίας.

ἐφιδῶν³⁴⁸ οὖν ταύτην ἐ-

15

πακλουθοῦντος³⁴⁹ τοῦ ὑπη-
ρέτου εὔρον ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ
δακτύλῳ τραῦμα, ὃ καὶ θα-
ραπεύω,³⁵⁰ καὶ συνδρομὴν
αἵματος ἐπὶ τῷ μασθῶ³⁵¹

20

καὶ ἐξαιμοῦσαν³⁵² καὶ πυρέτ-
[τουςαν. διὸ προσ]φ[ωνῶ.]
[(ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος]
[Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
[Γερμανικοῦ Φαρμουῦθι]

To Peisidos, governor,³⁵³ from Theon (son) of Harpaēsios,³⁵⁴ physician, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.³⁵⁵ On the one and the twentieth (day) of August of the present³⁵⁶ month,

³⁴⁵ Read εἰκάδι.

³⁴⁶ Read ἐφιδεῖν.

³⁴⁷ Read Κιλαυδίας.

³⁴⁸ Read ἐφιδῶν.

³⁴⁹ Read ἐπακολουθοῦντος.

³⁵⁰ Read θαραπεύω.

³⁵¹ Read μασθῶ.

³⁵² Read ἐξαιμοῦσαν.

³⁵³ στρατηγός, *leader or commander of an army, military and civil governor of a nome* (in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt).

³⁵⁴ The writer of this letter generally puts the article (“the”) before a person’s name, followed by that person’s occupation, so literally: “the Harpaēsios physician.”

³⁵⁵ Or “city of Oxyrhynchus.”

³⁵⁶ ἐνίστημι, *set in, place in, appoint, present* (of time).

Pharmouthi, in the fifteenth year of the Autocrat³⁵⁷ Caesar Domitianos³⁵⁸ - August[us] Germanicus. It was entrusted³⁵⁹ to me from you through Lochos (son) of Onnōphrios, servant,³⁶⁰ to look upon³⁶¹ Alexandra, female slave of Kilaudias Dionysias. Therefore, having looked upon³⁶² her, and the servant verifying,³⁶³ I found a wound upon the middle finger,³⁶⁴ which also I service, and a determination³⁶⁵ of blood upon the chest³⁶⁶ and they were vomiting³⁶⁷ and were feverish.³⁶⁸ So, I report.³⁶⁹ Year 15 of Autocrat Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, in Pharmouthi.

³⁵⁷ Or “Absolute, Despot.”

³⁵⁸ This term is typically translated as “Domitian.”

³⁵⁹ ἐπιτρέπω (Ionian spelling of ἐπιτρέπω), *turn over to, commit, turn towards*. The letter-writer misspells this words, substituting φ for π, which suggests that the dialect for this area tended to pronounce “p” sounds with a softer “f” sound.

³⁶⁰ ὑπέρητος, *under-rower, under-seaman, servant, attendant, underling*.

³⁶¹ Or “to look after.”

³⁶² ἐπειδόν, *look upon, behold, see*.

³⁶³ ἐπακολουθέω, *follow close upon, follow after, attend to, supervise, verify, check*.

³⁶⁴ δάκτυλος, *finger*.

³⁶⁵ συνδρομή, *tumultuous concourse of people, determination (of blood), contraction (of a muscle)*.

³⁶⁶ μαστός, *chest, breast*. The letter-writer substitutes θ for τ, which suggest a feature of the writer’s dialect.

³⁶⁷ ἐξεμέω, *vomit (forth), disgorge*.

³⁶⁸ πυρέσσω, *be ill of a fever*. The letter-writer uses Attic spelling, substituting τ for σ.

³⁶⁹ προσφωνέω, *call out, address, summon*. This is used as a technical term to signal the completion of the report, also used in other reports of public physicians.

P.Oxy 1.40 tells us that there were some physicians considered fit for public service and some who had exemption from public service (ἀλειτουρησία). In this particular case, when a certain physician claims exemption from public service, a judge tests whether he really is a physician by asking him if he can identify the correct solvent for mummification.³⁷⁰ At the very least, these physicians' role was to inspect injury victims (some of whom may have been deceased) for the purposes of submitting an official report to the court system.³⁷¹ In P.Oslo 3.95 (see above), the physician is called upon to look over a certain female slave and submit a report to the governor. The governor of the νομός may never have seen this report himself, but the fact that the report is addressed to the governor indicates it was meant for official record. The presence of a servant to supervise the physician suggests that an additional witness was necessary to verify the physician's observations. The physician does not give details on the illness of the female slave but simply reports her condition. He does not indicate that he has treated the slave's condition, other than the wound on her finger, which he seems to have found unexpectedly and treated. The main purpose of the report seems to be to make note of her more serious symptoms of blood on the chest, vomiting and fever.

The role of the physician in this report, then, is primarily that of an expert witness sent to validate the condition of a slave and make official report of her symptoms. Other reports of public physicians also present this role of a physician to make a public report of a person's medical condition. In the vast majority of these reports, the physician verifies injuries from beatings or personal attack.³⁷² These reports are very brief and limit themselves to a matter-of-fact description of each injury and its location. Most of them involve at least an injury to the head and arm, which suggest a fight of some kind.

In some cases, it is not clear whether the injuries are from a beating or an accident. So, in BGU 3.928, the physician reports either a tumor or swelling³⁷³ on the person's right arm, shoulder, and thigh, with bruises.³⁷⁴ The fact that these swellings are all on the same side of the body suggests the injuries are the result of a fall, with the person falling on their right side. Since the injuries from the fall warrant inspection from a public physician, it is likely that someone pushed or threw the person in question. An accidental fall likely would not have required a physician's inspection. Similarly, in P.Oslo 3.96 (ca. AD 272, a very fragmentary text), the physician reports a blood-stained injury to the forehead and mentions falling (πίπτω), but the gaps in the text prevent any clear understanding of the nature of the injury. Another example comes from P.Oxy 1.52 (AD 325), where the seeming collapse of a house causes injury to the hip and knee of a child.³⁷⁵ The physician's report is in response to a

³⁷⁰ J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933), 95-96.

³⁷¹ P.Oxy 31.2563 (AD 170) is a petition from an attack victim, who references a report from a physician who inspected his injuries. This physician's report (presumably from a public physician) is used as a piece of evidence in the investigation into the attack on this petitioner and his family.

³⁷² PSI 5.455 (AD 178), P.Oslo 3.96 (AD 272, may be from a fall), P.Oxy 45.3245 (AD 297), BGU 3.928 (AD 311), P.Oxy 64.4441 (AD 316), CPR 17A.23 (AD 322), P.Louvre 2.116 (AD 330-40), P.Oxy 44.3195 (AD 331), and P.Athen 34 (AD 347). P.Oxy 54.3729 (AD 307) may be included in this list but is very fragmentary at the point of the description of the injury, which makes it difficult to determine the exact injury or its cause.

³⁷³ The word used in Greek is δήματος, short for οἴδημα, *swelling, tumor*.

³⁷⁴ πελίωμα, or πελίδνωμα, *livid spot*. In P.Oxy 64.4441, πελίωμα is used alongside οἴδημα, τραῦμα, τρώσις, and πλήσσω to describe the injuries of a person who was bed-ridden because of the beatings he received. Depending on how πελίωμα is to be understood, however, it is possible that this report actually documents the presence of a tumorous illness spreading down one side of the person's body.

³⁷⁵ The phrase is πτώματος τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ. John Winter also takes this as the collapse of the house (*Life and Letters*, 133).

petition from the girl's father. The reason for the petition may have been to ward off suspicion that he caused her injuries.

In two cases, the physician's report is made to confirm cause of death. So, in P.Oxy 1.51 (AD 173), the public physician is called upon to verify that a certain dead person was strangled to death, or possibly hung on a noose. Also, in P.Rein 2.92, the public physician reports that a dead body had no injury from blows or stabbings, rather the person died from the ὀξείος³⁷⁶ disease. The person who died was a ruler of the village, so the purpose of this report may have been to document any suspicion of foul play.

Other Roles of Physicians

The documentary papyri also offer evidence of other roles held by physicians. In P.Ross.Georg 5.15-16, there is mention of temple-physicians. This text contains two receipts of banking related to temple servants, including temple-physicians. While there is no explanation of the specific roles or practices of these temple-physicians, it indicates that physicians held ongoing positions in certain temples. Similarly, in SB 1.5216 (100-39 BC), another mention is made of a physician whose position may have some relation to temple life.³⁷⁷ In this case, a physician named Athenagoras refers to himself as ἀρχιατρός (literally “chief physician”), and he addresses a letter to the στολισταί (temple attendants)³⁷⁸ of the Labyrinth³⁷⁹ in the Fayyum requesting them to send the body of one of his associates³⁸⁰ who died while in the area. Athenagoras mentions in the letter that he has asked the στολισταί from the temple in Alexandria to write about the transport of the body. It is not clear what level of connection the chief-physician had with the priests of the Alexandrian temple, but it seems clear he had some level of influence if he could make use of their connection to commission the transport of his associate's body. The term “chief-physician” (ἀρχιατρός) appears in several other papyri,³⁸¹ but the exact function of this role is not clear. This chief-physician's connections indicate he held an official role in the government, but the papyri do not clearly indicate the extent of that role.³⁸² Vivian Nutton notes that the term ἀρχιατρός was often applied to the personal physicians of a ruler.³⁸³

³⁷⁶ The meaning of this term is uncertain.

³⁷⁷ Even public physicians without direct ties to a particular temple may have participated in temple worship. For example, public physicians in Athens sacrificed to Asclepius' shrine twice a year (Georgia Petridou, “Asclepius the Divine Healer, Asclepius the Divine Physician: Epiphanies as Diagnostic and Therapeutic Tools,” in *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Demetrios Michaelides [Oxford: Oxbow, 2014], 305).

³⁷⁸ White indicates that the στολισταί were primarily responsible for dressing the images of gods, except for this letter, where their role seems to be more expanded (J. L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986], 101).

³⁷⁹ This is the funeral temple of Amenemhet III. It is described in Herodotus *Hist.* 2.148.1-7, as having 3,000 rooms, separated into 2 stories, one above and one below ground. The rooms below ground were said to contain the tombs of kings and the sacred crocodiles. It seems likely that parts of the underground tombs were used for non-royalty, such as the deceased man described in this document.

³⁸⁰ This was likely one of his subordinates, possibly another doctor under his supervision. It is clear the deceased person meant a great deal to Athenagoras, since he goes to great lengths to have his body transported back.

³⁸¹ BGU 17.2720; CPR 25.1; O.Ashm.Shelt 75; P.Cair.Masp 1.67077, 2.67151dupl; P.Lips 1.97; P.Lond 3.1032; P.Oslo 2.53; P.Oxy 8.1108; P.Sorb 2.69; Stud.Pal 3.77, 8.1175, 10.251.

³⁸² P.Oxy 8.1108, dated to the sixth-seventh c. AD includes a chief-physician in a list of officials, several of whom are referred to as κύριος. Depending on the extent to which the role of a “chief-physician” may have changed between the first c. BC and sixth c. AD, a chief-physician may have been considered among the elites of society.

³⁸³ Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 151-52.

Another role of a physician comes in the form of a “royal physician,”³⁸⁴ who is briefly mentioned in P.Tor.Choach 12 (117 BC), as one communicating an order from the king. This document gives a transcript of a case brought by a Greek official against members of the local Egyptian population, who performed a priestly service to the dead in the local temple of Hera and in religious processions.³⁸⁵ The accuser in this trial refers to a decree from the king that ordered the transfer of local clans (later in the trial identified as ταριχευταί) to the Memnoneia. He states that Tatas, the royal physician, had reported the decree to the στρατηγός of the region. It is not clear why the royal physician was the one who communicated this decree. It may be that the physician was involved because the decree involved priestly servants to the dead, so there may have been some medical connection. Other than that, it may be possible that some physicians had a role in regularly communicating official decrees from the king. The evidence of this document, along with the earlier references to “chief-physicians” suggests that some physicians had significant involvement in the routine affairs of the government.

Another document confirms the extent to which physicians were involved in government affairs. Chr.Wilck 395 (ca. AD 140) contains a physician’s appeal to the prefect to be relieved of his service as acting supervisor of several government-confiscated estates on the grounds that he has been run down by his duties to the point of illness over the course of his term of service of four years. His role was to oversee the collection of sequesters, or produce taken from the land as a penalty for non-payment of taxes. This duty was apparently very taxing on this physician and led him to seek relief of these duties in order to recover from the illness in which he was suffering. He does not identify any illness by name, but the general idea seems to be that he has no chance to rest and recover, possibly because of the amount of travel he has to undertake because of his role as overseer. It is also likely that he is exaggerating the extent of his illness in order to relieve himself from his duty of public service. In the course of his petition, he makes the argument that those in the medical profession should not have to join in public service, but even more so those who have already done their time and proven their worth as public servants. This line of reasoning suggests that there were a number of professionals who were compelled to join in different levels of public service, physicians included. But it may be the case that physicians such as Gemellos (the physician offering this petition) often tried to free themselves from compulsory public service based on their responsibilities as physicians. This document also suggests that generally under the Roman system of government, local professionals were commissioned by the government to administer certain roles in the government, including the collection of taxes by means of the produce of the land.

Another brief example of a physician taking on an authoritative role comes in P.Sarap 84a (AD 90-133), where the letter-writer mentions using Heliodoros, the physician, as a letter carrier between the letter-writer and the letter’s recipient. The letter-writer also mentions that they received an “authoritative letter” (ἐπιστολήν ἡγεμονικὴν) back from Heliodoros. Given that the letter-writer had their first letter sealed (delivered by Heliodoros), it seems the physician was taking on an official role in this exchange of letters.

³⁸⁴ ὁ βασιλικὸς ἰατρός.

³⁸⁵ For their exact role, see the relevant portions of the translation of this document in Roger Bagnall and Peter Derow, ed., *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 223-24.

Personal illness

In P.Fouad 80 (fourth c. AD), a physician writes to his mother and brothers, making reference to the fact that they are unwell. He states that he and his immediate family also suffered the same evils but more quickly and severely. He does not explicitly name the illness or how they treated it. So, it is possible they are not unwell due to sickness but rather to some other misfortune, possibly financial since there is some mention made later in the letter to inheritance.³⁸⁶ The word the physician uses for “unwell” (ἀρρωστέω) is typically used for sickness,³⁸⁷ but this document may be an example of the word being used for misfortune due to life circumstances (financial or other).

In P.Giss.Apoll 29 (AD 113-20), a fragment of a brief letter extends a greeting to the recipient from several persons, including a physician, whose name is obscured by a hole in the text.

Medicine and Surgical Instruments

In a letter from a son, Horeiōn, to his father, Apollōnios (P.Oslo 2.54, second-third c. AD), the son requests his father to send the medicine chest and also ask the doctor for a bitter medicine and another sweeter one. He does not state the purpose for the medicine. It is assumed the father would know exactly which medicine he is referencing. The medicine chest likely held other medicines. Since he makes reference to a physician, it is not likely that Horeiōn is himself a physician. So, the different medicines likely were for his personal use on a day-to-day basis. The son also sends 908 silver drachmas with the letter (4 drachmas was approximately equivalent to one denarius).³⁸⁸

In P.Ross.Georg 5.4 (second c. AD), we have mention of the loaning of a surgical instrument. The text has some gaps, but the message seems to be that if the physician will administer compensation to the letter writer, he will lend out a surgical instrument (λεπτάριον) to the physician. The writer does not make any mention of being a physician himself, so it is curious as to why he has a surgical instrument in his possession in the first place. He may be a benefactor of some sort who loans out instruments to physicians as needed.

Business Matters

Tax and other accounting documents contain the majority of references to physicians and medical matters. Of particular interest to this study are the documents detailing payments in Egypt for medical tax (ιατρικός), which was a tax primarily limited to military settlers in the country.³⁸⁹ Papyrus texts that make specific mention of this medical tax include P.Cair.Zen 1.59036, P.Hib 1.102; P.Hib 1.103, P.Hib 1.165, P.Petr 2.39, P.Petr 3.111, P.Tebt 3.1.746, P.Tebt 3.2.1036, P.Tebt 3.2.1037, PSI 4.371, PSI 4.388, and SB 26.16634. These texts are mainly simply lists of the persons paying the tax and the amount paid. P.Cair.Zen 1.59036 (257 BC), however, includes instructions for making use of the revenue gained from collecting this medical tax. Since this tax is limited to military personnel, it seems likely they had access to professional medical service through the military. These texts all come from the mid-third to early first c.

³⁸⁶ The document is very fragmentary at this point in the letter, so it is impossible to determine exactly what the concern about inheritance involves.

³⁸⁷ See Chapter 1 for other uses of ἀρρωστέω and its cognates.

³⁸⁸ Jane Rowlandson, ed., *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xv.

³⁸⁹ Military personnel also paid for police services, cf. P.Hib 1.103 (Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 160-61).

BC, making them a product of the Hellenist period. This medical tax is not attested in the documentary papyri in Roman times, so this information is further evidence that access to medical care from physicians could often be limited particular groups in society during particular time periods.

In addition to texts specifically related to medical matters, multiple texts in the documentary papyri speak to other aspects of physicians' lives. In fact, the vast majority of references to physicians in the documentary papyri come from tax lists detailing what is owed on the collection of taxes. These lists include not only physicians but also a variety of professions. The frequency with which physicians appear in these lists indicates that physicians were generally of a higher class.³⁹⁰ These tax lists also indicate that the position of ἰατρός either opened up opportunities for land ownership or was a position often held by landowners.³⁹¹ This evidence fits in with the view that physicians were generally equal to craftsmen, needing to earn a living with their own hands, which places them below the aristocracy.³⁹² We have already seen above the role that ἰατροί could often play in overseeing estates and acting as a tax manager in service to the government (see the section above on Chr.Wilck 395).

There are also several documents that mention physicians in passing, who act as witnesses to business transactions or in the cases of petitions.³⁹³ An example of the payment of a physician's account is also found in P.Wash.Univ 1.30 (third c. AD), where the writer of a letter tells the recipient he has paid the "account of the physician" (λόγον τοῦ ἰατροῦ) in the amount of 240 drachmas. Another third century letter, P.Stras 1.73,³⁹⁴ references payment to a physician in the amount of 20 drachmas. This payment apparently puts the letter writer in some hardship because he is hoping for the letter's recipient to send something to help, imploring him to send it by boat so that it will arrive faster.

Summary

What is of interest in the papyri is not only what they tell us about the lives of physicians, but also what they do *not* tell us about them. There are very few references in personal letters to family members seeking out a doctor for healing of an illness. Most persons actually reach out to family members for help. It may be the case that people simply summoned a doctor by word of mouth, so we do not have documents available where people are requesting the help of a doctor. Still, we would expect to see more references to persons sending for a doctor in their requests for a family member to come help.

³⁹⁰ Tax or other account lists that involve physicians include the following: BGU 9.1897a, 9.1898, 16.2577; O.Claud. 4.708, 4.713, 4.714; O.Heid. 425; O.Wilck. 1188; P.Alex.Giss. 14; P.Bad. 4.83; P.Bodl. 1.28; P.Cair.Preis. 20; P.Cair.Zen. 4.59548; P.Col. 5.1; P.Herm.Landl. I, II; P.Mich. 4.1.223, 4.1.224; P.oxy. 24.2421; P.Petaus. 64, 65; P.Ross.Georg. 5.57; P.Ryl. 2.206a; P.Stras. 2.119, 9.830, 9.866; P.Yale 3.137; SB 1.643, 16.12493, 24.16319; Stud.Pal. 22.67; T.Varie 31; UPZ 2.180.

³⁹¹ Physicians often relied on the income from property ownership in order to supplement their medical work. They could not always rely on patients who were able to pay for their services (Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 87).

³⁹² Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 152-53.

³⁹³ P.Col 3.54; SB 14.11659, 16.12812; UPZ 1.7 (a physician going down to the temple is mentioned as a witness).

³⁹⁴ This letter will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1 in the discussion of illnesses and the use of the term νόσος.

Healing

P.Oxy 58.3926 (AD 246)

Ἰουλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Εὐαγγέλῳ
στρατηγῷ Θινίτου,
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Σενπατοῦτος Πανούρι-
ος Τιτοῆτος ἀπὸ Θινός. περὶ ἐσπέ-
5

ραν τῆς διελθούσης ἡμέρας πλῆθος
κακούργων ἐπῆλθεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου
ἐν κώμῃ Θινὶ καὶ ἔπληξαν
τὸν ἄνδρα μου Τιτοῆν Κορτάτος
σκυτέα κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ὤμου
10

[κ]αὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ξίφεσι
καὶ τὸν υἱόν μου Ψεκῆν καὶ
ἔπληξαν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ
ἔσα εὗρον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐβά-
σταξαν, κατασχίσαντες πάσας
15

τὰς θύρας. ἀγνοηθέντων οὖν
μοι τῶν κακούργων ἐπιδί-
δωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλίδια ἀξιούσα
ἀποτάξαι σε ὑπηρέτην τὸν ἐπο-
ψόμενον τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς
20

διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι αὐ-
τοὺς τῆς δεούσης θεραπείας
τυχεῖν.³⁹⁵

To Ioulios Ammōnios and Euangelos, stratēgos of Thinitos, from Aurēlia Senpatoutis Panouris Titoētis from Thin. At about evening of the past³⁹⁶ day a crowd of mischievous persons³⁹⁷ came to my house in the village of Thin and they beat my husband Titoēn Kortatos with whips³⁹⁸ from the left shoulder and the left hand with swords³⁹⁹ and my son Psekēn also they beat on the head and whomever they found at the house they carried off,⁴⁰⁰ they tore apart⁴⁰¹ all the doors. Therefore, since the mischievous persons⁴⁰² are unknown to me I have included⁴⁰³ these petitions worthy⁴⁰⁴ for you to set

³⁹⁵ There are brief messages written below on the papyri in other hands not directly related to the question of healing in the main letter.

³⁹⁶ διέρχομαι, *pass/go through, pass, elapse (of time), past.*

³⁹⁷ κάκουργος, *doing ill, mischievous, malefactor, criminal.*

³⁹⁸ σκυτέα (σκῦτος), *skin, hide, leather thong, whip.*

³⁹⁹ ξίφος, *sword.*

⁴⁰⁰ βαστάζω, *lift, lift up, touch, carry off, take away, hold in one's hands.*

⁴⁰¹ κατασκίζω, *split, cleave asunder, burst open.*

⁴⁰² κάκουργος, *see above.*

⁴⁰³ ἐπιδίδωμι, *give besides.*

⁴⁰⁴ ἀξιόω, *think, deem worthy, expect, consent, make a claim.*

apart⁴⁰⁵ the servant⁴⁰⁶ who is overseeing⁴⁰⁷ the state concerning them for them to be able to succeed⁴⁰⁸ at the need⁴⁰⁹ for healing.⁴¹⁰

When it comes to the actual practice of healing and treating illnesses, the evidence is somewhat more limited than what is found related to physicians themselves. The two main words used in the NT for healing (θεραπεύω, ἰάομαι) are used in a variety of ways in the documentary papyri.

A simple perusal of the LSJ entry for θεραπεύω yields a variety of meanings for the word: *be an attendant, do service, do service to (the gods), worship, serve, do honor/service to (one's parents), consult/attend to, take care of, observe (a day), keep as (a feast), treat medically, train (of animals), cultivate (of land), prepare/dress (of food or drugs), mend (garments).*⁴¹¹ It is important to keep clear, then, that the primary meaning of θεραπεύω⁴¹² does not have to do with healing or curing. The overwhelming majority of occurrences of the word in the documentary papyri involve some sort of service, whether to a person or to a god. In order to fully understand how the writers of the documentary papyri texts used the word, even in medical contexts, it is important to know how it was used even in non-medical contexts. This understanding informs the overall use of the word. If we understand that θεραπεύω typically refers to service or attendance to someone (or something), then we can appreciate the fact that even when physicians are treating an illness or wound, the use of the word probably involves a sense in which the physician is offering his service to another person. Also, the fact that even the general use of the word can be used for service to a god allows for its use in a religious context. In addition to being used for acts of service, θεραπεύω is also used to refer to curing skins,⁴¹³ the repairing of pottery,⁴¹⁴ a possible reference to curing a grapevine,⁴¹⁵ nautical use,⁴¹⁶ and one reference to a street name.⁴¹⁷

⁴⁰⁵ ἀποτάσσω, *set apart, assign specially, appoint, settle.*

⁴⁰⁶ ὑπηρέτης, *rower, servant, attendant.*

⁴⁰⁷ ἐποράω (Ion. for ἐφοράω, *oversee, observe, look upon, behold.*)

⁴⁰⁸ τυγχάνω, *happen, succeed.*

⁴⁰⁹ δέομαι, *want, need, lack.*

⁴¹⁰ θεραπεία, *service, healing.*

⁴¹¹ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Ninth Edition with revised supplement; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 793.

⁴¹² When I speak of θεραπεύω, I am also considering the use of its cognates: θεραπεία (*service*), θεράπων (*servant*), θεραπευτήρ/ια (*attendant*), τραυματοθεραπεύω (*treat wounds*), ἀθεράπευτος (*not treated, incurable*), θεράπευσις (*treatment*), and ἐκθεραπεύω (*cure perfectly*).

⁴¹³ P.Cair.Zen 1.59019, P.Cair.Zen 3.59376, P.Flor 2.222, P.Giss.Apoll. 24, P.NYU 2.50, P.Oxy 19.2240, P.Oxy 42.3060, and PSI 5.465.

⁴¹⁴ P.Oxy 50.3595 (cf. also 50.3596 and 50.3597), where it states that the pottery has not received any treatment (θεράπευσις) or harm (ἐπισινής), probably to state that the pottery has never been repaired.

⁴¹⁵ P.Lond 7.2071. This document is very fragmentary, but a vine-spear is mentioned in the line just before sending something for the means of healing (θεραπεύω). This could possibly refer to healing the vine or sending a product of the vine for the purpose of healing a person.

⁴¹⁶ PSI 6.614 (ἐκθεραπεύω, meaning to overtake someone by means of a boat), SB 14.12102 (θεραπεία, referring to “caulking” a boat), and UPZ 2.203 (θεραπεία, referring to the repair of a ship).

⁴¹⁷ SB 1.5170. The street is named θεραπεία, possibly a reference to a street populated by servants, but the text is too fragmentary to gain much context for the street name.

Medical Healing

Despite the prevalent use of *θεραπεύω* for non-medical reasons, there are multiple references to *θεραπεύω* in a medical context. First, there are instances where a physician (or another) is called upon for medical treatment of a wound or physical defect, such as in the case of physicians' reports that speak of wounds requiring treatment. For example, in BGU 2.647, a physician doing service in the village of Karanis (in the Arsinoites nome) makes an official report⁴¹⁸ detailing the head wound of a certain Mysthariōn. The physician states very clearly that the person has been beaten⁴¹⁹ and treated for a wound⁴²⁰ over the left temple. The wound is deep and contains fragments of rock inside. The inspection of the wound is also confirmed by the presence of two elders of the village.⁴²¹ The physician's observation that the wound had been treated suggests that someone other than the physician did the treating, so this would mean some sort of treatment by a non-professional, perhaps a family member of the injured person or a village healer. However, if the physician was able to still find fragments of rock in the wound, then the treatment did not involve removing these pieces of rock. Similarly, in a public physician's report (P.Oslo 3.95, translated above), the physician mentions treating the patient's wound on her middle finger. This was not part of the principal inspection, but simply noted in passing that the physician treated the wound.

Other mention is also made of treatment for wounds from being attacked. In P.Oxy 33.2672dupl, a petitioner writes to the *στρατηγός* describing how the female servant of his older son received a wound on her lip. The petitioner sends the offender to the *στρατηγός* in order to receive a just verdict of who caused the injury and to make possible her treatment. No mention is made of whether the treatment will be done by a physician or not, but the fact that an official petition is made suggests there will be some expense involved, and the petitioner wants to be sure the appropriate person is made responsible for payment. Similarly, in P.Oxy 58.3926, another petition from a woman to the *στρατηγός* details how the house was broken into and the husband and son were beaten severely. She is making petition for a state-servant to make possible the treatment and servicing of their wounds. Again, no mention is made of who exactly will provide the service. Perhaps the service would have been done by a physician in public service, as indicated in P.Oxy 1.40, where a physician makes a claim of having treated well those under his care during his public service.

In addition to the healing of wounds, there are also examples of the treatment of physical defects, particularly eye defects. So, in P.Oxy 31.2601 (AD 301-25), Koprēs writes to Sarapias, the sister,⁴²² with, among other things, a request to send Asena so that her eye defect⁴²³ may be healed. Koprēs mentions she has seen others also healed, so her intention

⁴¹⁸ While the physician does not refer to himself as a "public physician," the report is written in a very similar style as the reports of public physicians. Also, it is addressed to the *στρατηγός*, or governor, of the region, which attests to the official nature of this document. Unlike the reports of public physician, however, this physician makes frequent oaths to the truth of his observations, which sounds like a form of swearing to the reliability of his report, most likely for use in court.

⁴¹⁹ πλήσσω.

⁴²⁰ τραυμαθεραπέω, literally: *wound-treated*.

⁴²¹ The injured person is never declared to be dead, but an injury of this type would certainly suggest the possibility that he died from the wound.

⁴²² In line five, Koprēs writes a wish for health from "the Lord God," so there is a possibility this is written by a Christian. "Sister" here may refer to a sister in the Lord, so to speak, not necessarily a flesh and blood sister.

⁴²³ λευκωμάτιος, probably a form of *λευκωμα*, which was a white spot in the eye caused by the thickening of the cornea, possibly glaucoma, cf. P.Grenf 1.33.14 (second c. BC), Dsc. 3.84, Gal. 14.775, SB 4414.6 (second c. AD).

apparently is for Asena also to be healed by the same person. She does not say who is doing the healing, but the matter of fact tone of her writings suggests there was a physician or healer of some sort who was displaying skill in healing this type of eye defect, possibly with a certain medicine. However, her mention of “the Lord God” in line 5 tells us something of her religious faith (whether Christian or other), so it may be that Koprēs has witnessed a miraculous healing of this eye defect and is inviting Asena to receive healing at the same place she has seen others healed. Another request for healing of the eyes appears in P.Oxy 42.3078 (second c. AD), which is an oracle question addressed to Zeus.⁴²⁴ The request is to consult with a certain physician for “healing of the eyes.”⁴²⁵ The petitioner is not asking for a miraculous healing of the eyes, but her request is that Zeus would give her favor with the physician’s work of treating her eyes. She does not mention the extent of her eye illness, but it appears to be an illness that was at least treatable by normal medical means. There was likely enough risk involved, though, that the petitioner appeals to Zeus for favor.

Similarly, in SB 14.12173 (fourth c. AD), the writer of the letter expresses religious devotion, stating at the start of the letter that she makes daily obeisance for her mother. There is also a request to bring the medication for the writer’s child Hēras. There is a hole in the document that obstructs half the word for medication, but the start of it is τα θεραπ-. Whatever the rest of the word is, it is fairly clear from context that the request is for some kind of medicine or related material that the child needs for an ongoing illness of some sort. The exact nature of the medicine or illness is never stated outright. While it is serious enough to require some medication, it does not require a special trip just for the medicine.

There are also examples of persons who were not being treated medically and were in need of healing. For example, in BGU 5.1210 (AD 149), a list of the roles and involvement of persons in the temple mentions persons who are ἀθεράπευτον (“untreated, uncared for”). They are excluded from some aspect of participation as priests. Also, in P.Princ 2.29 (AD 258), a man has been injured because of a fall from the roof during a raid. His brother writes the petition and describes him as ἀθεράπευτος, which may be taken either as describing him in critical condition (possibly not able to be treated) or simply as not yet treated. Perhaps the petition is made in order to open up the possibility for a public physician to come and offer treatment for the man’s injuries.

Divine Healing

The examples above show that θεραπεύω typically referred to medical treatment of physical illness. While appeals to the gods are made, they are typically meant as an extra boost to make sure the normal course of healing takes place with success. Similar appeals are also made to the gods for the general health of others. In P.Cair.Zen 1.59034 (257 BC), the petitioner speaks of giving service (θεραπεύω) to the god Sarapis for the sake of the health of king Ptolemis.⁴²⁶ This appeal to Sarapis does not seek the king’s healing from a specific illness necessarily, but probably simply general health. This is likely an attempt to curry favor with the king. Likewise, in P.Herm 2 (AD 317-23), the petitioner mentions service (θεραπεία) to the god accompanied with prayers for the health and glory of the lord Sarapiōn Anatolios.

A petition made in P.Tebt 1.44 (114 BC) presents a direct request for healing from a god. Unlike the other examples where service was made to a god for the sake of the health of

⁴²⁴ More specifically to Zeus Hēlios Sarapis Nikophoros, so it is addressed to multiple gods.

⁴²⁵ θεραπείαν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

⁴²⁶ The king has also adopted the surname of Sarapis.

others, in this petition the petitioner (Haryotos) writes that he was in the great temple of Isis because of his own sickness. He writes that his purpose for being there was *θεραπείαι*, so he is rendering service to the god in hopes of receiving favor because of his sickness (*ἀρρωστία*).⁴²⁷ P.Petr 1.30 is also another example of a person seeking healing in a temple, this time in an Asclepius temple.⁴²⁸

Similarly, in P.Amh 2.35 (132 BC), the writer of this letter makes reference to having been healed from sickness (*ἀρρωστία*) by two co-dwelling gods: the great god Soknopaitos and the great goddess Isios (Isis) Snephorsētos. The term *σώζω* is used instead of *θεραπεύω* here in the sense of healing from sickness.

Based on the research done for this dissertation, there is only one clear use of *ιάομαι* for medical reasons in the documentary papyri.⁴²⁹

PSI 6.665 (275-226 BC)

1

Φιλιάδα⁴³⁰ ε[.] [. γι-]
νομένων ?, παρηκολουθήκη δὲ
καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου. ἀνακληθεὶς δὲ
Ἐρ[μί]⁴³¹ας ?, ἐμοῦ ἐμ⁴³² Μέμφει ὄντος,

5

οὐ[κ ἢ]δύνατο ἰάσασθαι αὐτήν,
ἔω[ς] {ως} ἐγὼ παραγενόμενος ὑγ[ί]ασα.

— —

καὶ γεωργούς δὲ οὓς οὐ συνήμι
[vacant lines]⁴³³

Philiada...coming,⁴³⁴ but your father also has followed closely.⁴³⁵ And calling on⁴³⁶ Hermias, since I am in Memphis, he⁴³⁷ was not able to heal her, until when I come near⁴³⁸ and make (her) well.⁴³⁹ And also farmers⁴⁴⁰ whom I am not familiar with...⁴⁴¹

⁴²⁷ His sickness also put him in a vulnerable state because he was attacked while he was in the temple.

⁴²⁸ P.Petr 1.30 and P.Tebt 1.44 are both also discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴²⁹ Part of the reason for this result is that the inflection of the verb *ιάομαι* makes it difficult to search for the word because the combination of *ια* is found in many word inflections. Even after limiting the combination of other letters with *ια*, there were still very few occurrences of inflected forms of *ιάομαι* that came up.

⁴³⁰ BL 2.2.141 : *φιλιαδα* prev. ed.

⁴³¹ There is a hole in the papyri document at this point, which extends into lines 5 and 6 as well, so the middle letters of this name are reconstructed.

⁴³² Read ἐν.

⁴³³ The top portion of this papyrus page has torn and is missing, but there is a large amount of unused space at the bottom of the page. This suggests the letter writer was a person of some means, since they did not need to use the entirety of the page and were willing to waste some of the writing material. The amount of space at the bottom also indicates there are probably no more than a few lines missing at the beginning of the document, so this is a relatively brief note, probably meant to give some instruction until the letter-writer is able to come in person.

⁴³⁴ *γίνομαι*, *come, go*. The text is uncertain here and the form here is partially reconstructed: [γι]νομένων.

⁴³⁵ *παρ ακολουθῶ*, *follow/attend closely, attend minutely to, follow with the mind, understand*.

⁴³⁶ *ἀνακαλέω*, *call up, call on, call/invoke again and again (in magic), appeal to, summon, cite*.

⁴³⁷ The wording is unclear here as to whether Hermias or the father is the one unable to provide the cure.

⁴³⁸ *παραγίγνομαι*, *be beside/by/near, come to one's side, stand by, be at hand (of things)*.

⁴³⁹ *ὑγιάζω*, *make healthy/sound, heal, cure*.

⁴⁴⁰ *γεωργός*, *husbandman, vinedresser, gardener*.

The example above, most likely written by a doctor, indicates the use of ἰάομαι for restoring a person to physical health. While in the NT this term usually refers to a miraculous restoring to health,⁴⁴² its usage in this document simply indicates restoring a person to health after sickness or illness. This particular use in this document indicates the type of healing or cure that requires some skill and expertise since the cure depends on the letter-writer's personal presence. If this person is not a physician, they are at least someone with experience curing illnesses, possibly using home remedies. The cure for this illness may also depend on a certain medicine the letter-writer will have to bring with them in person.

Medicine

The presence of medicine (φαρμακός) in the documentary papyri indicates that people also sought out healing using medication. Only one of these texts (P.Oslo 2.54) mentions any connection with a doctor.

The transport of medicine and related tools reveals evidence of a business surrounding the use of medication. Three texts contain requests for sending medication of some kind: BGU 16.2619; O.Claud 2.222; and SB 6.9605. P.Mert 1.12 records a request to send a graving tool used for breaking up a drug compound. Similarly, P.Oslo 2.54 includes a request to send a medicine chest with bitter and sweet medicines.

The papyrus texts also preserve a number of receipts involving delivery and payments for medication: Chr.Wilck 498; O.Petr 244; O.Petr.Mus 125; O.Petr.Mus 137; O.Petr.Mus 141; P.Oxy 14.1727; P.Oxy 31.2567; P.Princ 3.132; P.Ryl 4.574; P.Tebt 1.117; and Stud.Pal 22.56. A few of these texts make more specific mention of the types of medicine used. Chr.Wilck 498 is a receipt for an embalming fluid used for the transport of a dead body. P.Tebt 1.117 speaks of wine used for medicine. P.Oxy 14.1727 is a list of multiple goods for a shopkeeper, including a medicine mentioned in connection with κεδρία (an oil made from Syrian cedar).⁴⁴³ Another text, SB 20.14426, also mentions κεδρία oil. Finally, P.Ryl 4.574 is a record of the payment of tribute for the medicine of Sarapis in the amount of forty silver drachmas.

In summary, we have seen that physicians took on a number of different roles, and only rarely do the documentary papyri record physicians involved in medical cures. The activity of physicians was likely much greater in urban areas than in rural areas. Their presence in tax lists and other business documents is indicative of the relative wealth they enjoyed (even if, with some exception, they generally fell short of the aristocracy). The documentary papyri also record people's attempts at healing through appeals to the gods and the use of medicine. We also saw the extent to which the term θεραπεύω generally held the sense of service rather than simple healing of an illness.

⁴⁴¹ συνίημι, *perceive, hear, be aware of, take notice of, observe, understand*. The editor places a line between the last two lines indicating they are separate, but the image of the papyrus itself suggests the last line is a continuation of the previous statement, so "I am coming near and make well also some farmers/peasants whom I do not know." Perhaps this is a doctor who will leave Memphis to make rounds in this village and has already received requests from the letter recipient and some other agricultural workers whom he does not know personally.

⁴⁴² In most cases the healing is done by Jesus, but Peter and Paul also participate in this healing process, cf. Acts 9:34; 10:38; and 28:8.

⁴⁴³ This list notes that the cost of the medicine is 2 drachmai, 1 obol.

CHAPTER 5 - COMPARISONS OF THE HEALING ACCOUNTS IN LUKE-ACTS WITH THE DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

Scholars and commentators on the healing accounts often neglect the wider social environment of the persons who come to Jesus for healing.⁴⁴⁴ There is often discussion of the illnesses each person has and to some extent the difficulties caused by these illnesses. We need to be able to view these illnesses from the perspective of those who are afflicted by them. More importantly, we need to understand how their experiences were both different from and similar to our own today. We need to see how the ancient environment affected a person who was blind, deaf, lame or demon-possessed. The more we understand about how people sought out healing in general, the better we can understand the effect Jesus had on them as their healer.

So far in this study, we have explored issues of health and healing in the documentary papyri, with some comparisons with medical writings in order to gain a sound understanding of what the evidence in the documentary papyri tell us about people's behavior in times of illness. We have seen that people most often turned to their immediate family and household in times of illness, often using letters to communicate with household members at a distance. These letters usually involved a plea for the person traveling away from home to come home to help care for an individual in sickness. We have also seen how illnesses were not always diagnosed or recognized in medical terms, but prayers for healing were often referenced in letters.

This study focuses on the healing accounts specifically in Luke-Acts. These healing accounts involve anyone with an illness who was healed by Jesus or his disciples. Susan Mattern has observed that the healing accounts in the Gospels have at least one structural common point with the case histories in Galen's medical writings: they start and end with the patient. She observes that these accounts reveal more about the patients than they do about the healer.⁴⁴⁵ Her basic observation is correct, but the healing narratives in the Gospels do reveal a good deal about more about Jesus and his teachings than what the case histories teach about doctors.⁴⁴⁶ Still, we can observe that the illnesses and social circumstances of Jesus' "patients" are the main driving force for each healing narrative.

INDIVIDUAL ILLNESSES IN LUKE-ACTS

The most frequent, named illness in the documentary papyri is *χολός*, which could include a natural limp or physical deformity. It could also describe the result of an injury (cf. UPZ 1.122, discussed in Chapter 3). The terms *τυφλός* and *κωφός* appear

⁴⁴⁴ See for example the discussion of Jesus' healings in S. L. Davies, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1995), 66-77; where he only speaks of healing from Jesus' point of view without considering the perspective of those who seek healing from Jesus. Cf. also the otherwise excellent series of articles by Paul J. Achtemeier collected into one single volume in *Jesus and the Miracle Tradition* (Eugene: Cascade, 2008). Even where he focuses on discipleship and the link between faith and miracles (p. 141-62), he gives almost no consideration for the social location of the blind man, which is important for grasping how his faith interacts with the miraculous healing he receives.

⁴⁴⁵ Susan Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 137.

⁴⁴⁶ For example, Jesus uses the situation of the paralyzed man as an opportunity to teach on his acts of healing as evidence of his authority to forgive people's sins (cf. Luke 5:17-26 and parallels).

roughly the same number of times but significantly less often than *χωλός*. This disparity may in part be explained by the fact that physical markers would generally be more useful as unique identifying markers. We might also suggest that physical defects were more frequent than illnesses involving sight and hearing.

By comparison, Luke’s writings make more frequent use of named illnesses than what we found in the documentary papyri. In fact, we may open this up to the Gospels in general (especially the Synoptics) to say that the gospel writers make greater use of medical terminology than what was typical in the documentary papyri. The vast majority of references to illness in the documentary papyri speak only in general terms (cf. *νόσος* or *ἄρρωστος* in Chapter 1). This disparity is especially striking when we consider that the documentary papyri include tens of thousands of documents compared to the four Gospels and Acts.⁴⁴⁷ The following chart illustrates the frequency with which these terms appear in the documentary papyri compared to the NT.⁴⁴⁸

	Documentary Papyri	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	Acts
<i>τυφλός</i> ⁴⁴⁹	11x	8x	2x	5x	4x	1x
<i>κωφός</i> ⁴⁵⁰	18x	4x	2x	3x	n/a ⁴⁵¹	n/a
<i>χωλός</i> ⁴⁵²	40x ⁴⁵³	4x	1x	2x	1x	3x
<i>λεπρός, λέπρα</i> ⁴⁵⁴	3x ⁴⁵⁵	4x	2x	4x	n/a	n/a
<i>παραλύω, παραλυτικός</i> ⁴⁵⁶	n/a ⁴⁵⁷	3x	1x	1x	n/a	2x
<i>πυρετός</i> ⁴⁵⁸	3x ⁴⁵⁹	1x	1x	1x	1x	1x
<i>ξηρός</i> ⁴⁶⁰	n/a ⁴⁶¹	2x	1x	1x	1x	n/a
<i>ὕδρωπικός</i> ⁴⁶²	n/a	n/a	n/a	1x	n/a	n/a

⁴⁴⁷ Even if we remove fragmentary texts from the documentary papyri, they still far outweigh the NT texts.

⁴⁴⁸ Duplicate uses of a term within the same papyrus document or NT pericope have been removed.

⁴⁴⁹ Matt 9:27; 11:5; 12:22; 15:14; 15:30; 20:30; 21:14; 23:16 (also 19, 24, and 26); Mark 8:22; 10:46 (49 and 51); Luke 4:18; 6:39; 7:21 (22); 14:13 (21); 18:35; John 5:3; 9:1 (13, 17, 18, 24, 32, 39); 10:21; 11:37; Acts 13:11.

⁴⁵⁰ Matt 9:32; 11:5; 12:22; 15:30; Mark 7:32 (37); 9:25; Luke 1:22; 7:22; 11:14.

⁴⁵¹ “not attested.”

⁴⁵² Matt 11:5; 15:30; 18:8; 21:14; Mark 9:45; Luke 7:22; 14:13 (21); John 5:3; Acts 3:2; 8:7; 14:8.

⁴⁵³ The same person appears in three texts and is only counted as one occurrence: P.Mich 5.323-25.

⁴⁵⁴ Matt 8:2 (3); 10:8; 11:5; 26:6; Mark 1:40 (42); 14:3; Luke 4:27; 5:12; 7:22; 17:12.

⁴⁵⁵ One of these occurrences (P.Petr. 2.35) is in reference to a horse.

⁴⁵⁶ Matt 4:24; 8:6; 9:2 (6); Mark 2:3 (9); Luke 5:18 (24); Acts 8:7; 9:33.

⁴⁵⁷ The term *παραλύω* is found in P.Cair.Zen. 1.59034, 3.59341; and P.Ryl 4.595; but not in a medical sense referring to paralysis.

⁴⁵⁸ Matt 8:15; Mark 1:31; Luke 4:38; John 4:52; Acts 28:8.

⁴⁵⁹ *ἀπύρετος* in P.Oxy 12.1582; *πυρετέω* in P.Gur 5 and P.Oslo 3.95. Two later Christian texts from the fifth and sixth centuries speak of fever and shivering (P.Batav 20 and P.Oxy 8.1151).

⁴⁶⁰ Matt 12:10; 23:15; Mark 3:3; Luke 6:6 (8); John 5:3. The term is also used in Luke 23:31 in Jesus’ comment “For if they do these things when the wood is green, what will happen when it is dry [*ξηρός*]?”

⁴⁶¹ The term is not attested in a medical sense in the documentary papyri, but it does appear 264 times in reference to dried grain or spices.

⁴⁶² Luke 14:2.

The above evidence suggests that the Gospel writers (or at the very least their sources) had some familiarity with medical terminology to a greater degree than the general public. In fact, we may suggest that the early church in general had greater exposure to medical knowledge than was typical of what we see in the documentary papyri. G. B. Bazzana makes an interesting suggestion along these lines regarding Jesus' sending out of the seventy-two in Luke 10.⁴⁶³ He suggests that their commissioning to "heal illnesses" and accept wages (μισθός) are comparative to the practices of itinerant physicians in the Greco-Roman world.⁴⁶⁴ As he states, "Christian missionaries could have been represented as physicians because this provided them with a very useful and effective cover in spreading their teaching and, at the same time, disturbed the social and political structure of the Roman empire."⁴⁶⁵ The Gospels may represent a closer connection to medical knowledge in the early church than was typical of the public at large.

Fever

There are two cases of persons having fever (πυρετός) in Luke-Acts. First, in Luke 4:38-39, Jesus heals Simon's mother in law of a fever. The second case, which offers some literary parallels with the first, comes in Acts 28:7-10, where Paul heals Publius' father of fevers and dysentery.

Before looking at these texts in depth, we need to review what we have learned so far about fever from the documentary papyri. The three clear examples of fever are as follows:

1. In P.Gur 5 (215 BC), a man writes a petition to the local Comarch because 385 bundles of wheat (7 years' worth) from royal farmed land were stolen from him while he was consumed with fever (πυρετώ).
2. In P.Oslo 3.95 (AD 96), a Public Physician gives a report on the medical status of two slaves involved in an ambush. Among other injuries, he states they were running a fever (πυρέττουσαν), possibly from the heavy loss of blood they sustained.
3. In P.Oxy 12.1582 (2nd c. AD), a man, Abaskontos, mentions in a letter that he was ready to come to Sarapiōn (his close friend or brother) and minister to him, but he received word that Sarapiōn did not have fever (ἀπύρετος) as it was previously thought.

In the case of the man who was robbed of wheat, it indicates that "fever" should be considered something more severe than basic cases of fever in the West today (which is usually nothing more than an elevated temperature).⁴⁶⁶ These persons were

⁴⁶³ His work is focused on the Q text that forms the basis for both Matthew and Luke, but his reading of the original Q document falls more in line with the Lukan text.

⁴⁶⁴ G. B. Bazzana, "Early Christian Missionaries as Physicians: Healing and its Cultural Value in the Greco-Roman Context," *Novum Testamentum* 51 (2009): 235-38.

⁴⁶⁵ Bazzana, "Early Christian Missionaries," 233. He also calls attention to the evidence in the *Acts of Philip* of early Christian missionaries functioning as doctors. He especially calls attention to Ch. 13, where the apostle Philip lodges in an ἰατρείον (ibid., 239). This term typically refers to a practicing room for doctors in the documentary papyri (cf. P.Oxy 59.4001, 64.4441; and P.Ross.Georg 3.2).

⁴⁶⁶ I credit Craig Keener for reminding me that cases of Malaria can cause people to be bedridden for days, especially in parts of Africa, as I was also exposed to in my brief time in Côte d'Ivoire. Extreme cases of fever are still very much a part of life in many parts of the world today.

incapacitated and most likely bedridden, as suggested by Abaskontos (P.Oxy 12.1582), who indicates he was ready to go and take care of Sarapiōn if he was truly taken by a fever.

In Luke's account about Simon's mother-in-law, then, it seems likely that she was incapacitated by this fever. Her incapacitation is confirmed by the fact that Jesus "stands over" her. This is probably why Luke mentions that she gets up and serves them, because she was unable to get up and do any physical activity while she had the fever. So, her act of serving is proof of her immediate healing. Furthermore, Luke states that she is suffering from a "high fever" (πυρετῶ μεγάλῳ).⁴⁶⁷

Interestingly, one aspect of Luke's account of the fever is that Jesus addresses the fever in the same way he addressed the demon in v. 35. Luke even uses the same word (ἐπιτιμέω): Jesus "rebukes" the demon in v. 35 and "rebukes" the fever in v. 39. It appears Luke is implying that Jesus viewed the "fever" as if it were a demon, which is appropriate considering the amount of demonic activity that is described in context. However, while Luke certainly wants to show a relationship between demonic activity and this illness, it does not necessarily mean that Jesus considered the fever to be a demon. What is more likely is that like the demon-possessed, those who suffered from were also oppressed by diabolic forces and were in need of release from this power.⁴⁶⁸ The view that a fever involved some sort of demonic or supernatural activity is absent in the earlier examples found in the documentary papyri.⁴⁶⁹ Galen often used the term "attack" to describe the onset of a fever. A fever could "seize" or "capture" a person. Galen may have described fever in the plural because he perceived fever as a series of fits.⁴⁷⁰

Additionally, another severe case of fever is found in Acts 28:7-8, this time accompanied by another illness, dysentery. The "fevers" mentioned in the NT can be associated with diseases known today as typhoid fever (bacteria), Malaria and bilharzia (parasitic infections).⁴⁷¹ The illness of Publius' father may be related to one of these

⁴⁶⁷ A similar description of an illness is found in P.Lond 6.1926, where a woman describes her illness as μεγάλῳ νόσῳ, accompanied by difficulty breathing (δύσπνοια). In *Aph.* 4.51, if a severe fever is accompanied by δύσπνοια and delirium, it leads to death. Luke makes no mention of Simon's mother in law having difficulty breathing, but it speaks to the seriousness of her fever. Luke's use of this terminology may be related to Galen's distinction between a fever that is μέγας and σμίκρος. Marshall quotes Creed for this observation: I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 195.

⁴⁶⁸ Joel Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 220-221. Both Marshall (*Luke*, 195) and François Bovon (*Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50*, trans. Christine M. Thomas [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002], 163) consider this to be an example of Luke personifying the fever.

⁴⁶⁹ It is worth mentioning that in two late occurrences of "fever" in the documentary papyri, Christian amulets contain language that addresses the spiritual element of fever. The persons who created these amulets may have been influenced by this passage in Luke. In P.Oxy 8.1151 (fifth c. AD), the amulet tells the "hated spirit" to flee from Christ and prays to God to chase away and banish every "fever and shivering." Similarly, in P.Batav 20 (sixth c. AD), the amulet declares that Christ appeared, suffered, died, was raised, was taken up, reigns and saves the owner of the amulet from all "fever and shivering." Both of these examples connect fever with "shivering."

⁴⁷⁰ Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing*, 156.

⁴⁷¹ Pieter F. Craffert, *Illness and Healing in the Biblical World: Perspectives on Health Care* (Pretoria: Biblia, 1999), 15. Also, the fever may be related to what is traditionally called Malta fever, caused by a microbe in goat's milk (F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 499 fn).

illnesses. Fever and dysentery were pervasive sicknesses in antiquity.⁴⁷² Luke speaks of his fever in the plural, which most likely means the fever was intermittent and might come and go. There were a variety of intermittent fevers according to the medical writers. They could last days or as long as two months, and some were fatal while others were less severe.⁴⁷³ A variety of treatments existed for fever and dysentery (including medications and religious rituals), but most treatments were inadequate. Death was a serious concern for these illnesses.⁴⁷⁴ We are given very few details about his illness, but Paul cures him through prayer and the laying on of hands (v. 8).

In addition to the medical similarities about fever between the documentary papyri and Luke's writing, there is also a connection between the concern of the man Abaskontos in P.Oxy 12.1582 and the concern of Simon's family and those who brought their sick to Jesus. The fact that the people of the town immediately bring their sick and demon-possessed to Jesus as soon as the Sabbath was over shows their state of desperation for anyone to heal their sick family members. The willingness of Abaskontos to leave his home and come to the aid of his brother/friend shows that family turned to each other in times of sickness, and so the people of Capernaum turned to Jesus in desperation as soon as they heard of his ability to cast out unclean spirits and heal the sick.

Blindness

The healing of natural blindness appears only twice in Luke's writings. In Luke 7:21, the messengers from John observe Jesus performing a variety of healings (diseases, plagues and evil spirits), including the giving of sight to many who were blind. Then, in Luke 18:35-43, we have the account of the blind beggar by the side of the road leading into Jericho, who is healed of his blindness and follows Jesus.⁴⁷⁵ A third

⁴⁷² Craig S. Keener, "Fever and Dysentery in Acts 28:8 and Ancient Medicine" *BBR* 19 (2009): 393-94. Two personnel lists from Mons Claudianus include a description of someone being symptomatic of dysentery (δυσεντερικός): O.Claud 4.708 & 4.717. These lists include nothing more than occupations or conditions of persons, followed by a number, presumably the number of persons with that condition at that time. In both cases, only one person is said to be symptomatic of dysentery. This suggests that while the illness was present at the work site, it was not prevalent. Another fragmentary letter from the sixth c. AD (P.Berl.Brash 19) includes a comment from the letter-writer saying that he is laid up with "dysentery spasms" (δυσεντερικά σπάσματα). These are the only occurrences of the term δυσεντέριον or its related forms in the DDbDP.

⁴⁷³ Keener, "Fever and Dysentery," 395-97.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 399-402. Part of the argument for indicating that Luke had medical knowledge is that in Acts 28, Luke mentions that it was Publius' father (a man of advanced age) and also the cold and rain (28:1). Old age and climate conditions were both indicated in medical texts to be origins of the illness of dysentery (Cf. Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness*, 342-44). In Hp. *Aph.* 3.22, dysentery is linked to the season of autumn, along with several degrees of fever, dropsy, and asthma, among other illnesses. Also, Weissenrieder calls attention to ancient inscriptions and coins that regularly associate a snake with physicians, so Luke's account in Acts 28:1-6 may be meant to establish Paul as a physician (*ibid.*, 345-46). In Hp. *Aph.* 3.30, dysentery is associated with adults (persons approximately past adolescent age) but not with persons of an advanced age. So, Publius' father was not necessarily of an advanced age. This would suggest that Publius, in spite of being the "first" of the island, was fairly young for his position.

⁴⁷⁵ Along with the women healed of evil spirits in 8:2-3, the blind beggar is the only miraculously healed person who is said outright to follow Jesus after being healed. The Gerasene demoniac requests to follow him but is told to stay and testify to what Jesus had done. Cf. Jean-Marie Van Cangh, "Miracles Grecs,

healing of blindness comes in Acts 9:17-18, but this is the healing of Saul's temporary blindness caused by Jesus' appearance to him on the road to Damascus.

Blindness is an important theme throughout both volumes.⁴⁷⁶ Sight and the healing of blindness is also an important theme in Luke-Acts as evidenced by the quote from Isaiah in Luke 4:18, "the blind shall see." While Luke makes metaphorical use of the theme of sight/blindness, we need to understand how Luke's portrayal of physical blindness fits within broader cultural understandings of sight and blindness.

Cultural Understandings of Sight and Blindness

E. Bernidaki-Aldous highlights the different senses in which blindness could have a positive or negative connotation in the ancient world. She observes that the word φῶς in ancient Greek (as in today's Cretan dialect) can mean "eyesight, daylight," and "life."⁴⁷⁷ Blindness and sight can function as a sort of paradox. As she says, "Blindness is punishment for breaking the limits of human knowledge, yet it is the means to insight, truth--vision of metaphysical light. Blind seers and poets enjoy the highest religious, social and political powers."⁴⁷⁸ We see something of this paradox at work in the healing of the blind beggar, who has insight into Jesus' true character and identity.

The value of light was not restricted to Greek culture, as is seen by Jesus' statement in Luke 11:34-36 that the eye is the lamp of the body (cf. Matt 6:22-23). Definitions of the eye were ancient, going back as far as Pythagoras, who called the eyes "gates of the sun."⁴⁷⁹ In a similar vein, Luke uses the imagery of sight in Luke 24:13-35, where the two disciples meet Jesus on the road to Emmaus, but their eyes are kept from recognizing him (v. 16), but when Jesus breaks bread at the meal, their eyes are opened (v.30-31). We can see how Luke is tying together the cultural values concerning sight and blindness to his desire to show how people either recognize Jesus' teachings on the Scriptures or are blind to them.⁴⁸⁰

This dual theme of sight and faith in Jesus is seen clearly in two places in Acts where people are temporarily struck blind. First, in Acts 9:1-19, Saul is met by Jesus

Rabbiniques et Évangéliques" in *Miracles and Imagery in Luke and John*, ed. J. Verheyden, G. Van Belle and J.G. Van der Watt (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2008), 233.

⁴⁷⁶ The word τυφλός appears in Luke 4:18; 6:39; 7:21, 22; 14:13, 21; 18:35; and Acts 13:11; not to mention Paul's temporary inability to see in Acts 9:8ff. Metaphorical imagery about obstructed or inhibited sight is found in Luke 6:41; 8:10; and implied in Acts 28:26.

⁴⁷⁷ She recalls that her father used the term "loss of light" to refer to both her brother's death and his daughter's blindness at age 3 (Eleftheria A. Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a Culture of Light: Especially the Case of Oedipus* at Colonus of Sophocles [New York: Peter Lang, 1990], xi, xiv).

⁴⁷⁸ Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a Culture of Light*, xiii. It was believed by Thucydides that Homer was blind (ibid., 3). Similarly, the significance of Oedipus at Colonus' (self-inflicted) blindness is that this form of suffering, along with other factors, leads him to a state of "all-seeing" He comes to the fullest understanding of the world and of the realities of his humanity. His compensation at the end is not a reward for suffering but recognition of the fact that he suffered well: with endurance, nobility and for a long time (ibid., 135-36).

⁴⁷⁹ H. D. Betz, "Matthew vi.22f and ancient Greek theories of vision" in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (Ed. Ernest Best and R. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 46. Similarly, Philo took the Middle-Platonic view that the eyes themselves do not see, but rather the nous sees through them (Betz, "Matthew vi.22f," 54).

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Dennis Hamm, "Sight to the Blind: Vision as Metaphor in Luke," *Biblica* 67 (1986): 474-75.

with a blinding flash of light on the road on his way to arrest Jesus' disciples in Damascus. He is without sight for three days (v. 9) until Ananias comes and lays hands on him to heal him of his blindness, reminiscent of Jesus' custom of laying hands on persons that he healed. Ananias states in v. 17 that he is regaining his sight (ἀναβλέπω, also in v. 18) so that he can be filled with the Holy Spirit. There is a direct tie between Saul regaining his sight and becoming a disciple of Jesus. In a similar vein, Paul returns the favor to the magician Elymas in Acts 13:11, by declaring that the hand of the Lord is against him for his opposition to the preaching of the gospel. He declares that Elymas will be blind (τυφλός) and "unable to see the sun for a time." His temporary inability to see the light of the sun is an indictment against his unbelief, but also leaves open the opportunity for repentance later on.

These two examples of temporary blindness are different from most instances of people identified as τυφλός in the documentary papyri. We can recall that there were several eye-related illnesses such as τράχωμα, white colorations (λεύκωμα) on the eye, cataracts (ὑποχέω), one-eyed persons, black-eyed persons, as well as various injuries or scars near the area of the eyes. The temporary blindness in Acts 9 & 13, however, appears to be complete blindness for a temporary span of time.

The documentary papyri have no examples of anyone seeking treatment for blindness, according to my research. However, we do know that persons sought out treatment for eye conditions in the Asclepius temples. For example, a one-eyed woman, Ambrosia of Athens, mocked the supposed healings of lame and blind persons who recovered their health by simply dreaming. But once she went through her incubation, she saw a vision that the god (Asclepius) came near and told her she would recover her sight. As payment she needed to place a silver pig in the sanctuary in remembrance of her ignorance. Having said this, he cut her eye open and poured a remedy into her eye. At daybreak she walked from the sanctuary in good health.⁴⁸¹

Jesus' Healing of a Blind Man

There is, however, only one mention of a blind man approaching Jesus for healing (cf. Mark 8:22 & 10:46ff). In Luke 18:35, a blind man approaches Jesus as he passes through Jericho. The blind man remains unnamed in Luke's account.⁴⁸² Blindness plays a somewhat different role in the Gospels than what we saw in the documentary papyri. Unlike the blind persons in the documentary papyri, who were fully functioning members of society, the blind man in Luke 18 is a beggar along the side of the road. It is worth asking the question of what reduced him to a state of begging? Was it his blindness or some other factor(s)? We have seen that blind persons could still earn a decent living and have their own professions. It is likely that these persons were born into families or households of some means. This afforded them the opportunity to still find a profession of worth without resorting to begging, but this was likely the exception rather than the rule. It is also possible that some of the persons mentioned in the papyri only developed blindness later in life due to illness (e.g. τράχωμα or ὀφθαλμία) and already had professions before they lost their sight.

Blindness was not necessarily a direct road to poverty in and of itself. The blind man in Luke 18 was likely already born into a situation of desperation or near poverty.

⁴⁸¹ Van Canghai, *Miracles Grecs*, 216.

⁴⁸² Cf. Mark 10:46, where the man is named Βαρτιμαίος.

If his family had had the means to support him, he would not have been reduced to beg. But his reason for begging was likely the need to supplement and make up for what his family could not provide. In light of what we see in the documentary papyri, it is possible that the man's desire to see is not necessarily fueled by his desire to leave a life of poverty. Finding his sight did not necessarily mean that he would be able to gain a decent living. It is not necessarily the illness itself that caused situations of desperation. It is the intersection of illness, disease or disability with the social situation and opportunities available to a person that either drove them to desperation or allowed them to move forward and establish a life of means.

Perhaps Luke's telling of the story is meant to highlight the man's ability to see Jesus clearly and follow him faithfully. The man began to cry out to Jesus immediately as soon as he heard who it was, which suggests the man might have been waiting for Jesus to pass by and earnestly desired to see him with his own two eyes. The man responds to Jesus' question in v. 41 by saying "that I may see [ἀναβλέψω]," which calls to mind Jesus' reading of Isaiah in Luke 4:18. The man was lying by the side of the road on the route people took to and from Jerusalem.⁴⁸³ He likely heard accounts of Jesus' sayings and doings and anticipated Jesus passing through Jericho. The blind beggar's declaration of Jesus as "son of David" is the first public declaration of this identity of Jesus in Luke, which was anticipated in the birth narrative.⁴⁸⁴ Jesus' previous healings lead Luke's audience to expect another healing here, but the crowd's attempt to quiet the man serves to emphasize the blind man's persistence.⁴⁸⁵ Jesus recognizes the man's faith by his persistence. His question to the blind man in v. 41 "what do you want me to do for you?" may be meant to test whether the blind man was willing to take on the new responsibilities and challenges brought on by his newfound ability to see. The man's life of begging most likely meant that he lacked education or any marketable skills.⁴⁸⁶ So, his new life would require a renewed faith in God to continue to provide for his needs, possibly with a new profession.

Jesus' words "your faith has saved you" may indicate that Jesus recognized the man's desire to join the kingdom of God and follow Jesus as a disciple. We cannot necessarily assume that the man cut off all ties with family and kin. But, by following Jesus, the man now joins the "kin group" of Jesus and his followers, whereas formerly his blindness and poverty drove him to the margins of society.⁴⁸⁷ Pilch sums up the connection between this man's illness and his faith in this way: "By concentrating on blindness and seeing, we are touching the pivotal issue of Luke: the correct

⁴⁸³ Bovon also suggests that the blind man chose this spot on the pilgrimage route intentionally. He also observes that the use of *ναζωραῖος* is strange because Nazareth was a little-known town (Bovon, *Luke 2*, 584-85). However, this may be evidence that the blind man heard stories of Jesus on the road, where he was identified as coming from Nazareth in Galilee.

⁴⁸⁴ Green, *Luke*, 663.

⁴⁸⁵ S. John Roth, *The Blind, the Lame, and the Poor: Character Types in Luke-Acts* (JSNTSS; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 199-200.

⁴⁸⁶ See the discussion in Kenneth Bailey, *Jesus Through Middle Eastern Eyes: Cultural Studies in the Gospels* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 173-74. Bailey notes that in traditional Middle Eastern society, beggars have an important role in society because they offer opportunity for pious persons to fulfill their obligation to show generosity. So, the blind man's status as a beggar did not necessarily mean he was fully outcast from society.

⁴⁸⁷ Green, *Luke*, 665.

understanding of Jesus as God's Christ, the change of heart that is faith, and the correct insight into God's plan and purpose. In a sense, Luke-Acts presumes that everyone is initially "blind" to Jesus, but that Jesus can cure this illness, both by touch and by word."⁴⁸⁸ As we discussed earlier, blindness could be used with a sense of irony, where a blind person is able to see more clearly and with greater insight than persons with clear eyesight. The man's blindness makes his faith more remarkable.⁴⁸⁹

The documentary papyri provide multiple examples of blind persons who are still able to function well in society in spite of their illness. Blind persons appear on tax lists and other business accounts, at times with profession listed alongside their names, such as a grinder (BGU 14.2425) and a possible money-changer (CPR 8.49). In addition there are two letters that reference payments being made to one Apollonios the blind (P.Ross.Georg 3.1) and Diodoros the blind (P.Koeln 4.198).⁴⁹⁰

In light of this fact, Luke's audience may not have necessarily assumed that a blind person would automatically have to beg. Luke's audience would have known blind persons or people with other eye illnesses who were able to function well in society. They also would have been familiar with beggars having a variety of disabilities. When they heard the story of a blind beggar in Luke 18, they would not have seen his blindness as the only reason for his status as a beggar. His social condition affected his need to beg, as well.⁴⁹¹ The man had no other choice but to beg. So, they would have known that Jesus' healing of the man was not only about his physical ailment. The man had social needs as well. Jesus does not simply offer alms to the man. He provides him with a new social position as part of the community of Jesus' followers.⁴⁹² Through Jesus' healing of the blind man, Luke teaches that it is not enough to simply offer charity. The vision Jesus presents is to care for the social position of individuals through healing.⁴⁹³

The theme of healing the blind is important, as seen in Luke 4:18. The recovery of sight is an important piece in Jesus' quote from Isaiah, which announces the messianic beginnings of Jesus' ministry. Pilch observes that Luke emphasizes restoration of sight in his narrative because the NT as a whole is concerned with restoring people to a wholesome state of being.⁴⁹⁴ So, Jesus' healing of blindness is consistent with his overall mission to make people whole.

⁴⁸⁸ Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament*, 115.

⁴⁸⁹ Roth, *Character Types*, 201.

⁴⁹⁰ For further details see Chapter 2.

⁴⁹¹ Disabled persons often had to beg to supplement the support they received from family (Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 2; 3:1-14:28* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012], 1051).

⁴⁹² Cf. Keener, *Acts 2*, 1062.

⁴⁹³ Luke also demonstrates this vision in the Parable of the Wedding Banquet, esp. Luke 14:13, 21.

⁴⁹⁴ Pilch also identifies an *Inclusio* in Luke's narrative between Luke 4:18-19 and Acts 28:23-28, which both have to do with sight and blindness (John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000], 113-14). However, both of these passages also include several other themes such as good news to the poor, release to the captives, setting free the oppressed (4:18-19) and hearing/understanding (Acts 28:26-27). It might even be said that hearing/listening plays a stronger role in Acts 28:26-28. Also, a true *Inclusio* would start at the very beginning of Luke's entire presentation. So, the theme of "hearing" in Luke 1 might be a more appropriate place for Luke's *Inclusio* to begin. In v. 13, the angel announces to Zechariah that God has *heard* his and his wife's prayer, and when Gabriel strikes him mute, Luke says in v. 22 that he remained κωφός after he exited the sanctuary.

Deaf

As with blindness, Luke only has one instance of the healing of someone identified as κωφός (Luke 11:14-26, albeit this occurrence is attributed to a demon), while there is one instance of the healing of temporary deaf/muteness. The healing of deaf persons is also listed in Jesus' summary of healings from Isaiah in 7:22.

The documentary evidence for κωφός is similar to the evidence for τυφλός. The title κωφός appears in a number of name lists, indicating that this illness did not exclude persons from participating in the payment of taxes or land ownership. Three professions are identified in these texts. First, a list of a φυλή⁴⁹⁵ of priests from 11-10 BC (BGU 4.1196) includes the names of two men who are identified as being deaf.

Apparently this illness did not necessarily exclude a person from service in the temple. A deaf servant is also identified in SB 1.5220. Finally, in an account list for itemized payments to people involved in the games, one man is identified by the apparent name Κωφός with the profession of boxer (πύκτης). It is possible this man was given this name as a result of an injury related to his sport, or it may simply be that sometimes persons were given this name.⁴⁹⁶

There are also no examples in the documentary papyri of persons seeking healing from being deaf/mute. There is an example of a mute child who comes to the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidauros to be healed because of his voice. The slave carrying the fire told the child and his father to promise to offer sacrifice if they receive what they are seeking. The child suddenly replied "I promise" and so was healed.⁴⁹⁷ This is an example of a healing that took place without the administration of any medicinal means.

In many ways, we could consider κωφός to be a more difficult illness than blindness in the ancient world simply because of the lower literacy rate. If a person were blind, they could still communicate using speech, but a deaf/mute person could only communicate through sign language or the use of a writing tablet (cf. Luke 1:63). If a deaf person did not have access to education or expensive writing materials, communication with the outside world would be nearly impossible, causing them to feel cut off from the world.

In Luke 11:14, Jesus casts a mute demon out of a man, who proceeds to talk. Luke essentially uses this healing as a springboard for a discussion concerning the casting out of demons and by whose power this is done. The fact that this demon is mute plays very little role in the conversation.⁴⁹⁸

The role of deafness/muteness in Luke's writings plays a significant role as a mark for lack of understanding. So, in Luke 1:20, the angel Gabriel strikes Zechariah the priest mute because of his lack of understanding or recognition of what God was doing

⁴⁹⁵ This refers to a subdivision of priests in an Egyptian temple.

⁴⁹⁶ This was apparently a frequent practice since a person is identified by either the name or nickname κωφός in the following texts: P.Laur 4.175; P.Mich 4.1.224; P.Sijp 16; P.Tebt 2.283; P.Tebt 3.2.891; SB 16.12498; SB 16.13035; SB 18.13934; and Stud.Pal 22.67. There is also one person identified as Κωκωφός in SB 18.13934.

⁴⁹⁷ Van Canghai, *Miracles Grecs*, 216-217.

⁴⁹⁸ The only occurrence of the healing of a deaf person not related to an unclean spirit in any of the Gospels comes in Mark 7:32-37. Matt 15:30 does include κωφοί in the list of persons brought to Jesus for healing, among a long list of other common illnesses.

by sending Gabriel to him to announce the birth and mission of his son John.⁴⁹⁹ Zechariah's time spent without the ability to speak mirrors much of the experience of a deaf person in the ancient world. Much like Zechariah's inability to fully communicate the vision he experienced when he came out of the temple in 1:22, most deaf persons in the ancient world would not have been able to communicate fully with those around them. The moment that Zechariah affirms his son's name is to be John in 1:63, his tongue is loosened and he is able to speak. This is a clear lesson delivered to Zechariah of the need for his faith in God's words, which Luke seeks to communicate to his audience. This lesson is picked up at the end of Acts in the quote from Isaiah 6 in 28:26-27, where people are criticized for being hard of hearing and unwilling to listen.

Lame

In Acts 3:1-16 and 14:8-18, persons identified as χωλός are healed. There are also a number of other conditions affecting a person's physical disabilities. There are two healings of paralyzed persons (παραλύω):⁵⁰⁰ Luke 5:17-26 & Acts 9:32-35. There are also healings of a man with a withered hand (Luke 6:6-1) and a woman bent over by a disabling spirit (Luke 13:10-17).

The documentary papyri contain a number of occurrences of persons identified or described as χωλός. This term is used as an identifier in tax lists and business accounts far more frequently than either τυφλός or κωφός (more than twice as often).⁵⁰¹ The term is also used in contracts as one of multiple ways of identifying a person (along with scars, skin complexion, etc.).⁵⁰² In these contracts, the term may easily refer to a person who walks with a limp. There are also several professions held by someone identified as χωλός. These include a priest (BGU 4.1196), a chief of police of a village (ἀρχέφοδος; P.Oxy 19.2240), a nominee for the office of σιτόλογος (P.Col 8.230), a linen-weaver (λινουργός; P.Leipz 11r), and a slave (P.Mich 5.323-25).

We also have examples of a lame person being taken advantage of or treated poorly. Two cases involve money. In P.Berl.Moeller 11, a lame man in a soldiers' encampment petitions to receive the money that is owed him and is being withheld, and in SB 6.9105, a tax collector unlawfully tries to collect tax from a lame man who is taking shelter in a *pomarium*. In UPZ 1.122, a guardsman stabs a man in the leg after not letting him pass by on the road. The result of the stabbing is that he now walks with a limp.

Disability in the Ancient World

Paleopathology, the science of using human remains to study the prevalence of disease in antiquity, shows that the types of congenital disorders we have in the modern world also existed in antiquity, but it does not say much more than that. Even though there were probably much higher incidents of congenital disability in the

⁴⁹⁹ Marshall states that the deeper purpose for Zechariah's muteness was to conceal the content of Gabriel's revelation to Zechariah from the general populace until the time of John's birth (Marshall, *Luke*, 60-61).

⁵⁰⁰ I found no occurrences of paralysis in the documentary papyri. All uses of παραλύω are unrelated to medical concerns.

⁵⁰¹ In eight of these texts, the term χωλός is used as the person's name or nickname (see Chapter 2).

⁵⁰² CPR 18.24; SB 1.428; and P.Brook 8.

ancient world than today, far fewer of these infants would have survived past infancy because many would have been allowed to die rather than cause more hardship. Others would also have died from lack of basic medical treatment. Those who did survive would have been at extreme risk their entire lives.⁵⁰³

Ancient authors, who never described what it was like to be deformed, basically ignored disability.⁵⁰⁴ Several papyrus documents indicated that a physical impairment could be used as an identifying marker of a person in much the same way as a scar or skin color. In fact, ancient texts on physiognomy show that the outward appearance of a person was often viewed as an indication of the person's moral character, in both positive and negative terms. For example, Ps-Aristotle 90.114 and Adamantius (*Adam.* 7) speak of strong ankles as a sign of noble character, while weak ankles signify weak character. These texts speak to the healing of the lame man in Acts 3:1-16 (see below). In a culture where strong feet and ankles would signify strong moral character, the lame man's weak ankles would have been considered to be an outward sign of his weak inner character. This weak character would have only been highlighted by the fact that he had to be carried to the gate.⁵⁰⁵

Herodotos was the first writer to include the element that the deformed and disabled possessed redeeming features with special qualities of insight. He relies heavily on folktale motifs, which suggests this way of thinking comes from considerably antique origins, mostly among lower classes. This is true in the case of Kroisos, who meets a series of misfortunes because he neglects his devoted, handicapped son in favor of his handsome other son, Atys. Also, Herodotos' account of the stammering Battos, whom Apollo appoints as the founder of a colony, suggests that a deity's choice of a leader may not be determined by the qualities that normally convey status.⁵⁰⁶ So, while there is some precedent for recognizing redeeming qualities in disabled persons, Jesus shows them compassion and kindness as a way of recognizing their value as God's children. The Jewish leaders seem to reflect this general disregard of disabled persons by requesting they wait for a non-Sabbath day to come and be healed by Jesus (cf. Acts 13:14).

Healings of Lame Persons in Acts

Acts provides us with the healing of two men who are said to have been lame from birth. The lame man in Acts 3:1-16 had to be carried to the gate of the Temple to beg for money. Peter heals the man in the name of Jesus. Luke's audience may have considered the man's healing an indication of his new inward, moral strength. Mikael Parsons sees in his Luke's employment of language an indication that even the healed man's body language expresses a newly found boldness as he stands alongside the apostles.⁵⁰⁷ We saw in the documentary papyri that lameness and disability were often used as identifying markers, cementing people's identity in their outward appearance. A lame man would forever be identified as a lame man. However, this healed man gains

⁵⁰³ Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 12-13.

⁵⁰⁴ Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*, x.

⁵⁰⁵ Mikael Parsons, "The Character of the Lame Man in Acts 3-4." *JBL* 124 (2005): 302-3.

⁵⁰⁶ Garland, *Eye of the Beholder*, 96-97.

⁵⁰⁷ Parsons, "Character of the Lame Man," 307-8.

a new identity as a result of his healing. In this sense, “Luke invokes the categories of physiognomy and cultural biases against the disabled only to overturn them.”⁵⁰⁸

This healing account receives more interpretive explanation than any other healing accounts in Luke’s two-volume corpus.⁵⁰⁹ The main thrust of the explanation of his healing is that Jesus is the one responsible for the healing, and the man was healed through faith in Jesus’ name. This represents the disciples’ continuation of Jesus’ practice of healing.⁵¹⁰ In Acts 14:8-18, Paul heals a lame man who had never been able to use his feet. The people recognize this as a divine healing because they mistake Paul and Barnabas for Zeus & Hermes. The people’s recognition of the divine healing likely reflects the idea that people could be identified by disabilities or “lameness” because it was a permanent feature of who they were.

Healing of Paralysis in Luke and Acts

In Luke 5:17-26, a paralytic man is let down by his friends through the roof to get to Jesus. Here, Luke uses the term παραλυτικός, a diagnostic term found in medical writers, but elsewhere he uses the more popular term χωλός.⁵¹¹ The reason for this may be to show the severity of his paralysis. We have already seen from the documentary papyri that a person labeled χωλός were not wholly incapacitated and could hold regular professions. The fact that the man’s friends have such difficulty getting into the house may not only have to do with the size of the crowd. This may be a signal that people wanted to keep the paralyzed man out of the house. The persistence of the man’s friends leaves an impression on Jesus. His recognition of their faith is probably not only their belief in Jesus’ ability to heal this man, but also their devotion to this man who may have been neglected by others in the village. This is the first place where Jesus’ miracles are related to faith.⁵¹² Jesus also relates the man’s sickness to his need for forgiveness of sins. He does nothing to correct the idea that sin and physical illness are associated.⁵¹³ However, he also does not say that sin caused this man’s paralysis. Jesus says “your sins are forgiven you,” using the plural for sins, which indicates this is a general statement on forgiveness, not the forgiveness of one particular sin.⁵¹⁴ Marshall’s understanding of this passage seems to be most likely; namely that Jesus wanted to offer complete salvation to everyone, so he did not wish for any physical

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁵⁰⁹ Dennis Hamm, “Acts 3,1-10: The Healing of the Temple Beggar as Lucan Theology,” *Biblica* 67 (1986): 305.

⁵¹⁰ Luke’s depiction of Jesus’ activity in the temple only includes teaching, not healing, which accounts for why this man, who was placed at the temple daily, had not already been healed by Jesus (Keener, *Acts* 2, 1048).

⁵¹¹ The lame were banned from the priesthood in Israel and also excluded from full participation in Qumran. Green, *Luke*, 239.

⁵¹² Cf. 7:9; 8:25, 48, 50; 17:19; 18:42.

⁵¹³ Cf. SB I, 495f. Marshall, *Luke*, 213.

⁵¹⁴ Contra Norval Geldenhuys, who states that while Jesus did not accept the view that all disease could be attributed to sin, sin did lie at the root of this man’s particular paralysis (*Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 188). Also, G. B. Caird takes Jesus’ statement to indicate that this particular illness is psychosomatic and had a mental or emotional cause. So, in this case, healing would be proof of forgiveness of the psychological cause of his paralysis (*The Gospel of St Luke* [New York: Seabury, 1968], 94).

healing to serve incomplete ends in itself.⁵¹⁵ So, then, Jesus is restoring this man to full health, bringing him to complete standing in his community. The healed man's immediate need was to return to his household network of relations and responsibilities, which is why Jesus sends him away at once.⁵¹⁶

The second instance of a paralyzed man being healed comes in Acts 9:32-35. Luke tells us that the man had been bedridden for eight years. Once again, the man is incapacitated and unable to provide for himself. In reminiscence of Jesus' healing, Peter declares to Aeneas that Jesus Christ heals him, telling him to get up and make his bed. The command to make up his bed is an act of dignity for the man, who is able to do something for himself for the first time in eight years. There is no mention of forgiveness of sin in this passage, but the effect of his healing is that the residents of Lydda and Sharon turn to the Lord when they see Aeneas whole again. This is important in light of the summary statement in v. 31, where Luke tells us that the church had peace and was being built up. The wholeness and unity of the church indicates that full salvation was breaking out through the church. The healing of Aeneas furthers that sense that even incapacitated persons are being given new life.

The two instances of Jesus healing disabilities on the Sabbath create opportunities for him to reveal the true intent of the Sabbath: doing good. The leaders do not share this view of Sabbath, which is why they do not consider the needs of these disabled persons. It is important to understand that Sabbath observance became a significant Jewish identity marker during the Second Temple period. The scene begins in 6:6 with the statement that a man with a withered⁵¹⁷ hand was present in the synagogue, clearly intending to be healed by Jesus. The scribes and Pharisees know Jesus' reputation as healer and are waiting to see whether he will break Sabbath rules to heal him. They have already placed religious observance above God's miraculous healing ability. But Jesus rephrases their implied question in terms of God's design to save, rather than destroy life.⁵¹⁸ For Jesus to fail to heal the man would be to allow him to continue to suffer.⁵¹⁹ Jesus looks at the man with the withered hand as a person in need of saving. He does not overlook his needs as the Pharisees and scribes do. Their reaction to Jesus' words and act of healing is not "fury" as it is often translated but exasperation. They are at their wits' end and do not know how to react to Jesus.⁵²⁰

Healing of a Physical Disability in Luke

In a similar vein, Jesus' healing of the woman with a disabling spirit in Luke 13:10-17 has important implications concerning the Sabbath. Luke states that the woman had a "spirit of weakness" that caused her to be bent over, unable to straighten up for eighteen years. As with the man with the withered hand, Jesus places more value on the woman's need for salvation and healing than he does on religious observance. When he heals her, he does not address an evil spirit, so this should not be thought of

⁵¹⁵ Marshall, *Luke*, 213.

⁵¹⁶ Green, *Luke*, 243.

⁵¹⁷ The term is ξηρός. A search of this term in the DDbDP returned no medically related results. All results refer to the value of "dried" grain/spices or related items.

⁵¹⁸ Green, *Luke*, 255-56.

⁵¹⁹ Marshall, *Luke*, 235.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 236.

as an exorcism but rather as a release from a bond and evil influence. Medically speaking, her illness is probably along the lines of *spondylitis ankylopoietica* (fusion of the spinal bones) or *skoliosis hysterica*.⁵²¹ Jesus addresses her as daughter of Abraham, which affirms her status as a rightful descendant of Abraham,⁵²² a status that may have been denied her because of those who saw her illness as a sign of her own sinfulness.⁵²³ Jesus' teachings here and in 19:9 attempt to recover among Palestinian Jews the larger sense of kin and cooperation based on their shared lineage as sons & daughters of Abraham.⁵²⁴ As with the lame men in Acts 3 and 14, Luke is countering the idea that the woman's disability was evidence of poor moral character. Parsons observes that weakness was a characteristically feminine problem according to physiognomic traditions. But Luke challenges this misogynist characterization of women as "weak" by giving a distinctively Jewish explanation for her "evil disposition." He attributes it to Satan.⁵²⁵ Luke emphasizes the fact that her disability was caused by a disabling spirit, not any kind of sin on her part. In contrast, Jesus casts a negative light on those who resist the woman's healing. In fact, his choice of animals relates to typical physiognomic characterizations.⁵²⁶

Lepra

There are two healings of lepers in Luke: 5:12-16 and 17:11-19.

As we saw in Chapter 2, the documentary papyri only have a few brief references to lepers. P.Oxy 63.4356 is a fragment of a register of land and rents, which lists the κώμαρχος (village-chief) as a leper (λεπρός). Egyptian villages did not seem to follow the same purity laws as Judaism. There is also a brief mention of a certain man who is identified as a leper in the tax registers of P.Mich 4.1.224-25.

λέπρα in the Ancient World

A wide variety of illnesses are associated with λέπρα, ranging from a simple skin secretion to a more severe illness accompanied by severe symptoms. It could even be considered a therapeutic evacuation of harmful substances.⁵²⁷ The Hebrew term *Sara'at* is likely identical to the Greek term λέπρα.⁵²⁸ In the Hebrew Bible, the term is used with a concern for ritual impurity rather than illness. In a similar sense, the Hippocratic

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 557.

⁵²² The phrase "daughter of Abraham" is unattested in all of Jewish literature up until the time of Luke's writing (Mikael Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts: The Subversion of Physiognomy in Early Christianity* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006], 86-87).

⁵²³ Marshall, *Luke*, 559.

⁵²⁴ David A. deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2000), 165.

⁵²⁵ Parsons, *Body and Character*, 86-87.

⁵²⁶ "Not only are Jesus' opponents more willing to aid an animal than a woman, but they also are more than willing to aid those animals who symbolize such negative traits as cowardice, sluggishness, stupidity, laziness, or insolence than to help a daughter of Abraham whose status is masked, not reflected, by her physical condition." (Parsons, *Body and Character*, 89).

⁵²⁷ Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness*, 140-41.

⁵²⁸ What we now call leprosy is Hansen's disease, which was called *elephas* or *elephantiasis*. It was known in India in 600 BC and probably brought to the Mediterranean world by Alexander's army. In the eighth c. AD an Arabic author mistakenly called Hansen's disease *lepra*, which caused the confusion with the illness called λέπρα in the Greek OT and NT (Craffert, *Illness and Healing*, 95). See also Marshall, *Luke*, 208.

corpus teaches that the cleansing (καθαρίζειν) of sores signals imminent or completed healing. In terms of medical statements, there is very little difference between the Jewish and secular medical viewpoints.⁵²⁹ When Jesus healed lepers, he was not intervening in the sense of what is called for in the medical writings. Craffert observes that instead of acting medically, Jesus is acting religiously, making a priestly declaration and reinstating these persons into the community as he presented it. Jesus sends these “lepers” to the priest or temple to confirm his own declaration.⁵³⁰ This observation about the importance of religious purity is important, but that is not at the expense of the actual healing that occurs.

Healings of Lepers in Luke

In Luke 5:12-16, Luke states that the man is “full of *lepra*” (πλήρης λέπρας). This is meant to heighten the severity of the illness with which Jesus must contend. λέπρα had very strong social implications because people so labeled with the disease were seen as impure and separated from others. Jesus’ act of touching the leper (though not different from his regular practice of laying hands on people to heal them) is an act of acceptance and reentry into the community.⁵³¹ Jesus sends the man to the priest to be declared ceremonially clean, not just for the social benefit, but especially as a testimony to Jesus’ healing power. The priest’s declaration would simply be a recognition of the healing that has already taken place.

In Luke 17:11-19, ten lepers meet Jesus in an area that borders Samaria and Galilee. The character type of lepers as recipients of Jesus’ beneficence gives a note of predictability to the encounter. The audience expects the lepers to be healed, which happens, but the end of the story moves toward new character traits (gratitude and the identification of the healed leper as a Samaritan), which take precedence over the initial character traits of the episode.⁵³² In contrast to the first healing of the leper, this time Jesus tells them to go present themselves to the priests before they are healed. This would be considered a step of faith on their part. However, only one leper returns to Jesus, falling at his feet in thanksgiving. In 5:12, the leper knelt before Jesus before the cure as an act of respect, but here the leper’s kneeling is a sign of thanksgiving.⁵³³ Jesus has a note of irony to his comment, wondering where the other nine went if the only one who was willing to return and give thanks was a Samaritan (a foreigner as Jesus calls him). The point of the story is not that the other nine lepers lacked faith but that their faith was incomplete because they lacked gratitude.⁵³⁴

Miscellaneous Illness and Summary Passages

Dropsy

There are several healing accounts in Luke-Acts that do not have any substantial parallels in the documentary papyri. For examples, in Luke 14:1-6, Jesus

⁵²⁹ Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness*, 152, 165.

⁵³⁰ Craffert, *Illness and Healing*, 95-97.

⁵³¹ Green, *Luke*, 236-38.

⁵³² Roth, *Character Types*, 197.

⁵³³ Marshall, *Luke*, 651.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 652.

heals a man with dropsy.⁵³⁵ This healing occurs on the Sabbath, and the lesson Jesus draws from this is nearly identical to his teaching after his healing of the woman who was bent over. His response is once again to show the value of a human life when the Pharisees and lawyers would not have hesitated to rescue one of their livestock on the Sabbath. He tries to teach them that illness is not a reason to treat a person like a second-class citizen. The Sabbath is meant to be a day of life, a day to do good and declare God's salvation. The attitude of the Pharisees and lawyers toward this man seems to be similar to what we have seen with persons having other illnesses.

Resurrection

There are also two examples of persons being raised from the dead. First, Jesus raises up the son of a widow in Nain in Luke 7:11-17. We have already seen the importance of households and caring for each other, especially in times of illness. The anxiety that is often expressed in letters concerning the threat of illness is manifested in the devastating situation in which this widow found herself. Having lost both her husband and son, she has no male figure to provide or for her to care for. Jesus recognizes her situation and shows his compassion by giving her son back to her. Similarly, in the case of Peter's raising of Tabitha in Acts 9:36-42, Luke makes it a point to show how important she was to the widows in Joppa. As was the case with the healing of Aeneas, her resuscitation becomes a witness to other in the area who believe in the Lord because of it. This is yet a further reflection of the peace and wholeness within the church, which functioned as a witness to the world around it. There are no accounts in the documentary papyri that speak to resuscitation from death.

Violence

Jesus' healing of the slave's ear that was cut off by one of his disciples at the time of his arrest (Luke 22:50-51) is the only scene of a victim of violence in the Gospel.⁵³⁶ Jesus continues his regular practice of touching the man as a part of his cure. Even at the moment of his arrest, Jesus is concerned with ensuring the wholeness of each person, not allowing his disciples to leave a man injured as a victim of violence. By healing the servant, Jesus shows that he does not rely on the sword and his movement is not based on force. In the documentary papyri, we saw a good number of persons with scars or other marks of injury. Luke's inclusion of the detail that it was the right ear could be an historical detail of interest to a doctor.⁵³⁷ We also have a number of

⁵³⁵ ὄρωπικός. A search for this term yielded no results in the DDbDP.

⁵³⁶ An injured man appears in the Parable of the Good Samaritan, but is not a real-time event. We will discuss that parable in more detail below.

⁵³⁷ Marshall, *Luke*, 837. By way of comparison, the reports of public physicians frequently make note of whether an injury occurred to the left or right side of the body: BGU 3.928 (injury to right shoulder and right thigh); CPR 17a.23 (left ear); P.Athen. 34 (at least three persons with wounds to the left, right and back of the head); P.Oslo 3.95 (wound on middle finger); P.Oslo 3.96 (wound on right side of the head); P.Oxy 1.52 (wound on the right knee); P.Oxy 44.3195 (wounds to the right part of the head); P.Oxy 45.3245 (wound on right fore-arm and blow on the left); P.Oxy 54.3729 (wound on left buttock? (text is uncertain)); P.Oxy 64.4441 (wounds to right half of the head and left temple; swelling of the left ear, right shoulder-blade, and right arm; injury to the left and right thighs; injury to all of the left ribs); PSI 5.455 (3 wounds on head and left shoulder-blade; also upper arm). Also, a significant number of official texts give detailed descriptions of scars or injuries to the eye as a way of identifying a person involved in legal matters. They usually notate whether it was the **right** (26x: BGU 3.834; BGU 3.896; BGU 6.1258; Chr.Wilck

petitions submitted by victims of violence. It is a positive benefit of the government in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt that persons had recourse to submit their petitions to officials and receive some retribution for maltreatment. Given the bureaucratic nature of the Roman Empire, we can assume that the same opportunities were available for persons in Galilee, Samaria and Judea, even if they did not have the status of a Roman citizen, as Paul enjoyed.

Women and Healing

In Luke 8:1-3, Luke places women at the same level of significance with the Twelve. Three women are named outright (Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna), but he also states that there were “many others” (ἕτεροι πολλοί), who provided for Jesus out of their own means. Women could have significant means, as evidenced by Helena of Adiabene, who was a well-known benefactress in Jerusalem.⁵³⁸ Still, the degree of these women’s participation with a traveling teacher would have been exceptional in the Greco-Roman world. Considering that they may have been ostracized from their communities and/or families due to their illness and demon-possession, their healing is an opportunity to be incorporated into a new community formed around Jesus. This represents a re-articulation of family allegiances.⁵³⁹ This is significant because they would have brought in the same kinds of devotion they showed to their family to Jesus. James Arlandson observes that women in the lower social classes also had the opportunity to advance in their social standing through association in the kingdom of God. They receive honor and prestige from the members of the early church and daily sustenance.⁵⁴⁰ They also receive the opportunity to take on a more productive role by gaining the opportunity to serve in the kingdom.

The documentary papyri speak to the type of faithful service offered by women to male family members. For instance, in BGU 3.948, a mother requests her son to send cloth so that she can make him clothing in practically the same breath she uses to chide

200; P.Amh 2.74; P.Amh 2.102; P.Aust.Herr 2; P.Aust.Herr 11; P.Berl.Frisk 1; P.Flor 3.302; P.Flor 3.316; P.Flor 3.383lin39_71; P.Lips 1.2; P.Lond 2.219; P.Meyer 13; P.Mich 5.241; P.Mich 5.285/286dupl; P.Oxy 49.3477; P.Petr 2.14; P.Petr 2.16; P.Ryl 2.159; PSI 8.922; PSI 9.1028; SB 1.4414; SB 24.16001), **left** (27x: BGU 8.1734; CPR 18.16; P.Ad1 G5; P.Ad1 G13; P.Berl.Frisk 1; P.Flor 1.1; P.Flor 1.51; P.Freib 3.12b; P.Genova 3.119; P.Grenf 2.51; P.Hamb 1.38; P.Kell 1.23; P.Koeln 4.187; P.Mich 2.121; P.Oxy 3.504; P.Petr 2.6; P.Petr 2.25; P.Ryl 2.153; PSI 8.921; PSI 13.1324; P.Stras 1.52; P.Tebt 2.397; SB 18.13288; SB 22.15866; SB 24.15987; Stud.Pal 22.42) or **both eyes** (P.Mich 5.321, P.Mich 6.425/426). Only eleven texts do not specify: CPR 1.102; CPR 1.218; O.Claud 1.119; P.Ant 3.187a; P.Aust.Herr 8; P.Aust.Herr 20; P.Cair.Zen 1.59070dupl; P.Cair.Zen 1.59076; P.Grenf 1.33; P.Lond 7.1949rpdupl; and P.Oxy 61.4126.

⁵³⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 20:17-53; *m. Yoma* 3:10; *t. Pe'ah* 1:1. In this scene, Luke expands the picture of the disciples’ appropriate use of possessions because these women retained their private funds for the good of the group. They are not commanded to sell all they have (Christopher M. Hays, *Luke’s Wealth Ethics: A Study in Their Coherence and Character* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 85-86).

⁵³⁹ Green, *Luke*, 318. Green also emphasizes the fact that most of these women (with the obvious exception of Joanna) were likely single, which adds the surface-level potential for scandal. But their lack of reliance on a male family member freed them up for service to Jesus and his ministry. Additionally, Geldenhuys observes that it took humility for Jesus to allow himself to be served at the hands of these women because he made himself poor when he set out for public ministry. Nowhere in the gospels is there evidence of women showing hostility to Jesus, but there are numerous instances of women ministering to Jesus with affection and faithful devotion (Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 238-239).

⁵⁴⁰ James Malcolm Arlandson, *Women, Class, and Society in Early Christianity: Models from Luke-Acts* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 128-29.

him for not writing with concern over her time of illness.⁵⁴¹ In her greetings in the letter, she also mentions his son, who is apparently living with her. So, unless her grandson is fully-grown, she is caring for him while her son presumably works far away. There is no mention of another male figure in her greetings. We have also discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 3) the request from a man injured from a fall from a horse, who writes to his wife with a request to send help (P.Oxy 46.3314).

Demon Exorcism

Three passages in Luke remind us of the close link between healing and the exorcism of demons. In 9:1-6, 10; Jesus sends out the Twelve with authority over demons and to heal. Likewise, in Luke 10:9, Jesus sends out the 72 to heal the sick and proclaim the approach of the Kingdom of God. They return in v. 17, rejoicing that even demons submitted to them. In 13:32, in response to the Pharisees' supposed warning about Herod, Jesus says he casts out demons, perform cures and on the third day completes his work. This seems to be meant as a summary of his ministry tied to his impending death at the hands of Gentiles (and resurrection).

Summaries

There are several places where Luke gives summary statements on the healings of Jesus and his disciples. These passages do not have highly developed interactions between Jesus and the persons he heals, but they do indicate the central role that healing played in his ministry. They also help point to the role that healings played in announcing the coming of the Kingdom of God.

The scene in Luke 4:40-41 is especially representative of these summary passages. It follows immediately after Jesus' first two healings in Luke's account: the healing of the man with an unclean demon (4:33-37) and the healing of Simon's mother-in-law's fever (4:38-39). The result of these two healings is that as soon as the sun sets on the Sabbath (indicating the end of Sabbath restrictions), people from throughout the village begin to bring their sick and demon-possessed. The immediate response of the people indicates a sense of desperation. They have nowhere else to turn for healing, or all other attempts at healing have proven unsuccessful. Bovon compares Jesus' role here to that of a Hellenistic doctor.⁵⁴² However, Luke may be making an indictment on the success rate of doctors in v. 40b. Luke says "to every one of them he laid his hands on, he healed them."⁵⁴³ Luke is emphasizing that no one goes away without being healed. Jesus has a 100% success rate. By comparison, nearly 60% of the patient cases in the Hippocratic corpus died.⁵⁴⁴ Jesus' success rate in Luke stands in stark contrast to the anxiety and uncertainty that is often felt in the papyri letters concerning whether or not a person would recover from an illness.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴¹ Bagnall and Cribiore highlight the extent to which she goes to pile guilt on her son, and her request for cloth may be an added jab at his neglect of her (Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* [Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006], 225).

⁵⁴² Bovon, *Luke 1*, 164.

⁵⁴³ Translation is my own.

⁵⁴⁴ Craffert, *Illness and Healing*, 44.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. P.Brem 61; SB 6.9605; SB 24.16282.

This scene also indicates the close relationship between sickness and demon possession. In the previous two healing scenes, Luke had described the exorcism of the demon and the healing of the fever using very similar terminology.

John Pilch sees in this scene an example of value orientation based on group goals and collateral relationships. He sees in v. 40 a demonstration of lateral relationships with kin and neighbors as extended family bring sick members to be healed by Jesus.⁵⁴⁶ However, the text does not say anything about extended family. What is clear is that everyone in the village is bringing any sick person who is under their care. From the documentary papyri, we see evidence that this likely included persons within their own households.

In Luke 7:18-23, John's disciples ask Jesus if he is the one they are expecting. Jesus heals many from sickness, plagues, evil spirits and blindness at that time. The term for plague (μάστιξ) is only used here in Luke-Acts to refer to illness. The term is also found in Acts 22:24, but there it refers to flogging, which raises the possibility that Jesus is healing persons from injuries due to flogging. The other illnesses are discussed elsewhere in this chapter in more detail. We also have other summary passages in Acts that summarize the various healings done as part of the disciples' ministry. Acts 5:12-16, the sick are healed by Peter's passing shadow. In Acts 8:4-8, Philip heals many paralyzed and lame, and casts out unclean spirits. In Acts 19:11-20, even garments that Paul has touched are taken to the sick and they are healed. Also, evil spirits come out. Luke has provided us with enough teaching on the role of faith in healing to show us that these are not magical means of healing but probably similar to the release of God's healing power that Jesus felt when the hemorrhaging woman touched his garment. The passages remind us of the desperate needs of the general public to find reliable means of being healed. Most of these persons probably had no access to a physician or could not afford one, and even if they had access, a cure was not guaranteed them.

LARGER THEMES IN LUKE-ACTS

Household Care

Our study of the documentary papyri has shown that people generally turned to close family and other household members in times of illness. The household was an important kinship unit in the ancient world. According to Aristotle, a household was made up of master and slave, husband and wife, father and children (*Pol.* 1.3). Households could include more or less than this standard definition.⁵⁴⁷ Social-scientific studies have emphasized the importance of kinship. However, the role of caring for kin and one's own household in times of illness has not received significant treatment.⁵⁴⁸ David deSilva, in an otherwise excellent review of the various responsibilities involved in kinship and household relationships, does not mention obligations for caring for the sick. He does talk at length about the various aspects of kinship and households, including trust and maintaining the honor of the family. But he does not make any

⁵⁴⁶ John J. Pilch, "Sickness and Healing in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 186-87.

⁵⁴⁷ deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 173.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 94-121.

reference to the sense of obligation for caring for kin in time of sickness or other need, which might be considered a marker of honor or dishonor.⁵⁴⁹

The documentary papyri give us almost no evidence of persons calling on the help of a physician in times of illness, but the personal letters are filled with requests for a child, spouse, brother-in-law or master to come due to illness in the household family. There are also letters sent to express concern and a desire to come help on the part of the letter writer. At the very least, we have examples of persons inquiring about the health of a family member or chiding a family member for not showing more concern at their own illness. John Elliott observes this strong emphasis that Jesus places on houses and households. Luke makes clear the fundamental role that private houses and households played in the spread of the gospel in the early church. The domestic life highlights the important aspects of Christian values and social relations based in the institution of kinship.⁵⁵⁰

Household Relationships in Luke-Acts

By understanding this aspect of household relationships, we can gain a fuller understanding of the social implications of people's requests for healing. For example, Luke 9:37-43 records an incident where a man shouts out to Jesus in desperation on account of his son's possession by a demon. The fact that this is his only son heightens the drama and communicates the strong sense of desperation in the father. If the documentary papyri accurately represent the concern of persons like this father, he would be deeply troubled by his own inability to care for his own child. The severity of his son's condition has driven him to seek healing outside of his household. Luke's telling gives a sense of immediacy to this man's request. He cries out to Jesus as soon as he comes down off the mountain and requests him to look upon his son.⁵⁵¹ Once again, we see a link between faith and healing because the man says Jesus' disciples were not able to cast out the spirit, even though they had been given this authority from Jesus in 9:1-2. This time, it is apparently the unbelief of the disciples that has prohibited them from exorcising this spirit.⁵⁵² Jesus' words about an unbelieving generation has echoes of Deut 32:20.⁵⁵³ Some have seen the boy's spirit possession as a manifestation of epilepsy,⁵⁵⁴ but whereas the medical writers use πνεῦμα as the object of λαμβάνω, Luke uses it as the subject of λαμβάνω (so the spirit is the one taking hold of the boy). He

⁵⁴⁹ *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity*, 157-74. John Pilch seems to be one of the few who mentions caring for sick persons in kinship/neighbor terms ("lateral") relationships ("Sickness and Healing," 186-187).

⁵⁵⁰ John H. Elliott, "Temple Versus Household in Luke-Acts: A Contrast in Social Institutions," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 225.

⁵⁵¹ The term Luke uses for "look upon" is ἐπιβλέπω. This is very similar to the terminology in the reports of public physicians, where a physician is asked to "look upon" a patient. The term ἐπιδιδῆν/ἐφιδείν is used in BGU 3.928; P.Athens 34; P.Oslo 3.95; P.Oxy 1.51, 45.3245, 54.3729, 64.4441; PSI 5.455; and ἐπιθεωρέω in CPR 17a.23; P.Louvre 2.116; P.Rein 2.92.

⁵⁵² Marshall observes that by omitting the conversation at the beginning of the story (cf. Mark 9:11-13), Luke has brought this story closer to the transfiguration. So it is as if Jesus is a visitor from another world who has to put up with the unbelief of men. What the disciples cannot do, he can do (Marshall, *Luke*, 389).

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁵⁵⁴ See Green's discussion in *Luke*, 387-88 (fn 118). The parallel passage in Matthew uses the term σεληνιάζομαι (17:15).

makes it clear that the πνεῦμα is the force being exerted on the boy.⁵⁵⁵ Jesus calls out the unclean spirit and heals the boy, returning him to his father. By returning the boy, Jesus is restoring a sense of peace and wholeness to this household. He has also saved the father from the agony of being unable to care for his own son.

We see a similar sense of this father-son dynamic in Paul's healing of Publius' father in Acts 28:7-10 (see above). Publius' hospitality to Paul and his associates opens up the opportunity for him to bring healing and salvation to this household, which stretches beyond to other residents of the island. Luke 8:41-42, 49-56 gives us a picture of a similar dynamic in the death and raising of Jairus' daughter. We also have a glimpse into household dynamics in Jesus' healing of the centurion's servant in Luke 7:1-10. We will discuss these dynamics in greater detail below under Master/Slave relationships.

We saw in the summary passages that people were desperate for healing, and we can presume that these persons were brought out for healing by household and family. However, in the case of widows, the household unit was likely challenged, causing widows to turn to others for help. We see evidence of this in Acts 9:39, where the widows show Peter the clothing that Dorcas had made for them. It seems from this passage that Dorcas (Tabitha) had taken on the role of provider for these women in a way that they missed as a result of being widows. Dorcas is taking on a role similar to what we saw in BGU 3.948, where a mother wrote to her son requesting him to send her wool so that she could make him some clothing. The widows also feel a sense of kinship with Dorcas as seen by their presence in her home when Peter arrives. They may have even been the ones to assist with washing her body and placing her in the room upstairs after her death. It is important to understand the social environment in which Dorcas conducted her acts of charity.⁵⁵⁶

Jesus' raising of the widow's son in Nain (Luke 7:11-17) is related in terms of household expectations. Luke makes it clear that this deceased son is the only immediate family member she had left. Luke observes that a large crowd was with her, which indicates that the entire village was grieving with this mother. She has a large crowd to support her, but she does not have any individuals with her who will be able to offer personal care and support to her. This fact likely lies behind Jesus' strong gut feeling of compassion for her. Not only is he grieved at her loss of a son, he understands the social implications of her loss of a male provider.

The Good Samaritan as an Example of Household Care

While it may not seem obvious at first glance, the Parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10:30-37 provides an opportunity to discuss household care expectations in relation to the Jew-Gentile dynamic. Jesus' parable is set up by the question and answer initiated by a lawyer, who wishes to test Jesus (v. 25). The lawyer's final question "who

⁵⁵⁵ In the medical texts, a person with epilepsy often had trouble taking in breath/air (πνεῦμα). The symptoms of epilepsy were more frequent in children. Luke's use of the word ἄφρός shows that these were seizures brought on by phlegm (Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness*, 276-78), 281.

⁵⁵⁶ John Stambaugh and David Balch observe that charity in the modern sense was virtually unknown in the Greco-Roman part of the ancient world. Charity for the poor and destitute who could not offer anything in exchange was virtually unknown. Among the Hebrews, there was a tradition of extending help and mercy to the poor, but it is often phrased in terms of bringing redemption to the giver and heavenly reward (John E. Stambaugh and David L. Balch, *The New Testament in Its Social Environment* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], 64).

is my neighbor?” leads into the parable. This question posed by the lawyer relates to the importance of household dynamics. The general expectation, even in OT times, was that the head of the household was responsible for his own household (in ancient Israel the household was more of a complex and was likely much larger than most households in the Roman era). The OT command in Lev 19:18 to “love your neighbor as yourself” was meant to expand people’s sense of responsibility beyond even their immediate household. The documentary papyri give evidence of this sense of responsibility within households, but they do not necessarily give a sense that people were seeking to care for persons outside their immediate household (i.e. “neighbors”). There is of course the Greek expectation of responsibility for one’s own city, or πόλις. But the question “who is my neighbor?” is essentially a Jewish question because of the OT commandment. The question behind his question, according to Tannehill, is “Who is close enough to me that I must respond with love, as the commandment says?”⁵⁵⁷ Because of the factionalism in Judaism at the time, different groups would have different answers to this question. As we will see, Jesus’ basic answer to the question is to treat others from outside your household as if they were a part of your household.

In the parable itself, Jesus sets the scene of a man who is beaten on the road by robbers, stripped of his clothing and left for dead. The details of this parable are true-to-life and may be studied in light of the socio-historical context of the parable’s setting.⁵⁵⁸ We have seen a number of petitions written to officials in the papyri by persons seeking retribution for having been personally attacked physically. The papyri also preserve accounts of persons being attacked and/or harassed on the public roads. The closest parallel can probably be found in P.Fay 108, which tells of two pig merchants attacked on the road on their way home early in the morning, before sunrise. They are robbed of a pig, and one of the men also has his tunic taken. He is beaten severely in the process.⁵⁵⁹ The story Jesus tells in this parable, then, has a strong sense of believability to it since it parallels a real life situation we have in the papyri.

The neglect of the priest⁵⁶⁰ and Levite shows that they had justified in their minds that they had no social responsibility for the man.⁵⁶¹ The care that the Samaritan shows toward the injured man reflects household expectations. It is interesting that the Samaritan does not seek out medical care from a doctor. He appears to be a man of some means since he is able to pay the innkeeper in advance for his continued care of the injured man, so we would expect him to be able to afford the care of a physician. Instead, he treats the wounds himself using oil and wine. The use of oil and wine as healing agents is attested: Shab. 14:2; 19:4; SB I, 428 (cf. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant.

⁵⁵⁷ Robert C. Tannehill, *Luke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 182.

⁵⁵⁸ Green, *Luke*, 429.

⁵⁵⁹ In UPS 1.122 (157 BC), a man also writes of being injured on the road. He is attempting to travel back to the Sarapis temple in Memphis when a bodyguard investigating robbers in the area stops him. The man resists being searched and is stabbed in the leg as a result.

⁵⁶⁰ The priest would have been returning from a period of duty in the temple. Jericho was one of the principal country residences for priests, as in SB II, 66, 180 (Marshall, *Luke*, 448).

⁵⁶¹ Priests and Levites were chosen based on family lineage, not based on performance. So, these men were used to being commended and honored, not based on their performance of pious acts but because of their ancestry (Green, *Luke*, 430-31).

9:11:1).⁵⁶² Jesus makes a choice in telling this parable to have the Samaritan using household remedies to treat the man's wounds. This choice reflects a common practice that he observed at the time.⁵⁶³ Physicians were not the first recourse for medical care of illnesses.

Jesus reverses the question posed to him by the lawyer by asking which of the three acted as a neighbor to the injured man. In a sense, though, Jesus also put the lawyer in the place of the injured man, since he had originally asked "who is my neighbor?" Jesus may be trying to get the lawyer to see from the perspective of the person in need. At the same time, Jesus tells him to go and act as a neighbor in imitation of the Samaritan's actions. The difference between the interpretation of scripture by rabbis and Jesus is that the rabbis saw neighbor as a term of "limited liability," and they debated what classes of men could be excluded from the scope of the commandment to love one's neighbor. Jesus tells the story of the Good Samaritan in order to say that the lawyer's question was the wrong question.⁵⁶⁴ Jesus' point of view removes any idea of limited liability or responsibility. The household is a setting and symbol for the Kingdom. Luke redefines household as a group of fictive kin, and the "national space" of Israel is interpreted in a new way in light of Jesus' suffering. Luke's presentation of the Kingdom of God introduces possibilities for producing new "spaces of representation" but also shows how limited this transformation is by the existing social structures.⁵⁶⁵ Jesus, then, challenges the existing social structures in Judaism and presents a more generous reading of the law commands. Jesus' calls his followers to extend normal procedures of generosity and care beyond the expectations of one's own household to observe and act on the needs of others.

Master-Slave relationships

One of the most important passages in Luke for understanding the relationship between healing and faith comes in the healing of the centurion's slave in 7:1-10. In order to properly understand how the papyri relate to this passage, we need to understand the role of each character in Luke's telling of this story. Joel Green observes that this passage marks the beginning of a heightened focus in Luke's Gospel on people's response to Jesus' ministry. This emphasis includes how people see Jesus' identity. The centurion's address to Jesus in 7:6 as κύριος ("Lord/sir") could be taken as his recognition of Jesus as benefactor.⁵⁶⁶ Since the centurion is a non-Jew,⁵⁶⁷ we need to consider his address to Jesus in Greco-Roman terms. Roman patronage was likely more

⁵⁶² Marshall, *Luke*, 449. Oil was used medicinally, and wine was also used to disinfect wounds (Keener, *Background Commentary*, 208).

⁵⁶³ By contrast, if the story were set in modern times in the West, it is likely that the Samaritan would have immediately taken him to a clinic, E.R. or other medical facility to have his wounds treated by a professional.

⁵⁶⁴ Caird, *Luke*, 148.

⁵⁶⁵ John J. Pilch, ed., *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 208-9.

⁵⁶⁶ Green, *Luke*, 282. Frederick Danker presents Jesus as the "Beneficent Savior" (*Luke* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987], 30). He also refers to this passage as "the dramatic encounter of two benefactors, the soldier who built a synagogue (v. 5), and Jesus, whose authoritative word accomplishes what invincible Roman power can only courteously request" (Danker, *Luke*, 34).

⁵⁶⁷ Since there were no Roman forces in Galilee before AD 44, the centurion had to be a member of Herod Antipas' own soldiery (Marshall, *Luke*, 279; Cf. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 260).

a feature of the upper classes,⁵⁶⁸ so the centurion was very familiar with addressing people in these terms. The Jewish elders clearly see the centurion in the role of benefactor because he built their synagogue for them. They emphasize the centurion's worthiness to receive Jesus' help. In this sense, they make it seem as if it is Jesus' duty to serve this centurion patron.⁵⁶⁹ They clearly see the centurion in a greater role even than Jesus.

The centurion, however, changes his tactic and then sends his friends to speak to Jesus.⁵⁷⁰ The introduction of his friends introduces an element of mutuality and commonality to the story.⁵⁷¹ The centurion may have sent his friends to intercept Jesus out of respect for Jewish purity laws, not wanting Jesus to defile himself by entering a Gentile home.⁵⁷² But it is more in keeping with the centurion's attitude throughout the passage to say that he sincerely thought himself unworthy to receive Jesus, in contrast to the words of the Jewish elders.⁵⁷³ He places himself below Jesus, under his benefaction as it were. What is interesting about the centurion's request for help from Jesus is that the centurion offers no response of gratitude in return. In fact, by not allowing Jesus to even enter his house, he does not allow himself the opportunity to express gratitude.

However, the centurion does not express his faith in Jesus only in terms of benefaction. The centurion's posture of humility in relationship to Jesus is reflected in his relationship to his servant, who is ἔντιμος ("highly esteemed, honored") to him. The centurion's attitude toward his servant is key for understanding the centurion's faith in this passage. Centurions were often publicly characterized as cruel disciplinarians. A sign of the centurion rank was the *vitis*, a stick used to beat disobedient legionaries into compliance.⁵⁷⁴ While it is possible that the Jews would ordinarily have been hesitant toward a representative of the Roman military, this entire passage places a great deal of emphasis on the honor of the centurion. He is praised by both the Jewish leaders and Jesus. Luke gives us no indication that this centurion was cruel or abusive. It is possible

⁵⁶⁸ Christopher Hays observes that most of the documentary evidence speaks to the involvement of the middle-upper classes in *patrocinium*. He also acknowledges, however, that this could in part be due to the lack of documentary evidence left us by the general populace (Hays, *Luke's Wealth Ethics*, 56).

⁵⁶⁹ See a further discussion of the Jewish elders' willingness to place themselves under Roman patronage in Green, *Luke*, 284-285.

⁵⁷⁰ David Gowler calls attention to the series of honor and shame twists and turns between the worthiness ascribed to the centurion by the Jewish leaders and the unworthiness the centurion ascribes to himself ("Text, Culture, and Ideology in Luke 7:1-10: A Dialogic Reading," in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honor of Vernon K. Robbins*, ed. David B. Gowler, L. Gregory Bloomquist, and Duane F. Watson [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2003], 115).

⁵⁷¹ Green, *Luke*, 287.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 284.

⁵⁷³ Marshall, *Luke*, 281.

⁵⁷⁴ Wendy Cotter, *The Christ of the Miracle Stories: Portrait through Encounter* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 113. Cotter takes this to suggest that the centurion would be viewed as an enemy to the Jews. So, she interprets Jesus' willingness to be received by the centurion as a teaching lesson for Jesus' disciples to be willing to help the enemy and receive any petitioner for healing without prejudice (Cotter, *Christ of the Miracle Stores*, 134). However, the centurion is in no way presented as an enemy in this passage. In fact, to the contrary he is presented as a friend and benefactor to the Jews of Capernaum, so, even though he is an outsider to Jewish culture, he certainly cannot be seen as an enemy in this passage.

that the centurion simply needed his servant for a necessary skill he possessed,⁵⁷⁵ but the term ἔντιμος expresses a sense of honor. The only other use of this word in Luke (14:8) is in reference to the seat of honor at a wedding banquet. It is in keeping with the theme of the passage to suppose that he was honorable in his actions toward his servant as well.

Valued Servant, Valued Master

In Chapter 1, we discussed a letter (P.Oxy 6.939) that has a significant bearing on how we should understand the relationship between this centurion and his slave. This letter was written by a very pious, concerned servant to his master regarding the illness of his mistress. The servant had been in distress over his mistress's illness and had requested his master to come right away. Then, the mistress took a turn for the better, and the servant expressed great gratitude to god for heeding their prayers and preserving (διασώσας) their mistress. Even with the servant's genuine concern for his mistress's health, he never loses sight of his role as the servant and is troubled that in a previous letter he might have made too forceful a plea for his master to return to their house at once. The servant's letter suggests he is not simply subservient to his master but rather is personally invested in the health of the household.

While the master in the papyrus document is not a centurion, the master-servant relationship in Luke 7 seems to express an equal amount of concern over each other's health. In Luke 7 it is the master who expresses concern over his servant's health. But it is likely that his servant would have had the same level of concern if his master had fallen ill. This papyrus text helps us understand the type of authority the centurion intends when he speaks of giving commands to soldiers and slaves in v. 8. If this centurion commands the type of respect that is evidenced in the letter above, then he is not speaking of coercion. He is speaking of the type of authority one submits to willingly and which allows for respect from both parties. He is speaking of more than just Jesus' ability to heal. He is expressing faith in the one who gave Jesus the authority to heal. David Catchpole sees a link between the centurion's faith and John the Baptist's question to Jesus in 7:19.⁵⁷⁶ The centurion likely had some familiarity with the Jewish scriptures through his association with the synagogue, and so he seems to understand the significance of Jesus' healings. Unlike the Jews, he recognizes in Jesus' actions his role as the son of man, which is the focus of Jesus' mission to Israel.⁵⁷⁷ The centurion is

⁵⁷⁵ Caring for sick slaves was advised in Roman antiquity for the sake of prolonging their usefulness (Green, *Luke*, 286). A close sense of affection was also present among some master-slave relationships in antiquity. In city houses, the word *familia* could be used to include both kin and slaves, with genuine affection expressed. This is seen in the *Metamorphoses* 4.24, when a noble girl is kidnapped and states she is torn away from both her venerable parents and the many servants and dear slaves born in their house. When she is returned, both kin and slaves rejoice at her return (7.13). But even in these close-knit households, the ruling class members never lost sight of their rightful place nor the slaves of theirs (Yvon Thébert, "The Slave," in *The Romans*, ed. Andrea Giardina, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993], 143).

⁵⁷⁶ David Catchpole, "The Centurion's Faith and its Function in Q," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, C. M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle, and J. Verheyden; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 518.

⁵⁷⁷ Catchpole, "Centurion's Faith," 539-40. Capernaum likely experienced increased regional trade and exposure to Gentiles in the early first century because of the building of Tiberias (AD 18/19) and the renaming of Bethsaida as Julias. But Capernaum shows little sign of Hellenistic architectural influence, so

not only requesting a beneficent act from Jesus, rather he is in essence placing himself under the authority of Jesus as God's messenger of the kingdom.⁵⁷⁸

Interestingly, when the centurion sends his request to Jesus through the Jewish elders, the term used for his request to *heal* his servant is the same word used by the servant in the papyrus text above: διασώζω. Luke makes no mention of previous methods the centurion might have used to seek out treatment for his servant, but it is clear that he believes very strongly that Jesus will be able to heal his servant simply at his command.⁵⁷⁹ So, if the servant-master relationship in the papyrus letter is any indication of the master-servant relationship between the centurion and his servant, then we may take the remark in 7:2 that the servant was “valuable [ἔντιμος]” to him as an expression of their mutual respect for each other. The servant in the papyrus appealed to god for healing for his mistress and saw her recovery as evidence of the favor of the Lord God on his master. Likewise, the centurion appeals to Jesus for healing of his servant and was able, without meeting Jesus in person, to recognize the favor of God on Jesus and his ability to heal a mortal illness even from a distance. So, the highlight of the centurion's faith may not be his recognition that the sickness will leave his servant at Jesus' command, but rather his statement that both he and Jesus are under authority (7:8). He recognizes that Jesus himself is given authority from God to heal on earth, which is also not coercive but based on mutual respect.

ἰατρός and Healing

Our study of ἰατρός in the documentary papyri turned up an overwhelming majority of cases where physicians acted in official capacities as either public physicians or other servants of the state. The reason for this overwhelming majority is primarily due to the nature of the documents that have been preserved. Since many of the documentary papyri are official documents concerning matters of public record (petitions, public physicians' reports, tax records, etc.), it is natural to discover texts that speak to the role physicians played in providing official reports in public service. However, it is striking that there is little mention in the personal letters of individuals seeking healing from a physician. This is especially striking considering that many letters make frequent reference to an illness being endured by a household or family member.

We have raised the probability that physicians in the Greco-Roman world were primarily a luxury of larger, urban areas (esp. Alexandria and Rome, for example) and the social elite, whereas more rural areas often relied on other means of healing. This is not to say that non-medical healing was not sought out in urban areas or that doctors

it likely remained primarily Jewish-focused (Jonathan Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 73-76).

⁵⁷⁸ David Gowler argues that the centurion lays down the vastly inferior patron-broker-client relationship of the Roman Empire for the patron-broker-client relationship of the kingdom of God (Gowler, “Text, Culture and Ideology,” 112).

⁵⁷⁹ In antiquity, miraculous healings were thought to be possible only through direct contact (Bovon, *Luke* 1, 262). But Jews in Jesus' time believed cures without personal contact were possible: cf. Ber. 34b, in SB 2:441 (Marshall, *Luke*, 282-83). Also, the parallels between this passage and the healing of the Naaman the Syrian in 1 Kings 5 are often highlighted. In 5:10-14, Naaman's leprosy is also healed from a distance without any personal contact with Elisha the prophet.

had no presence in the countryside.⁵⁸⁰ However, we need to consider physicians as only one of several options for healing available to people in the ancient world.

Social-Scientific Studies on Health Care

Before turning to the Lukan texts on physicians, we need to take into consideration recent sociological studies on health care in the ancient world. Archaeological excavations have revealed no hospitals or any buildings devoted uniquely to health care in the ancient world. Unlike today, where there are many buildings devoted uniquely to health care, the ancient world had no parallel. The Asclepius temple may have been the closest parallel to a modern day hospital. As we noted earlier, these healing temples combined spiritual experiences in the incubation rooms (often involving a dream where the god visited them in some form) and practical medical experience (where the god might suggest a certain remedy or other medical practice). The options for health care in antiquity were external healers such as the medical professionals in the Hippocratic tradition, priests and healing cults where rituals were performed, and traditional or folk healers (herbalists, magicians, miracle workers, exorcists; various traditional healers often used the same incantations or prayers, while others relied on particular rituals or herbal medicines).⁵⁸¹

In order to account for these differences in medical practice, some scholars have proposed social models for how we should understand Jesus' role as a healer. Craffert calls Jesus an exorcist-healer because, especially in the summary reports, the gospels make no distinction between Jesus' various healings and exorcisms.⁵⁸² He also draws parallels between African folk healers of today and ancient traveling folk healers such as Apollonius of Tyana and Hanina ben Dosa. The fact that they, along with Jesus, were not bound to one location or temple is an important point, and Craffert emphasizes the importance of understanding the specific cultural world-views for each of the cultures in which these healers operated.⁵⁸³

John Pilch presents the medical anthropology concept of "healthcare system" as having three overlapping parts: professional sector, popular sector, and a folk sector. The professional sector belongs to the professional, trained and credentialed healers, which is the category of the *ιατρός*.⁵⁸⁴ In Pilch's view, neither the Gospels nor Acts show any evidence of the professional sector. The popular sector focuses on health and health maintenance, not sickness and cure. Jesus, instead, presents himself as a prophet and a folk healer, which makes him part of the folk sector.⁵⁸⁵ Pilch's assessment of the *ιατρός* as a member of the professional sector fits with our general findings in the

⁵⁸⁰ Galen makes note of the unique medicinal practices of a rural doctor in Asia Minor in his work *On the Powers [and Mixtures] of Simple Drugs* (Véronique Boudon-Millot, "Greek and Roman Patients under Galen's Gaze: A Doctor at the Crossroads of Two Cultures," in *'Greek' and 'Roman' in Latin Medical Texts: Studies in Cultural Change and Exchange in Ancient Medicine*, ed. Brigitte Maire [Leiden: Brill, 2014], 13). See the discussion in Chapter 4 for more on this subject.

⁵⁸¹ Craffert, *Illness and Healing*, iii-iv.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 106-8. Craffert also observes that the gospels do not contain any stories of Jesus healing purely physical wounds. The Parable of the Good Samaritan is the only instance of such an injury being treated (*ibid.*, 93).

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 67-87.

⁵⁸⁴ This term is used figuratively in Luke 4:23 and 5:31. Pilch does not consider this to be original to 8:43.

⁵⁸⁵ Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament*, 95-103.

documentary papyri. But, while Pilch provides a helpful way of classifying different levels of health care, neither the New Testament nor the documentary papyri seem to make a distinction between the popular and the folk sectors. He may be over-classifying the way ancients approached medical care.

Physicians According to Luke

Jesus compares himself to physicians on two occasions in Luke, indicating that he saw some point of comparison between the work of physicians and his own ministry of healing.

The first mention of a physician comes in Luke 4:23, where Jesus quotes an apparently commonly known parable to the synagogue attendees in Nazareth: “doctor, heal yourself!” (ἰατρὲ θεράπευσον σεαυτόν). There is no other occurrence of this exact phrase in any existing literature from antiquity. John Nolland has made comparisons with similar phrases and themes in Classical and Rabbinic literature. He observes that finding parallel phrases with exact wording is not as important as understanding how similar parables functioned in their own contexts.⁵⁸⁶ He observes two metaphorical uses of a similar phrase in Greek (κακός ἰατρός in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, lines 469-75) and Latin (*malos medicos* in Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.* 4.5.5). In both cases, the authors use the analogy of a doctor who is comfortable healing other people but who lack the confidence in their medical skill to treat themselves. The implication is that they have poor skills, and so when their own health is on the line, they have no confidence in their ability to heal.⁵⁸⁷ In a slightly different vein, the examples of Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer* and *Genesis Rabbah* 23.4 express the idea that a person should not offer their opinion on a situation in another person’s life without first dealing with that situation in their own life.⁵⁸⁸ These proverbs offer two possible ways of understanding Jesus’ use of the parable in Luke 4:23. It either means that people did not trust a physician who did not have enough confidence in his skill to treat himself, or it means that a physician or anyone else should not meddle in other people’s affairs without first applying their advice to their own life. However, Dio Chrysostom may offer the most helpful parallel in his *Discourse* 49.13-14, where he draws a comparison between a philosopher who is unwilling to rule over his own city when called upon and a doctor who is not willing to treat his own body even though he accepts money and honor from treating other people. Nolland takes Dio Chrysostom’s point to be that a person’s health should be valued more than money or honor.⁵⁸⁹ However, my own reading of the passage suggests that Dio Chrysostom is criticizing a physician who is willing to accept accolades but who does not want to do the hard work of treating his own body. This analogy makes better sense of his critique of a philosopher who is not willing to put his skill to work for the benefit of the people of his own city. At the root of Dio Chrysostom’s point, I think, is the idea that someone who only wants accolades is hiding insecurity and a lack of real skill. In light of this, it may be that the parable Jesus quotes reflects a real skepticism that people held toward physicians who they felt were insincere and

⁵⁸⁶ John Nolland, “Classical and Rabbinic Parallels to ‘Physician, Heal Yourself’ (Lk. IV 23),” *NovT* 21 (1979): 193-94.

⁵⁸⁷ Nolland, “Classical and Rabbinic Parallels,” 196-97.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 200-206.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 198-99.

without integrity. If physicians were primarily a product of the upper class, this level of skepticism would be understandable, especially if most physicians held to urban areas.

So, the reason Jesus quotes this parable is that he perceives a feeling among the people of his hometown that he was not sincere or was trying to be greater than he really was. When Jesus expresses their desire for him to do the same miracles he did in Capernaum in his hometown, he is expressing skepticism on their part. They may not really believe he did what was claimed in Capernaum, so they do not really believe he will do any miracles in Nazareth.

Not everyone follows this line of interpretation of this passage. Marshall, for example, takes “yourself” to be a parabolic reference to Jesus’ hometown, relating to his statement in v. 24 that no prophet is welcome in his hometown. In this way, Jesus is showing how he will take the gospel outside his hometown of Nazareth, paralleling the way Elijah and Elisha brought help to the Gentiles rather than to the needy people of Israel.⁵⁹⁰ However, in 2 Kings 5:9, it is Naaman who comes to Elisha with a request to be healed. So, it is not necessarily Jesus’ initiative that will always take the gospel outside the people of Israel. Gentiles (cf. 7:1-10) will come to him seeking help. By contrast, Green takes the meaning of Dio Chrysostom and the parable in 4:23 to be that a person should not refuse benefits to one’s own relations that they have offered to others. So, the attitude of the townspeople is that they expect Jesus to be a special source of God’s favor for them.⁵⁹¹ This may be a possible motive behind the people’s attitude toward Jesus, but it is more fitting with Luke’s larger narrative of Israel’s unbelief in Jesus to say that the people of Jesus’ hometown did not have faith in him as a true prophet of God.

Jesus uses another analogy having to do with physicians, this time an apparent production of his own, in Luke 5:31, “Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick (NRSV).” This statement is in response to the challenge from the Pharisees concerning his habit of eating with tax collectors and sinners. The analogy is fairly straightforward; the expectation for a physician is for him to be present among those who need healing.⁵⁹² The implication is that Jesus has the power not only to heal, but also to forgive sins, so he needs to be present among sinners. This statement is likely related to the passage immediately before in 5:17-26, where Jesus declares the paralytic healed by telling him his sins are forgiven. Green sees in Luke’s narrative here an echo of Ezekiel 34, where Israel’s leadership is indicted for failing to strengthen the weak and heal the sick. This would make Jesus’ statement a possible indictment against the Jewish leadership for failing to lead the people into repentance.

The final occurrence of ἰατρός in Luke⁵⁹³ comes in the account of the hemorrhaging woman in Luke 8:40-56. Luke states that she had been suffering from the illness for twelve years and had spent all her living on doctors (ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον). This statement is similar to the case of the new military recruit we saw in SB 24.16282, who spent his share of his military pension seeking healing from a

⁵⁹⁰ Marshall, *Luke*, 187-88.

⁵⁹¹ Green, *Luke*, 216-17.

⁵⁹² There may be a tone here of indictment against medical doctors of the time who may have kept themselves distant from the medical needs of persons in the country and/or lower classes.

⁵⁹³ The term ἰατρός does not appear in Acts.

doctor (see Chapter 4).⁵⁹⁴ In his case, this medical expense caused a hardship and made it difficult for him to be able to afford to eat. This document and the story of the hemorrhaging woman indicate that seeking medical help from doctors could often lead to the significant expenditure of personal funds and lead to personal hardship, especially if doctors could not produce a cure.

This woman is the only person mentioned in Luke (or any of the Gospels) who sought out healing from a physician. Her illness has dragged on for some time in spite of her efforts to find a cure.⁵⁹⁵ The failure of the doctors has produced a desperate situation for her, and she has likely started to seek out other means of healing. The reason why she only touches the hem of Jesus' garment probably has to do with Jewish purity laws. Her discharge of blood would put Jesus in danger of being considered ceremonially unclean if she touched him.⁵⁹⁶ However, she also put others in the crowd in danger of being made unclean since Peter states in v.45 that the crowds were pressing in all around Jesus. So, it may be that the woman considers this a magical means of being cured since all other efforts have proved fruitless. In light of the significant number of texts on magical healing in antiquity, this would have likely been an option for her to consider. When Jesus feels healing power go forth from him, he seeks to speak to the woman in person and offer assurance that she in fact had not been healed by magical power but by her own faith in God's ability to heal through Jesus.⁵⁹⁷ Jesus teaches in this moment that faith is a means of healing in contrast to the search for magical power to heal. He dismisses her with the same blessing he spoke over the sinful woman in 7:50, indicating once again the link between healing and forgiveness of sins.⁵⁹⁸

Jesus the Great Physician

Luke's references to physicians in comparison to Jesus reflect both positive and negative attitudes towards the role of *ιατρός*. When he is confronted for his association with "sinners," Jesus compares himself to a physician who must be present with the sick in order to cure them. But his quote of the proverb in 4:23 is probably a reflection of the skepticism some people felt towards physicians who could not even practice medicine on themselves and could not be trusted. These differing attitudes toward

⁵⁹⁴ There is also a possibility that the woman's reference to healing "at great expense" in BGU 13.2350 is a reference to expensive medical treatment at the hands of a doctor.

⁵⁹⁵ Her condition is not completely absent from the medical writings. The term Luke uses is *ῥύσις αἵματος*, which was not a term used in ancient medicine as a description for female issue of blood (Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness*, 231). However, terms such as *ῥύσις*, *ῥέω*, and *ῥοῦς αἵματος* are used to describe irregular female bleeding (ibid., 255). Lev 15 and Jewish interpretations of purity codes are the primary frames of reference for this woman's illness (ibid., 235).

⁵⁹⁶ Discharges of blood in women are treated in Lev 15:25-30. Bovon states that the woman's misery is threefold: she has lost her possessions, her health and she is separated from God and others by her ritual impurity (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 338).

⁵⁹⁷ See Caird, *Luke*, 124; Marshall, *Luke*, 345; and Van Cangh, *Miracles Grecs*, 233. Craffert asserts that the power of faith has to do with the relationship of mind and body, since the attitude of the mind can affect the body positively and negatively (*Illness and Healing*, 99-101). But this does not fully explain the cause of these cures because Jesus does not speak the words "your faith has healed you" until after the healing occurs.

⁵⁹⁸ Green also notes that by calling her "daughter," Jesus is extending kinship to her and bringing her back into the larger community (Green, *Luke*, 349).

physicians probably reflect general sentiments towards ἰατροί in that time. We have some evidence from Galen that country doctors existed, at least in Asia Minor.⁵⁹⁹ We also have evidence of one physician who set up his ἰατρεῖον in the village of Karanis (BGU 2.647; AD 130). So, it is likely that physicians did at times provide medical services in rural areas, but this practice was likely not widespread. Most people in rural areas probably felt a sense of distance when it came to the ἰατροί, who concentrated their efforts in more highly populated areas.

Scholars have frequently noted that Jesus' healings are a sign of the inbreaking of God's kingdom on earth.⁶⁰⁰ Perhaps one of the ways people would have felt the presence of God's kingdom through Jesus' healings is that they felt the sense of a healer being close to them, in their midst. They did not have to seek out healing in a distant city, a temple devoted to a certain god, or from other unreliable means. They had a divine healer in their midst, and that was evidence to them that God himself was in their midst.

In Luke 4:40, Jesus takes on a role much like a physician, caring for the medical needs of the people of Capernaum. One might even compare this scene to the temporary setting up of an ἰατρεῖον, where Jesus receives patients ad hoc. However, as we noted earlier, there is no uncertainty to Jesus' ability to heal, unlike physicians of the time. Also, there is no indication that Jesus offered any prescriptions of medical mixtures or that he used any magical incantations or formulas.⁶⁰¹ His only action is his laying on of hands, which is his regular practice throughout his ministry.⁶⁰²

Luke also makes a point to show that Jesus' care of the medical needs of the people is based on his compassion.⁶⁰³ He is concerned for the entirety of their needs, not just their need for a medical cure. We see this especially in his affirmation of the bent over woman as "daughter of Abraham" and in his affirmation to the hemorrhaging woman that her faith has made her well.

Paul as Physician

In Acts 28:9, Paul takes on a very similar role after his healing of Publius' father from intermittent fevers and dysentery. Upon hearing of this healing, the people of the island come to be healed of their diseases (ἀσθενείας). Paul had also healed Publius' father by laying his hands on him and praying. The immediacy of the people's response

⁵⁹⁹ Boudon-Millot, "Galen's Gaze," 13.

⁶⁰⁰ See H. C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in New Testament Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 124-27; Frank J. Matera, *New Testament Theology: Exploring Diversity and Unity* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 70; Paul J. Achtemeier, *Jesus and the Miracle Tradition* (Eugene: Cascade, 2008), 215.

⁶⁰¹ In spite of Jesus' lack of magical means for healing, Crossan describes Jesus as a magician, claiming that the difference between magician and miracle worker is insubstantial. His main concern is that magic challenges official religion (John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* [New York: HarperCollins, 1991], 305).

⁶⁰² Nancy Eiesland observes that for a person with a disability, the laying on of hands (while sometime done in a mechanical way) can have the effect of restoration and redemption as a way of including all people (*The Disabled God: Toward a Liberatory Theology of Disability* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1994], 116-17). We can imagine that Jesus' touch would have had a profound effect on those who were healed by making them feel welcomed into the community of faith.

⁶⁰³ See the discussion in Audrey Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power: Perspectives on Healing in the Writings of Mark, Luke and Paul* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2008), 229-32.

in coming to Paul indicates the failure of other attempts at healing and the recognition that the healing Paul provides is very different. The presence of a physician on the island is unlikely, but not impossible. As a response to these healings, the people respond by offering gifts and provision for Paul and the ship's crew. Pervo observes that this passage is filled with language of benefaction, reciprocity and friendship. Paul's healing of Publius' father is a response to Publius' generous hospitality. The honors (τιμαῖς, v. 10) that the people offer Paul and his companions are not payments for services (as would be expected for a physician) but rather expressions of gratitude among friends.⁶⁰⁴

In summary, we see how the functions of ἰατροί in antiquity inform how we read these brief references to doctors in Luke's narrative. Jesus' parable in Luke 4:23 indicates a sense of skepticism that people held towards physicians who largely focused their efforts on the upper classes and urban areas. We have also seen how the expenditures necessary for physicians could at times produce hardships for patients. But we also see Jesus and Paul setting up temporary practices, similar to the function of an ἰατρεῖον, serving patients coming to them with their medical needs. Their means of healing, however, differs significantly from the methods of physicians and magical healers.

Prayers for Healing/Spiritual Realm

We have already seen how prominent is the world of spiritual forces in Luke's telling of the healing accounts. Jesus' first two healings show perfectly the link between demonic forces and illness. Luke uses the same terminology when Jesus rebukes the unclean spirit in the synagogue in 4:33 as when he rebukes the fever in 4:39 (ἐπιτιμάω). And in the same way the spirit and the fever leave each of their victims.⁶⁰⁵ However, this does not mean that all illnesses are attributed to demonic powers or that Luke does not recognize the medical symptoms of these illnesses. Luke's thought world (and the thought world of most of antiquity) did not require the separation of spiritual forces from common medical illnesses. Even though the medical writers did not generally talk about spiritual forces as the causes of symptoms of illness, there is precedent, in the Asclepius cult especially, that people could seek out medical treatment and still appeal to the gods for help and healing.⁶⁰⁶ As we have discussed above, persons often entered the incubation rooms and received dreams or visions that included some sort of

⁶⁰⁴ Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 672. Pervo also considers the source for Luke's telling of this account to be the healing of Peter's mother in law (Luke 4:38-39) as Luke's intent to show how the conclusion of Paul's ministry mirrors the beginning of Jesus' ministry (Pervo, *Acts*, 675-76).

⁶⁰⁵ There is some disagreement over the degree to which Luke differentiates between physical healing and exorcisms. Most commentators agree that Luke draws a strong link between illness and demon possession, especially since in the case of Peter's mother-in-law Mark simply states that the fever left her (1:31), while in Luke's account Jesus rebuked the fever (Cf. Dawson, *Healing, Weakness, and Power*, 112-13). Green does not attribute the fever to demon possession, but he does point out that Luke teaches that both persons who are demon-possessed and who suffer from an illness are suffering from diabolic forces which require release from demonic forces (Green, *Luke*, 220-21).

⁶⁰⁶ In the third c. BC, there was an ancestral tradition of physicians in service of the state making sacrifice twice a year to Asclepius and Hygieia on behalf of themselves and their patients. (Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* [London: Routledge, 2004], 111).

visitation from the god. But then they also followed practical medical prescriptions that were given to them either in the vision or by priests in the temple.

Spirit Possession

Craffert gives an important insight into the study of spirit possession across cultural boundaries. He observes that spirit possession is attested in many different cultures throughout the world. But he also observes that spirit possession has distinct characteristics in different cultures (*e.g.* ancestral possession only occurs in cultures that venerate ancestors) and is dealt with according to the expectations of each culture.⁶⁰⁷

The documentary papyri have very little to teach us specifically about demon possession because none of the documents or letters mention possession by an unclean spirit or demon.⁶⁰⁸ This represents a strong contrast between the experiences of those represented in the documentary papyri and the possessed persons found in the gospels.

Prayers for Healing

However, there are numerous examples of people in the letters writing that they offer up regular prayers and bow down in intercession for the health of others.⁶⁰⁹ There are also offerings of thanksgiving for divine answers to prayers. For example, when a servant learns of his mistress' recovery from illness, he writes to his master with great enthusiasm for the divine answer to the prayers of the household for her health (P.Oxy 6.939). In P.Brem 61, a man writes to his associate, Apolonios, of his regular practice of making obeisance "every hour" to the lord Hermē for the sake of Apolonios' health. Another example comes from a woman's request to a Christian monk requesting prayer for her own healing (P.Lond 6.1926).

A petition (P.Tebt 1.44) also gives us an example of a man attending the temple of Isis in search of healing. In another vein, P.Cair.Zen 1.59034 (3rd. c. BC) gives us an example of a man who builds a temple to Sarapis in response to having been healed from illness. In this letter from Zoilus "a servant of Sarapis" to Apollonius (an Egyptian minister of finance in Alexandria), Zoilus, describes how he received a command in a series of dreams from the god Sarapis to go and build a Sarapis temple near Apollonius in Alexandria. He was struck with a sickness (ἀρρωστίαν) and quickly healed after praying to the god for healing. He then promised to devote his life in service to the god, after a slight relapse when he delayed in building the temple.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁷ Craffert, *Illness and Healing*, 118-20. The fact that this phenomenon is shared across so many diverse cultures suggests a real power lies behind these manifestations.

⁶⁰⁸ The term πνεῦμα appears only 16 times in the documentary papyri: O.Berenike 2.129; P.Coll.Youtie 2.91; P.Harr 1.107; P.Kell 1.63; P.Lond 6.1917; P.Lond 6.1925-27; P.Neph 17; P.Oxy 6.904; P.Oxy 8.1151; P.Oxy 8.1161; P.Oxy 56.3862; SB 10.10755; SB 26.16687; Stud.Pal 20.122. Most of these include either references to breath, the Holy Spirit (in Christian letters) or the phrase "body, soul, spirit." A search of the term ἀκάθαρτος yielded multiple results, but all of the results only yielded references to the clearing of land in relation to the rental of houses or other items. A search of καθάρος/καθαρόν yielded almost 400 hits, but they also were agricultural-related and referred to "pure" grain/wheat, as well as frequent references to being "clear" of debt.

⁶⁰⁹ Many of these are likely formalities, and we have no way of knowing for sure whether they actually offered up the prayers. But most of them likely did follow up on their promises of intercession.

⁶¹⁰ See Deissmann, *Letters from the Ancient East*, 152-61.

The Spiritual Realm in Luke-Acts

There are numerous examples throughout Luke-Acts of divine affliction or spirit possession, which attest to the reality of the spiritual world Luke had in mind when he recorded these events. In Luke 1:20-22, 62-79, Zechariah is rendered mute by the angel Gabriel but then recovers his ability to speak after submitting to the angel's message that his son's name was to be John. In 4:31-44, Jesus heals a man with unclean demon and then Simon Peter's mother in law (from a fever); both rebuked by Jesus like an unclean spirit. In 8:1-3, Luke tells us of the women healed from demons who travel with Jesus and provide for him. In 8:26-39, Jesus casts a legion of demons out of a possessed Gerasene man. In 11:14-26, a man possessed by mute demon is healed. In 13:10-17, Jesus frees a woman with disabling spirit, who had been bound by Satan for eighteen years. In 13:32, Jesus states that he casts out demons and performs cures and on the third day completes his work. So, also in Acts 14:8-18, Paul heals a man who was *χωλός* from birth but the people mistake Paul and Barnabas for Zeus & Hermes because they recognize the healing as divine intervention. In Acts 16:16-18, Paul orders a spirit of divination to come out of slave girl. There is a Delphic background to the girl's "python" spirit. Educated Diaspora Jews would have been familiar with Apollo's association with prophecy and his oracle at Delphi.⁶¹¹ Paul casts the spirit out with a simple word of command, which is in contrast to most exorcisms of demons in the ancient world, which involved long incantations often accompanied by rituals.⁶¹² In Acts 28:3-10, a viper bites Paul, but he suffers no harm. The result is that the locals think he is a god.

In summary, the world in which Luke recorded Jesus' healing accounts was a complicated world filled with social expectations and views about the spiritual and natural world that were both very different and similar to our own. No doubt I have not exhausted every avenue available to integrate this research into Lukan studies. My research has been suggestive, however, of ways to integrate the documentary papyri into Lukan studies. I suspect that continued reflection on the research in this dissertation will yield further results.

⁶¹¹ Keener, *Acts*, 2422.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 2430.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the documentary papyri (DP) provide a wealth of information about illness, healing and those who provided healing. This chapter will summarize the findings of this study by outlining the various *topoi* of illness-related themes discovered as a result of this study. I will also give a few suggestions for further research at the end of this chapter.

Topoi

I. ILLNESSES AND THE ILL

A. Terminology

δυσεντέριον/δυσεντερικός

O.Claud 4.708, 4.717

Acts 28:8

The DP have no instances of the term *δυσεντέριον*, but two personnel lists from Mons Claudianus include one person listed as being *δυσεντερικός*. These were likely daily lists meant to record who was ill and with what illness. This illness was clearly not frequent since it is only found in two of the lists, and one person had it in each instance (likely the same person).

Acts 28:8 is also the only place in the NT where this illness can be found. In this case, Publius' father has both fevers and dysentery.

ἱερά νόσος

BGU 1.193, 1.193, 1.316, 3.887, 3.937, 3.987, 4.1059, 11.2111; Chr.Mitt 171; C.Pap.Gr 1.34; P.Abinn 64; P.Col 8.219, 8.222; P.Coll.Youtie 2.75; P.Fam.Tebt 27; P.Freib 2.8; P.Hamb 1.63; P.Iand 4.54; P.Koeln 5.232; P.Mich 5.264/265dupl, 5.278/279dupl, 5.281, 15.707; P.Mil.Congr 14; P.Oslo 2.40; P.Oxy 1.94, 1.95, 2.263, 2.375, 2.380, 9.1209, 36.2777, 41.2951; P.Stras 4.264, 6.505; P.Turner 22; P.Vind.Bosw 7; PSI 3.182, 12.1228; PSI.Congr 20.14; SB 3.6016, 5.8007, 6.9145, 22.15702, 24.16002, 24.16167, 24.16168, 24.16170; Stud.Pal 20.71

References to the “sacred disease” all appear in contracts detailing the sale of slaves, with an exception clause in case the slave is found to have *ἱερά νόσος*. None of these texts document an actual case of this illness.

Luke-Acts has no examples of the “sacred disease.”

κωφός

BGU 4.1196, 16.2577, 16.2673; CPR 28.9; P.Cair.Goodsp. 30; P.Laur 4.175; P.Mich 4.1.224, 15.751; P.Oxy 7.1050; P.Sijp 16; P.Sorb 1.20; P.Stras 8.703; P.Tebt 2.283, 2.406dupl, 3.2.891; SB 1.5220, 16.12498, 16.12830, 16.13035, 18.13934; Stud.Pal 22.67.

Luke 1:22; 7:22; 11:14

Most uses of *κωφός* are found in tax lists or other account lists, and this term represents a distinguishing mark for the person involved.

In Luke-Acts, this illness is caused by God's chastisement of Zechariah in Luke 1:22 and a mute demon in 11:14. In 7:22, Jesus quotes from Isaiah to refer to his ministry as a healing ministry.

λεπρός

P.Mich 4.1.224, 4.1.225; P.Oxy 63.4356; P.Petr 2.35

Luke 4:27; 5:12; 7:22; 17:12

Leprosy is extremely rare in the DP, found only in account lists. P.Petr 2.35 refers to a horse as λεπρός.

In Luke-Acts, however, the illness λεπρά appears much more frequently compared to the much smaller sample size of the NT texts.

ξηρός

Luke 6:6 (8)

While the DP only use this term to refer to dried grain and other foods, Luke applies this term to a man's shriveled hand.

παράλυτος

Luke 5:18 (24); Acts 8:7; 9:33

There are no occurrences of paralysis that could be found in the DP. All uses of παραλύω are unrelated to medical concerns.

By contrast, persons with paralysis do appear in the Lukan texts.

πυρετός/πυρεκτικός

O.Claud 2.212, 2.213; P.Gur 5; [P.Mert 1.26]; P.Oxy 3.95, 12.1582

Luke 4:38; Acts 28:8

Descriptions of fever are extremely rare in the DP. P.Mert 1.26 is a possible reference to fever because it describes a child who displays the symptom of "shivering [φρικώδης]."

In Luke-Acts, fever is not a frequent illness, but it does appear prominently at the beginning of Jesus' ministry and at the end of Paul's ministry in Luke's narrative.

τυφλός

BGU 14.2425; CPR 8.49; O.Elkab 147; O.Mich 1.104; P.Corn 22; P.Koeln 4.198;

P.Mich 4.223; P.Mich 4.1.224; P.Mich 4.1.225; P.Ross.Georg 3.1; SB 26.16675

Luke 4:18; 6:39; 7:21 (22); 14:13 (21); 18:35; Acts 13:11

In the DP, τυφλός is primarily used as an identifying mark. See below under Description – eyes for other eye-related illnesses.

In Luke-Acts, the term τυφλός is often used to represent spiritual blindness, while the one clear example of healing from blindness is found in Luke 18:35-43. In contrast to blind persons in the DP, this man was forced to beg for a living before his healing.

χωλός

BGU 3.712; BGU 4.1196; BGU 7.1515; BGU 7.1620; BGU 9.1893; BGU 9.1896; BGU

16.2614; BGU 16.2674; CPR 18:24; CPR 28.9; O.Douch. 4.447; O.Mich. 2.952; O.Narm. 72;

P.Brook 8; P.Cair.Goodsp. 30; P.Col. 8.230; P.Corn. 22; P.Freib. 4.55; P.Hamb. 1.117; P.Kell.

1.24; P.Kell. 1.65; P.Leipz. 11r; P.Lond. 2.189; P.Mich. 5.323-325; P.Oxy. 19.2240; SB

22.15353; P.Ryl. 4.642; PSI 8.903dupl; P.Tebt. 1.120; P.Tebt. 1.123; SB 1.428; SB 1.4168; SB 8.9740; SB 20.14468; SB 24.16000; T.Mom. Louvre 616; UPZ 1.122; and UPZ 2.180

Luke 7:22; 14:13 (21); Acts 3:2; 8:7; 14:8

In the DP, the term *χωλός* also serves as an identifying mark. This term often appears as a person's name or nickname (P.Kell 1.24, 1.65; P.Ryl 4.642; P.Tebt 1.120, 1.123; SB 20.14468, 24.16000; and T.Mom.Louvre 616). The term *κυλλός* also appears in multiple texts, primarily as a name or description of a person (BGU 9.1896; O.Trim 1.94; P.Bingen 31; P.Bour 38; P.Coll.Youtie 2.105; P.Herm 7; P.Koeln 2.117?; P.Mich 4.1.225; P.Yale 3.137).

The most notable healings come in Acts 3:2 and 14:8, both which give account of men lame from birth who are healed and able to walk.

ὕδρωπικός

Luke 14:2

This term is not attested in the DP, but Luke does give one account of a man having this illness.

General

BGU 2.467, 2.595, 3.827, 3.948, C.Pap.Gr 1.10; Chrest.Wilck 395; CPR 7.20; O.Amst 25; O.Claud 1.118, 4.709, 4.710, 4.754; O.Did 338, 451; P.Brem 48, 64; P.Cair.Zen 2.59254, 3.59489; P.Col 4.102; P.Corn 50; P.Dura 20; P.Enteux 48; P.Flor 3.312; P.Fouad 80; P.Giss.Apoll 14; P.Giss.Univ 3.29; P.Hamb 1.88, 4.240; P.Lond 2.144, 2.254, 3.1170; P.Meyer 8; P.Mich 9.575; P.Oxy 4.726, 54.3770, 76.5099; P.Ryl 2.153; P.Sel.Warga 12; P.Stras 1.73; Pap.Choix 7; SB 5.7572, 5.7743, 6.9127, 24.16283

The DP have frequent general references to sickness or poor health without further details. P.Stras 1.73 states that the family was caught up in a “great sickness [νόσου μεγάλη, sic].”

Epidemic/Plague

P.Oxy 14.1666; P.Stras 1.73; P.Thmouis 1.1; SB 6.9218

The threat of plagues is documented in the DP. For example, in P.Oxy 14.1666, a family member receives news of a plague overtaking his brother's village and asks for news to be reassured the brother is ok. Also, P.Thmouis 1.1 documents a plague that killed many people in a village and caused others to flee from it.

B. Description

1. Body zone

Head

BGU 2.647; P.Athen 34; P.Fouad 29; P.Oxy 44.3195, 51.3617, 64.4441; P.Tebt 3.1.793, 3.1.797; PSI 4.313, 5.455; SB 20.14086

Many of the official documents, especially the Reports of Public Physicians, mention injuries to the head, such as BGU 2.647, a report that describes a fracture in the head with bits of rock found inside. In P.Oxy 51.3617, a runaway slave is identified by his shaved head and a wound on his head.

Lips/Mouth

P.Oxy 33.2672dupl

In this petition, a female servant was injured on the lip, possibly from a stone being thrown at her head.

Eyes - vision

O.Claud 2.220; P.Brem 64; P.Enteux 25; P.Flor 3.312; P.Mich 6.422, 6.423dupl, 6.425, 6.426, 9.549, 11.618; P.Oslo 3.124; P.Oxy 6.911, 31.2601, 42.3078; P.Sijp 12f; P.Wisc 1.3; PSI 10.1103; SB 4.7360, 22.15774; UPZ 2.180

Illness related to the eyes is very frequent in the DP. Frequently, texts make reference to poor or weak vision, using terminology such as ἀσθενής τὰς ὄψεις (P.Mich 9.549), ἀσθενῆ τῆ ὀράσει (P.Oslo 3.124), τὴν ὄψιν μου ἀσθένειαν (P.Mich 6.422), and ἀσθενής τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (P.Mich 11.618). In P.Mich 6.425, the writer uses the term πονηρός to refer to the uselessness of his eyes. They are “evil” because he cannot see from them. One individual with poor eyesight who appears in multiple texts is a man named Gemellos, who makes several petitions about being robbed because of his condition (P.Mich 6.422, 6.423dupl, 6.426; SB 4.7360, 22.15774). Others connect their poor eyesight with old age (P.Enteux 25; P.Oslo 3.124).

Eyes - Features

BGU 1.316, 3.834, 3.896, 6.1258, 8.1734, 13.2338; Chr.Wilck 200; CPR 1.102, 18.9, 18.11; O.Claud 1.119; P.AdI G5, G13; P.Amh 2.74, 2.102; P.Ant 3.187a; P.Aust.Herr 2, 8, 11, 20; P.Berl.Frisk 1; P.BruX 1.10; P.Cair.Zen 1.59070dupl, 1.59076; P.Flor 1.1, 1.51, 3.316, 3.383; P.Freib 3.12b; P.Genova 3.119; P.Grenf 1.33, 2.51; P.Hamb 1.38; P.Kell 1.23; P.Koeln 4.187; P.Lips 1.2; P.Lond 2.219, 7.1949; P.Meyer 13; P.Mich 2.121, 5.241, 5.285/286dupl, 5.321, 6.425, 6.426; P.Oxy 3.504, 49.3477, 61.4126; P.Petr 2.6, 2.14, 2.16, 2.22, 2.25; P.Ryl 2.119, 2.153, 2.159; P.Stras 1.52; P.Tebt 2.397; PSI 8.921, 8.922, 9.1028, 13.1324; SB 1.4414, 12.10859, 18.13288, 22.15866, 24.15987, 24.16001, 24.16169, 24.16170; Stud.Pal 22.42; UPZ 2.175

The most frequent references to the region of the eyes speak of scars near the eye and coloration of one eye or the other. Descriptions of people’s eyes also include terminology such as having beautiful eyes (εὐόφθαλμος), hollow-eyed (κοιλόφθαλμος), large eyed (μεγαλόφθαλμος), small-eyed (μικρόφθαλμος), with prominent eyes (εξόφθαλμος), and with a clear or conspicuous eye (εὔσημος). The primary purpose of these descriptions was to identify persons in official documents using distinguishing marks.

Ears/Hearing

O.Claud 2.212

Depending on whether κωφός should be interpreted to mean “deaf” or “mute,” all documents listed under this term above could also be classified here.

Finger

P.Oslo 3.95; SB 20.14086

These reports describe wounds to the middle finger (P.Oslo 3.95) and right thumb (SB 20.14086).

Arms/Hand

P.Oxy 45.3245; P.Tebt 1.39; PSI 5.455

These texts all refer to wounds on the arms or hand.

Feet

BGU 13.2350; P.Stras 1.73; P.Leipz 11r

BGU 13.2350 documents a foot injury from a horse stepping on it. The injury is healed (καθαρίζω) at great expense. In P.Leipz 11r a man is identified as χωλόπους (“lame-footed”).

Leg

P.Oxy 1.52; P.Tebt 3.1.797

These reports document injuries to the knee and shin areas.

Respiratory

P.Tebt 3.1.798

2. Symptoms

Exhaustion

Chrest.Wilck 395

Fever

P.Oxy 6.896

3. Animal Sickness

Death

P.NYU 2.31; P.Oxy 6.938, 24.2410

In P.NYU 2.31, an injury to a donkey results in its death.

General Sickness

BGU 8.1747; P.Oxy 43.3090, 67.4582

Leg Swellings

P.Cair.Zen 2.59225 describes a horse with leg swellings.

C. Duration/severity

Temporary

UPZ 1.122

Luke 1:20-22; Acts 9:1-19; Acts 13:9-11

Some texts speak of temporary or short-lived injuries/illnesses. In UPZ 1.122, a man has a temporary limp (χωλός) because of a stabbing.

Luke records three examples of temporary illness as the result of unbelief. Zechariah is temporarily rendered κωφός. Paul is rendered blind temporarily after Jesus' appearance to him on the road to Damascus, and Paul renders Elymas the Magician blind temporarily because of his opposition.

Old Age

P.Enteux 22, 25; P.Flor 3.312; P.Oslo 3.124; SB 16.12306, 12504

Several texts make reference to various hindrances as the result of old age. These hindrances include inability to travel, poor eyesight, physical sickness and general weakness. These texts primarily use old age as an excuse for not being able to carry out a particular responsibility.

Threat of Death – illness and violence

BGU 8.1816; P.Abinn 51, 52; P.Kell 1.23; P.Mil.Vogl 2.73; P.Oxy 3.472, 8.1121, 55.3816; P.Petr 3.36; P.Tebt 2.304; P.Wash.Univ 2.71; PSI 5.532; SB 12.10840, 18.13222, 18.13946

These texts attest to the feeling persons have that they are so ill that they are in danger of dying (P.Oxy 55.3816; SB 18.13222). Many people were also beaten either to the point of death or to the point where their life was in danger. Also, prison was seen as a place of death (P.Petr 3.36; PSI 5.532). In P.Wash.Univ 2.71, an oath is made “until the day of my death.”

Threat of Death – law-breaking

BGU 1.248, 6.1250, 8.1730; Chr.Wilck 13; CPR 28.14; P.Gen 3.136; P.Hib 2.198; P.Tebt 1.5, 3.1.700; P.Yale 1.56; Pap.Agon 3, 4; SB 14.11346

The threat of death could also come from breaking the law, as evidenced by several edicts and other documents that threaten the penalty of death for not following the stipulations laid out therein.

Threat of Death – contracts

BGU 4.1059; C.Pap.Gr 1.4, 1.5, 1.7; P.Dura 20; P.Alex.Giss 5; P.Amst 1.41; P.Cair.Preis 41; P.Cair.Zen 3.59422; P.Iand 7.144a; P.Monts.Roca 4.81; P.Oslo 2.40, 3.485; P.Sakaon 71; P.Stras 1.30; P.Wisc 2.78; PSI 4.377, 6.710; SB 5.8086

The threat of death was also seen in slave contracts, where provision was made against slaves fleeing or dying (BGU 4.1059; P.Dura 20; P.Oslo 2.40, 3.485; PSI 6.710). Wet-nurse contracts also express the possibility of the child not surviving (C.Pap.Gr 1.4, 1.5, 1.7). Contracts for leasing out livestock also play into the threat of animals not surviving the time of rental (P.Alex.Giss 5; P.Amst 1.41; P.Cair.Preis 41; P.Cair.Zen 3.59422; P.Iand 7.144a; P.Monts.Roca 4.81; P.Sakaon 71; P.Stras 1.30; PSI 4.377; P.Wisc 2.78; SB 5.8086)).

D. Cause

Demonic Activity

Chr.Mitt 295; P.Stras 3.142; PSI 7.767; SB 1.4426

Luke 4:31-41

The DP do not often mention demonic activity. PSI 7.767 is an interesting text because a man lays claim to the influence of an evil demon, which causes him to cry out and do harmful acts. This is the only case of an apparent demon possession, and it occurs in AD 331, around the time of the conversion of the Roman Empire to

Christianity. Three cases blame divorce on the influence of an evil demon (Chr.Mitt 295; P.Stras 3.142; SB 1.4426).

In Luke-Acts, examples of demon possession appear in Luke 4:31-36, 41; Luke 7:21; 8:2; 9:37-43; Luke 11:14-26; Luke 13:32; Acts 5:12-16; Acts 8:4-8; Acts 16:16-18; Acts 19:11-20. In Luke 4:37-39, Jesus rebukes the fever in the same way he rebuked the demon in v. 35, suggesting the fever was possibly caused by a demon. Also in Luke 13:10-17, Jesus heals a woman of a disabling spirit, an illness where Jesus says she was bound by Satan.

Harm - Accidental

P.Oxy 1.52, 3.475, 46.3314; P.Princ 2.29

These texts describe injuries sustained through no malicious intent of others.

Harm - Intentional

BGU 2.473, 2.647, 8.1780; CPR 17A.23; O.Wilck 1150; P.Athen 34; P.Bingen 63; P.Fay 108; P.Flor 1.59; P.Fouad 29; P.Mich 18.776; P.NYU 2.3; P.Oslo 3.95; P.Oxy 31.2563, 33.2672, 44.3195, 50.3555, 58.3926, 61.4122, 63.4370, 66.4528; P.Petr 3.28; P.Ryl 2.68; P.Tebt 1.39, 1.44, 1.230, 2.304, 3.1.793, 3.1.797, 3.1.798; PSI 4.313, 5.455; SB 18.13087, 20.14086, 20.14639; UPZ 1.122

These texts are primarily petitions made by injured parties and reports from physicians on injuries sustained by various persons. By contrast, in O.Wilck 1150, brothers swear they have not caused the wound sustained by another person. s

Harm - Unspecified

O.Claud 1.120, 2.212, 2.213, 2.217; P.Louvre 2.116; P.Oxy 45.3245, 54.3729, 64.4441

Several reports from physicians provide medical examination of wounds without any indication of what caused these wounds.

Medicine

P.Cair.Zen 59018

In this one instance, medicine actually caused illness.

Travel-related

BGU 3.827; SB 18.13867

In BGU 3.827, a woman writes that she has been ill ever since traveling and arriving in Pelusium. In SB 18.13867, however, a family member expresses relief that travel did *not* cause any sickness.

Unknown

P.Sakaon 50

The cause of illness was not always known, as in the case of P.Sakaon 50, a report of death where the cause of death is unknown.

Worms

BGU 14.2439, 14.2441, 14.2442, 14.2444, 14.2449; P.Cair.Zen 3.59433, 4.59728; P.Grad 7; P.Mich 1.96; P.Oslo 2.26; P.Oxy 19.2242; P.Sorb 3.74; P.Tebt 3.1.701; PSI 5.490; SB 16.13035

Several land tax registers in the DP give record of land that had become worm-infested (σκωληκόβρωτος). These registers record that money was paid as a result of these infestations. The same term is used in reference to Herod's sudden death when he is stricken by an angel of the Lord in Acts 12:23.

E. Primary Effects

Bed-ridden

P.Hamb 4.240

Acts 9:33

In this text, a man says he is *weak* and confined to the bed. Similarly, in Acts 9:33, it states that Aeneas had been bedridden for eight years.

Bodily Harm

BGU 2.473, 2.647, 8.1780; CPR 17A.23; O.Claud 1.120, 2.212, 2.213, 2.217; O.Wilck 1150; P.Athen 34; P.Bingen 63; P.Coll.Youtie 1.16; P.Fay 108; P.Flor 1.59; P.Fouad 29; P.Louvre 2.116; P.Mich 18.776; P.NYU 2.3; P.Oslo 3.95; P.Oxy 1.52, 3.475, 31.2563, 33.2672, 44.3195, 45.3245, 46.3314, 50.3555, 54.3729, 58.3926, 61.4122, 63.4370, 64.4441, 66.4528; P.Petr 3.28; P.Princ 2.29; P.Ryl 2.68; P.Tebt 1.39, 1.44, 1.230, 2.304, 3.1.793, 3.1.797, 3.1.798; PSI 4.313, 5.455; SB 18.13087, 20.14086, 20.14639; UPZ 1.122

Bodily Weakness

BGU 8.1773; P.Brem 64; P.Cair.Zen 2.59254; P.Col 6.Apokrimata; P.Flor 1.51, 3.382; P.Wisc 1.3; PSI 10.1103; SB 6.9050, 16.12306, 12504

The texts above make reference to weakness in the body, but without reference to the cause of this weakness. This malady could be the result of sickness, bodily harm, or a physical deformity, but the texts give no specifics on the cause of this weakness. The focus in these texts is simply on the state of persons being physically weak in some way. Of note is P.Brem 64, which describes the illness as λύπη, which could be related to the modern-day illness *lupis*.

Mother and Baby Care

C.Pap.Gr 1.10, 1.14, 1.30, 1.31; P.Oxy 78.5168; SB 16.12606

In C.Pap.Gr 1.10, a mother's milk supply is affected by sickness. In similar fashion, several contracts for wet-nurses include a stipulation to keep the nurse from sleeping with a man to guard against damaging her supply of milk (C.Pap.Gr 1.14, 1.30, 1.31; P.Oxy 78.5168). In SB 16.12606, a pregnant woman has to give birth to her baby at seven months due to an unidentified illness.

Death

BGU 4.1024; Chr.Wilck 11; P.Alex.Giss 39; P.Koeln 4.186, 14.573; P.Oxy 1.95, 3.475, 52.3691; P.Petr 3.36; P.Sakaon 50; PSI 5.532; SB 1.5216, 24.15972

SB 1.5216 is a notice from a chief-physician to send a deceased body to priests at a temple in another location. Other texts speak of death during war (Chr.Wilck 11; P.Koeln 4.186), death or fear of death in prison (P.Petr 3.36; PSI 5.532), and stipulations in slave contracts to free the owners of obligations if the slave dies (P.Oxy 1.95, 52.3691). BGU 4.1024 reports on the cleaning of dead persons.

F. Secondary Effects

Exemption

P.Cair.Zen 1.59042; P.Col 4.102, 6.Apokrimata; P.Flor 3.312, 3.382; P.Mich 11.618; P.Oslo 3.124; P.Wisc 1.3; PSI 10.1103; SB 20.14662

People often sought out exemption from obligations because of sickness or some other physical limitation. Most frequently, they sought exemption from public service (λειτουργεία). In one example (P.Col 6.Apokrimata), however, sickness is not ruled to be a legitimate exemption from λειτουργεία. Also, in P.Oslo 3.124, a man seeks exemption from paying the weaver's tax due to the fact that his old age and poor eyesight do not allow him to continue his work as a weaver.

Financial Loss

BGU 13.2350; P.Cair.Zen 3.59489; SB 24.16282

Luke 8:40-56; Luke 18:35-43

In P.Cair.Zen 3.59489, illness has depleted a man's resources so that he claims he can take on no more unnecessary job-related expenses. He does not state why he has so few resources left, but it may be the result of paying doctors for medical help. SB 24.16282 is a clear example where a member of the military claims to have spent his entire pension on medical help from doctors. In BGU 13.2350, a man (likely from the equestrian class) is healed from a foot injury at great expense, possibly from the cost of doctors or lodging or both.

In Luke 8:43, it says that the hemorrhaging woman had spent all her means on physicians, who were unable to heal her. Much like the man in SB 24.16282, she pays dearly in her attempt to receive a medical cure.

Gender Concerns

Chr.Mitt 95; CPR 7.15; P.Amh 2.141; P.Oxy 1.71, 2.261, 8.1120, 34.2713; Pap.Choix 5; SB 3.7206, 6.9017

Women often found themselves at a disadvantage because of their gender, which was often described as "weak." These texts were all written by women, and they are the ones who make reference to their "weak" nature. They are, however, most likely reflecting prevalent attitudes within their own culture. These texts are primarily petitions in which women call upon the kindness of someone in a position of influence to assist them in their disadvantaged position. See also below under *maltreatment*.

Inability to Travel

BGU 2.467, 2.595, 8.1773; P.Cair.Zen 1.59018, 1.59029; P.Enteux 22; P.Lond 2.144; P.Oxy 2.261, 4.726; Pap.Choix 7; SB 2.16283

Illness often inhibited persons from traveling to be in attendance for personal or job-related responsibilities. Typically, it was their own weakness or sickness, but at

times care for a family member or household servant restricted people's ability to travel (BGU 2.595; P.Lond 2.144). People would frequently appoint another as messenger or representative in their place (BGU 2.467; P.Enteux 22; P.Oxy 2.261, 4.726).

Loss of Work - Actual

P.Lond 3.1170; P.Mich 9.575; P.Oslo 3.124; P.Cair.Zen 2.59254

The effects of illness could include loss of work or limited functions at work (P.Lond 3.1170; P.Mich 9.575; P.Oslo 3.124). They could also include the need for special accommodations (P.Cair.Zen 2.59254).

Loss of Work - Potential

P.Dura 20; P.Heid 4.327; P.Mil 2.60; P.Oxy 4.725, 14.1647, 31.2586, 38.2875, 41.2977; P.Tebt 2.385; P.Wisc 1.5; SB 6.9127, 18.13305, 22.15538; Stud.Pal 22.36, 22.40

A frequent stipulation written into contract agreements (usually for apprenticeships or paid servants) is a provision against loss of work due to illness. Usually, the laborer would have to either work extra days to make up for lost days or pay money back for missed days of work.

Maltreatment

BGU 8.1773; CPR 7.15; P.Berl.Moeller 11; P.Cair.Zen 1.59018; P.Enteux 25, 48; P.Flor 1.58; P.Meyer 8; P.Mich 6.422, 6.423dupl, 6.425, 6.426; P.Oxy 1.71, 8.1120, 34.2713, 54.3770; P.Sakaon 48; P.Sijp 12f; P.Tebt 1.52, 3.1.798; Pap.Choix 5; SB 6.9105, 22.15774

The DP contain frequent examples of people's mistreatment from others because of sickness or weakness of some kind. The significant number of petitions preserved in the DP collections attest to the various kinds of maltreatment people experienced. In several petitions submitted by women, the weakness of their gender is the apparent reason why they are deceived by house managers (P.Oxy 1.71), have an inheritance stolen (P.Oxy 34.2713), a servant taken (P.Oxy 8.1120), house broken into (Pap.Choix 5), and are generally threatened (CPR 7.15; P.Flor 1.58). Similarly, the unfortunate experiences of Gemellos, a landowner with poor eyesight are well documented (P.Mich 6.422, 6.423dupl, 6.426; SB 4.7360, 22.15774).

Need for Household Manager

Chr.Mitt 95

In this text, a person's personal affairs have to be handled by another due to sickness.

Religious/Ritual Impurity

Chr.Wilck 87; P.Gen 2.1.32; P.Grenf 2.64; P.Stras 5.469; P.Wash.Univ 2.71, 2.72; Pap.Biling 13, 14; Stud.Pal 22.138

Several texts attest to animals declared pure for sacrifice (Chr.Wilck 87; P.Gen 2.1.32; P.Grenf 2.64; P.Stras 5.469; Pap.Biling 13, 14; Stud.Pal 22.138). A Priest makes a vow not to go out to an unclean place in P.Wash.Univ 2.71.

F. Household Relationships

Obligation to Help

BGU 3.948; P.Brem 61; P.Flor 3.371; P.Oxy 8.1121, 12.582; 76.5099; SB 1.4426, 16.12606

Luke 1:7-25; Luke 4:38-41; Luke 5:17-26; Luke 7:1-10; Luke 8:40-56; 9:37-43; Luke 10:25-37; Acts 3:1-6; Acts 28:7-10

In P.Oxy 12.582, a man expresses his own readiness to come and take care of his brother when he heard he was sick, possibly with fever.

Request for Help

P.Oxy 6.939, 46.3314

Communication of Illness – Given

O.Amst 25; BGU 3.827, 3.948; P.Brem 61; P.Flor 3.371; P.Oxy 6.939, 46.3314; SB 16.12606, 18.13867

Communication of Illness – Not Given

P.Oxy 12.1481

Communication of Illness – Request for News

P.Oxy 14.1666; SB 5.7572, 6.9605

Inheritance Claims

BGU 5.1210; Chr.Mitt 91, 247; P.Ammon 2.38, 39, 41, 45; P.Bad 4.72; P.Diog 11dupl, 12dupl; P.Oxy 2.237, 8.1121; P.Sakaon 31, 40; SB 3.7205, 20.14379; Stud.Pal 20.58

The death of a family member, especially a parent, brought with it concerns over claims to inheritance and other property. These texts attest to the struggles family members faced to lay rightful claim to inherited property and possessions. Sometimes this could mean fighting off foreign claims (P.Ammon 2.38, 39, 41, 45) or attempts by others to steal what they have rightfully inherited (P.Oxy 8.1121).

G. Careers/Ability to Work

Defined Job

ἀλέτης – Grinder is also identified as τυφλός, BGU 14.2425.

ἀρχέφοδος – Chief of Police also identified as χωλός, P.Oxy 19.2240.

δούλη – Female slave identified as χωλός, P.Mich 5.323-325.

δούλος – Slave is said to be κωφός, SB 1.5220.

ἡπητής – Needlewoman with physical deformity (ἀνάπειρος), P.Coll.Youtie 1.16.

κωμάρχης – Village-Chief is identified as λεπρός, P.Oxy 63.4356.

λινουργός – Linen-weaver is also identified as χωλόπους, P.Leipz 11r.

νομισματ (incomplete text) – Moneychanger? identified as τυφλός, CPR 8.49.

πύκτης – Boxer is identified by the name Κωφός, P.Oxy 7.1050.

Priest – Three men identified as κωφός (2x) and χωλός, BGU 4.1196.

σιτόλογος – Nominee also identified as χωλός, P.Col 8.230.

Begging

Unlike the examples in the DP, the Luke-Acts accounts indicate persons with serious long-term illnesses who needed to beg for money instead of owning a defined job. The blind man in Luke 18:35-43 was forced to beg by the side of the road, and the lame man in Acts 3 had to be carried to the temple gate in order to beg for a living.

II. HEALING PRACTITIONERS

A. Professionalism

Titles

The Documentary Papyri texts use several different specialty titles for *ιατροί*. These titles include:

*ἀρχιατρός*⁶¹³ – CPR 25.1; O.Ashm.Shelt 75; P.Lips 1.97; P.Oslo 2.53; SB 1.5216

βασιλικός ιατρός – P.Tor.Choach 12⁶¹⁴

ιατρίνη – P.Oxy 12.1586⁶¹⁵

ιατροκλύστης – P.Hib 2.268; UPZ 1.148

ἱεροίατρος – P.Ross.Georg 5.15-16⁶¹⁶

ἵπποίατρος – CPR 7.38, 19:18; P.Oxy 1.92; SB 14.12059; SB 20.14584

ὄνωϊατρός – SB 26.16446⁶¹⁷

In addition to these titles, one physician is also identified as a centurion (Rom.Mil.Rec 1.74).

Jesus claims no title related to *ιατρός* as a way of showing his credentials. He does, however, refer to himself using the analogy of *ιατρός* on two occasions. First, in Luke 4:23, he quotes the proverb “doctor, heal yourself!” Second, in Luke 5:31, he refers to his ministry to sinners using the analogy that the sick, not the well, have need of a physician.

Training

P.Heid 3.226 (215-213 BC) is a contract drawn up for apprentice-type training in medical service (*ιατρικήν*). The agreed upon length of training is six years.

Epitaphs

SB 1.1191, 1.3472, 1.3890, 1.5512; T.Mom.Louvre 758, 1080

These documents are epitaphs for physicians or family of a physician. These epitaphs mention the status of individuals as physicians as a way of marking a significant element of their status in the world.

⁶¹³ This title came into more prominent use later in the Roman era, especially from the fourth c. AD on. Several Documentary Papyri texts from the fifth-seventh c. use this title.

⁶¹⁴ This is the only occurrence of this term in the DP.

⁶¹⁵ This is the only occurrence of this term in the DP.

⁶¹⁶ This is the only occurrence of this term in the DP.

⁶¹⁷ This is the only occurrence of this term in the DP.

B. Business Model

Medical Treatment

[BGU 13.2350; CPR 25.1]; P.Oslo 3.87, 3.95; P.Oxy 1.40; P.Oxy 42.3078; P.Ross.Georg 3.2; [PSI 4.413]; SB 18.13589; SB 24.16282

The evidence in the Documentary Papyri is scant when it comes to direct references to physicians treating patients medically. SB 18.13589 and 24.16282 are the two clearest instances of medical treatment from an *ιατρός*. In the first text, a son sends for a physician because of his mother's sickness, and in the second text a military recruit indicates that he has spent his pension on medical care from a physician. Conversely, P.Oxy 42.3078 is an example of a question posed to an oracle concerning whether or not to seek out a certain physician for eye treatment. In P.Oxy 1.40, a physician makes reference to the fact that his trade is as a physician, and his treatment of patients is his public service. His statement is part of his attempt to be free from public service (*λειτουργία*). In P.Oslo 3.95, a physician making an official report states he is treating one of the wounds he observes.

Supplier of Medicine

O.Claud 2.220; P.Oslo 2.54

A doctor's service is requested to deliver saffron for an eye-salve in O.Claud 2.220 (essentially playing the role of a pharmacist). In P.Oslo 2.54, the letter-writer makes a request to have a doctor send the medicine chest and both bitter and sweeter medicine.

Medical Advice

P.Mert 1.12

A man requests medical advice from a physician for safely cauterizing feet.

Official Proceedings (Reports of Public Physicians)

BGU 3.928; CPR 17a.23; P.Athen 34; P.Flor 1.59; P.Koeln 14.573; P.Lips 1.42; P.Louvre 2.116; P.Oslo 3.95, 3.96; P.Oxy 1.51, 1.52, 3.475, 6.896, 12.1502, 12.1556, 31.2560, 31.2563; 44.3195, 45.3245, 54.3729, 58.3926, 61.4122, 63.4370, 64.4441, 66.4528, 66.4529, 80.5254; P.Rein 2.92; PSI 5.455; SB 20.14639, 24.15970

Cases of death or abuse often required the services of a physician to give an official report. Starting in the late 2nd c. AD, the physicians hired for this type of service were given the title public physician (*δημόσιος ιατρός*). P.Oxy 1.51 (AD 173) is the earliest text to use the title "public physician." Before this time, a physician serving in this capacity was simply referred to as *ιατρός*. The texts above are either reports given by public physicians or requests for a physician to come and give an official medical examination of an injured or deceased party. The format and terminology used in these public physicians' reports is essentially the same from the 1st-4th c. AD, evidence that these physicians received common training.

Non-Medically related business

BGU 7.1530; BGU 8.1883; BGU 9.1897a; BGU 9.1898; BGU 16.2577; Chr.Mitt 55; CPR 1.223; CPR 7.38; CPR 19.18; CPR 25.1; O.Claud. 4.708; O.Claud. 4.713; O.Claud. 4.714;

O.Heid. 425; O.Wilck. 1151, 1188; P.Aktenbuch Pagina 25; P.Aktenbuch Pagina 28; P.Alex 34; P.Alex.Giss. 14; P.Bad. 4.83; P.Bodl. 1.28; P.Cair.Preis. 20; P.Cair.Zen 1.59044, 3.59326bis, 4.59548; P.Col. 3.54, 5.1; P.Enteux 69; P.Flor 1.100; P.Hamb 1.60, 2.171; P.Harr 2.220; P.Haun 3.54; P.Herm 15; P.Herm.Landl. I; P.Herm. Landl. II; P.Hib 1.102; P.Lips 1.97; P.Mich 2.123; P.Mich. 4.1.223; P.Mich. 4.1.224; P.Oslo 2.53; P.Oxy 1.92; P.Oxy 14.1751; P.Oxy. 24.2421; P.Oxy 49.3492, 51.3642; P.Petaus. 64; P.Petaus 65; P.Ross.Georg. 5.57; P.Ross.Georg 5.60; P.Ryl. 2.206a; P.Sarap 67, 84; P.Stras. 2.119; P.Stras. 9.830; P.Stras. 9.866; P.Tebt 5.1151; P.Tebt 5.1153; P.Vind.Sijp 1; P.Wash.Univ 1.30; P.Wisc 1.29; P.Yale 3.137; PSI.Congr 21.12; SB 1.643, 12.11004, 14.11659, 14.11853, 16.12493, 16.12812, 24.16319, 26.16446; Stud.Pal 20.85; Stud.Pal. 22.67; T.Varie 31; UPZ 1.7, 2.180

The *ἰατροί* were involved in a number of different business ventures, primarily involving buying/selling produce and grain from the land and buying/selling land. The documents in the list above are primarily tax and account lists, where a physician is mentioned along with a long list of names of persons who have been paid or owe various amounts of money/grain. These lists make no mention of medical service or healing practices, but they speak to the status of physicians in the ancient world and their involvement in the world of business at their time. Physicians had the luxury to engage in several business practices on top of their own medical services. In P.Sarap 84, a physician acts as a letter carrier.

Medical Tax

P.Cair.Zen 1.59036; P.Hib 1.102, 1.103, 1.165; P.Petr 2.39, 3.111; P.Tebt 3.1.746, 3.2.1036, 3.2.1037; PSI 4.371, 4.388; SB 26.16634.

These texts document a tax that was assessed to military settlers in Egypt from the mid-third to early first c. BC. This tax is likely evidence that the military offered medical service to these personnel.

Personal Correspondence

CPR 25.1 and P.Zen.Pestm 51 are examples of personal correspondences involving a physician.

C. Religion

Oracle Consultation

P.Oxy 42.3078

Divine Healing

P.Amh 2.35; P.Cair.Zen 1.59034; P.Petr 1.30; P.Tebt 1.44

In P.Amh 2.35, a man claimed to have been cured by the gods Soknopaitos and Isis. In P.Cair.Zen 1.59034, a man builds a temple to Sarapis in response to his healing by the god. In P.Tebt 1.44, a man states that he was in the temple of Isis seeking healing from his own sickness.

Prayers for healing

SB 14.12173, 18.13589

IV. HEALING PRACTICES

A. Instruments

P.Ross.Georg 5.4

This text speaks of loaning a surgical instrument (λεπτάριον) to a physician.

B. medicines and supplies

Medicine (φαρμακός)

Chr.Wilck 498; O.Claud 2.220, 4.709, 4.710; O.Did 323, 338; O.Petr 244; O.Petr.Mus 125, 137, 141; O.Wilck 1218; P.Corn 50; P.Flor 2.177; P.Herm 15; P.Hib 1.45; P.Mert 1.12; P.Oslo 2.54; P.Oxy 14.1727, 31.2567; P.Princ 3.132; P.Ryl 4.574; P.Tebt 1.117; PSI 4.413; SB 14.12173, 20.14426, 26.16380; Stud.Pal 22.56

Luke 10:25-37

References to medicine are generally very brief, and the intended use of medical supplies is often not clear. One exception is a message on an ostrakon (O.Claud 2.220), which requests for a brother to send for a doctor to bring saffron to be used for an eye-salve.⁶¹⁸ Also, P.Mert 1.12 preserves a request for medical advice from a doctor for the best type of plaster to safely cauterize feet. This letter is evidence of a man without the title *ιατρός* taking an interest in medical knowledge. PSI 4.413 is a list of items prescribed by multiple doctors: sweet wine, honey and salt fish.⁶¹⁹ We see a request for wine to be used as a healing agent because of a man's sickness (P.Corn 50). P.Oslo 2.54 also includes a reference to send the medicine chest (φαρμακοθήκη) along with the bitter and sweeter medicine. In, P.Flor 2.177, one man seems to be a supplier of eye-salve and other medical needs for multiple doctors.

Several receipts for the payment of medicine (φαρμακός) offer some clues to how medicine was used. Chr.Wilck 498 speaks of embalming fluid used for transport of a dead body. P.Ryl 4.574 mentions a tribute payment for medicine of Sarapis. P.Tebt 1.117 speaks of wine used for medicine, and Stud.Pel 22.56 describes medicine for flax. Other receipts without much detail include P.Petr 244; O.Petr.Mus 125, 137, 141; P.Oxy 14.1727, and 31.2567. Also, P.Oxy 14.1727 and SB 20.14426 mention *φαρμακός* and *κεδρία* (oil of Syrian cedar) together.

In Luke 10:25-37, the good Samaritan in Jesus' parable uses wine and oil to cure the injured man's wounds.

Medical Books

P.Ross. Georg 3.1 contains mention of medical books (τὰ *ιατρικὰ βιβλία*). The letter-writer makes a request to bring to him the ones he left behind. No mention is made of the contents of the books.

Other Supplies

BGU 7.1674; O.Ashm.Shelt 75, 83, 131, 144; P.Aktenbuch Pagina 28; P.Cair.Zen 4.59571; P.Herm 15; P.Oslo 2.53; P.Oxy 1.92, 14.1751.

⁶¹⁸ Eye conditions were frequent in the stone quarry at Mons Claudianus, the location of this ostrakon.

⁶¹⁹ These items seem more likely to be personal supplies, but they may have some medical purpose as well.

Most of these texts record the delivery of wine and meat. Of particular interest are the multiple texts that speak of delivering wine to horse-doctors (O.Ashm.Shelt 83, 131, 144; P.Oxy 1.92). The one text not related to food or drink is P.Cair.Zen 4.59571, where a man writes on behalf of a physician who is impatiently waiting to receive the cushions and carpets he had ordered.

Wish for Health

BGU 3.948; P.Brem 61; P.Flor 3.371; P.Lond 6.1926; P.Mich 8.478; P.Oxy 6.939, 10.1299, 41.2981, 46.3314; SB 6.9605

Letters frequently begin and end with general wishes for health, but these specific texts make an intentional connection between a wish for health and a specific situation of illness.

Prayers for Healing

P.Cair.Zen 1.59034; P.Giss.Apoll 14; P.Herm 2

In P.Cair.Zen 1.59034, the writer appeals to the god Sarapis for the health of the king. In P.Giss.Apoll 14, a woman writes that she started praying *to the gods* for healing as soon as she heard news of her friend/relative's sickness.

F. Location

ἰατρείον

BGU 2.647; P.Oxy 59.4001, 64.4441; P.Ross.Georg 3.2

Physicians often set up their own ἰατρείον, a location where they would treat patients, usually in their own home. The ἰατρείον in P.Ross.Georg 3.2 was most likely located in Alexandria, while the physician in BGU 2.647 served in the village of Karanis.

Public Baths

P.Tebt 3.1.798

A man seeks relief from respiratory illness in the public baths.

Temple

P.Petr 1.30; P.Tebt 1.44

In P.Petr 1.30, a man seeks healing in an Asklepios temple, and in P.Tebt 1.44 an Isis temple.

IV. HEALING OUTCOMES

A. Proof of the Effectiveness of Healing

Positive Proof

The DP do not speak of specific proof of healing, but the healing accounts in Luke-Acts almost always offer some sort of proof that the healing took place. So, Elizabeth's pregnancy was made apparent to all after her time of sheltering herself for five months (Luke 1:7-25). Simon's mother-in-law rises up and serves her guests as a sign that she has recovered (Luke 4:37-39). In Luke 5:17-26, the paralyzed man stands up, takes his mat and walks off as a sign of his healing. In Luke 7:11-17, the dead man

sits up and speaks. In Luke 8:26-39, the formerly possessed Gerasene man is observed sitting at Jesus' feet in his right mind and fully clothed. In Luke 8:40-56, Jesus orders the Jairus' daughter, who was dead, to eat something. In Luke 11:14-26, the man possessed by a mute demon begins to speak. In Luke 13:10-17, the bent over woman straightens up. In Luke 17:11-19, Jesus orders the 10 lepers to go show themselves to the priests as a sign of their cleansing. In Acts 3:1-16, the lame beggar begins to walk and leap as a sign of his healing. In Acts 9:32-35, a bedridden and paralyzed man stands up and walks. In Acts 9:36-42, Peter raises up Tabitha by the hand after she had formerly been deceased. In Acts 14:8-18, a crippled man stands up as proof of his healing.

Lack of Healing

BGU 5.1210; P.Princ 2.29

These two text mentions people who have *not* received medical care, but the reason for not receiving care is not given.

B. Responses to Healing

Celebration of Healing

P.Brem 48; P.Hamb 1.88; P.Oxy 14.1666, 55.3816, 59.4001

Luke 5:17-26; Luke 7:11-17; Luke 8:40-56; Luke 9:37-43; Luke 10:17; Luke 11:14-26; Luke 13:10-17; Luke 17:11-19; Luke 18:35-43; Acts 3:1-16; Acts 8:4-8; Acts 14:8-18; Acts 28:3-10; Acts 28:7-10

The DP often include celebrations that a person has recovered from sickness. These are not miraculous healings. For example, in P.Oxy 14.1666, a family member requests word from his brother in hopes that he can rejoice in his deliverance from the deadly effects of a plague that has overtaken his village. Similarly, one person writes that they were sick to the point of death, but they give thanks to the gods for a full recovery (P.Oxy 55.3816).

The healing accounts in Luke-Acts also include many celebrations of healing.

Fear/Accusation

Luke 5:17-26; Luke 6:6-11; Luke 7:11-17; Luke 8:26-39; Luke 11:14-26; Luke 13:10-17; Acts 4:1-17; Acts 16:16-18

The DP do not record any instances of fear as the result of healing. The accounts in Luke-Acts, however, record many times where people respond with mixed emotions, including fear.

Grief

SB 10.10483, 12.10840, 18.13946

At times the lack of healing caused persons to offer condolences at the loss of a family member, even a child (SB 12.10840). These times of grief were often accompanied by the sentiment that all humans are mortal and no one can escape death (SB 10.10483, 12.10840, 18.13946).

Praise

CPR 7.20; PSI 10.1162

Several texts attest people's expressions of praise to God or the gods, not always in direct response to healing. For example, an oath found in PSI 10.1162 (3rd c. AD) expresses the statement of faith that God "brought life from death."

Fragmentary Texts

Several texts are so fragmentary that the context of a word is difficult or impossible to determine. I include them here merely as a reference.

ἀσθένεια/ἀσθενέω/ασθενής – O.Claud 4.696; O.Florida 21; P.Aberd 194; P.Iand 6.105; P.Louvre 2.96; SB 6.9194

ἰατρός – O.Florida 8; O.Mich 2.824; P.Aktenbuch Pagina 25; P.Alex.Inv 263; P.Cair.Zen 2.59281, P.Mil.Congr 14; P.Nag.Hamm 6; P.Oxy 17.2111

νόσος – P.Michael 18; P.Oxy 40.2936

πονηρός – O.Buch 62; O.Claud 3.580; P.Ammon 1.3; P.Col 10.266; P.Genova 2.83; P.Lips 1.119; P.Oxy 65.4484; P.Petr 2; P.Ryl 4.621; SB 14.11389

φαρμακός – P.Bad 2.17; P.Fuad.I.Univ AppII

Future Research

This study has only begun to open up ways in which the documentary papyri can inform our understanding of the social world of the NT. This study has opened up several areas of continued research in the fields of papyri studies and health-related research for NT studies. The abundance of tax and other business-related documents shows that the documentary papyri still have much light to shed on business practices in the Ptolemaic and Roman eras. These could especially inform the business practices found in Jesus' parables, for example. The papyri can also inform how we understand a number of other aspects of ancient culture, such as family relationships, business partnerships, opportunities for social mobility, local involvement in Ptolemaic and Roman government, and people's travel practices, to name a few.

This research also opens up the opportunity to re-examine health-related research in biblical studies. The DP give us concrete examples of people in times of illness to help us better understand the social world of people in the NT. This research could easily be expanded to the entirety of the NT and integrated into other NT research methods.

The documentary papyri help us listen in to the world of the NT with fresh ears and see the ways in which it differs from how we see our own world. Let us have new eyes to see and ears to hear as we continue to seek to understand the world of the New Testament.

Appendix 1 - Illness-related Terminology from the New Testament in the Documentary Papyri

The following is a list of health and illness-related terminology found in the NT that formed the basis for research in the Documentary Papyri (DP). Those terms that do not appear in the DP are noted as such. Under each term is a list of DP texts that contain each term (including all inflections of each term). This list only includes DP texts up to the end of the fourth c. Texts from a later date are not included. N/A indicates that this term is not attested in the DP.

ἀθάνατος	P.Diosk 18	P.Cair.Zen 1.59034
C.Pap.Gr 1.4	P.Lips 1.16	P.Enteux 33
C.Pap.Gr 1.5	P.Mert 2.76	P.Fouad 80
C.Pap.Gr. 1.7	P.Mich 14.678	P.Petr 1.30
CPR 7.20	P.Mil.Vogl 3.145	P.Polit.Iud 7
P.Alex.Giss 5	P.Oxy 6.912	P.Ryl 2.68
P.Amst 1.41	P.Oxy 8.1128	P.Sorb 3.127
P.Cair.Preis 41	P.Oxy 17.2109	P.Tebt 3.1.798
P.Cair.Zen 3.59422	P.Oxy 20.2284	SB 18.13589
P.Flor 1.33	P.Yale 1.69	SB 22.15538
P.Giss 40	PSI 7.787	UPZ 1.62
P.Iand 7.144a	SB 14.11347	
P.Monts.Roca 4.81	SB 16.13005	ἄρρωστία
P.Princ 2.102	SB 16.13011	P.Amh 2.35
P.Princ 3.151	SB 18.13154	P.Cair.Zen 3.59435
P.Ross.Georg 2.18	UPZ 1.20	P.Col 3.10
P.Sakaon 71		P.Iand 6.111
P.Stras 1.30	ἀκάθαρτος	P.Tebt 1.44
P.Vind.Sijp 13	CPR 8.22*	P.Tebt 1.52
P.Wisc 2.78	P.Petr 2.4*	PSI 4.333
PSI 4.377	P.Tebt 3.2.1043*	SB 18.13222
SB 5.8086	P.Wash.Univ 2.71	
SB 10.10483		ἄρρωστος
SB 12.11024	ἀνάπειρος	BGU 10.1942
SB 18.13946	P.Coll.Youtie 1.16	O.Claud 1.83-96
		O.Claud 1.117
αἰμορροέω	ἄπλοος	O.Claud 4.708
N/A	N/A ⁶²⁰	O.Claud 4.714
		O.Claud 4.717
ἀκαθαρσία	ἀποψύχω	P.Cair.Zen 1.59018
BGU 1.253	N/A	P.Genova 1.45
BGU 2.393		P.Genova 3.117
BGU 4.1117	ἄρρωστέω	P.Lond 7.2044
BGU 11.2033	P.Cair.Zen 1.59029	P.Lond 7.2131
BGU 11.2034		
Chr.Wilck 192		
	⁶²⁰ This word appears in DP, but none are health-related	ἀσθένεια

BGU 2.467	BGU 3.844	ἀσθενής
BGU 2.594*	BGU 3.948	BGU 8.1815*
BGU 8.1747	BGU 16.2634	BGU 8.1843
BGU 8.1773	O.Amst 25	BGU 8.1863*
BGU 8.1833*	O.Claud 1.118	CPR 7.15
BGU 8.1835*	O.Claud 4.696*	CPR 7.20
BGU 8.1850*	O.Claud 4.709	O.Claud 2.286*
BGU 11.2065*	O.Claud 4.710	O.Claud 2.384*
Chr.Mitt 95	O.Did 451	O.Claud 4.754
C.Pap.Gr 1.10	P.Aberd 194	O.Did 359*
O.Did 338	P.Ant 1.43*	P.Amh 2.141
O.Florida 21	P.Brem 48	P.Babatha 25*
P.Berl.Salmen 20*	P.Brem 64	P.Berl.Salmen 9*
P.Col 4.102	P.Dura 20	P.Cair.Zen 1.59042
P.Enteux 48	P.Enteux 25	P.Cair.Zen 2.59254
P.Flor 1.51	P.Hamb 1.88	P.Cair.Zen 3.59489
P.Flor 3.312	P.Hamb 4.240	P.Col 6.Apokrimata
P.Giss.Apoll 14	P.Hib 1.113*	P.Corn 50
P.Iand 6.105	P.Lond 2.144	P.Enteux 22
P.Meyer 8	P.Lond 2.254	P.Flor 1.58
P.Mich 6.422	P.Lond 3.1170	P.Flor 3.382
P.Mich 6.423dupl	P.Lond 6.1915*	P.Giss.Univ 3.29
P.Mil 2.60	P.Lond 6.1917*	P.Heid 4.327
P.Oxy 2.261	P.Louvre 2.96*	P.Koeln 3.137*
P.Oxy 4.726	P.Mil.Vogl 7.303*	P.Mich 6.423dupl
P.Oxy 12.1481	P.Oxy 4.725	P.Mich 6.426
P.Oxy 43.3090	P.Oxy 6.911	P.Mich 9.549
P.Oxy 54.3770	P.Oxy 14.1647	P.Mich 11.618
P.Oxy 67.4582	P.Oxy 31.2586	P.Oslo 3.124
P.Rein 2.113	P.Oxy 38.2875	P.Oxy 1.71
P.Ryl 2.153	P.Oxy 41.2977	P.Oxy 8.1120
P.Stras 2.122	P.Oxy 76.5099	P.Oxy 34.2713
P.Wisc 1.5	P.Tebt 2.385	P.Sakaon 42
SB 1.4744*	Pap.Choix 7	P.Sel.Warga 12
SB 3.7206	PSI 10.1160	P.Sijp 12f
SB 4.7462	SB 5.7572	P.Wisc 1.3
SB 5.7743	SB 6.9127	Pap.Choix 5
SB 6.9050	SB 6.9194	PSI 4.422
SB 16.12306	SB 8.9699	PSI 10.1103
SB 18.13305	SB 16.12606	SB 4.7360
SB 20.14662	SB 18.13867	SB 5.8025*
SB 22.15774	SB 24.16283	SB 5.8756*
ἀσθενέω	Stud.Pal 22.40	SB 6.9017
BGU 2.595	UPZ 1.110*	SB 16.12504
BGU 3.827	UPZ 2.180	Stud.Pal 4
		Stud.Pal 22.36

UPZ 1.17*	P.Stras 4.259	P.Mich 5.241
	SB 6.9136	P.Mich 5.321
βλάπτω	ἔλκος	PSI 8.921
BGU 6.1258	BGU 2.473	PSI 8.922
P.Flor 1.1	BGU 2.630	PSI 9.1028
P.Koeln 4.187	P.Oxy 50.3555	
P.Lips 1.2	P.Palaurib 42	θάνατος
P.Petr 2.6		BGU 1.248
P.Petr 2.25		BGU 4.1059
P.Stras 1.52	ἐμπύμπρημι	BGU 4.1060
	BGU 2.651	BGU 5.1210
γάγγραινα	BGU 3.890	BGU 6.1250
N/A	BGU 4.1047	BGU 8.1730
	Chr.Wilck 382	BGU 8.1816
διαφθείρω	CPR 1.127	Chr.Mitt 91
Chr.Wilck 11	Pap.Choix 19	Chr.Mitt 247
C.Pap.Gr 1.14	P.Thmouis 1.1	Chr.Wilck 13
C.Pap.Gr 1.30	SB 24.16257	CPR 28.14
C.Pap.Gr 1.31	SB 24.16258	P.Abinn 51
P.Alex.Giss 39	SB 28.17239	P.Abinn 52
P.Koeln 4.186		P.Ammon 2.38
P.Oxy 1.95	ἐξασθενέω	P.Ammon 2.39
P.Oxy 6.938	BGU 3.903*	P.Ammon 2.41
P.Oxy 24.2410	BGU 14.2370*	P.Ammon 2.45
P.Oxy 52.3691	P.Phil 1*	P.Bad 4.72
P.Oxy 78.5168	P.Thmouis 1.1*	P.Diog 11dupl
PSI 5.532	PSI 1.101*	P.Diog 12dupl
SB 6.9218	PSI 1.102*	P.Dura 20
SB 24.15972		P.Gen 3.136
Stud.Pal 5.6	ἐξόφθαλμος	P.Hib 2.198
	P.Ryl 2.119	P.Kell 1.23
δυσεντερικός		P.Koeln 4.186
O.Claud 4.708	εὐόφθαλμος	P.Mil.Vogl 2.73
O.Claud 4.717	BGU 1.316	P.Oslo 2.40
	SB 24.16169	P.Oxy 2.237
δυσεντέριον	SB 24.16170	P.Oxy 3.472
N/A		P.Oxy 3.485
	εὐσημός	P.Oxy 4.832
ἐκθεραπέυω	BGU 8.1734	P.Oxy 8.1121
PSI 6.614*	BGU 13.2338	P.Oxy 55.3816
	P.Amh 2.74	P.Petr 3.36
ἐκτρέπω	P.Amh 2.102	P.Princ 3.151
BGU 16.2662	P.Flor 1.51	P.Sakaon 31
BGU 18.1.2732	P.Flor 3.316	P.Sakaon 40
P.Amst 1.29	P.Flor 3.383	P.Sakaon 50
P.Ryl 2.133	P.Mich 2.121	P.Tebt 1.5

P.Tebt 2.304	P.Oxy.Hels 50*	P.Oxy 64.4441
P.Tebt 3.1.700		P.Ross.Georg 3.2
P.Wash.Univ 2.71	θεραπευτής	
P.Yale 1.56	UPZ 1.8*	ιατρεύω
Pap.Agon 3	UPZ 1.17*	P.Oslo 3.87
Pap.Agon 4		
PSI 5.450	θεραπευτικός	ιατρικός
PSI 6.710	P.Lond 6.1927*	O.Claud 2.220
PSI 10.1162		O.Did 323
SB 3.7205	θεραπευτήρ	P.Cair.Zen 1.59036
SB 12.10840	P.Kell 4.96*	P.Flor 2.177
SB 14.11346		P.Hamb 2.171
SB 14.11650	θεραπεύω	P.Heid 3.226
SB 18.13224	CPR 1.30	P.Hib 1.102
SB 20.14379	P.Cair.Zen 1.59019	P.Hib 1.103
Stud.Pal 20.58	P.Cair.Zen 1.59034	P.Hib 1.165
UPZ 1.122	P.Cair.Zen 2.59189	P.Petr 2.39
	P.Cair.Zen 3.59376	P.Petr 3.111
θεραπ-	P.Enteux 47	P.Ross.Georg 3.1
SB 14.12173	P.Flor 2.222	P.Tebt 3.1.746
	P.Giss.Apoll 11	P.Tebt 3.2.1036
θεραπεία	P.Giss.Apoll 24	P.Tebt 3.2.1037
P.Oxy 19.2240*	P.Herm 2	PSI 4.371
P.Oxy 33.2672dupl	P.Lond 7.2071*	PSI 4.388
P.Oxy 42.3078	P.Oslo 3.95	SB 26.16380
P.Panop.Beatty 2*	P.Oxy 1.40	
P.Sijp 11c	P.Oxy 9.1222*	ιατροκλύστης
P.Tebt 5.1151*	P.Oxy 19.2240*	P.Hib 2.268
P.Tor.Amen 6*	P.Oxy 31.2601	UPZ 1.148
P.Tor.Amen 8*	P.Oxy 42.3060*	
PSI 7.857*	P.Oxy 58.3926	ιατρός
SB 1.5170*	P.Petaus 34*	BGU 2.630
SB 5.8009*	P.Tebt 1.44	BGU 3.921
SB 14.12102*	P.Tor.Choach 12*	BGU 3.928
SB 22.15347*	PSI 4.421*	BGU 7.1525
UPZ 1.32*	PSI 4.446*	BGU 7.1530
UPZ 2.203	PSI 7.857*	BGU 7.1674
	SB 20.14656*	BGU 8.1883
θεράπευσις	UPZ 1.120*	BGU 9.1897a
P.Oxy 50.3595*		BGU 9.1898
P.Oxy 50.3596*	ιάομαι	BGU 16.2577
P.Oxy 50.3597*	N/A	BGU 19.2820
		Chr.Mitt 55
θεραπευτηρία	ιατρείον	Chr.Wilck 395
P.Oxy 66.4542*	BGU 2.647	CPR 1.178
P.Oxy 66.4543*	P.Oxy 59.4001	CPR 1.223

CPR 17a.23	P.Harr 2.220	P.Oxy 61.4122
CPR 25.1	P.Haun 3.54	P.Oxy 63.4370
O.Bodl 2.2422	P.Herm 15	P.Oxy 63.4372
O.Claud 2.220	P.Herm.Landl I	P.Oxy 66.4528
O.Claud 4.708	P.Herm.Landl II	P.Oxy 66.4529
O.Claud 4.713	P.Hib 1.102	P.Oxy 80.5254
O.Claud 4.714	P.Iand.Zen 1	P.Oxy 80.5255
O.Claud 4.722	P.Koeln 14.573	P.Oxy 80.5257
O.Did 77	P.Lips 1.42dupl	P.Petaus 64
O.Did 96	P.Lond 3.604A	P.Petaus 65
O.Florida 8	P.Lond 3.604B	P.Phil 1
O.Heid 425	P.Lond 3.1158	P.Prag.Varcl 21
O.Mich 2.824	P.Louvre 2.116	P.Rein 2.92
O.Wilck 1151	P.Mert 1.12	P.Ross.Georg 5.4
O.Wilck 1188	P.Mich 1.55	P.Ross.Georg 5.15-16
P.Aktenbuch Pagina 25	P.Mich 2.123	P.Ross.Georg 5.57
P.Aktenbuch Pagina 28	P.Mich 4.1.223	P.Ross.Georg 5.60
P.Alex 34	P.Mich 4.1.224	P.Ryl 2.206A
P.Alex.Giss 14	P.Mich 4.1.225	P.Ryl 4.571
P.Athen 34	P.Mich 11.620	P.Ryl 4.629
P.Bad 4.83	P.Mich.Mchl 53	P.Sarap 67
P.Bodl 1.28	P.Mil.Congr 14	P.Sarap 84A
P.Cair.Preis 20	P.Nag.Hamm 6	P.Stras 2.119
P.Cair.Zen 1.59044	P.Oslo 2.54	P.Stras 9.830
P.Cair.Zen 2.59225	P.Oslo 3.95	P.Stras 9.866
P.Cair.Zen 2.59281	P.Oxy 1.40	P.Tebt 5.1151
P.Cair.Zen 2.59293	P.Oxy 1.51	P.Tebt 5.1153
P.Cair.Zen 3.5932bis	P.Oxy 1.52	P.Thmouis 1.1
P.Cair.Zen 4.59548	P.Oxy 3.475	P.Tor.Choach 12
P.Cair.Zen 4.59555	P.Oxy 6.896	P.Vind.Sijp 1
P.Cair.Zen 4.59571	P.Oxy 12.1502	P.Wash.Univ 1.30
P.Col 3.54	P.Oxy 12.1502r	P.Wisc 1.29
P.Col 5.1	P.Oxy 12.1556	P.Yale 3.137
P.Corn 20	P.Oxy 12.1586	P.Zen.Pestm 51
P.Count 3	P.Oxy 14.1751	PSI 4.413
P.Enteux 69	P.Oxy 17.2111	PSI 5.455
P.Flor 1.59	P.Oxy 24.2421	PSI.Congr 21.12
P.Flor 1.88	P.Oxy 31.2560	Rom.Mil.Rec 1.74
P.Flor 1.100	P.Oxy 31.2563	SB 1.643
P.Flor 2.177	P.Oxy 42.3078	SB 1.1191
P.Fouad 80	P.Oxy 44.3195	SB 1.3472
P.Giss.Apoll 29	P.Oxy 45.3245	SB 1.3890
P.Hamb 1.60	P.Oxy 49.3492	SB 1.5512
P.Hamb 2.171	P.Oxy 51.3642	SB 4.7379
P.Hamb 3.225	P.Oxy 54.3729	SB 8.9699
P.Harr 1.133	P.Oxy 58.3926	SB 12.11004

SB 14.11659	καθάρισις	Chr.Mitt. 91
SB 14.11853	SB 1.2266	Chr.Mitt. 188
SB 16.12493	SB 20.14299*	O.Claud. 4.853
SB 16.12812		P.Alex. Inv235
SB 18.13127	καθαρισμός	P.Cair.Zen. 1.59080
SB 18.13589	CPR 8.22*	P.Cair.Zen. 2.59152
SB 20.14639	P.Lond 2.168*	P.Cair.Zen. 3.59443
SB 24.16224	P.Lond 6.1913*	P.Cair.Zen. 4.59537
SB 24.16282	P.Mich 3.185*	P.Dubl. 15
SB 24.16319	P.Mil.Vogl 7.304*	P.Fouad 80
SB 26.16634		P.Gen. 2.1.7
Stud.Pal 20.85	καθαρός	P.Graux. 2.9
Stud.Pal 22.67	BGU 1.177*	P.Hamb. 1.105
T.Mom.Louvre 758	BGU 1.184*	P.Kell 1.26
T.Mom.Louvre 955	BGU 4.1117	P.Koeln 2.111
T.Mom.Louvre 1080	BGU 11.2033	P.Lond. 6.1912
T.Varie 31	Chr.Wilck 87	P.Mich. 8.501
UPZ 1.7	P.Aberd 99*	P.Mil.Vogl. 4.231
UPZ 2.180	P.Gen 2.1.32	P.Neph. 6
	P.Grenf 2.64	P.Oxy. 1.40
ἰσοθάνατος	P.Hib 1.47*	P.Oxy. 3.488
SB 18.13222	P.Iand 3.35*	P.Oxy. 6.935
	P.Mert 1.10	P.Oxy 6.938
καθαρίζω	P.Mich 5.312	P.Oxy. 10.1346
BGU 4.1024	P.Neph 29	P.Oxy. 64.4441
BGU 13.2350	P.Oxy 59.3981*	P.Petr. 2.19
O.Stras 1.677	P.Petr 2.13	P.Petr. 3.54
P.Bingen 111	P.Stras 5.469	P.Rain.Cent. 73
P.Koeln 3.163	P.Wash.Univ 2.72	P.Ryl. 4.563
P.Leid.Inst 46	Pap.Biling 13	P.Sakaon 47
P.Lond 1.131	Pap.Biling 14	P.Sakaon 55
P.Lond 3.976	SB 16.12290*	P.Sarap. 84a
P.Princ 3.174	Stud.Pal 22.138	PSI 1.41
P.Stras 1.2		P.Tebt. 3.1.736
P.Tebt 3.1.703	καθαρτής	P.Warr. 13
SB 8.9699	SB 16.12498	PSI 5.463
SB 16.12625		SB 8.9905
	κακος	SB 14.11344
καθάριος	P.Col. 8.215*	SB 16.12570
O.Did 82	P.Sarap. 44*	SB 18.13946
P.Haun 2.18	P.Warr 13*	SB 20.14708
P.Oxy 1.116	SB 14.12184*	SB 22.15708
P.Oxy 14.1770	SB 22.15708*	UPZ 1.110
SB 14.12090		UPZ 1.113
SB 20.15180	κακῶς	UPZ 1.146
	Chla. 10.463	

κακωσασα -P.Tebt. 2.407	SB 18.13934 Stud.Pal 22.67	N/A
κάμνω P.Ross.Georg 3.2 SB 24.15970	λεπρός P.Mich 4.1.224 P.Mich 4.1.225 P.Oxy 63.4356 P.Petr 2.35	μαστίξ ⁶²¹ P.Mich 18.773
κοιλόφθαλμος CPR 18.9 CPR 18.11 UPZ 2.175	λευκός P.AdI G5 P.Ant 3.187a P.Hamb 1.38 P.Mich 5.285/286dupl P.Tebt 2.397 PSI 13.1324 SB 24.15987 Stud.Pal 22.42	νεκρός BGU 4.1024 BGU 15.2462 Chr.Mitt 191 Chr.Wilck 498 P.Fay 103 P.Fouad 33 P.Fouad 75 P.Grenf 2.72 P.Lond 3.904 P.Mich 5.228 P.Oxy 1.51 P.Oxy 3.475 P.Oxy 3.476 P.Petaus 28 P.Princ 3.166 P.Rein 2.92 P.Tor.Amen 8 P.Tor.Choach 11 P.Tor.Choach 12 PSI 8.967 SB 3.6011 SB 6.9238 SB 24.16157 SB 24.16159 SB 24.16162 UPZ 2.175
κρούω O.Claud 1.119	λεύκωμα BGU 1.288* BGU 3.834 P.Alex inv629 P.Aust.Herr 2 P.Aust.Herr 11 P.Berl.Frisk 1 P.Gen 2.91* P.Grenf 1.33 P.Grenf 2.51 P.Hib 1.29* P.Mert 3.106* P.Mich 6.426 P.Mich 10.582* P.Oxy 24.2407* P.Oxy 31.2601	μεγαλόφθαλμος P.Petr 2.22
κυλλός BGU 9.1896 O.Trim 1.94 P.Bingen 31 P.Bour 38 P.Coll.Youtie 2.105 P.Herm 7 P.Koeln 2.117? P.Mich 4.1.225 P.Yale 3.137	λοιμικός P.Thmouis 1.1	μελανόφθαλμος P.Cair.Zen 1.59076
κωφός BGU 4.1196 BGU 16.2577 BGU 16.2673 CPR 28.9 P.Cair.Goodsp 30 P.Laur 4.175 P.Mich 4.1.224 P.Mich 15.751 P.Oxy 7.1050 P.Sijp 16 P.Sorb 1.20 P.Stras 8.703 P.Tebt 2.283 P.Tebt 2.406dupl P.Tebt 3.2.891 SB 1.5220 SB 16.12498 SB 16.12830 SB 16.13035	λοιμός P.Oxy 14.1666	μικρόφθαλμος SB 12.10859
	λοιμώδης SB 6.9218	
	μαλακία	

⁶²¹ μαστιγώ appears multiple times, always in reference to scourging/whipping.

μονόφθαλμος	P.Oslo 2.40	SB 22.15702
P.Brux 1.10	P.Oxy 1.94	SB 24.16002
P.Mich 6.425	P.Oxy 1.95	SB 24.16167
P.Mich 6.426	P.Oxy 2.263	SB 24.16168
P.Oxy 61.4126	P.Oxy 2.375	SB 24.16170
	P.Oxy 2.380	SB 24.16282
νόσος	P.Oxy 6.939	Stud.Pal 20.71
BGU 1.5	P.Oxy 6.990	
BGU 1.193	P.Oxy 8.1121	ούλή
BGU 1.316	P.Oxy 8.1161	BGU 3.834
BGU 3.887	P.Oxy 9.1209	BGU 3.896
BGU 3.937	P.Oxy 10.1299	Chr.Wilck 200
BGU 3.948	P.Oxy 12.1414	CPR 1.102
BGU 3.987	P.Oxy 36.2777	P.AdI G13
BGU 4.1059	P.Oxy 40.2936	P.Amh 2.74
BGU 11.2111	P.Oxy 41.2951	P.Aust.Herr 8
Chr.Mitt 171	P.Oxy 41.2981	P.Aust.Herr 20
Chr.Mitt 318	P.Oxy 46.3314	P.Berl.Frisk 1
C.Pap.Gr 1.34	P.Oxy 54.3758	P.Cair.Zen 1.59070dupl
P.Abinn 64	P.Oxy 60.4075	P.Cair.Zen 1.59076
P.Brem 61	P.Oxy 65.4480	P.Freib 3.12b
P.Col 3.6	P.Oxy 66.4531	P.Genova 3.119
P.Col 7.188	P.Oxy 73.4963	P.Koeln 4.187
P.Col 8.219	P.Oxy 77.5112	P.Lond 2.219
P.Col 8.222	P.Oxy.Hels 46	P.Lond 7.1949
P.Coll.Youtie 2.75	P.Palaurib 1	P.Meyer 13
P.Fam.Tebt 27	P.Rain.Cent 72	P.Mich 2.121
P.Flor 3.371	P.Sakaon 48	P.Oxy 3.504
P.Freib 2.8	P.Select 18	P.Petr 2.14
P.Hamb 1.63	P.Stras 1.73	P.Petr 2.16
P.Iand 4.54	P.Stras 4.264	P.Ryl 2.153
P.Koeln 5.232	P.Stras 6.505	P.Ryl 2.159
P.Leit 1	P.Turner 22	SB 18.13288
P.Lond 6.1912	P.Ups.Frid 1	SB 22.15866
P.Lond 6.1926	P.Vind.Bosw 7	SB 24.16001
P.Lond 6.1928	PSI 3.182	
P.Lond 7.2007	PSI 4.299	ξηραίνομαι
P.Mert 1.26	PSI 12.1228	BGU 4.1040
P.Mich 5.264/265dupl	PSI.Congr 20.14	
P.Mich 5.278/279dupl	SB 1.4426	ξηρός
P.Mich 5.281	SB 3.6016	N/A
P.Mich 8.478	SB 5.8007	
P.Mich 15.707	SB 6.9145	παραλύω
P.Mich 18.787	SB 6.9218	P.Cair.Zen 1.59034*
P.Michael 18	SB 6.9605	P.Cair.Zen 3.59341*
P.Mil.Congr 14	SB 20.14379	P.Ryl 4.595*

παρίημι	P.Enteux 72	P.Ryl 2.141
P.Hib 1.53	P.Enteux 75	P.Ryl 2.145
P.Hib 1.130	P.Enteux 76	P.Ryl 2.151
P.Koeln 2.100	P.Enteux 77	P.Sarap 1
P.Oxy 4.713	P.Enteux 80	P.Sijp 14
P.Oxy 12.1549	P.Enteux 83	P.Sijp 16
	P.Enteux 111	P.Stras 2.91
πίμπραμαι (see also	P.Fay 12	P.Stras 4.241
ἐπίμπρημι)	P.Fay 108	P.Stras 5.401bis
N/A	P.Flor 1.59	P.Stras 6.521
	P.Freib 2.11	P.Stras 6.566
πληγή	P.Gen 2.1.3	P.Tebt 1.39
BGU 1.45	P.Grenf 1.38	P.Tebt 1.44
BGU 1.256	P.Hal 1	P.Tebt 1.138
BGU 2.436dupl	P.Hamb 4.240	P.Tebt 2.283
BGU 6.1247	P.Heid 2.217	P.Tebt 2.331
BGU 6.1249	P.Heid 8.416	P.Tebt 3.1.765
BGU 6.1253	P.Herm 20	P.Tebt 3.1.793
BGU 8.1780	P.Kell 1.21	P.Tebt 3.1.797
BGU 8.1796	P.Kell 1.23	P.Tebt 3.1.798
BGU 10.1903	P.Laur 4.158	P.Tebt 3.1.800
BGU 10.1904	P.Lille 1.29	P.Tebt 3.1.802
BGU 10.1908	P.Lips 1.37	P.Tor.Choach 8
BGU 14.2371	P.Lips 1.40	P.Tor.Choach 9
BGU 16.2604	P.Lips 1.42dupl	Pap.Choix 5
Chr.Mitt 6	P.Lond 6.1914	PSI 3.167
Chr.Mitt 52	P.Louvre 1.1	PSI 4.298
Chr.Mitt 63	P.Mich 5.228	PSI 4.313
Chr.Mitt 116	P.Mich 5.229	PSI 4.380
Chr.Mitt 125dupl	P.Mich 6.421	PSI 5.455
P.Abinn 46	P.Mich 6.425	PSI 5.542
P.Abinn 51	P.Mil.Congr 14 pg34	PSI 16.1626
P.Abinn 57	P.Mil.Congr 14 pg37	PSI.Congr 20.11
P.Amh 2.77	P.Oxy 2.283	SB 1.5235
P.Amh 2.141	P.Oxy 6.903	SB 1.5238
P.Athen 32	P.Oxy 12.1502	SB 3.7188
P.Athen 34	P.Oxy 31.2563	SB 4.7464
P.Bagnall 27	P.Oxy 38.2853r	SB 6.9105
P.Cair.Goodsp 15	P.Oxy 45.3245	SB 10.10218
P.Cair.Isid 63	P.Oxy 49.3480	SB 10.10239
P.Cair.Mich 2.18	P.Oxy 50.3561	SB 10.10244
P.Col 7.171	P.Oxy 61.4122	SB 14.11707
P.Coll.Youtie 1.16	P.Oxy 80.5256	SB 14.11931
P.Diosk 7	P.Petr 3.21	SB 16.12470
P.Dubl 18	P.Ryl 2.68	SB 18.13087
	P.Ryl 2.124	SB 20.14086

SB 20.14708	P.Cair.Zen 4.59728	BGU 14.2425
SB 20.14975	P.Grad 7	CPR 8.49
SB 20.14999	P.Mich 1.96	CPR 17B.18*
SB 20.15077	P.Oslo 2.26	O.Elkab 147
SB 22.15542	P.Oxy 19.2242	O.Mich 1.104
SB 24.15901	P.Sorb 3.74	P.Corn 22
SB 26.16800	P.Tebt 3.1.701	P.Koeln 4.198
Stud.Pal 22.54	PSI 5.490	P.Lond 3.870*
UPZ 1.119	SB 16.13035	P.Mich 4.1.223
UPZ 2.151		P.Mich 4.1.224
	σπαράσσω	P.Mich 4.1.225
πλήσσω	P.Petr 2.17	P.Oxy 1.99*
P.Kell 1.23		P.Oxy 10.1276*
	στεῖρα	P.Oxy 34.2722
πονηρός	P.Cair.Zen 3.59429	P.Oxy 36.2783*
Chr.Mitt 295		P.Ross.Georg 3.1
P.Mich 6.425	τετραίνω	SB 1.1974*
P.Stras 3.142	P.Lond 2.219	SB 10.10571*
PSI 7.767		SB 24.16000*
SB 1.4426	τραῦμα	SB 26.16675
	BGU 2.647	
πυρετέω	BGU 14.2371	ὑποστραβός
P.Gur 5	CPR 17A.23	P.Oxy 49.3477
P.Oslo 3.95	O.Claud 1.120	
	O.Wilck 1150	ὑποχέω
πυρέτιον	P.Athen 34	P.Mich 5.321
P.Oxy 6.896	P.Louvre 2.116	
	P.Oslo 3.95	φαρμακός
πυρετός	P.Oxy 1.52	BGU 1.21
P.Batav 20	P.Oxy 31.2563	BGU 16.2619
P.Oxy 8.1151	P.Oxy 44.3195	Chr.Wilck 498
P.Wash.Univ 2.108	P.Oxy 45.3245	O.Claud 2.222
	P.Oxy 51.3617	O.Petr 244
ρήσσω	P.Oxy 54.3729	O.Petr.Mus 125
N/A	P.Oxy 64.4441	O.Petr.Mus 137
	P.Tebt 3.1.793	O.Petr.Mus 141
σεληνιάζομαι	PSI 5.455	P.Bad 2.17
N/A	SB 20.14639	P.Flor 2.222
		P.Mert 1.12
σκωληκόβρωτος	τραυματοθεραπεύω	P.Oslo 2.54
BGU 14.2439	BGU 2.647	P.Oxy 3.472
BGU 14.2441		P.Oxy 14.1727
BGU 14.2442	τράχωμα	P.Oxy 31.2567
BGU 14.2444	PSI 4.299	P.Princ 3.132
BGU 14.2449		P.Ryl 4.574
P.Cair.Zen 3.59433	τυφλός	P.Tebt 1.117

SB 6.9605
SB 20.14426
Stud.Pal 22.56

T.Mom.Louvre 616
UPZ 1.122
UPZ 2.180

χωλος
BGU 3.712
BGU 4.1196
BGU 7.1515
BGU 7.1620
BGU 9.1893
BGU 9.1896
BGU 16.2614
BGU 16.2674
CPR 18:24
CPR 28.9
O.Douch 4.447
O.Mich 2.952
O.Narm 72
P.Berl.Moeller 11
P.Brook 8
P.Cair.Goodsp 30
P.Col 5.1
P.Col 8.230
P.Corn 22
P.Freib 4.55
P.Graux 2.13
P.Hamb 1.117
P.Kell 1.24
P.Kell 1.65
P.Leipz. 11r
P.Lille 1.33
P.Lond 2.189
P.Mich 4.1.223
P.Mich 5.323-325
P.Oxy 19.2240
P.Ryl. 4.642
P.Tebt. 1.120
P.Tebt. 1.123
PSI 8.903dupl
SB 1.428
SB 1.4168
SB 6.9105
SB 8.9740
SB 20.14468
SB 22.15353
SB 24.16000

Appendix 2 - Documentary Papyri Texts Containing Illness-related Terminology

Terms are listed in lexical form only.

BGU 1.5 νόσος	BGU 2.436dupl πληγή	BGU 3.887 νόσος (with ιερός)
BGU 1.21 φαρμακός	BGU 2.467 ἀσθένεια	BGU 3.890 ἐμπίμπρημι
BGU 1.45 πληγή	BGU 2.473 ἔλκος	BGU 3.896 οὐλή
BGU 1.177 καθαρός	BGU 2.594 ἀσθένεια	BGU 3.903 ἐξασθενέω
BGU 1.184 καθαρός	BGU 2.595 ἀσθενέω	BGU 3.921 ίατρός
BGU 1.193 νόσος (with ιερός)	BGU 2.630 ἔλκος ίατρός	BGU 3.928 ίατρός
BGU 1.248 θάνατος	BGU 2.647 ιατρείον τραυματοθεραπέω τραῦμα	BGU 3.937 νόσος (with ιερός)
BGU 1.253 ἀκαθαρσία	BGU 2.651 ἐμπίμπρημι	BGU 3.948 ἀσθενέω νόσος
BGU 1.256 πληγή	BGU 3.712 χωλός	BGU 3.987 νόσος (with ιερός)
BGU 1.288 λεύκωμα	BGU 3.827 ἀσθενέω	BGU 4.1024 καθαρίζω νεκρός
BGU 1.316 εὐόφθαλμος νόσος (with ιερός)	BGU 3.834 λεύκωμα	BGU 4.1040 ξηραίνομαι
BGU 1.361 θεράπων	οὐλή	BGU 4.1047 ἐμπίμπρημι
BGU 2.393 ἀκαθαρσία	BGU 3.844 ἀσθενέω	BGU 4.1059 θάνατος

νόσος (with ιερός)		χωλός
BGU 4.1060 θάνατος	BGU 8.1730 θάνατος	BGU 9.1896 κυλλός χωλός
BGU 4.1117 άκαθαρσία καθαρός	BGU 8.1734 εύσημός	BGU 9.1897a ίατρός
BGU 4.1196 χωλός κωφός	BGU 8.1747 άσθένεια	BGU 9.1898 ίατρός
BGU 5.1210 άθεράπευτος θάνατος	BGU 8.1773 άσθένεια	BGU 10.1903 πληγή
BGU 6.1247 πληγή	BGU 8.1780 πληγή τραυματίζω	BGU 10.1904 πληγή
BGU 6.1249 πληγή	BGU 8.1796 πληγή	BGU 10.1908 πληγή
BGU 6.1250 θάνατος	BGU 8.1815 άσθενής	BGU 10.1942 ἄρρωστος
BGU 6.1253 πληγή	BGU 8.1816 θάνατος	BGU 11.2033 άκαθαρσία καθαρός
BGU 6.1258 βλάβω	BGU 8.1833 άσθένεια	BGU 11.2034 άκαθαρσία
BGU 7.1515 χωλός	BGU 8.1835 άσθένεια	BGU 11.2065 άσθένεια
BGU 7.1525 ίατρός	BGU 8.1843 άσθενής	BGU 11.2111 νόσος (with ιερός)
BGU 7.1530 ίατρός	BGU 8.1850 άσθένεια	BGU 13.2338 εύσημός
BGU 7.1620 χωλός BGU 7.1674 ίατρός	BGU 8.1863 άσθενής	BGU 13.2350 καθαρίζω
	BGU 8.1883 ίατρός	BGU 14.2370 έξασθενέω
	BGU 9.1893	

BGU 14.2371 πληγή τραῦμα	BGU 16.2673 κωφός	Chr.Mitt 295 πονηρός
BGU 14.2425 τυφλός	BGU 16.2674 χωλός	Chr.Mitt 318rpdupl νόσος
BGU 14.2439 σκωληκόβρωτος	BGU 18.1.2732 έκτρέπω	Chr.Wilck 11 διαφθείρω
BGU 14.2441 σκωληκόβρωτος	BGU 19.2820 ίατρός	Chr.Wilck 13 θάνατος
BGU 14.2442 σκωληκόβρωτος	Chr.Mitt 6 πληγή	Chr.Wilck 87 καθαρός
BGU 14.2444 σκωληκόβρωτος	Chr.Mitt 52 πληγή	Chr.Wilck 192 ἀκαθαροσία
BGU 14.2449 σκωληκόβρωτος	Chr.Mitt 55 ίατρός	Chr.Wilck 200 ούλή
BGU 15.2462 νεκρός	Chr.Mitt 63 πληγή	Chr.Wilck 382 έμπιμπρημι
BGU 16.2577 ίατρός κωφός	Chr.Mitt 91 θάνατος	Chr.Wilck 395 ίατρός
BGU 16.2604 πληγή	Chr.Mitt 95 ἀσθένεια	Chr.Wilck 498 νεκρός φαρμακός
BGU 16.2614 χωλός	Chr.Mitt 116 πληγή	C.Pap.Gr 1.4 ἀθάνατος
BGU 16.2619 φαρμακός	Chr.Mitt 125dupl πληγή	C.Pap.Gr 1.5 ἀθάνατος
BGU 16.2634 ἀσθενέω	Chr.Mitt 171 νόσος (with ιερός)	C.Pap.Gr 1.7 ἀθάνατος
BGU 16.2662 έκτρέπω	Chr.Mitt 191 νεκρός	C.Pap.Gr 1.10 ἀσθένεια
	Chr.Mitt 247 θάνατος	C.Pap.Gr 1.14 διαφθείρω

	τραῦμα	
C.Pap.Gr 1.30 διαφθείρω	CPR 17B.18 τυφλός	O.Claud 1.83 ἄρρωστος
C.Pap.Gr 1.31 διαφθείρω	CPR 18.9 κοιλόφθαλμος	O.Claud 1.84 ἄρρωστος
C.Pap.Gr 1.34 νόσος (with ἱερός)	CPR 18.11 κοιλόφθαλμος	O.Claud 1.85 ἄρρωστος
CPR 1.30 θεραπέυω	CPR 18.24 χωλός	O.Claud 1.86 ἄρρωστος
CPR 1.102 ούλή	CPR 19.18 ἵπποίατρος	O.Claud 1.87 ἄρρωστος
CPR 1.127 ἐμπίμπρημι	CPR 25.1 ἀρχιατρός ἰατρός	O.Claud 1.88 ἄρρωστος
CPR 1.178 ἰατρός	CPR 28.9 χωλός κωφός	O.Claud 1.89 ἄρρωστος
CPR 1.223 ἰατρός	CPR 28.14 θάνατος	O.Claud 1.90 ἄρρωστος
CPR 7.15 ἀσθενής	O.Amst 25 ἀσθενέω	O.Claud 1.91 ἄρρωστος
CPR 7.20 ἀθάνατος ἀσθενής	O.Ashm.Shelt 75 ἀρχιατρός	O.Claud 1.92 ἄρρωστος
CPR 7.38 ἵπποίατρος	O.Ashm.Shelt 83 ἵπποίατρος	O.Claud 1.93 ἄρρωστος
CPR 8.22 ἀκάθατος καθαρισμός	O.Ashm.Shelt 131 ἵπποίατρος	O.Claud 1.94 ἄρρωστος
CPR 8.49 τυφλός	O.Ashm.Shelt 144 ἵπποίατρος	O.Claud 1.117 ἄρρωστος
CPR 17a.23 ἰατρός	O.Bodl 2.2422 ἰατρός	O.Claud 1.118 ἀσθενέω

O.Claud 1.119 κρούω	O.Claud. 4.714 ἄρρωστος ίατρός	O.Florida 8 ίατρός
O.Claud 1.120 τραῦμα	O.Claud 4.717 ἄρρωστος δυσεντερικός	O.Florida 15 ἵπποίατρος
O.Claud 2.212 τραυματίζω	O.Claud 4.722 ίατρός	O.Florida 21 ἀσθένεια
O.Claud 2.213 τραυματίζω	O.Claud 4.754 ἀσθενής	O.Heid. 425 ίατρός
O.Claud 2.217 τραυματίζω	O.Claud 4.892 τραυματίζω	O.Mich. 1.104 τυφλός
O.Claud 2.220 ιατρικός ίατρός	O.Did 77 ίατρός	O.Mich. 2.824 ίατρός
O.Claud 2.222 φαρμακός	O.Did 82 καθάριος	O.Mich. 2.952 χωλός
O.Claud 2.286 ἀσθενής	O.Did 96 ίατρός	O.Narm. 72 χωλός
O.Claud 2.384 ἀσθενής	O.Did 323 ιατρικός	O.Petr 244 φαρμακός
O.Claud 4.696 ἀσθενέω	O.Did 338 ἀσθένεια	O.Petr.Mus 125 φαρμακός
O.Claud. 4.708 ἄρρωστος δυσεντερικός ίατρός	O.Did 359 ἀσθενής	O.Petr.Mus 137 φαρμακός
O.Claud 4.709 ἀσθενέω	O.Did 451 ἀσθενέω	O.Petr.Mus 141 φαρμακός
O.Claud 4.710 ἀσθενέω	O.Douch. 4.447 χωλός	O.Stras 1.677 καθαρίζω
O.Claud. 4.713 ίατρός	O.Elkab 147 τυφλός	O.Trim 1.94 κυλλός
		O.Wilck 1150 τραῦμα

O.Wilck 1151 ίατρος	P.Alex.Giss 5 άθάνατος	P.Ant 1.43 άσθενέω
O.Wilck 1188 ίατρος	P.Alex.Giss. 14 ίατρος	P.Ant 3.187a λευκός
P.Aberd 99 καθαρός	P.Alex.Giss 39 διαφθείρω	P.Athen 32 πληγή
P.Aberd 194 άσθενέω	P.Amh 2.35 άρρωστία	P.Athen 34 ίατρος πληγή
P.Abinn 46 πληγή	P.Amh 2.74 εύσημός ούλή	τραῦμα
P.Abinn 51 θάνατος πληγή	P.Amh 2.77 πληγή	P.Aust.Herr 2 λεύκωμα
P.Abinn 52 θάνατος	P.Amh 2.102 εύσημός	P.Aust.Herr 8 ούλή
P.Abinn 57 πληγή	P.Amh 2.141 άσθενής πληγή	P.Aust.Herr 11 λεύκωμα
P.Abinn 64 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Amh 2.141 άσθενής πληγή	P.Aust.Herr 20 ούλή
P.AdI G5 λευκός	P.Ammon 2.38 θάνατος	P.Babatha 25 άσθενής
P.AdI G13 ούλή	P.Ammon 2.39 θάνατος	P.Bad 2.17 φαρμακός
P.Aktenbuch Pagina 25 ίατρος	P.Ammon 2.41 θάνατος	P.Bad 4.72 θάνατος
P.Aktenbuch Pagina 28 ίατρος	P.Ammon 2.45 θάνατος	P.Bad. 4.83 ίατρος
P.Alex 34 ίατρος	P.Amst 1.29 έκτρέπω	P.Bagnall 27 πληγή
P.Alex inv629 λεύκωμα	P.Amst 1.41 άθάνατος	P.Batav 20 πυρετός

P.Berl.Frisk 1 λεύκωμα ούλή	P.Cair.Goodsp 30 χωλός κωφός	ούλή P.Cair.Zen 2.59189 θεραπέυω
P.Berl.Moeller 11 χωλός	P.Cair.Isid 63 πληγή	P.Cair.Zen. 2.59225 ίατρος
P.Berl.Salmen 9 άσθενής	P.Cair.Mich 2.18 πληγή	P.Cair.Zen 2.59254 άσθενής
P.Berl.Salmen 20 άσθένεια	P.Cair.Preis 20 ίατρος	P.Cair.Zen 2.59281 ίατρος
P.Bingen 31 κυλλός	P.Cair.Preis 41 άθάνατος	P.Cair.Zen 2.59293 ίατρος
P.Bingen 63 τραυματίζω	P.Cair.Zen 1.59018 άρρωστος	P.Cair.Zen 3.59326bis ίατρος
P.Bingen 111 καθαρίζω	P.Cair.Zen 1.59019 θεραπέυω	P.Cair.Zen 3.59341 παραλύω
P.Bodl 1.28 ίατρος	P.Cair.Zen 1.59029 άρρωστέω	P.Cair.Zen 3.59376 θεραπέυω
P.Bour 38 κυλλός	P.Cair.Zen 1.59034 άρρωστία θεραπέυω παραλύω	P.Cair.Zen 3.59422 άθάνατος
P.Brem 48 άσθενέω	P.Cair.Zen 1.59036 ιατρικός	P.Cair.Zen. 3.59429 στεΐρα
P.Brem 61 νόσος	P.Cair.Zen 1.59042 άρρώστημα άσθενής	P.Cair.Zen 3.59433 σκωληκόβρωτος
P.Brem 64 άσθενέω	P.Cair.Zen 1.59044 ίατρος	P.Cair.Zen 3.59489 άσθενής
P.Brux 1.10 μονόφθαλμος P.Cair.Goodsp 15 πληγή	P.Cair.Zen 1.59070dupl ούλή P.Cair.Zen 1.59076 μελανόφθαλμος	P.Cair.Zen 4.59548 ίατρος P.Cair.Zen 4.59555

ίατρός		P.Enteux 33 άρρωστέω
P.Cair.Zen 4.59571 ίατρός	P.Coll.Youtie 2.75 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Enteux 47 θεραπέω
P.Cair.Zen 4.59728 σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Coll.Youtie 2.105 κυλλός	P.Enteux 48 άσθένεια
P.Col 3.6 νόσος	P.Corn 20 ίατρός	P.Enteux 69 ίατρός
P.Col 3.10 άρρωστία	P.Corn. 22 χωλός τυφλός	P.Enteux 72 πληγή
P.Col 3.54 ίατρός	P.Corn 50 άσθενής	P.Enteux 75 πληγή
P.Col 4.102 άσθένεια	P.Count 3 ίατρός	P.Enteux 76 πληγή
P.Col 5.1 ίατρός χωλός	P.Diog 11dupl θάνατος	P.Enteux 77 πληγή
P.Col 6.Apokrimata άσθενής	P.Diog 12dupl θάνατος	P.Enteux 80 πληγή
P.Col 7.171 πληγή	P.Diosk 7 πληγή	P.Enteux 83 πληγή
P.Col 7.188 νόσος	P.Diosk 18 άκαθαροσία	P.Enteux 111 πληγή
P.Col 8.219 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Dubl 18 πληγή	P.Fam.Tebt 27 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Col 8.222 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Dura 20 άσθενέω θάνατος	P.Fay 12 πληγή
P.Col. 8.230 χωλός	P.Enteux 22 άσθενής	P.Fay 103 νεκρός
P.Coll.Youtie 1.16 άνάπειρος πληγή	P.Enteux 25 άσθενέω	P.Fay 108 πληγή τραυματιαῖος

P.Flor 1.1 βλάβη	εύσημός	P.Genova 3.119 ούλή
P.Flor 1.33 άθάνατος	P.Fouad 29 τραυματιαῖος	P.Giss 40 άθάνατος
P.Flor 1.51 άσθένεια εύσημός	P.Fouad 33 νεκρός	P.Giss.Apoll 11 θεραπέυω
P.Flor 1.58 άσθενής	P.Fouad 75 νεκρός	P.Giss.Apoll 14 άσθένεια
P.Flor 1.59 ίατρός πληγή	P.Fouad. 80 άρρωστέω ίατρός	P.Giss.Apoll 24 θεραπέυω
P.Flor 1.88 ίατρός	P.Freib 2.8 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Giss.Apoll 29 ίατρός
P.Flor 1.100 ίατρός	P.Freib 2.11 πληγή	P.Giss.Univ 3.29 άσθενής
P.Flor 2.177 ιατρικός ίατρός	P.Freib 3.12b ούλή	P.Grad 7 σκωληκόβρωτος
P.Flor 2.222 θεραπέυω φαρμακός	P.Freib. 4.55 χωλός	P.Graux 2.13 χωλός
P.Flor 3.312 άσθένεια	P.Gen 2.1.3 πληγή	P.Grenf 1.33 λεύκωμα
P.Flor 3.316 εύσημός	P.Gen 2.1.32 καθαρός	P.Grenf 1.38 πληγή
P.Flor 3.371 νόσος	P.Gen 2.91 λεύκωμα	P.Grenf 2.51 λεύκωμα
P.Flor 3.382 άσθενής	P.Gen 3.136 θάνατος	P.Grenf 2.64 καθαρός
P.Flor 3.383	P.Genova 1.45 άρρωστος	P.Grenf 2.72 νεκρός
	P.Genova 3.117 άρρωστέω	P.Gur. 5 πυρετέω

P.Hal 1 πληγή	ιατρικός	P.Hib 1.113 άσθενέω
P.Hamb 1.38 λευκός	P.Heid 4.327 άσθενής	P.Hib 1.130 παρήμι
P.Hamb 1.60 ιατρός	P.Heid 8.416 πληγή	P.Hib 1.165 ιατρικός
P.Hamb 1.63 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Herm 2 θεραπεύω	P.Hib 2.198 θάνατος
P.Hamb 1.88 άσθενέω	P.Herm 7 κυλλός	P.Hib 2.268 ιατροκλύστης
P.Hamb. 1.117 χωλός	P.Herm 15 ιατρός	P.Iand 3.35 καθαρός
P.Hamb. 2.171 ιατρικός ιατρός	P.Herm 20 πληγή	P.Iand 4.54 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Hamb 3.225 ιατρός	P.Herm.Landl I ιατρός	P.Iand 6.105 άσθένεια
P.Hamb 4.240 άσθενέω πληγή	P.Herm.Landl II ιατρός	P.Iand 6.111 άρρωστία
P.Harr 1.133 ιατρός	P.Hib 1.29 λεύκωμα	P.Iand 7.144a άθάνατος
P.Harr 2.220 ιατρός	P.Hib 1.45 ίπποιατρικός	P.Iand.Zen 1 ιατρός
P.Haun 2.18 καθάριος	P.Hib 1.47 καθαρός	P.Kell 1.21 πληγή
P.Haun 3.54 ιατρός	P.Hib 1.53 παρήμι	P.Kell 1.23 θάνατος πληγή πλήσσω
P.Heid 2.217 πληγή	P.Hib 1.102 ιατρικός ιατρός	P.Kell. 1.24 χωλός
P.Heid 3.226	P.Hib 1.103 ιατρικός	P.Kell. 1.65

χωλός		P.Lond 2.168 καθαρισμός
P.Kell 4.96 θεραπευτήρ	P.Leipzig. 11r χωλός	P.Lond. 2.189 χωλός
P.Koeln 2.100 παρήμι	P.Leit 1 νόσος	P.Lond 2.254 άσθενέω
P.Koeln 2.117 κυλλός?	P.Lille 1.29 πληγή	P.Lond 3.604A ίατρός
P.Koeln 3.137 άσθενής	P.Lille 1.33 χωλός	P.Lond 3.604B ίατρός
P.Koeln 3.163 καθαρίζω	P.Lips 1.2 βλάπτω	P.Lond 3.870 τυφλός
P.Koeln 4.186 διαφθείρω θάνατος	P.Lips 1.16 άκαθαροσία	P.Lond 3.904 νεκρός
P.Koeln 4.187 βλάπτω ούλή	P.Lips 1.37 πληγή	P.Lond 3.976 καθαρίζω
P.Koeln 4.198 τυφλός	P.Lips 1.40 πληγή	P.Lond 3.1158 ίατρός
P.Koeln 5.232 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Lips 1.42dupl ίατρός πληγή	P.Lond 3.1170 άσθενέω
P.Koeln 13.536 τραυματικός	P.Lips 1.97 άρχιατρός	P.Lond 6.1912 νόσος
P.Koeln 14.573 ίατρός	P.Lips 1.101 ίπποίατρος	P.Lond 6.1913 καθαρισμός
P.Laur 4.158 πληγή	P.Lond 1.131 καθαρίζω	P.Lond 6.1914 πληγή
P.Laur 4.175 κωφός	P.Lond 2.219 ούλή τετραίνω	P.Lond 6.1915 άσθενέω
P.Leid.Inst 46 καθαρίζω	P.Lond 2.144 άσθενέω	P.Lond 6.1917 άσθενέω

P.Lond 6.1926 νόσος	νόσος	P.Mich 5.228 νεκρός πληγή
P.Lond 6.1927 θεραπευτικός	P.Mert 2.76 άκαθαροσία	
P.Lond 6.1928 νόσος	P.Mert 3.106 λεύκωμα	P.Mich 5.229 πληγή
P.Lond 7.1949 ούλή	P.Meyer 8 άσθένεια	P.Mich 5.241 εύσημός
P.Lond 7.2007 νόσος	P.Meyer 13 ούλή	P.Mich 5.264/265dupl νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Lond 7.2044 άρρωστος	P.Mich 1.55 ιατρός	P.Mich 5.278/279dupl νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Lond 7.2071 θεραπεύω	P.Mich 1.96 σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Mich 5.281 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Lond 7.2131 άρρωστος	P.Mich 2.121 εύσημός ούλή	P.Mich 5.285/286dupl λευκός
P.Lond 7.2188 τραυματίζω	P.Mich 2.123 ιατρός	P.Mich 5.312 καθαρός
P.Louvre 1.1 πληγή	P.Mich 3.185 καθαρισμός	P.Mich 5.321 εύσημός ύποχέω
P.Louvre 2.96 άσθενέω	P.Mich. 4.1.223 ιατρός χωλός	P.Mich. 5.323-325 χωλός
P.Louvre 2.116 ιατρός τραῦμα	P.Mich. 4.1.224 ιατρός κωφός	P.Mich 6.421 πληγή
P.Mert 1.10 καθαρός	λεπρός τυφλός	P.Mich 6.422 άσθένεια
P.Mert 1.12 ιατρός φαρμακός	P.Mich. 4.1.225 ιατρός κυλλός	P.Mich 6.423dupl άσθένεια άσθενής
P.Mert 1.26	λεπρός τυφλός	P.Mich 6.425 μονόφθαλμος

πληγή πονηρός	νόσος	άρχιατρός
P.Mich 6.426 άσθενής λεύκωμα μονόφθαλμος	P.Mil 2.60 άσθένεια	P.Oslo 2.54 ίατρός φαρμακός
P.Mich 8.478 νόσος	P.Mil.Congr 14 ίατρός νόσος (with ιερός) πληγή	P.Oslo 3.87 ιατρεύω
P.Mich 9.549 άσθενής	P.Mil.Vogl 2.73 θάνατος	P.Oslo 3.95 θεραπέυω ίατρός πυρετέω τραῦμα
P.Mich 10.582 λεύκωμα	P.Mil.Vogl 3.145 άκαθαρσία	P.Oslo 3.124 άσθενής
P.Mich 11.618 άσθενής	P.Mil.Vogl 7.303 άσθενέω	P.Oxy. 1.40 ίατρός θεραπέυω
P.Mich 11.620 ίατρός	P.Mil.Vogl 7.304 καθαρισμός	P.Oxy 1.51 ίατρός νεκρός
P.Mich 14.678 άκαθαρσία	P.Monts.Roca 4.81 άθάνατος	P.Oxy 1.52 ίατρός τραῦμα
P.Mich 15.707 νόσος (with ιερός)	P.Nag.Hamm 6 ίατρός	P.Oxy 1.71 άσθενής
P.Mich 15.751 κωφός	P.Neph 29 καθαρός	P.Oxy 1.92 ίπποίατρος
P.Mich 18.773 μαστίξ	P.NYU 2.3 τραυματίζω	P.Oxy 1.94 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Mich 18.776 τραυματίζω	P.NYU 2.50 θεράπευσις	P.Oxy 1.95 διαφθείρω νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Mich 18.787 νόσος	P.Oslo 2.26 σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Oxy 1.99 τυφλός
P.Mich.Mchl 13 ίατρός	P.Oslo 2.40 θάνατος νόσος (with ιερός)	
P.Michael 18	P.Oslo 2.53	

P.Oxy 1.116 καθάριος	P.Oxy 4.726 ἀσθένεια	νόσος
P.Oxy 2.237 θάνατος	P.Oxy 4.832 θάνατος	P.Oxy 9.1209 νόσος (with ἱερός)
P.Oxy 2.261 ἀσθένεια	P.Oxy 6.896 ἰατρός πυρέτιον	P.Oxy 9.1222 θεραπεύω
P.Oxy 2.263 νόσος (with ἱερός)	P.Oxy 6.903 πληγή	P.Oxy 10.1276 τυφλός
P.Oxy 2.283 πληγή	P.Oxy 6.911 ἀσθενέω	P.Oxy 10.1299 νόσος
P.Oxy 2.375 νόσος (with ἱερός)	P.Oxy 6.912 ἀκαθαρσία	P.Oxy 12.1414 νόσος
P.Oxy 2.380 νόσος (with ἱερός)	P.Oxy 6.938 διαφθείρω	P.Oxy 12.1468 θεράπαινα
P.Oxy 3.472 θάνατος φαρμακός	P.Oxy 6.939 νόσος	P.Oxy 12.1481 ἀσθένεια
P.Oxy 3.475 ἰατρός νεκρός	P.Oxy 6.990 νόσος	P.Oxy. 12.1502 ἰατρός πληγή
P.Oxy 3.476 νεκρός	P.Oxy 7.1050 κωφός	P.Oxy. 12.1502r ἰατρός
P.Oxy 3.485 θάνατος	P.Oxy 8.1120 ἀσθενής	P.Oxy 12.1549 παρήμι
P.Oxy 3.504 οὐλή	P.Oxy 8.1121 θάνατος νόσος	P.Oxy 12.1556 ἰατρός
P.Oxy 4.713 παρήμι	P.Oxy 8.1128 ἀκαθαρσία	P.Oxy. 12.1582 ἀπύρετος
P.Oxy 4.725 ἀσθενέω	P.Oxy. 8.1151 πυρετός	P.Oxy 12.1586 ἰατρίνη
	P.Oxy 8.1161	P.Oxy 14.1647 ἀσθενέω

P.Oxy 14.1666 λοιμός	P.Oxy 31.2567 φαρμακός	P.Oxy 42.3060 θεραπείω
P.Oxy 14.1727 φαρμακός	P.Oxy 31.2586 ἀσθενέω	P.Oxy 42.3078 θεραπεία ίατρος
P.Oxy 14.1751 ίατρος	P.Oxy 31.2601 όλοκληρία θεραπείω λεύκωμα	P.Oxy 43.3090 ἀσθένεια
P.Oxy 14.1770 καθάριος		P.Oxy 44.3195 ίατρος τραῦμα
P.Oxy 17.2109 ἀκαθαρσία	P.Oxy 33.2672dupl θεραπεία τραυματίζω	P.Oxy 45.3245 ίατρος πληγή τραῦμα
P.Oxy 17.2111 ίατρος	P.Oxy 34.2713 ἀσθενής	
P.Oxy. 19.2240 χωλός θεραπείω θεραπεία	P.Oxy 34.2722 τυφλός	P.Oxy 46.3314 νόσος
P.Oxy 19.2242 σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Oxy 36.2777 νόσος (with ἱερός)	P.Oxy 49. 3477 ὑποστραβός
P.Oxy 20.2284 ἀκαθαρσία	P.Oxy 36.2783 τυφλός	P.Oxy 49.3480 πληγή
P.Oxy 24.2407 λεύκωμα	P.Oxy 38.2853r πληγή	P.Oxy 49.3492 ίατρος
P.Oxy 24.2410 διαφθείρω	P.Oxy 38.2875 ἀσθενέω	P.Oxy 50.3555 ἔλκος θεράπεινα
P.Oxy. 24.2421 ίατρος	P.Oxy 40.2936 νόσος	P.Oxy 50.3561 πληγή
P.Oxy 31.2560 ίατρος	P.Oxy 41.2951 νόσος (with ἱερός)	P.Oxy 50.3595 θεράπεισις
P.Oxy 31.2563 ίατρος πληγή τραῦμα	P.Oxy 41.2977 ἀσθενέω	P.Oxy 50.3596 θεράπεισις
	P.Oxy 41.2981 νόσος	

P.Oxy 50.3597 θεράπευσις	P.Oxy. 63.4356 λεπρός	P.Oxy 80.5254 ίατρός
P.Oxy 51.3617 τραῦμα	P.Oxy 63.4370 ίατρός	P.Oxy 80.5255 ίατρός
P.Oxy 51.3642 ίατρός	P.Oxy 63.4372 ίατρός	P.Oxy 80.5256 πληγή
P.Oxy 52.3691 διαφθείρω	P.Oxy 64.4441 ιατρείον τραῦμα	P.Oxy 80.5257 ίατρός
P.Oxy 54.3729 ίατρός τραῦμα	P.Oxy 65.4480 νόσος	P.Oxy.Hels 46 νόσος
P.Oxy 54.3758 νόσος	P.Oxy 66.4528 ίατρός	P.Oxy.Hels 50 θεραπευτηρία
P.Oxy 54.3770 ἀσθένεια	P.Oxy 66.4529 ίατρός	P.Palaurib 1 νόσος
P.Oxy 55.3816 θάνατος	P.Oxy 66.4531 νόσος	P.Palaurib 42 ἔλκος
P.Oxy 58.3926 θεραπεύω ίατρός	P.Oxy 66.4542 θεραπευτηρία	P.Panop.Beatty 2 θεραπεία
P.Oxy 59.3981 καθαρός	P.Oxy 66.4543 θεραπευτηρία	P.Petaus 28 νεκρός
P.Oxy 59.4001 ιατρείον	P.Oxy 67.4582 ἀσθένεια	P.Petaus 34 θεραπεύω
P.Oxy 60.4075 νόσος	P.Oxy 73.4963 νόσος	P.Petaus. 64 ίατρός
P.Oxy 61.4122 ίατρός πληγή	P.Oxy 76.5099 ἀσθενέω	P.Petaus. 65 ίατρός
P.Oxy 61.4126 μονόφθαλμος	P.Oxy 77.5112 νόσος	P.Petr 1.30 ἀρρωστέω
	P.Oxy 78.5168 διαφθείρω	P.Petr 2.4 ἀκάθατος

P.Petr 2.6 βλάβπτω	άρρωστέω	P.Ross.Georg. 5.4 ίατρός
P.Petr 2.13 καθαρός	P.Prag.Varcl 21 ίατρός	P.Ross.Georg. 5.15-16 ίατρός
P.Petr 2.14 ούλή	P.Princ 2.29 άθεράπευτος	P.Ross.Georg. 5.57 ίατρός
P.Petr 2.16 ούλή	P.Princ 2.102 άθάνατος	P.Ross.Georg 5.60 ίατρός
P.Petr 2.17 σπαράσσω	P.Princ 3.132 φαρμακός	P.Ryl 2.68 άρρωστέω πληγή
P.Petr 2.22 μεγαλόφθαλμος	P.Princ 3.151 άθάνατος θάνατος	P.Ryl 2.119 έξόφθαλμος
P.Petr 2.25 βλάβπτω	P.Princ 3.166 νεκρός	P.Ryl 2.124 πληγή
P.Petr. 2.35 λεπρός	P.Princ 3.174 καθαρίζω	P.Ryl 2.133 έκτρέπω
P.Petr 2.39 ίατρικός	P.Rain.Cent 72 νόσος	P.Ryl 2.141 πληγή
P.Petr 3.21 πληγή	P.Rein 2.92 ίατρός νεκρός	P.Ryl 2.145 πληγή
P.Petr 3.28 τραυματίζω	P.Rein 2.113 άσθένεια	P.Ryl 2.151 πληγή
P.Petr 3.36 θάνατος	P.Ross.Georg 2.18 άθάνατος	P.Ryl 2.153 άσθένεια ούλή
P.Petr 3.111 ίατρικός	P.Ross.Georg 3.1 ίατρικός τυφλός	P.Ryl 2.159 ούλή
P.Phil 1 έξασθενέω ίατρός	P.Ross.Georg 3.2 ίατρείον κάμνω	P.Ryl 2.206A ίατρός
P.Polit.Iud 7		P.Ryl 4.571

ίατρός	νόσος	P.Stras 3.142 πονηρός
P.Ryl 4.574 φαρμακός	P.Sijr 11c θεραπεία	P.Stras 4.241 πληγή
P.Ryl. 4.595 παραλύω	P.Sijr 12f άσθενής	P.Stras 4.259 έκτρέπω
P.Ryl 4.629 ίατρός	P.Sijr 14 πληγή	P.Stras 4.264 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Ryl. 4.642 χωλός	P.Sijr 16 κωφός πληγή	P.Stras 5.401 πληγή
P.Sakaon 31 θάνατος	P.Sorb 1.20 κωφός	P.Stras 5.469 καθαρός
P.Sakaon 40 θάνατος	P.Sorb 3.74 σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Stras 6.505 νόσος (with ιερός)
P.Sakaon 42 άσθενής	P.Sorb 3.127 άρρωστέω	P.Stras 6.521 πληγή
P.Sakaon 48 νόσος	P.Stras 1.2 καθαρίζω	P.Stras 6.566 πληγή
P.Sakaon 50 θάνατος	P.Stras 1.30 άθάνατος	P.Stras 8.703 κωφός
P.Sakaon 71 άθάνατος	P.Stras 1.52 βλάπτω	P.Stras 9.830 ίατρός
P.Sarap 1 πληγή	P.Stras 1.73 νόσος	P.Stras 9.866 ίατρός
P.Sarap 67 ίατρός	P.Stras 2.91 πληγή	P.Tebt 1.5 θάνατος
P.Sarap 84A ίατρός	P.Stras 2.119 ίατρός	P.Tebt 1.39 πληγή τραυματίζω
P.Sel.Warga 12 άσθενής	P.Stras 2.122 άσθένεια	P.Tebt 1.44 άρρωστία
P.Select 18		

θεραπεύω πληγή	σκωληκόβρωτος	P.Tebt 5.1153 ίατρος
P.Tebt 1.52 άρρωστία	P.Tebt 3.1.703 καθαρίζω	P.Thmouis 1.1 ἐμπίμπρημι ἐξασθενέω
P.Tebt 1.117 φαρμακός	P.Tebt 3.1.746 ιατρικός	ίατρος λοιμικός
P.Tebt. 1.120 χωλός	P.Tebt 3.1.765 πληγή	P.Tor.Amen 6 θεραπεία
P.Tebt. 1.123 χωλός	P.Tebt 3.1.793 πληγή τραῦμα	P.Tor.Amen 8 θεραπεία νεκρός
P.Tebt 1.138 πληγή	P.Tebt 3.1.797 πληγή τραυματίζω	P.Tor.Choach 8 πληγή
P.Tebt 1.230 τραυματίζω	P.Tebt 3.1.798 άρρωστέω πληγή	P.Tor.Choach 9 πληγή
P.Tebt 2.283 κωφός πληγή	P.Tebt 3.1.800 πληγή	P.Tor.Choach 11 νεκρός
P.Tebt 2.304 θάνατος τραυματιαῖος	P.Tebt 3.1.802 πληγή	P.Tor.Choach 12 ίατρος θεραπεία νεκρός
P.Tebt 2.331 πληγή	P.Tebt 3.2.891 κωφός	P.Turner 22 νόσος (with ἱερός)
P.Tebt 2.385 ἀσθενέω	P.Tebt 3.2.1036 ιατρικός	P.Ups.Frid 1 νόσος
P.Tebt 2.397 λευκός	P.Tebt 3.2.1037 ιατρικός	P.Vind.Bosw 7 νόσος (with ἱερός)
P.Tebt 2.406dupl κωφός	P.Tebt 3.2.1043 ἀκάθαρτος	P.Vind.Sijp. 1 ίατρος
P.Tebt 3.1.700 θάνατος	P.Tebt 5.1151 θεραπεία ίατρος	P.Vind.Sijp 13 ἀθάνατος
P.Tebt 3.1.701		

P.Wash.Univ 1.30 ίατρος	καθαρός	άθάνατος
P.Wash.Univ 2.71 άκάθατος θάνατος	Pap.Biling 14 καθαρός	PSI 4.380 πληγή
P.Wash.Univ 2.72 καθαρός	Pap.Choix 5 άσθενής πληγή	PSI 4.388 ίατρικός
P.Wash.Univ 2.108 πυρετός	Pap.Choix 7 άσθενέω	PSI 4.413 ίατρος
P.Wisc 1.3 άσθενής	Pap.Choix 19 έμπίμπρημι	PSI 4.421 θεραπεύω
P.Wisc 1.5 άσθένεια	PSI 1.101 έξασθενέω	PSI 4.422 άσθενής
P.Wisc 1.29 ίατρος	PSI 1.102 έξασθενέω	PSI 4.446 θεραπεύω
P.Wisc 2.78 άθάνατος	PSI 3.167 πληγή	PSI 5.450 θάνατος
P.Yale 1.56 θάνατος	PSI 3.182 νόσος (with ιερός)	PSI 5.455 ίατρος πληγή τραῦμα
P.Yale 1.69 άκαθαρία	PSI 4.298 πληγή	PSI 5.465 άθεράπευτος
P.Yale 3.137 ίατρος κυλλός	PSI 4.299 νόσος τράχωμα	PSI 5.490 σκωληκόβρωτος
P.Zen.Pestm 51 ίατρος	PSI 4.313 πληγή τραυματιαῖος	PSI 5.532 διαφθείρω
Pap.Agon 3 θάνατος	PSI 4.333 άρρωστία	PSI 5.542 πληγή
Pap.Agon 4 θάνατος	PSI 4.371 ίατρικός	PSI 6.614 έκθεραπέω
Pap.Biling 13	PSI 4.377	PSI 6.710 θάνατος

PSI 7.767 πονηρός	PSI.Congr 20.14 νόσος (with ιερός)	ἀρχιατρός SB 1.5220 κωφός
PSI 7.787 ἀκαθαρσία	PSI.Congr 21.12 ιατρός	SB 1.5235 πληγή
PSI 7.857 θεραπέυω, θεραπεία	Rom.Mil.Rec 1.74 ιατρός	SB 1.5238 πληγή
PSI 8.903dupl χωλός	SB 1.428 χωλός	SB 1.5512 ιατρός
PSI 8.921 εύσημός	SB 1.643 ιατρός	SB 3.6011 νεκρός
PSI 8.922 εύσημός	SB 1.1191 ιατρός	SB 3.6016 νόσος (with ιερός)
PSI 8.967 νεκρός	SB 1.1974 τυφλός	SB 3.7188 πληγή
PSI 9.1028 εύσημός	SB 1.2266 καθάρισις	SB 3.7205 θάνατος
PSI 10.1103 ἀσθενής	SB 1.3472 ιατρός	SB 3.7206 ἀσθένεια
PSI 10.1160 ἀσθενέω	SB 1.3890 ιατρός	SB 4.7360 ἀσθενής
PSI 10.1162 θάνατος	SB 1.4168 χωλός	SB 4.7379 ιατρός
PSI 12.1228 νόσος (with ιερός)	SB 1.4426 νόσος πονηρός	SB 4.7462 ἀσθένεια
PSI 13.1324 λευκός	SB 1.5170 θεραπεία	SB 4.7464 πληγή
PSI 16.1626 πληγή	SB 1.4744 ἀσθένεια	SB 5.7572 ἀσθενέω
PSI.Congr 20.11 πληγή	SB 1.5216	SB 5.7743

ἀσθένεια	νεκρός	ἀκαθαροσία
SB 5.8007 νόσος (with ἱερός)	SB 6.9605 νόσος φαρμακός	SB 14.11650 θάνατος
SB 5.8009 θεραπεία	SB 8.9699 ἀσθενέω	SB 14.11659 ἰατρός
SB 5.8025 ἀσθενής	ἰατρός καθαρίζω	SB 14.11707 πληγή
SB 5.8086 ἀθάνατος	SB 8.9740 χωλός	SB 14.11853 ἰατρός
SB 5.8756 ἀσθενής	SB 10.10218 πληγή	SB 14.11931 πληγή
SB 6.9017 ἀσθενής	SB 10.10239 πληγή	SB 14.12059 ἵππιατρός
SB 6.9050 ἀσθένεια	SB 10.10244 πληγή	SB 14.12090 καθάριος
SB 6.9105 πληγή χωλός	SB 10.10483 ἀθάνατος	SB 14.12102 θεραπεία
SB 6.9127 ἀσθενέω	SB 10.10571 τυφλός	SB 14.12173 τα θεραπ... (incomplete)
SB 6.9136 ἐκτρέπω	SB 12.10840 θάνατος	SB 16.12290 καθαρός
SB 6.9145 νόσος (with ἱερός)	SB 12.10859 μικρόφθαλμος	SB 16.12306 ἀσθένεια
SB 6.9194 ἀσθενέω	SB 12.11004 ἰατρός	SB 16.12470 πληγή
SB 6.9218 διαφθείρω λοιμώδης νόσος	SB 12.11024 ἀθάνατος	SB 16.12493 ἰατρός
SB 6.9238	SB 14.11346 θάνατος	SB 16.12498 καθαρτής κωφός
	SB 14.11347	

SB 16.12504 ἀσθενής	SB 18.13305 ἀσθένεια	SB 20.14708 πληγή
SB 16.12606 ἀσθενέω	SB 18.13589 ἀρρωστέω ίατρος	SB 20.14975 πληγή
SB 16.12625 καθαρίζω	SB 18.13867 ἀσθενέω	SB 20.14999 πληγή
SB 16.12812 ίατρος	SB 18.13934 κωκωφός	SB 20.15077 πληγή
SB 16.12830 κωφός	SB 18.13946 ἀθάνατος	SB 20.15180 καθάριος
SB 16.13005 ἀκαθαροσία	SB 20.14086 πληγή τραυματίζω	SB 22.15347 θεραπεία
SB 16.13011 ἀκαθαροσία	SB 20.14299 καθάρισις	SB 22.15353 χωλός
SB 16.13035 κωφός σκωληκόβρωτος	SB 20.14379 θάνατος νόσος	SB 22.15538 ἀρρωστέω
SB 18.13087 πληγή τραυματίζω	SB 20.14426 φαρμακός	SB 22.15542 πληγή
SB 18.13127 ίατρος	SB 20.14468 χωλός	SB 22.15702 νόσος (with ἱερός)
SB 18.13154 ἀκαθαροσία	SB 20.14584 ἵπποιατρος	SB 22.15774 ἀσθένεια
SB 18.13222 ἀρρωστία ἰσοθάνατος	SB 20.14639 ίατρος τραῦμα	SB 22.15866 οὐλή
SB 18.13224 θάνατος	SB 20.14656 θεραπεύω	SB 24.15901 πληγή
SB 18.13288 οὐλή	SB 20.14662 ἀσθένεια	SB 24.15970 κάμνω
		SB 24.15972 διαφθείρω

SB 24.15987 λευκός	SB 24.16282 ίατρός νόσος	Stud.Pal 22.40 ἀσθενέω
SB 24.16000 χωλός τυφλός	SB 24.16283 ἀσθενέω	Stud.Pal 22.42 λευκός
SB 24.16001 οὐλή	SB 24.16319 ίατρός	Stud.Pal 22.54 πληγή
SB 24.16002 νόσος (with ἱερός)	SB 26.16380 ιατρικός	Stud.Pal 22.56 φαρμακός
SB 24.16157 νεκρός	SB 26.16446 ὄνωιατρός	Stud.Pal 22.67 ίατρός κωφός
SB 24.16159 νεκρός	SB 26.16634 ιατρικός	Stud.Pal 22.138 καθαρός
SB 24.16162 νεκρός	SB 26.16675 τυφλός	T.Mom.Louvre 616 χωλός
SB 24.16167 νόσος (with ἱερός)	SB 26.16800 πληγή	T.Mom.Louvre 758 ίατρός
SB 24.16168 νόσος (with ἱερός)	SB 28.17239 ἐπίμπρημι	T.Mom. Louvre 955 ίατρός
SB 24.16169 εὐόφθαλμος	Stud.Pal 4 ἀσθενής	T.Mom.Louvre 1080 ίατρός
SB 24.16170 εὐόφθαλμος νόσος (with ἱερός)	Stud.Pal 5.6 διαφθείρω	T.Varie 31 ίατρός
SB 24.16224 ίατρός	Stud.Pal 20.58 θάνατος	UPZ 1.7 ίατρός
SB 24.16257 ἐπίμπρημι	Stud.Pal 20.71 νόσος (with ἱερός)	UPZ 1.8 θεραπευτής
SB 24.16258 ἐπίμπρημι	Stud.Pal 20.85 ίατρός	UPZ 1.17 ἀσθενής θεραπευτής
	Stud.Pal 22.36 ἀσθενής	

UPZ 1.20
ἀκαθαρσία

UPZ 1.32
θεραπεία

UPZ 1.62
ἀρρωστέω

UPZ 1.110
ἀσθενέω

UPZ 1.119
πληγή

UPZ 1.120
θεραπεύω

UPZ 1.122
θάνατος
χωλός

UPZ 1.148
ιατροκλύστης

UPZ 2.151
πληγή

UPZ 2.175
κοιλόφθαλμος
νεκρός

UPZ 2.180
ἀσθενέω
ιατρός
χωλός

UPZ 2.203
θεραπεία

Appendix 3 – The Healing Texts in Luke-Acts

Below is a list of the healing accounts and summaries in Luke-Acts. Any account that identifies a person with a malady who finds healing is considered to be a healing account. These accounts include physical illnesses, demon possession, and resurrection from the dead. Most accounts involve healing from Jesus and his disciples, but a few exceptions do exist, such as Zechariah's muteness and healing.

My count is 19 healing accounts (21 actual healings) and 5 summaries in Luke; 7 healing accounts and 4 summaries in Acts.

Luke 1:7-25 – Elizabeth is barren, then becomes pregnant. Healing is announced ahead of time by the angel Gabriel.

Luke 1:20-22, 62-79 – Zechariah is stricken κωφός by the angel Gabriel, then his tongue is loosened after he names his son John, according to the angel's instructions.⁶²²

Luke 4:33-41 – Jesus rebukes a man with an unclean demon in the synagogue (v. 33-37). Jesus rebukes the fever from Simon's mother-in-law (v. 38-39). People throughout the village bring people with various illnesses (v. 40-41).⁶²³

Luke 5:12-15 – Jesus heals a man who was πλήρης λέπρας.

Luke 5:17-26 – Jesus heals a man who was παραλελυμένος and let down through the roof by his associates.⁶²⁴

Luke 6:6-11 – Jesus heals a man whose right hand was ξηρά. He does this healing in the synagogue on the Sabbath.

Luke 7:1-10 – Jesus heals a centurion's servant who was sick (κακῶς) and about to die. He heals from a distance without meeting the servant or centurion in person.

Luke 7:11-17 – Jesus raises up a dead man being led out of the village and returns him to his widowed mother.

Luke 8:26-39 – Jesus exorcises a man possessed by δαιμόνια. He sends them into a herd of pigs.

⁶²² Some may not see this as a healing account because the angel strikes him mute to begin with, but it nonetheless gives an account of God's ability to overcome a human illness, even if it was caused by divine intervention.

⁶²³ This one account could be considered to be 3 separate accounts, but Luke presents them in one continuous sequence.

⁶²⁴ Even though these two accounts follow immediately after each other in Luke's narrative, he makes an intentional transition with the words καὶ ἐγένετο in 5:17.

Luke 8:40-56 – Jesus raises up Jairus’ daughter from death. While traveling with Jairus, power goes from Jesus and heals a hemorrhaging woman, who had spent her living on doctors trying to heal her.

Luke 9:37-43 – Jesus heals a man’s only son, who was seized by a spirit (πνεῦμα) and made to convulse and foam at the mouth.

Luke 10:25-37 – Jesus’ parable of the Good Samaritan: a man who is beaten by robbers is cared for and cured by a Samaritan, who treats him with wine and oil and leaves him in the care of an innkeeper.

Luke 11:14-26 – Jesus casts a κωφόν δαιμόνιον out of a man and preaches in response to the accusation that he casts out demons by Beelzebub.

Luke 13:10-17 – Jesus heals a woman who was disabled by a πνεῦμα ἔχουσα ἀσθενείας for 12 years. He heals in the synagogue on the Sabbath.

Luke 14:1-6 – Jesus heals a man with ὕδρωπικός on the Sabbath in the house of a ruler of the Pharisees.

Luke 17:11-19 – Jesus heals 10 λεπροί after telling them to go show themselves to the priests. Only one (a Samaritan) returns to thank Jesus. This healing occurs on the border between Samaria and Galilee.

Luke 18:35-43 – Jesus heals a blind man (τυφλός) by the side of the road entering Jericho.

Luke 22:50-51 – Jesus heals the high priest’s servant by touching his ear after one of his disciples cut off his right ear.

Luke 24:1-12 – Jesus is raised from the dead. Two angels declare Jesus’ resurrection to the women who come to care for his body.

Acts 3:1-6 – Peter heals a man who was χωλός from birth. This healing occurs at the entrance to the temple.

Acts 9:1-19 – Saul’s temporary blindness is removed when Ananias lays hands on him and prays. A scale-like substance falls from his eyes and he regains his sight.

Acts 9:32-35 – A man named Aeneas was bedridden and paralyzed (παραλελυμένος). Peter heals him in Jesus’ name. He rises up and walks.

Acts 9:36-42 – Peter raises up a female disciple named Tabitha (Dorcas) who had become ill and died.

Acts 14:8-18 – Paul heals a man in Lystra who had been χωλός from birth.

Acts 16:16-18 – Paul casts out a spirit of divination (πνεῦμα πύθωνα) from a slave girl.

[Acts 20:7-12 – Eutychus falls into a deep sleep and falls out of a third story window. Paul takes him in his arms and feels life in him.]⁶²⁵

Acts 28:7-10 – Paul prays and heals Publius’ father, who was sick from πυρετοῖς and δυσεντερίω, by laying hands on him.

Summaries and Other Related Texts

Luke 4:23 – Jesus quotes a parable in the synagogue: “Doctor, Heal Yourself!”

Luke 4:40-41 – At sunset, people from the village bring their sick and persons with spirits to be healed by Jesus.

Luke 5:15 – Word of Jesus’ healings spreads and crowds come to hear and be healed by Jesus.

Luke 7:21 – Jesus heals many from νόσων, μαστίγων, πνευμάτων πονηρῶν, and τυφλοῖς. This occurs in response to the questioning of John’s disciples in v. 20.

Luke 8:1-3 – Women who have been healed of πνευμάτων πονηρῶν and ἀσθενειῶν travel with Jesus.

Luke 9:1-6, 10 – Jesus sends out the Twelve with authority over demons and to cure diseases, to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal.

Luke 10:1-20 – Jesus sends out the 72 to heal the sick (ἀσθενεῖς) and proclaim the kingdom of God (v. 9). They return declaring that even demons came out in Jesus’ name.

Luke 13:32 – Jesus declares in response to Herod: “Look, I cast out demons and perform cures today and tomorrow, and the third day I complete my work.”

Acts 5:12-16 – The apostles perform many signs and wonders. People bring their sick (ἀσθενεῖς) and those with unclean spirits, who are healed when Peter’s shadow falls on them as he passes by.

Acts 8:4-8 – Philip heals many who were paralyzed or lame in Samaria, and unclean spirits come out.

⁶²⁵ It is not immediately clear whether Paul brings him back to life or if he simple survived the fall.

Acts 10:38 – Part of Peter’s speech to Cornelius and his household, where he summarizes Jesus’ ministry and states that Jesus healed all who were oppressed by the devil.

Acts 13:9-11 – Paul rebukes Elymas the Magician and renders him blind for a time because of his opposition to Paul and his associates.

Acts 19:11-20 – God heals people who are sick and with evil spirits when garments that Paul touched are brought to them. Seven sons of Sceva attempt to imitate Paul by casting out a demon in Jesus’ name, but the demon attacks them and drives them out.

Acts 28:3-10 – Paul suffers no harm from a viper attaching to his hand. People think he is a god after he shows no ill effects.

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