

Gender Roles and Healing

Exploring the complexities of Roman health care

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Research

9th of October, 2015

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Summary

While there has been an increase in scholarship in the field of gender studies in the ancient world this has not adequately considered these roles in relation to Roman medicine. The role of females as healers has been under-considered compared to men and existing studies tend to understate the role of these women as midwives. This thesis will examine these neglected areas and position Roman medicine in a nuanced cultural and social context. In addition to surveys of relevant ancient sources it applies contemporary methodologies and approaches from the social sciences in order to provide new insight from these texts. The nature of professional healers in Rome is explored and considered particularly in relation the duties of both men and women. By using Soranus as a known source for female healers and comparing this to the works of Pliny and Dioscorides this thesis is able to identify trends in medical treatment applied by men and women and from this information gain a better understanding of gender roles in Roman society. From this survey it was also possible to identify and categorise the particular pharmaceuticals used by male and female healers and ascertain their significance from a Roman perspective.

Declaration

I, Peter John Dean (42448794), certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Peter J. Dean

Date: 9/10/2015

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude for the tireless enthusiasm and support of my supervisor, Dr Peter Keegan. Under his guidance I gained a steadily improved understanding of my hopes and aims for this thesis. His resilience when faced with my repeated attempts to confuse him with poor grammar and style was astonishing. By exposing me to new thoughts and approaches he improved not only the quality of this thesis but my understanding and appreciation of the interdisciplinary character of academic scholarship.

I would also like to acknowledge the financial support and the invaluable research resources provided by Macquarie University.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for not running away, most of the time, when I bombarded them with facts from Soranus and Pliny and talked at great length about the knowledge uncovered from their works. Especially I would like to thank my mother who functioned as a sounding board for many of my ideas, bypassing her lack of both expertise and interest.

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I – Introduction

1 – Approach

My thesis employs two contemporary methodological approaches: social and cultural history. Social history emphasises understanding the function of society through the investigation of social relationships. In contrast cultural history attempts to understand how people applied meaning to people and objects in an attempt to understand their culture.

The approach principally used in chapters one and two is that of social history. Chapter two investigates to what extent healing can be seen as part of the female domestic role. This enquiry aims to identify the social relationship between genders in Roman society and the nature of the domestic space within which social relations occurred. Chapter three utilises the practice of healing as evidence to understand women's status within society more generally. This approach influences the sources I have used and the relative significance of these various sources. Sources which refer to medicine but were not written by professional male physicians are extremely valuable.¹ Additionally my investigation seeks to overcome the distinction between professional and non-professional healers which is a modern categorisation wrongfully applied to the Roman world.²

Chapter four, in contrast, uses the information gathered in sections one and two and interprets it using a cultural historical lens with a view to recreating the 'meanings' associated with different pharmaceuticals. Specifically it will attempt to understand which pharmaceuticals and treatments were seen as more powerful or significant in the Roman world. To accomplish this it will consider what substances could be administered and treatments could be performed by men and women respectively and, based on our understanding of social relationships, theorise what status or significance a Roman may associate with such a treatment. This component of the study will be

¹ In the context of this work 'physician' refers to a trained healer working in general medicine or midwifery.

² In the context of this work 'professional' refers to those performing a task as an occupation regardless of training, as well as those who identify themselves with such an occupation. 'Healer' refers to someone involved in some aspect of medical treatment whether professional or not, regardless of their area of specialisation.

based on modern anthropological studies which highlight the interaction between the meaning associated with a treatment and its effectiveness.³

Additionally my investigation will be shaped by gender studies. Gender studies highlight the manner in which gender roles are understood and created by a society. It then applies this understanding to better comprehend how different genders interacted and how a society functioned.⁴ Broadly speaking my enquiry will attempt to understand the relationship between gender and Roman healing. Healing is, however, a fundamentally cultural process which is greatly influenced by a patient's 'relationship' to the treatment and healer.⁵ As such I will consider the cultural construction of gender and healing.

2 – Scope

The time period for my study is the first two dynasties of the Roman Empire: from the accession of Augustus in 27 BC to the end of the Flavian Dynasty with the death of Domitian in AD 96. This time period was a time of great change in medicine as within this range we see the decline of traditional Roman healing and the slow adoption of Greek practices. This time period is also one in which medicine is infrequently studied. Older studies investigating Roman medicine in the later empire use the works of Galen as their main sources and more recent works explore the nature of medicine in the republican period. Of these, studies of the republican period often extend into the period of my investigation, particularly through the use of Pliny. In contrast those studying the later empire rarely differentiate between medicine before and after Galen. As one professor put the question “What Roman medicine was there before Galen?” – a telling reflection of the traditional view.

³ Some anthropological works used: Moerman and Jonas (2002); Katz (1999); Lakoff and Johnson (1980); Moerman and Jonas (2002); Rivers (1927); Singer and Baer (2012); Watters (2010).

⁴ Some key historical gender studies literature: Adcock (1945); Bourdillon (1988); Cameron and Kuhrt (1987); Dewitt (1920); Dingwall, et al. (2002); Ehrenreich and English (2010); Flemming (2000); Flemming (2007); Hemelrijk (2004); King (1998); King (2007); Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons (1997); Rawson (1986); Retief and Cilliers (2006).

⁵ Where 'relationship' appears in inverted commas I am using it to represent the manner in which they conceive and construct the object and their relationship to it. For a fuller explanation see Rubin (2008).

In order to gain a better understanding of this period however, I have also utilised sources from beyond this period. This supplements the lack of sources which grapple with social and cultural aspects of Roman healing particularly in terms of how ordinary people practised healing. The use of sources both before and after the focus of this study creates an understanding of how medicine has changed over time. This permits a reconstruction of medical practices within the timeframe of this study. As cultural views are generally slow to change,⁶ rather than being a feature which can be changed by a single event we can create a line of best fit for the changes occurring in this period. For example, if Cato suggests that Romans resisted Greek medicine whereas Galen states and shows that Greek medicine was common and popular in his own time, we can infer that this changed within the period of my study.

Most studies of ancient medicine focus on the Greek approach to healing. While the Greek approach lends itself to the intricate studies suitable for history with numerous factions and theories of medicine this has led to the Roman world being overshadowed. Further many of those who do consider the Roman world present it as simply the successor to Greek practice. My investigation will reassess the distinctiveness of Roman medicine. Although I will not exclude information from anywhere in the Roman Empire my study will aim to understand the medical traditions of Italy. This limitation is necessary as it represents a fairly unified culture. In contrast, if I were to study medicine in Greece in the Roman period, there would be no trace of traditional Italic healing which characterised the healing practices in Italy.

3 – Sources

In order to gain the best understanding of Roman views my investigation employs a variety of source types. Although there have been many traditional studies which limit themselves to the literary and medical sources, these represent the views of only a small fraction of the population. Furthermore

⁶ Mead (1937:17); Monaghan and Just (2000:47-48)

they only portray the opinions of specialists or those claiming to be specialists.⁷ This means that whatever social information can be pieced together from these sources is unlikely to fairly represent the views of the majority of the population.

Because the application of medicine is the central theme of such works, they tend to avoid discussion of social and cultural aspects of healing. A notable exception to this trend is Pliny who includes references to folk remedies though he often discourages their use and lacks any belief in their effectiveness.

Similarly, as many of the works which investigate ancient medicine have been written by those without a historical background, these accounts often have a lack of evidence. Such studies are typically carried out by those with a medical background and through schools of medicine rather than history.⁸ The use of a broad array of source types attempts to counter this trend. Additionally, I will compare these sources to establish their accuracy and to gain a more thorough understanding. This critical approach is often also lacking in these enquiries as they often focus, usually unintentionally, on a single or limited set of sources. This is particularly evident in those who utilise Pliny and Galen.⁹

To overcome this, my work uses the fragmentary references which can be found in other forms of evidence. Some notable examples which I have used are letters, particularly those of Cicero which yield valuable insight into how healing was carried out in the family. There are also limited references in plays. Here, the most valuable date to slightly before my period, particularly the comedies of Plautus. Epigraphic sources can also be quite effective in providing information especially that not mentioned in other forms of evidence.

⁷ In the context of this work 'specialist' refers to someone who is ascribed status through experience or training who works in a particular field.

⁸ The school of medicine at the University of Wisconsin – Madison is seemingly the most prolific producer of academics investigating the history of medicine.

⁹ Authors with a medical background: Cushing (1998); Hillman (2004); Jackson (1988). Authors who rely heavily on Pliny or Galen: Abbott (1911); Allbutt (1921); Jackson (1988); Majno (1975); Nutting (1907); Scarborough (1969); Scarborough (1970); Scarborough (1993).

Although the use of an array of sources is useful the literary evidence is still extremely important and forms the majority of my body of evidence. Most sources which grapple with medicine in the first century use Pliny as a major source of information. Books XX to XXIX of his *Naturalis Historia* particularly focus on medicine. Often these enquiries become overly dependent on this text, as it is the most substantial work on this period and the Republic. Pliny's aim in this work, however, was to preserve older Roman traditions. As a result his work can convey an inaccurate view of medicine in his own period and this needs to be kept in mind when using him as a source.

Soranus' *Gynaecology* is an extremely important source for my study. Although it is slightly outside my period, the treatments in this work represent medicines we can be sure could be applied by women.¹⁰ This is vital in order to be able to differentiate between the medicines applied by either male or female physicians. Although for non-professional domestic healers we must rely on fragmentary sources to gain information, Soranus still provides great insight. I then compare sources that establish the roles of female healers with the other more general sources to differentiate between various treatments.

Two other sources are very useful in understanding medicine in this period: firstly the work of Dioscorides and secondly that of Scribonius. Both of these medical authors wrote within the period of my study and so provide valuable information on medicines at the time. Being medical writers they offer limited understanding of cultural aspects.

Although archaeological evidence is often prized in history for its ability to give an insight into culture it does not form a major component of my study. This is principally as the evidence it provides mostly relates to particular types of healing such as surgery which leave material remains.. Also while study of the buildings in which healing took place for its archaeological data is insightful, these are difficult to identify as healing was usually carried out in a home or in movable shops.

4 - Summary of Chapters

¹⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.4.

Chapter II – “The Nature of Roman Medicine” illustrates that healing was closely associated with the domestic role. It achieves this by using references which discuss healing being carried out in the home without the need for a professional physician. I then consider the issue of whether the home can be seen as an environment controlled by the *paterfamilias* or by women. Based on the letters of Cicero and other sources we see that healing must often have been the responsibility of a woman. Inscriptional evidence also shows that healing was considered a valuable domestic skill for a woman and so suggests that it was part of their duties.

Chapter III – “Medicine, Women and Society” considers the implications of a women administering medical care in the ancient world. It establishes that this must represent a reversal from the higher status usually held by men. This is considered in conjunction with the implications of slaves performing a similar task to create a comparison. Thus it furthers our understanding of the status of women in Roman society.

Chapter IV – “Understanding Healing” reconstructs how Romans ‘relate’ to various pharmaceuticals and treatments. It accomplishes this by integrating anthropological research to justify the association between a patients ‘relationship’ to the treatment and the practices which surround it. In this case the main practice which is discussed is the distinction between medicines which can be applied by different genders, although other rituals associated with medical treatments will be used to justify the reconstruction of a treatment’s significance. This chapter will thus allow for an understanding of how different pharmaceuticals were valued relative to one another in Roman society.

Chapter V – “Conclusions” will summarise the work and clarify the connections between gender roles and healing in Roman Italy by utilizing the information gained from the previous chapters. This chapter will also provide suggested areas of further study to broaden our knowledge of gender roles and healing.

5 – Review of Secondary Literature

This review will provide a summary of the relevant modern literature related to the study of gender and Roman medicine. It will also mention other key scholars important to my particular study. It will span from Nutting in 1907 to the present. This will both provide the reader with an understanding of this work's context and enrich their understanding of the need and significance of the current study.

There have been numerous major works which have investigated medicine in the Roman world.

Likely the most influential work in this field is T. C. Allbutt's *Greek Medicine in Rome*, 1921, which was an expansion on his earlier *Fitzpatrick Lectures*, 1909. As its title suggests Allbutt believed that Roman medicine was entirely the result of Greek influences. This led to this becoming the accepted view in the academic community and has remained a common view through to recent times.

Allbutt's work also excluded discussion of women and presented domestic medicine as being principally the responsibility of the *paterfamilias*. So while this work resulted in many of the fallacies which my work tries to reassess it is thus very important in gaining an understanding from where these views came.

J. Scarborough's *Roman Medicine*, 1969, provides a comprehensive insight into Roman healing with a particular emphasis on earlier periods. Scarborough mostly utilises Pliny as a source of information. Due to the thorough nature of Pliny's work this leads Scarborough to focus on the supernatural and folk aspects of Roman healing. This contrasts with the rational and scientific methods employed by the Greeks and usually fore fronted in the modern scholarship. He expands and strengthens this position based on other archaeological sources from religious contexts. He highlights that healing often appeared to occur in religious contexts and in Pliny's works many medical treatments had associated spells or rituals needed to make the treatment function. This relates to the distinction of biomedicine from traditional healing as advocated in early anthropologists such as Rivers. His work notably surpasses Allbutt's in understanding the social position of physicians in society and the status of both professional and nonprofessional healers.

The work of M. A. Nutting and her *A History of Nursing*, in 1907, is also important to modern scholarship. This massive work which covers nursing from the Greek world through to the contemporary was doubtlessly avant-garde in considering the newly created discipline of nursing and by extension female healers. Her work still contains many useful insights into nursing in the ancient world. Her summary of how rights and status were given both to physicians and nurses is particularly clear and useful. Nutting however reinforced the view that female doctors were uncommon and that women would only work as nurses in various capacities. Since, after much debate, a decision had been reached that nurses required formal training to successfully do their job, Nutting also promotes that women in the ancient world received some sort of formal training. While this is possibly an accurate assessment she does not contextualize this training by comparing it to the minimal training male physicians received. The issue of medical training was later addressed in I. E. Drabkin's *On Medical Education in Greece and Rome*, 1944, which establishes that medical knowledge was most often transferred via an apprenticeship rather than academic means.

R. Jackson, in 1988, also compiled a work of substantial scope however this was still of small size and so only provides a good overview to medicine in the empire. His work does cover an impressive amount of information and has been regularly cited in other works. He however follows Allbutt in suggesting that Roman medicine was principally a successor to Greek practises. He also spends little time discussing the involvement of any women and where such mention is made he gives them little credibility as professional physicians. He presents women almost exclusively as midwives and believes that they were certainly only used in treating other women. Such a view contrasts with that of Retief and Cilliers below who establish that female healers were well respected in society and so suggest that they could also treat other members of their communities. Jackson is also highly dependent on literary sources making no meaningful use of other forms of evidence. In my thesis I will use a broader range of sources to prevent such limitations.

In contrast to Allbutt and Jackson, D.C. A. Hillman in his 2004 investigation of republican medicine presents a distinctly Roman medical system which, although eventually accepting of Greek medicine,

had a different view of what disease was and how it was to be treated. Although Jackson had emphasised that pre-Greek medicine in Italy was simplistic Hillman showed that treatments required great domestic expertise and related specifically to Italy's geographic and social context. He promotes the view that each family would mostly be responsible for their own healing and that to achieve this they would use a traditional knowledge of drug lore specific to the medicaments available in their area. This is in contrast to Roman medicine in later times in which medicine became more formal and universal in relation to the treatments they would prescribe. He also used a broader array of sources drawing particularly on plays, agricultural manuals and letters. This allowed him to gain a better understanding of how the average person related to medicine rather than the select few who wrote medical works. Hillman also takes great care to differentiate between urban and rural pharmacy emphasising that the approaches in the republic were quite distinct, while those in the cities had begun to adopt the Greek approach those in the country retained closer links between religion and healing and tended to perform treatments using local knowledge rather than 'professionally' trained doctors.

Bailey, in her investigation into Roman domestic medicine (2012), establishes that the role of women was of great importance in the medical system overall. She clearly establishes that medicine is a domestic activity and that this aspect of the domestic space was the responsibility of women rather than the *paterfamilias* as suggested by Allbutt. In her enquiry Bailey, like Hillman, uses a greater variety of sources giving additional authority to her investigation. Bailey also touches on the issue of distinction between professional and non-professional medicine. She hypothesises the presence of informal 'women's networks' and places the origin of this practice in 5th century Greece. Her understanding of these networks was largely based on artistic materials which led her to propose the continued coexistence of these women's networks alongside formal female healers in the empire. As her investigation seeks to understand the domestic aspects of healing she considers how often external professional medicine must be used and the status of the individuals providing this service. This is important to understand when researching domestic medicine or the roles of women.

The most substantial work which investigated women in the Roman world was R. Flemming. Her work of 2000, while well received, still tends to present women as only treating their own gender and in roles that were seen as less significant than their male counterparts. This contrasts with the views of Bailey and her interpretation of medical women in the professional sphere. Additionally it disregards the contribution of Hillman in emphasising the complex advanced knowledge of the nonprofessional Roman healer. Her work skilfully utilises nearly all written sources in order to gain a fuller understanding. This included extracting fragmentary information from later sources.

To understand gender roles in healing one must also be familiar with family structure and although Allbutt gives some suggestions on these matters it is useful to consult specialist works. To this end B. Rawson's work *The Roman Family*, 1986, is invaluable in understanding the traditional interpretation of family structure. Although accurate in most circumstances it is established by Bailey that the control exerted by the *paterfamilias* on the family was not direct but theoretical and that practical interactions with the family must be in another's control.

Many sources which consider women and their relationship to healing focus principally on the Greek world. This again is likely a result of Allbutt's approach. F. P. Retief and L. Cilliers 2006 article 'The Healing Hand: the role of women in Greco-Roman medicine' is such an example. This work views Roman medicine as a result of Greek approaches and understanding. Their work is however valuable apart from this tendency and is thus useful in tracking Greek influences. This work also emphasises that female healers were well respected in ancient classical communities and treated equivalent to their male counterparts.

W. Jashemski's text *A Pompeian Herbal*, 1999 is useful in its discussion of the environmental conditions in Italy. Additionally it clearly sets out particular pharmaceuticals, pairs them to key references in the ancient texts and discusses likely ancient uses for the plant. It supports these interpretations based on ethnographic information gathered during the author's stay in Pompeii related to how modern people use these substances. This method is reflective of the tendency in

scholars such as Hillman and ancient works, particularly Pliny, to emphasise the treatments themselves rather than social aspects or diagnoses.

The works of V. Nutton active from 1977 to the present, point out that Pliny is overused in the reconstruction of Roman medicine and doing this has led to many errors. For this reason his works aim to utilise other sources to give a clearer picture of medicine. This is in contrast to earlier scholarship such as Allbutt and Scarborough who rely heavily on Pliny. Nutton does however hold to the view that Roman Medicine was eventually surpassed and overshadowed by the Greek approach. This is foreshadowed in the work of Pliny which aimed to resist this change. This view however is also supported by Galen who writes in the model of the Greek approach to medicine.

Mention must be made of the many articles published in the 1993 *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* which dealt specifically with Roman medicine. Notably Scarborough's article, *Roman Medicine to Galen* investigates traditional forms of Roman medicine and its associations with religion and magic. It also considers the influence of Greek medicine on the development of Roman methods. Jackson also contributed an article, *Roman Medicine: The Practitioners and their Practices*, which, like Bailey, contrasts public and private physicians. Although he is again dependent on written sources the argument is well considered and argued. Most substantially, Nutton too published an article in which he again confronts the usefulness of Pliny as a source, on this occasion considering whether Greek and Roman medicine were as closely related as Pliny presents. In doing this he not only confronts Pliny but also the copious scholars who have followed this perspective.

My investigation will also attempt some cultural reconstruction of the Roman medical system. M. Singer and H. Baer's *Introduction to Medical Anthropology*, 2000, is a valuable source for outlining the methods and aims of such an enquiry. Medical anthropology aims to understand the experience of sickness as a result of illness (personal experience) and disease (the way a culture categorises such illnesses). While diseases may be relatively easy to identify and understand in first century Rome, how the sick actually experienced them is more challenging to interpret. I utilise a variety of evidence to reconstruct the treatment experience of the sick in different situations. While this is not as useful

as personal testimony it still provides some insight into sickness in the Roman world. This being an anthropological text, however, does not assist with the collection of data or propose how to work with limited sources of information such as those available in ancient history.

Medicine, Magic and Religion by W. H. R. Rivers, 1927, has traditionally been regarded as the foundational work of medical anthropology. While he established medicine within the sphere of anthropology and thus culture, he separates western biomedicine from the folk, 'ethnomedicine' which he investigates and claims is free from cultural influences. This naive idea has been strongly opposed by most recent work in anthropology such as P. Katz, 1999 D. Moerman and W. Jonas, 2002 who all highlight the ritual and cultural aspects within our own medical system. So while the Roman approach to medicine may, as is almost universally agreed, focus heavily on simply applying the correct medicine for the correct symptom there is still valuable culture to be understood.

It is clear from these enquiries that women did have some involvement in medicine, although the precise form of this involvement is debated. A full continuum appears between those who believe women were scarcely involved as nurses to those who promote that they were equal to their male counterparts. Additionally most works suggest that Roman medicine focused on the practicalities of treatment rather than theory. This approach has often been mirrored in the secondary scholarship leading to a disregard of the social and cultural aspects of healing. A further debate arises between those who position domestic healing with the *paterfamilias* such as Allbutt and those who believe that this was part of the female role such as Bailey.

II – The Nature of Roman Medicine

1 – Introduction

To get a proper understanding of gender roles in medicine in Roman society I will begin by examining to what extent healing can be seen as part of domestic responsibilities. This discussion will have two components: it will begin by analysing medicine as a domestic or professional activity, and will then continue by examining whether this distinction can be seen as significant. This chapter will incorporate both a detailed discussion of Roman and contemporary views with critical references to both the ancient and modern scholarship.

2 – Medicine as a Domestic Activity

In first century Rome, in contrast to the modern west, medicine was much more commonly carried out in the home without the intervention of a medical physician. Although there were expert physicians in Rome in this period, these appear to have been used only as a last resort.

For the most part the evidence suggests that the primary medical practitioner in the Roman world was the *paterfamilias*¹¹. The medical texts of Celsus aim to assist the understanding of a *paterfamilias* to provide appropriate care to his family. The most striking evidence for this is his differentiation between remedies that would be ‘on hand’ and those which were used by specialists.¹² This would have been unnecessary if his audience were trained physicians having access to such obscure remedies and who would likely already be familiar with their use.¹³ His use of indirect forms of address also suggests that he was informing *patresfamilias* rather than instructing physicians.¹⁴

¹¹ This is also the standard view adopted by modern scholarship beginning with Allbutt (1909). See too Bailey (2012); Jackson (1988) c.f. Hillman (2004:22-33): ‘Practitioner’ (or ‘medical practitioner’) is one involved in healing with some formal or informal training which thus ascribes them a position of authority

¹² Celsus, *De Medicina*, II. 33. 1-4.

¹³ Bailey (2012:29).

¹⁴ Pinkster (1992:520).

Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* likewise seems addressed to the *paterfamilias*. The sizable scope of his investigations would have been unnecessary if his text was directed towards professional physicians. It functions more as an instructive encyclopaedia, suitable for the educated public.¹⁵ Pliny also expresses hostility towards professional physicians, which indicates that these men were not his main target audience.¹⁶ These writings, although before the period of this study, must reflect the traditional Roman view and have undoubtedly contributed to the continuation of this belief among modern studies.¹⁷

Although these sources illustrate that, in the Republic, medicine was commonly practiced in the domestic space, they also show that this had become less common by the time of their creation. One of Pliny's aims in writing the *NH* was to record native Roman medical traditions in order to preserve them for the future.¹⁸ This illustrates that professional medicine, particularly that of the Greeks, was gaining popularity to the detriment of the Roman tradition. This trend continued and so reduced the practice of domestic medicine.¹⁹

We now turn to the role of the *patresfamilias* in contrast to women in the Roman household.

Although the *paterfamilias* was certainly the theoretical and legal head of the Roman family, his involvement in the domestic space would not have been as direct as his wife.²⁰ This is illustrated by the difference in gender associations with either the domestic or public spheres. This separation is seen in ancient works such as Columella as well as made clear in modern studies.²¹ The particular involvement of the *paterfamilias* in medicine is well illustrated in the letters of Cicero to his family.²² In these, although he takes an interest in the wellbeing of those under his legal care, he is clearly not in a position to provide direct assistance. He does give suggestions and even advises the use of professional physicians such as in letter 41 to his slave Tiro where he states "*Medico mercedis*

¹⁵ Flemming (2000:59).

¹⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXIX. 5.

¹⁷ Pliny's writings aimed to preserve older Roman traditions see Bailey (2012:21)

¹⁸ Bailey (2012:21).

¹⁹ Jackson (1988:12).

²⁰ Scullard (2009:338-339)

²¹ Columella, *De Re Rustica*, 12. praef. 1-8 ; Hemelrijk (2004:188).

²² Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 6.14.4; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 155.14.7.

quantum poscet promitti iubeto".²³ These letters (of n.21 and 22) show that although it is his responsibility to be concerned about the health of his family, he is often not available to provide support and so treatments must often have been rendered by others. In some cases, such as that of Tiro, this would be a professional physician, while in others it would be another member of the household, especially the mother.²⁴

The role of being an adviser appears to more accurately represent the role of the *bonus paterfamilias*. This interpretation of their involvement is also supported by the medical encyclopaedias written for their use.²⁵ While an amateur may feel confident to apply some simple remedies, these encyclopaedias do not give enough details on complex medicines for a reader to apply them safely. Instead, the inclusion of these dangerous treatments should be viewed as background information for a *paterfamilias* to employ when selecting an appropriate professional.²⁶ Such information may have been used both to judge a physician's competency, based on knowledge of such treatments, and to make a correct diagnosis so that the appropriate specialist is selected for the illness.²⁷

In contrast to the modern world there were no qualifications for physicians and it was important that someone be able to judge the competence of a practitioner.²⁸ To do this accurately someone in the family needed to stay informed about common medical treatments. It was also important to stay appraised of well-known physicians so that one did not hire an 'oafish quack' as commonly presented in plays, poems and other literary works.²⁹

Another core factor which must have influenced medicine as a domestic activity was to what extent private individuals would have been able to source medicinal substances.³⁰ The mineral treatments

²³ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 41.26.14. 'Give orders for the doctor to be promised whatever fee he asks.'

²⁴ Bailey (2012:63).

²⁵ Bailey (2012:4).

²⁶ Flemming (2000:59).

²⁷ Jackson (1988:32).

²⁸ Bailey (2012:46f.).

²⁹ e.g. Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 950.

³⁰ The public displays of the *marcus* suggest that they sold their remedies to the general public rather than merely physicians. See Nutton (1985:139).

as discussed by Celsus would not have been accessible to the general population and so, if a disease required a mineral treatment, it could not be carried out in the home. In contrast most plant based medicines would have been accessible from dedicated shops in markets and so these treatments could likely be used by laymen in a domestic environment.³¹

There is strong evidence that women did provide practical medical assistance both within the period of this study and earlier. This evidence comes from the agricultural manuals in relation to the care of the rural household and particularly the slaves.³² The instructions suggest that it is the responsibility of the wife of the slave master to care for the slaves and maintain a healing room and supplies.³³ This proves that women could be trusted with such tasks and assume a position of authority over men. This example however is quite narrow, and there are numerous factors which may explain this away as non-standard. Firstly, the patients in this situation were slaves and so perhaps the same social rules did not apply.³⁴ In this case though the woman, too, was a slave and so the practitioner and patient, being on an equal social standing would be subject to their normal gender roles.³⁵ Secondly, it could be identified that the woman herself being a slave is still subject to the control of her own master. This is a sound objection except that this is a description of a large estate where the owner was unlikely to be heavily involved with the practical operation of the property. Finally we can say that this represents a rural environment in which access to professional physicians would be limited. Although this does explain the need to keep supplies for more complex medical treatments it does not alter the fact that the application of these substances was left to a woman, albeit one of higher status, rather than a man. From this it is clear that at least in a rural context women were trusted and made the responsible parties for the administration of medical treatments as well as the acquisition of relevant supplies and treatment spaces.

The use of household items associated with women is also an indication that healing often fell within the scope of the female domestic role. The use of wool with various other ingredients, as is often

³¹ Nutton (1985:140).

³² Such as Cato, *De Agricultura*, ; Columella, *De Re Rustica*,

³³ Columella, *De Re Rustica*, XII. 3. 7.

³⁴ See Cato's instructions on how the slaves should be treated compared to cattle. Cato, *De Agricultura*, V. 6.

³⁵ Bailey (2012:115).

suggested by Pliny, is an example of using a common domestic item in a medicinal way.³⁶ The strong associations of wool with women would suggest that such treatments may well have been carried out by the female members of the house or at least that they would have been involved in the preparation and acquisition of supplies.³⁷ This relates to the access of household members to supplies which will be discussed more thoroughly below.

3 – The Importance of Delivery

Although much of scholarship agrees that women were involved in the practicalities of the healing process, many of these studies regard this as insignificant. Such enquiries suggest that Roman society prized only the remedies themselves without any concern for the person who delivered them.³⁸ While many Roman writers professed this view, I will argue that this position does not reflect the realities of Roman medical treatment by utilizing a broader range of sources and by cross-cultural comparisons of medical systems.

Historians such as Jackson emphasise that, in the republic, the individual delivering a treatment could be anyone and that this was of no real importance. He ascribes this to the importance of religion in traditional Italic remedies that led to them placing no importance on the diagnosis or prognosis of a disease, it not being a human concern.³⁹ This resulted in an assortment of treatments which only aimed to alleviate the visible symptoms.⁴⁰ This began to change after the interaction with rationalist Greek models of medicine.⁴¹

The view of modern scholarship has been greatly affected by ancient works such as Pliny, who structured his work to emphasise substances themselves rather than practitioners. This evidence has been employed by scholars such as Hillman and Bailey to illustrate that medicinal substances were

³⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXIX. 9. 29.

³⁷ Dewitt (1920:222); Poblome (2004:492).

³⁸ Majno (1975:339); Allbutt (1921:24); Scarborough (1993:13); Bailey (2012:16f.) c.f. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 29.8.15-16.

³⁹ Jackson (1988:11).

⁴⁰ Allbutt (1921:25); Hillman (2004:22).

⁴¹ Jackson (1988:14).

seen as the most significant aspect of Roman healing.⁴² It seems, however, that this interpretation is overstretched. Pliny, in writing his natural history, presented more than merely a medical text. His aim was to present what was known of the natural world in an encyclopaedic format; he thus sequenced his work to highlight objects of the natural world.⁴³ For this reason his work should not be used to give insight into the Roman psyche.

Other ancient sources too, such as Celsus, pay little attention to social aspects of medicine. Although he places greater emphasis on the diseases as well as merely the treatments, he still places little emphasis on who administers a treatment.⁴⁴ Celsus' work seems to move slightly closer to the Greek model encouraging the use of *dietetics* and placing some importance on the diseases.⁴⁵ His work also separates the substances that would be on hand and the substances that are more professional.⁴⁶ This shows that his work is directed at the non-expert and that they were expected to apply many of these treatments themselves.

Sources such as Pliny also state that it was the remedies which were significant rather than the physician, stating *non rem antiqui damnabant, sed artem*.⁴⁷ Rather than taking these at face value we should instead consider the purpose of these texts. There would be no purpose in stating that the remedies, rather than the physician, should be the significant aspect if this was already the case. This would suggest that although being concerned only with the pharmaceuticals was viewed as the ideal, it was not the reality. So such accounts, far from suggesting that the Roman concern was only with the substances, indicates that many Romans were interested in the reputation and renown of the healer.

It is possible that this type of statement represents a divide present in Roman society between the literate elite and the lower classes. It is clear that these writers believed that an objective approach

⁴² Hillman (2004:22); Bailey (2012).

⁴³ Murphy (2004).

⁴⁴ Celsus, *De Medicina*, book III; Bailey (2012:35-36).

⁴⁵ Celsus, *De Medicina*, praef. 9.

⁴⁶ Celsus, *De Medicina*, ll. 33.1-4.

⁴⁷ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXIX. 8. It was not medicine itself that the forefathers condemned, but medicine as a profession... chiefly because they refused to pay fees to profiteers in order to save their own lives.

based on the medicinals used was the ideal but, having felt the need to write it, this must not have been the case. This suggests that the mainstream of the Roman people did not accept this rationalist view.

Similarly there was a distinction between urban and rural medical treatment. Rural medicine tended to be more traditional than urban treatments.⁴⁸ For this reason the medical approaches used in the early empire seemed to differ substantially between the practices in the country and in the city. This distinction, of course, also affected the perception of women and their role in healing. Rural medicine continued to place greater significance on the substances and the gods thus giving little credit to the person who prepared and administered the drugs.⁴⁹ This likely meant that it was more often the role of a woman to prepare and deliver these than a physician.

Rural pharmacy was also more likely to use local knowledge of native pharmaceutical plants than those in the city. As remains the case, those who grow up in an area close to nature have a thorough knowledge of these items, and so in the case of medicine would be more likely to use them. Although it has been argued by Scarborough that all Romans would have had considerable knowledge of flora and fauna, this would undoubtedly have been better amongst those who lived in the country.⁵⁰ Furthermore a rural environment would allow for easier access to medicinals which may also have encouraged a tendency for medicine to be carried out by women in a domestic environment.

Finally the access to physicians would have been much less in a rural environment. While many cities had paid physicians for their populations, in a rural area doctors would likely be only sporadically available.⁵¹ Again this shows that the role of women and domestic healing was more significant in the country.

⁴⁸ Hillman (2004:65); Bailey (2012:82).

⁴⁹ Bailey (2012:86-87).

⁵⁰ Scarborough (1986:60).

⁵¹ See surgeons in Mariani-Costantini, et al. (2000).

Rural medicine also tended to employ more magical and religious aspects of healing.⁵² Magic was significant in traditional Italian folk medicine and there is evidence that this continued to varying degrees both in the city and country. Soranus warns *obstetrices* not to engage with superstition. This suggests that the practice of magical and religious healing continued through to at least the second century. Adcock expressed the view that this illustrates a continuation of folk healing.⁵³ Such healing practices would seemingly encourage the role of women as they were seen as suitable to perform magic and be involved with religion.

In Greek medicine we see quite a different view of the aims of medicine which, by the early empire, were likely having an influence on Roman approaches. Greek medicine valued diagnosis and prognosis, a point often parodied by Roman authors.⁵⁴ For this reason the skill, training and indeed 'school' of the physician were held to be of great importance.⁵⁵ As Greek and Roman cultures began to interact more readily we could expect that the Romans may, too, begin to prize skilled and professionally trained physicians. More practically, with the expansion of Roman borders, their society would have been in contact with the major medical training centres such as Alexandria whose medical schools flourished under the Ptolemies.⁵⁶

It would be surprising if the Romans placed little to no significance on the treating professional as this would seem to ignore an aspect of human physiology namely the 'meaning response'.⁵⁷ From the study of Moerman and Jonas it is clear that the behaviour and status of a medical practitioner is of great significance to the meaning for the patient and so the likely effectiveness of any treatments.⁵⁸ This would in fact have been even more significant in the ancient Roman world as few of their treatments had actual medicinal benefits.⁵⁹ Even if the population did not know it consciously, the

⁵² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 30. 1-2; Adcock (1945:10).

⁵³ Adcock (1945:10).

⁵⁴ Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 950.

⁵⁵ Jackson (1988:15f.); Herodotus, *ιστορία*, II. 84.

⁵⁶ Jackson (1988:14).

⁵⁷ Commonly called the placebo effect however this is shown to be an incorrect term by Moerman and Jonas (2002:471) and here I have followed their renaming.

⁵⁸ Moerman and Jonas (2002:473).

⁵⁹ Nutton (1986:55-56).

people who delivered medical treatments were a vital part of the healing process and so, if these healers could be women, it suggests that they held some authority in these matters.

4 – Genders in Professional Medicine

We now turn to a consideration of gender roles amongst professional healers. The healers who will be discussed can be defined by a variety of terms, namely: *medici* (or *medicae*) (the general physicians), *obstetrices* (midwives), *iatrialiptae* (medical trainers or attendants) and *herbarii* (herbalists; dealers in medical materials) these terms mostly differentiated between different approaches and specialisations in medicine.⁶⁰ The main practitioners who will be discussed in this section are *medici*, the general doctors, and *obstetrices*, the gynaecologists/midwives.

As we have seen above women were clearly involved in the domestic use of medicine. They also often worked in some of the positions listed above.

The most obvious field in which women worked to provide medical aid was midwifery. Women in this occupation are very commonly attested through written texts as well as from art.⁶¹ Although the primary purpose of this role was assisting with the delivery of children, their actual activities seemed to be much broader.

These women treated most of the ‘women’s diseases’ like hysteria in addition to their basic birthing role.⁶² They also provided treatment for abortion or contraception as later writings on the subject, such as Metrodora, show.⁶³ These medical texts written by women are an invaluable source into understanding the realities of women in such roles. Most of the other ancient texts written about female health encourage patients to seek out the assistance of male physicians rather than female ones who were seen to be incompetent.

⁶⁰ Flemming (2000:33).

⁶¹ Rawson (2003:101-102); Lawton (2007:42).

⁶² Flemming (2000:264-266) See Galen, *De Praegnotione ad Epigenem*, 8.

⁶³ Retief and Cilliers (2006:173) see also. Soranus, *Gynecology*, I. 65; Hillman (2008:50).

This sentiment is of great interest, it is likely a manifestation of cultural views which seek to restrict situations where the status of a *paterfamilias* may be undermined by a woman who, by way of being hired for the purpose, is ascribed with greater knowledge than the head of the family. This consequently furthers the position that the person delivering treatment did have cultural importance and was an important aspect of Roman healing.

Such a statement relating to the competence or otherwise of female healers leads us to consider the comparative training of male versus female healers. Certainly most females working as midwives would likely be doing so without any or at best little formal training.⁶⁴ This is stated in ancient sources such as Pliny and is supported by the regular mention of the apparent incompetence of these women.⁶⁵ There is a dispute in modern academia as to whether female healers had access to formal training. Nutton, Hillman and Bailey believe that women had no access to formal training whereas Jackson argues the opposite. Flemming separates the titles for different female healers and thus argues that some of these had access to formal training while others did not. Although this may appear to suggest that female healers were ‘unprofessional’ it is unlikely that many of the male physicians would have received more extensive training. The authority of a doctor in the Roman world could only be judged based on his reputation and no other system existed to qualify a medical professional.⁶⁶ This of course led to poor quality standards in terms of physicians leading to their often bad reputation in comedy and statements in literature such as “*discunt periculis nostris et experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunita summa est*”.⁶⁷

While it was expected that a doctor would complete a multi-year apprenticeship this level of training may easily have been matched by women albeit in a less formal setting.⁶⁸ This would suggest that the distinction drawn between women who received formal training and those who are often referred to by modern scholarship as part of a women’s network, is a fabrication of modern views on training.

⁶⁴ Nutton (2004:197).

⁶⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXV. V. 9-10.

⁶⁶ Drabkin (1944:337); Flemming (2000:45-46)

⁶⁷ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXIX. 8. 18. They become acquainted with knowledge from our dangers and conduct experiments through our deaths. Only a physician may kill a man with complete impunity.

⁶⁸ Flemming (2007:261); Flemming (2000:59-61); Drabkin (1944).

Indeed the existence of any women involved in medicine in apparent violation of Roman culture suggests that at least some of these practitioners must have been skilled and thus appropriately 'trained' to make their services more desirable than their male counterparts.

There is also copious evidence that women were employed as general physicians. Firstly there are many references in inscriptions to *medica* which would suggest this. Some of these, such as CIL VI 7581, show that women were functioning as professional doctors. This inscription reads

*deae sanctae meae / Primillae medicae / L Vibi Melitonis f(iliae) / vixit annis xxxxi / ex eis cum L Cocceio / Aphthoro xxx sine querella fecit / Aphthorus coniug(i) / optimae castae / et sibi*⁶⁹

The use of the term *medicae* suggests that this woman was working as a general physician and was viewed as having a professional level of skill in this field. Although she may still have specialised in female disorders this term would suggest that she acted as a general practitioner.

Many such inscriptions, however, show that these women, although being referred to as doctors, were still fulfilling their domestic role. This can be seen by documenting their skills as an effective healer among their other domestic abilities. This is seen in the following inscription

*d. m. s. / Iuliae Saturinae / ann. XXXXV / uxori incomparabili / medicae optimae / mulieri sanctissimae, / Cassius Philippus / maritus ob meritis (sic), / h. s. e. S. t. t. l.*⁷⁰

It is clear from this that although she is called a *medicae* this was seen as an extension of her domestic role. The use here of the term *medicae* suggests that her actions must have been seen to be at least of the level of other professional healers but whether she was held to a different standard than her male colleagues is unclear.

⁶⁹ CIL VI 7581 'To the sacred spirits of my Primilla, physician, daughter of L. Vibius Melito, she lived 44 years, 30 of them with L. Cocceius Aphthorus without complaint. Aphthorus made this for his excellent and chaste wife and for himself.'

⁷⁰ CIL II 497 'Sacred to the divine spirits of Iulia Saturnina, 45 years old, incomparable wife, excellent physician, most pious woman. Cassius Phillipus, her husband, made this because of her merits. She is laid here. May the earth be light on you.'

There are also literary references to women who have been praised by their communities for their abilities in healing. Antiochis of Tlos was even honoured with a statue.⁷¹ This shows that in her case she was making meaningful contributions beyond the domestic environment and we could assume beyond merely the female population. It also shows that although much of the expert healing carried out by women would have been mostly to benefit other women it is obvious that many of them took this further and treated a broader section of society.

Although there is variation in the status of medical physicians of both genders, this did not seem to be highly influenced by the gender of the physician. Instead it seems to be decided by their class.⁷² This could suggest that there is little difference between a male or female physician. This does not seem likely, however, as the written sources suggest and encourage a distinction between genders.

Another professional aspect of healing in which women were involved was wet nursing. In contrast to other medical positions this appeared to represent a more permanent position and seemed to be an informal member of the family.⁷³ This can be seen by the giving of gifts from successful nurslings to their nurses. Although among the aristocracy it was more common for them to hire an individual wet nurse for a long period, there were also public wet nurses who would provide care for the public in the forums and could be hired when necessary. The significance of wet nurses was much greater in the Roman world than in our society primarily on account of the higher mortality rate amongst both infants and nursing mothers.

In contrast many writers such as Tacitus and Quintilian urge mothers to breast feed their own children if able as a means of increasing affection between them and to prevent the wet nurse from having influence over the child.⁷⁴ There was a general view that with milk there was also a transfer of morals and so it was seen as best that a moral woman should breastfeed herself to pass on her morality.⁷⁵ This occupation is one in which a woman holds great sway over the development of a

⁷¹ Lucian, *Alexander*, 6, 15-17; 19, 29.

⁷² Bailey (2012:70); Nutton (2004:196-197).

⁷³ Joshel (1986:5).

⁷⁴ Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, 28 - 29; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1. 4. 4 - 11.

⁷⁵ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2. 87.; Favorinus (from Aulus Gellius,) 12. 1. 8, 11-15, 20.

child. This was especially true since women continued to breast feed their children to an older age than we do in the modern world.

5 – Conclusions

It is clear that we can position healing within the domestic role. Although healing may have been an official duty of the *paterfamilias* they did not usually have direct involvement in performing healing tasks. This was seen to be a result of differing gender roles in Roman society which often separated the *paterfamilias* from close contact with those in his care. This separation is seen to be even greater in the case of the rural *domus* in which we see a more formal transfer of the healing responsibility to a woman or other representative.

Substantial variations can also be identified in Roman medicine between urban and rural areas. The populations in rural areas were more persistent in their use of magic and religious approaches to healing. They also tended towards domestic treatment without calling on a professional physician. This can be related to their increased familiarity with local pharmaceuticals which reduced the need for the imported treatments which were applied by professionals.

There were varying opinions expressed about whether treatments themselves were the most significant aspect of healing. This may be attributed to the differing views of the literate and illiterate people although the latter are poorly represented through our dependence on written sources. The modern view that Roman medicine focused entirely on the pharmaceuticals has been propagated through an overdependence on Pliny who promoted this opinion.

The need for a family member to remain apprised of good local physicians was also explained in its context as a product of the Roman medical system. The relationship between Greek and Roman medicine was also considered with the Greek influence on the underlying concepts of Italian medicine identified. The extent of training for both male and female physicians was discussed which illustrated that neither can be regarded as overly formal and a lack of training was not something which hindered female physicians.

This chapter has also established that, although remedies may be promoted as the core aspect of Roman medicine, the role of the healer was also significant. This was particularly true in respect to the lower classes and those in rural environments. Through modern interpretations it was shown that the healer was a major component of Roman medicine, both in an abstract sense but also as a practical part of the healing process.

We have also seen that women were active participants in professional Roman medicine. They fulfilled roles associated with their specific genders, as midwives, gynaecologists and wet-nurses, as well as providing aid to the general public; some to the extent that they received public honours.

III - Medicine, Women and Society

1 – Introduction

Having established that medicine can be seen as part of the domestic role I will now explore what the female duties in healing can tell us about their role in Roman society. This will shed light not only on the women in domestic healing but also on female professionals. To achieve this I will make reference to ancient texts, particularly Soranus and Pliny, to chart the involvement of women in healing and identify trends in their roles and rights. The evidence for this chapter is drawn from Appendix 1 which summarises the treatments found in Soranus, Pliny and Dioscorides. This is especially significant for sections 4 and 5 which explain and explore the trends in this data.

2 – Changes in Female Healers Through Time

To begin we must consider the nature of the female healer as represented in Soranus. While his introduction makes clear that midwives would often be female, he rarely defines with certainty what gender was to apply a given treatment within his work.⁷⁶ Indeed, although thoroughly outlining how a treatment was to be applied he rarely specifies the qualifications of the practitioner. On occasion however he does specify who is to carry out an action. In these situations he most commonly identifies the midwife as the practitioner. An example can be found in book 3 section 32. Here, although a midwife is identified as a practitioner, the illness does not directly relate to parturition, instead being a complication possibly long after the event.⁷⁷ So in this situation we infer that Soranus identifies the practitioner since it may be unclear that this treatment falls within their duties. As a result we could infer that in those cases where no practitioner is identified it is either clear who was to perform the treatment or that the identity of the treater was insignificant.

The latter interpretation is supported as, although anointing and bathing are the most common forms of treatment in Soranus, only once does he suggest that you may need the assistance of a

⁷⁶ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.4.

⁷⁷ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.32.

professional anointer.⁷⁸ In all other circumstances anyone could seemingly apply the treatment. This parallels with the findings of Chapter Two which showed that the Romans focussed on the treatments rather than the practitioner. While Soranus does casually refer to the presence of a doctor in the event of a difficult birth, throughout the rest of the text we must infer that the instructions are mostly directed at the midwife and thus were to be carried out by women.⁷⁹ Soranus unfortunately remains mute on whether this physician was already meant to be present at the birth or whether they were summoned after it was clear that there were problems. The earlier section discussing the birth, however, makes no mention of the presence of a doctor, only of three midwives or other women to assist with the birth; and so we must theorise that the physician was sent for out of necessity rather than being a part of the normal birth process.⁸⁰

So it is clear that many of the treatments in Soranus were performed by women with the involvement of men being reserved only for dangerous situations. Although this relates to the content of his work, when we find examples of similar treatments in earlier texts where men are the practitioners, we can observe a change.

On account of Pliny's focus on the substances used for the treatments rather than the methods of treatment, few references make clear who is to perform a treatment. As Pliny aimed to preserve an older and more traditional form of Roman medicine we can assume that many of these treatments were to have been carried out within the home. As it has been established that women in the domestic space may often carry out healing, they may well have applied many of the treatments outlined in Pliny. There is, however, no way of establishing this from the text so it provides little evidence.

In the remedies of Pliny which pertain to women we find that most were to be applied by the woman herself or by other women such as midwives.⁸¹ This parallels Soranus' representation of the presence of female healers, at least in relation to 'women's diseases'. In contrast Pliny provides at

⁷⁸ See p. 8 n. 15; Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3. 15.

⁷⁹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 4.7.

⁸⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.5.

⁸¹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.3, 20.18, 20.34.

least one account in which the involvement of the female patient is strictly discouraged: *putant conceptus adiuvari adalligato semine, si terram non attigerit, partus vero, si in arietis lana alligatum inscientis lumbis fuerit, ita ut protinus ab enixu rapiatur extra domum.*⁸²

This section shows that the female patient must be unaware that this treatment is being carried out. So here a woman is not only unable to perform the treatment: she is also prevented from being aware of it.

The presentation of women as the primary healers in cases of 'women's diseases' is also found in Dioscorides, where it is most often the patient herself who carries out the treatment.⁸³ This, however, can only be established based on the types of treatments used. Again we find no direct statement that the healer was a specialist or any reference to their gender.

From the presentations in these three works we can see that it is only in the work of Soranus where the participation of a female physician is specified. Although fairly evident that the works of Pliny and Dioscorides refer to female physicians, these texts do not provide anything more specific than inferred participation. This illustrates a change in the status of female physicians within this period.

A similar change can also be seen in the way female patients are viewed. While Pliny clearly indicates that he felt it unnecessary to give women control of their bodies, claiming instead that female health and treatment should be managed by providing or performing treatments without their knowledge, this view of medical practice is not evident by the time of Soranus. He, indeed, suggests that placebos may be used to aid in a woman's treatment at her request, although he believes that these objects have no medical benefit.⁸⁴ This difference may also be explained on account of Soranus' scepticism, which would undoubtedly clash with a treatment that somehow required the patient's

⁸² Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20. 3 "It is generally thought that the seed of this plant will facilitate conception if a woman carries it attached to her person, before it has touched the ground; and that it has the effect of aiding parturition, if it is first wrapped in ram's wool, and then tied round the woman's loins, without her knowing it, care being taken to carry it out of the house the instant she is delivered."

⁸³ Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.1.2, 1.2.2, 1.4.2, 1.7.4.

⁸⁴ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3. 43.

ignorance of the procedure; but this would not change that it was at the request of a woman not the *paterfamilias*.⁸⁵

The period of the early Empire represented a general rise in the status of women. In early Rome we find women being confined to the home or veiled as in the Greek world.⁸⁶ In contrast we find presentations of the women of the Julio-Claudian family taking ever increasing positions of status.⁸⁷ This increasing power was apparently not only confined to the ruling class but to a broad group of society.⁸⁸ With the increased rights to interact with the public world and the associated capacity for gaining prestige it is unsurprising that we find a similar increase in female healers.

In the work of Soranus we see the activity of numerous professionals and laymen in administering different treatments. As outlined above the vast majority of treatments in Soranus do not specify who was to provide them and so could likely be applied by anyone. We do, though, find treatments that are to be carried out by midwives, anointers, wet nurses and doctors in various situations. This shows a greater concern for the wellbeing of the patient than in Pliny or Dioscorides where no such references can be found. So again this illustrates an increasing concern for female patients. The clear use of midwives and wet nurses also shows the growing realm of professional female healers. This is emphasised as Soranus differentiates between a professional and experienced midwife and other female attendants at the birth.⁸⁹ A sizable amount of the *Gynaecology* is concerned with identifying the appropriate qualities of both midwives and wet nurses. This work also outlines the responsibility of these positions; many of these duties afford great authority to the practitioner. A midwife, for example, is responsible for determining if a child it to be weaned, or to advise exposure.⁹⁰ A wet nurse would also be responsible for the primary medical treatment of a baby, most often through her milk but also as the main carer.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Temkin (1956:xxxi).

⁸⁶ Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium*, Llibri IX 6.3.10.

⁸⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.1-9; Suetonius, *Nero*, 28.

⁸⁸ MacMullen (1980:210).

⁸⁹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.4-5.

⁹⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2. 6.

⁹¹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.87, 2.118.

Although it is clear that these occupations existed in the time of Pliny the Elder and Dioscorides, these writers avoid reference to them. Even in this period, however, there are numerous references to gifts being given particularly to wet nurses.⁹² These gifts were often substantial. Pliny the Younger notably gifted his wet nurse a farm and the staff to manage it.⁹³ It also appears common for wet nurses to be manumitted during or after their service.⁹⁴ The manner in which these instances are framed is suggestive: namely, although these women were seen as significant and so rewarded, it was still seen as taboo to mention them – at least in the time of Pliny the Elder. Here, of course, Pliny may be promoting an antiquarian perspective and so be discouraging the use of nurses, viewing their activity as a form of decadence. Importantly, this perspective cannot be attributed to Dioscorides.

3 – The Status of Female Physicians

The terms *medicae* (general doctors) and *obstetrices* (midwives), although likely different, are difficult to separate based on the available evidence and so are usually best discussed as a single field.⁹⁵ As has been discussed in Chapter Two, these women could clearly be quite respected in a community and were acting for the benefit of the community at large rather than for their own homes. While they may have always been in the minority, it seems likely that female physicians would have been well accepted in Rome.

If we follow the traditional view that the professional physician (as a category of person providing a service) was imported from Greece and that with them came Greek medical views, then Roman women would likely have been accepted in medicine as they had in Greece.⁹⁶ This cultural process was however slow and so there may well have been initial resistance. This resistance however seems to have been felt across physicians of both genders.⁹⁷

⁹² Bradley (1986:204).

⁹³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 6.3.

⁹⁴ Joshel (1986:16); Bradley (1986:204 - 206).

⁹⁵ Jackson (1988:191 n. 12); Nickel (1979:115 - 118); King (1986:55; 59-60).

⁹⁶ Cushing (1998:44); Hyginus, *Fabula*, 274. 10-13.

⁹⁷ Hillman (2004:22).

The acceptance of female physicians is to be expected since they were traditionally used in medicine. Certainly the domestic and folk healing which would have been more prevalent in early Italic communities would depend substantially on the women to have provided supportive care and likely to be familiar with drug lore. Additionally, for support in birthing we continue to see the use of a female community to aid in the process which is a clear reflection of such systems in earlier periods.⁹⁸

The *medicae* are known from Soranus to have treated practically all women's diseases. Issues arising in relation to menstruation and parturition may be the conditions we most quickly think of, but there was a broad array of possible ailments, many of which were seen as quite dangerous. Parturition was mostly the responsibility of a midwife whereas a woman suffering full retention of the menstrual flux, which Soranus identifies as dangerous, would likely have been attended by a *medicae*.⁹⁹ Particularly if this illness becomes chronic, complex treatments may be required such as the *metasyncratic* cure as well as applications of moderately dangerous substances such as hellebore.¹⁰⁰

Soranus also provides an insight into the status of an *obstetrix* when he lists their duties during and after a birth, particularly that they choose whether or not a child is worth rearing.¹⁰¹ He provides a detailed account of the characteristics to be considered. While Soranus does not specify, we should assume that the decision itself still rested with the *paterfamilias* as to whether a child was to be raised or exposed and that the *obstetrix* merely provided advice. But even this was a substantial right and illustrated that they must have been regarded as experts.

As with male doctors, the status and thus pay of female physicians would have related to their class.¹⁰² Based on inscriptions and other references we find that most women claiming to be *medicae* are related to a *medicus*, usually either their father or husband.¹⁰³ Thus we can assume that they were

⁹⁸ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.4-5.

⁹⁹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.9.

¹⁰⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.15-16; the metasyncratic cure focused on destabilising or irritating a patient's body. In the case of Soranus this involved fasting separated by specific diets of bread, pungent foods, vegetable brain or fish, fowl and pork. Then repeat while inducing vomiting during the fasts. C.f. Weckowicz and Liebel-Weckowicz (1990:30); Everett (2012:49).

¹⁰¹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.10.

¹⁰² Scarborough (1969:110-112).

¹⁰³ Flemming (2007:260); Bailey (2012:71).

likely drawn from the same classes. Male physicians were usually of low status, most commonly being freedmen or having freedmen as ancestors.¹⁰⁴ This was particularly true for the doctors who treated the mainstream of Roman society. In contrast those from the upper echelons preferred to recruit physicians from a likewise higher status.¹⁰⁵ It is these physicians who are paid at extraordinary rates and tend to gain more fame.

The complex remedies contained in Soranus strongly suggest that any female physician who was to perform them would have required some familiarity with medical theory.¹⁰⁶ Without this grounding the remedies would not make any sense and, even if she felt confident to simply apply them as Soranus instructs, it is unlikely that the patient would have been eager to proceed without some explanation. Having this understanding of medical theory it seems likely that such a physician would be able to administer treatments for a complete spectrum of diseases. Soranus himself argues that women's diseases do not really exist as they only differ in their manifestation, but that their underlying forms were the same as all other diseases.¹⁰⁷ So while it cannot be shown with absolute certainty that female healers also treated male diseases it seems almost certain that they would be capable. Additionally this shows that their duties may well have included the treating of women for any disease rather than just those seen as particular to their gender.

The traditional foundation mythology of female healers suggests that ancient women were refusing treatment from male practitioners to the detriment of their health.¹⁰⁸ The myth of Agnodike suggests that the principle cause for her engaging in medical practice was the high mortality resulting from women refusing treatment from male physicians. Additionally we find that she was so popular as a female physician that it resulted in the law prohibiting female practice being changed.¹⁰⁹ As a piece of mythology, this can provide insight into the way in which ancient societies function.¹¹⁰ Whether or not these myths were based on true events, the creators of the myth found it reasonable that such things

¹⁰⁴ Scarborough (1969:110-112).

¹⁰⁵ Scarborough (1969:111).

¹⁰⁶ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.15-16.

¹⁰⁷ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.5.

¹⁰⁸ King (1986:53-54).

¹⁰⁹ Hyginus, *Fabula*, 274. 10-13.

¹¹⁰ Powell (2009:12-14, 647-649); Brillante (1990:105-108).

may occur. Although these are set in a Greek context it seems unlikely that they would be distinct in this respect. So we can establish that, although not necessarily based on their degree of expertise, female healers were preferred by female patients. This is also indicated by Soranus who clearly expects that most midwives and gynaecologists would be female – although it should be remembered that he himself is an example of a male in such a position.¹¹¹

The suggestion that a suitable practitioner should be literate and familiar with the relevant literature may either be taken to illustrate that women were often literate, or it may have implied that most women were unsuitable to the task.¹¹² There would have been no doubt about Soranus's meaning to a contemporary reader; however, without knowing the rates of female, or indeed male, literacy, we cannot tell. With most education in basic literature occurring in the 'primary' stage of Roman education it seems likely that this would be all that was required to understand the text of Soranus and thus other gynaecological writings. Although Soranus was written in Greek rather than Latin it is probable that literacy education taught both languages simultaneously and so we could still expect students to reach reasonable competence early in their education. The language used in Soranus is confusing only in regards to its vocabulary and is otherwise in reasonably clear prose. The 'high school' level education would likely have had little effect on the capacity for a student to understand prose as it focused on poetry and philosophy. Additionally, this vocabulary would likely have been known by any professional midwife or gynaecologist as a necessary vocabulary for their occupation, so by using primary grade literacy skills it is likely they could understand these gynaecological texts.

We are also unable to tell whether men would have preferred their wives and daughters to be attended by male or female physicians. The republican sources paint a negative view of female healers, though this is no greater than that of male Greek doctors. Pliny, at least, would likely see female healers as a threat to the purity of Roman traditions and the status of the *paterfamilias*. Soranus in his strict conditions on the suitability of healers does seem to encourage the view that a

¹¹¹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.3-4, 3.3.

¹¹² Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.3.

male may have been more suitable.¹¹³ It also seems clear that Soranus expects that many of his readers would be female and this possibly explains why he is not more overt in his recommendation of male physicians. The mere survival of female healers indicates that their services must have been required. As Roman women would often have been under the *potestas* of a father, the *manus* of a husband or the supervision of a tutor, we could also infer that these men did not prevent the use of a female healer.¹¹⁴ If a woman was under the supervision of a tutor this control may be minimal especially if she was married in *manu*.¹¹⁵ For elite women we find notable examples of independence and, while women may theoretically be subject to another's *potestas*, this may not have been applicable.¹¹⁶

4 – Trends in Medical Treatment

Using the references collected we can begin to see trends in the types of treatments that were applied by men and women.

In Pliny we find that 680 out of 1226 treatments were administered orally, either as food or drink, thus forming the vast majority of the treatments he lists.¹¹⁷ A comparable 92 of 189 treatments in Dioscorides are also of this type.¹¹⁸ In Soranus, however, we find only 67 of 434 references are of this type. In contrast, we find many more treatments dependant on bathing or anointing, with 73 references;¹¹⁹ while in Pliny, we find only 46 examples and of those listed none pertain to women's diseases.¹²⁰ In Dioscorides we find 16 examples of bathing treatments 12 of which relate to female

¹¹³ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.3-4.

¹¹⁴ Gardner (1986:5).

¹¹⁵ Schulz (1951:185-186); Gardner (1986:15-16); Matthews (1995:767). See too the fear that excessive accrual of wealth by women would ultimately effect manpower and the functions of Empire, Hopwood (2004:141 - 147).

¹¹⁶ See chapter II. 2.

¹¹⁷ 'oral decoction', 'oral (mastication)', 'oral, drink and injection', masticant, confection, drink, 'oral drink topical', draught, 'gargle or drink', masticant, pill, 'drink and liniment', 'drink, topical', 'drink or topical', 'masticant, topical', 'masticant and topical', 'drink or smell', 'oral, drink', 'drink topical', 'oral, injection', 'oral topical'.

¹¹⁸ Drink, 'drink or topical', 'drink, purge', lozenge, masticant, oral.

¹¹⁹ Anointment, bath, 'bath, other', 'bath, oral', fomentation, massage, 'bath, rubeficiant', rubificent.

¹²⁰ Bath, injection or fomentation, topical ointment, ointment.

ailments.¹²¹ The majority of the remaining remedies in Soranus (142 treatments) are topical.¹²²

Similarly we find 332 examples of topical remedies in Pliny,¹²³ while in Dioscorides we find 45 examples.¹²⁴

As Pliny and Dioscorides present the more general form of medicine, in contrast to the specialist work of Soranus which focuses on female conditions, we can assume that most ancient Roman medicine was principally based on remedies delivered orally. Soranus, though, uses such treatments sparingly, forming only 15% of his cures. As Soranus is the only work where we can establish with certainty that these treatments were performed by women, we can surmise that the primary remedies females applied were based on bathing, anointing and topical treatments. This contrasts with the trend for oral treatments to be applied by male physicians.

Based on Soranus alone, it is difficult to establish whether women were restricted to these forms of treatment through social constraints, or if they were perceived to be the form of treatment most beneficial to alleviating or ameliorating the symptoms associated with 'women's diseases'. If we compare the treatments found in Soranus with similar treatments in Pliny, we find that the former makes greater use of oral remedies for these diseases. Of Pliny's remedies, however, there is still an above average use of other forms of treatment, especially bathing. This would seem to indicate that the form of treatment depended on those who administered it rather than the gender of the patient. This theory is also supported by Dioscorides who provides numerous references to orally administered treatments. One should note, however, that the treatments delivered orally are almost exclusively for bringing on or aiding menstruation. Additionally we do find an above average number of bathing treatments in relation to other forms of female illness. It seems quite likely that the

¹²¹ 'vap, Bath', 'sitz bath' 'sitz baths', 'sitz bath of fumigation', 'topical, bath', 'v.sup. and sitz bath'

¹²² Cataplasm, cerates, compress, 'other, topical', plaster, pledget, poultice, 'poultice, plaster', 'poultice, diet', salve, 'sup, poultice', topical, 'topical, compress', 'topical, other'.

¹²³ Depilatory, drink or topical, drink topical, 'drink, topical', ear drops, eye drops, folk topical, 'fomentation, topical', masticant and topical, 'masticant, topical', ointment, 'oral, drink, topical', 'oral, topical', plaster, poultice, topical, 'topical bandage', 'topical, emetic', 'topical ointment', 'topical, gargle', topical/folk

¹²⁴ Cataplasm, depilatory, drink or topica, ointment, plaster, poultice, salve, 'sub or poultices' topical, 'topical (liniment)', 'topical, bath'; The remaining unexplained data are mostly either general references to the properties of the pharmaceuticals especially in Dioscorides, as well as folk practices as found in Pliny. The large number of un-included references in Soranus are mostly folk medicines, suppositories and surgery or bleedings these making up at least 107 of the 152 examples not used in the above statistics.

absence of or difficulty in menstruating represented occasions where a professional physician may have been required and thus this may explain the presence of oral treatments.

Additionally we should consider whether these treatments formed a significant part of the entirety of the Roman medical system. All evidence seems to suggest that these 'women's diseases' were significant. References to such diseases and treatments are found in all of our accounts. There are 26 references to such diseases in Dioscorides and a similar percentage in Pliny. From this, although we cannot establish how much of practiced medicine was of this form, we can show that approximately a quarter of Roman diseases were restricted to women.

From these general trends I will now consider more specific treatments used by women and the possible significance of these. Particularly, I will consider pharmaceuticals which the Romans considered dangerous.

We find only one reference to opium in Soranus.¹²⁵ This account associates the opium with a concoction comprising vinegar, hypocist and acacia juice.¹²⁶ Notably this treatment was not intended for oral delivery but was instead a vaginal injection. However, based on the warnings in Pliny, we should still expect that the use was moderately dangerous. This concoction was intended to stop a uteral haemorrhage, a condition that Soranus believed was dangerous.¹²⁷ Again this is a situation where it would be useful to have clarification of who was to perform the treatment. Soranus outlines other means of preventing bleeding, including hooks, ligatures and stiches. These procedures may well have been more associated with *medici*. However, even if this is the case, we cannot tell whether this physician would be male or female. The use of cupping which follows supports the interpretation that this would be treated by a *medicus* as cupping vessels were often used in art as a symbol of physicians.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ The poppy was considered lethal by Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76.

¹²⁶ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3. 41; Hypocist is the solidified juice of *Cytinus hypocistis* used as a tonic and astringent; Little, et al., (Hypocist) *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1973:1009).

¹²⁷ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3. 40.

¹²⁸ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3. 41; Scarborough (1969:pl. 47).

Pliny advises of the dangers of poppy use, especially in the form of opium. However, he does list a variety of treatments for which he endorses the use of the poppy.¹²⁹ None of the ailments he references related to female illnesses and so it seems that opium was used sparingly on women, possibly on account of its risks. This is an interesting trend. The lack of references provides no evidence that female physicians were to apply opium, which may represent a restriction of their medical role. As most of the treatments presented in Pliny were applicable to either gender this does not mean that women could not use opium, however its use as an analgesic, especially in war, would not apply to women. Its use in such circumstances was likely as a last resort on patients with a limited chance of survival. There are numerous reasons why opium may not be used for women's complaints or on them for pain relief. Firstly the higher pain tolerance of women may make such use less necessary. Secondly it may reflect a concern that women could not handle the strength of the substance, although this seems unlikely as it has been established that opium was still applied to them. Finally if, as suggested earlier, female physicians were restricted from applying opium this may have made the use of opium for women's diseases unfeasible through a lack of suitable physicians.

These trends are important as the preference for topical treatments grants less power to these female physicians than oral remedies. Oral consumption represents a breach of our bodily barrier.¹³⁰ When we consider medicines in our own society we can see a clear hierarchy in the perceived power of treatments:¹³¹

Surgery > Injection > Ingestion > Topical Application

Inspection of this hierarchy reveals that it correlates with the degree to which the body is penetrated with surgery being the most extreme and topical applications involving no penetration. This concern for the bodily boundary is also clear when we consider other events which involve the breach of this

¹²⁹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76-80.

¹³⁰ Meigs (1997:96); Douglas (1997:36).

¹³¹ In this hierarchy '>' is utilised to illustrate the term on left is more significant than that on the right.

boundary; sex, toileting and eating being the most notable.¹³² All of these events are heavily associated with rituals.

Food can thus be seen as a means of incorporating both the symbolic and physical aspects of a material.¹³³ Topical treatments do not entail the same dangers nor the same benefits, and so the application of a dangerous substance externally represents less danger and ascribes less power or status to the physician. Although it gives slightly greater authority and status other means of internalising a treatment such as the suppositories which are so common in Soranus are still not as significant as ingestion. The exception to this is surgery that, as now, is ascribed a greater significance on account of its danger and immediate effects.

5 - What Female Physicians Did Not Do

We now turn to consideration of what practices or treatments female physicians would not have performed.

A major field of medicine in which women were unrepresented was surgery.¹³⁴ This absence can be easily understood if we consider the scope of surgery and the means of training. The training of physicians was carried out by apprenticeship and so surgeons too must have learnt their art through experience.¹³⁵ As the majority of surgery that was performed was carried out in response to battle wounds this left little opportunity for women to gain experience in the art and ensured that this speciality was restricted to men.¹³⁶ This inability to train was exemplified as dissection was not permitted in the Roman world,¹³⁷ thus preventing exposure to and understanding of the workings of the body and so make successful surgery unachievable.

¹³² Fieldhouse (1986:173); Griffin (1981:24-25).

¹³³ Fiddes (1991:279-280); Meigs (1997); Fischler (1988).

¹³⁴ Surgery here excludes normal childbirth particularly as this doesn't entail the cutting of a patient.

¹³⁵ Flemming (2007:260-261); cf. Adcock (1945:9).

¹³⁶ Hippocrates, *de Medico*, 9.219; Drabkin (1944:336-337).

¹³⁷ With the exception of Alexandria where dissection and supposedly vivisection were permitted since it is required for mummification. See Edelstein (1935).

There may have been ethical reasons which could explain the female absence from surgery. Most notably, a key quality of a surgeon was to ignore the pain of the patient, as surgery was performed without anaesthetic.¹³⁸ This quality I expect would have been seen as uncommon and unbecoming of a woman where as such a trait was preferred in the case of men.

Additionally, the application of dangerous oral remedies which is absent from the treatments performed by women can be understood in terms of the gender roles and the relationship between men and women. As women were traditionally seen to be subject to the control of a male guardian and this was viewed as their natural position in society,¹³⁹ if a woman were to apply a dangerous treatment, especially to a male patient, this would place the woman temporarily in a position of greater authority than the male patient. Although possible, and in some circumstances likely, that this occurred it would have been something to have been avoided as it broke with social mores and traditions. In contrast it is clear that a wet nurse may hold authority over a male infant, though this was probably acceptable as the wet nurse herself was likely under the control of the *paterfamilias* and there is no way in which the infant could hold authority over the woman.

6 - Conclusions

Through an examination of the treatments women could apply we can see that these were highly socially regulated and reflected the preference to maintain the status of men and so not subject them to the views of a woman. These treatments illustrate that female specialists must have had an understanding of medical theory which would likely have allowed them to treat a wide array of conditions.

The ancient evidence illustrates a change in the presentation of women both as the healer and patient between the times of Pliny and Soranus. Where Pliny accepts that there are diseases particular to women this view was refuted in Soranus' work. Similarly Pliny and Dioscorides make no mention of female healers while Soranus acknowledges them regularly despite preferring male

¹³⁸ Bliquez (1981:12).

¹³⁹ See chapter III.3.

practitioners. As a patient Soranus also gives greater rights to the patient than the earlier works. This is seen to parallel with increasing female autonomy in society more broadly.

Female physicians were likely well acknowledged by the end of the period under consideration and were given notable responsibilities, especially in advising on the survival of the child. They were seemingly drawn from a similar social status as their male counterparts who were usually of a notably low position. Based on the historical context we can also show that female healers were likely preferred by female patients and not shunned by their male guardians.

While it is clear that women occasionally did perform treatments with dangerous substances, these were usually applied in a manner to offset their danger compared to the way male physicians would likely apply them. Surgery, as a form of dangerous treatment, is seen to exclude women, mostly out of an inability to train them. It has also been possible to discern an aversion to such an occupation being filled by women on account of gender roles.

IV - Understanding Healing

1 – Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to utilise the evidence of the treatments females could apply (in contrast to their male counterparts) as a means of understanding the risks, and thus power, of specific pharmaceuticals as they were viewed in Roman culture. The tendency for women to apply treatments topically, as seen in the previous chapter, allows for a new strategy by which to consider the power of pharmaceuticals which appears regularly in part 6 of this chapter. A variety of other approaches have been used to reconstruct the significance of different pharmaceuticals; however, it is clear from section 6 that this investigation has greatly benefitted from an understanding of gender roles. The assessment of particular pharmaceuticals is of course only a select sample, as, in order to perform this analysis for even the majority of medicines would far exceed the length of this thesis. Instead, this section aims to provide a framework for future enquiries of this type and to establish the viability of such investigations.

2 - Background of methods

This chapter will begin by outlining the approaches taken and the forms of evidence to be used to expose what can be learnt about pharmacy and pharmaceuticals in Roman society based on these approaches.

In studies which examine the effectiveness of Roman medicine it is clear that the treatments were mostly ineffective. The ‘perceived’ effect of these substances can be explained using the meaning effect. So, if it were generally believed that a treatment was effective, then there was an increased chance of healing occurring and that positive results would be more memorable.¹⁴⁰ This effect is also tied to quality of the treatments which are applied. For instance, if a test group is given aspirin, those who take pills of a known brand will experience stronger results than those who are given generic

¹⁴⁰ Moerman and Jonas (2002:471) On the ‘Barnum’ effect and the tendency to accept positive information and ignore negative suggestions, see Dutton (1988:326).

medicines.¹⁴¹ More substantially patients may automatically ascribe meaning and power to remedies based on cultural ideas. In a test in which medical students were given either one or two red or blue pills, all placebos, and are informed they are participating in a test of stimulants and depressants those who were given red pills reported symptoms of taking a stimulant while those with blue pills report symptoms of depressants.¹⁴² Those who were given multiple pills also exhibited a greater response than those with one.

We can also gain a greater understanding of Roman medicines based on the informal controls applied to their use as a means of regulating them. Such practices are found in all traditional forms of drug use in the modern world so it can be inferred that this is a universal human characteristic.¹⁴³ Modern examples can be seen in phrases such as 'don't drink and drive' or 'don't drink before noon'.¹⁴⁴ These are more than merely sayings but are beliefs which should not be broken, people need not consider such a saying to not drink in the morning; it would simply feel wrong both to the individual and those around them to break them.¹⁴⁵ In the case of less dangerous substances these social controls are often easily broken or stretched. As the substances become more dangerous, such as with heroin use in the modern world, these restrictions become more rigid with less freedom to modify or break from them.¹⁴⁶

These social controls generally allow for much safer drug use and are among the reasons that drugs are most dangerous when first created. While there were substantial problems with alcohol abuse during and immediately after the prohibition in the United States, alcohol quickly became a drug which could be used with relatively little danger.¹⁴⁷ This is a result of increased familiarity with the substance and the associated introduction of social controls.

¹⁴¹ Branthwaite and Cooper (1981).

¹⁴² Blackwell, et al. (1972); Cattaneo, et al. (1970); Schapira, et al. (1970).

¹⁴³ Weil (1998:99); Keenan (2004:71-72).

¹⁴⁴ Du Toit (1997:114).

¹⁴⁵ Moore (1993:60); Zinberg (1984:9-10).

¹⁴⁶ See the regulation of 'trips' in Moore (1993:61).

¹⁴⁷ Zinberg (1984:9).

Similar controls can be seen in food consumption when the embodying of a substance is seen as negative. An example can be found in the 18th century when young women were known to have starved themselves, especially avoiding meat, as an appetite for food was associated with a desire for sexual pleasure.¹⁴⁸ This is astoundingly similar to social regulations of drug use, as again we find a social trend designed to protect these females from the risks of meat consumption. From the described social controls, we see that substances that are more controlled are seen as more dangerous, and those which are more dangerous are, based on the meaning effect, more powerful. Using these contemporary methodologies will allow a reconstruction of the perceived power of Roman pharmaceuticals.

The work of Zinberg has identified a correlation between drug, set and setting.¹⁴⁹ While he applies this insight to an understanding of addiction it is clear from his study that these three features are highly relevant to drug use in general.¹⁵⁰ I will develop an understanding of Roman medicine through discussion of the set and setting of healing. The following sentences shall explain how I will apply these terms to my study. The 'drug' component of this enquiry is merely the substance being used and its associated physical effects. The setting is the physical environment in which a treatment took place, whether this is the home of the patient or a formalised place of treatment such as a forum. The set is the most difficult to interpret as this is the social environment in which treatment takes place; however, this relates closely to the involvement of women in healing and should be reinterpreted in light of their involvement.

A close investigation of the types of language used in relation to medicine will provide a greater insight into how the Roman people understood healing. This method is effective firstly because language shapes and reflects the thoughts of the culture and secondly because it may give insights into the metaphorical construction of ideas.¹⁵¹ The work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson explores

¹⁴⁸ Brumberg (1997:168-174).

¹⁴⁹ These were defined by Zinberg (1984:5) "drug (the pharmacologic action of the substance itself), set (the attitude of the person at the time of use, including his personality structure), and setting (the influence of the physical and social setting within which the use occurs)."

¹⁵⁰ Zinberg (1984:5).

¹⁵¹ Clark (1998:163-169).

this approach and shows that our existence is shaped by metaphors which are not perceived but nonetheless influence the way in which we conceive of complex issues such as an argument.¹⁵²

3 - The 'Setting' of Medicine

Medical treatment could occur in a variety of situations and this can provide information on the influence of treatment. Indeed a variation in environment may be one way of differentiating between professional and amateur medicine.

Medical treatment in this period could occur in three possible environments. Firstly, it could occur in the house of the patient with the physician being summoned. This was the most traditional form of treatment and reflected the form of medicine practised in Roman Italy, which emphasised domestic healing.¹⁵³ Secondly, it could occur in a shop-like venue assigned specifically for medical treatment. These were often mobile venues and so would also have been common in smaller communities which may not have possessed a standing population of doctors.¹⁵⁴ Finally, treatment could be performed in the house of the physician.

From Soranus we can see that when a woman was giving birth the physician usually came to the home of the patient.¹⁵⁵ This seemingly applied to all treatments in preparation for the birth, even though these could have been applied in a separate locality.¹⁵⁶ This practice is likely related to the status of women and their traditional association with the domestic space, in that if women were traditionally meant to reside within the house then the treatments of women would more likely take place in this area. This was mostly applicable to the wealthy upper class women of Rome, since those with less wealth may have had to work as a means of earning income which would thus have entailed an existence beyond the home. Additionally it was mainly the women of these upper classes who were likely to call on the assistance of a physician. The ideal which is presented in the literature,

¹⁵² An argument is seen to have certain metaphoric parallels which in our culture relate to war whereas if these parallels were to relate to a dance completely different aspects of an argument may be significant and valued, such as harmony rather than winning or losing. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3-8).

¹⁵³ Hillman (2004:22-33).

¹⁵⁴ Jackson (1988).

¹⁵⁵ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.67.

¹⁵⁶ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.49-56.

however, would still promote that a woman should reside in the home and so it still seems likely that, for birth, the physician would come to the home of the patient regardless of their social status.

In contrast the public wet nurses could usually be found in the forum, an example of the second venue for treatments. This can again be linked to the gender of the patient as the public wet nurses would likely have been used where a mother had died during birth.¹⁵⁷ There are also reports of wet nurses congregating in a forum to seek permanent employment where they would be hired to work at the home of the nursing. In this form of nursing the mother may well be alive, which could explain the use of domestic healing.

Healing which takes place in the home of the physician was likely to be quite similar in format to treatments which occurred in the forum. This was particularly appropriate if large or specialised equipment was needed, such as basins either for bathing or for the collection of bodily fluids.¹⁵⁸ The use of a space especially designed for performing medical treatments would convey that the environment is a place for healing and so, based on the meaning effect, would increase the likelihood of success and make the treatment seem more powerful and official. It would also have reassured the patient about the proficiency of the physician. The presence of specialised medical equipment would also have given an opportunity for the display of affluence or favour from wealthy patients.¹⁵⁹

4 - The 'Set' of Medical Treatments

As we have seen, there was variation between the types of treatments applied by healers of different genders. Oral treatments were more commonly used by men and so these were likely seen as the more powerful form of treatment.¹⁶⁰ Surgery, to a greater extent than any other, could only be performed by men and so it can be viewed as a dangerous and therefore powerful form of

¹⁵⁷ Bradley (1986:207).

¹⁵⁸ Bliquez (1981:11).

¹⁵⁹ Bliquez (1981:12).

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter III. 4.

treatment. This is significant as we find that surgeries were less likely to be performed at the house of the patient and so the setting is also distinct.¹⁶¹

We have seen that women may apply medicine both as a professional and as part of her domestic duties. Between these two formats there is great variation in the set of treatment. The use of a professional female healer would suggest a more dangerous illness and the use of more dangerous or complex pharmaceuticals.¹⁶²

It must also be considered how medical treatment was accessed. For example, if a baby was sick who would be able to seek treatment: the midwife, the mother or the father? Would a midwife, as the first point of contact, be allowed to recruit assistance or administer treatments herself? There are indications in the source material that for certain illnesses she would administer a treatment and in most cases she would have to be involved.¹⁶³ Further if the *materfamilias* of a household were ill could she seek aid without the intervention of the *paterfamilias*? As was established in chapter two this was likely the ideal; however, through absence of the *paterfamilias*, she must regularly have sought aid by herself.¹⁶⁴ The medical process is quite different if, as is often represented in literature, a mediator is needed between patient and doctor.¹⁶⁵ It seems most probable that a woman could engage a physician without the aid of her husband. This is more probable for those in an urban setting as they would be more likely to have a regular physician. In contrast, in a rural environment it seems less likely that a woman would seek out her own medical aid. As professional healers were less commonly used in these areas and the families themselves more skilled in healing,¹⁶⁶ it is likely that here the woman may treat herself rather than risk employing a doctor of unknown credentials.

As physicians were drawn from many social classes we should also consider the class interactions of the doctor-patient relationship. In our modern culture doctors usually hold the higher status over a

¹⁶¹ Bliquez (1981:11).

¹⁶² For examples of such treatments, see Soranus, *Gynecology*, 1.65, 2.98, 2.118 (App. 1: 0051-0053, 0092, 0104); see chapter III. 2.

¹⁶³ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.87, 2.118.

¹⁶⁴ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 6.14.4; Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 155.14.7.

¹⁶⁵ Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 919-20.

¹⁶⁶ Hillman (2004:21-22); Bailey (2012:82).

patient: the patient follows a doctor to their room and the doctor will usually sit first.¹⁶⁷ In Rome however, not only is the physician likely to be of the same class as the patient, but the relationship appears to be more equal.¹⁶⁸ While the physician does ask questions and give a recommended treatment they are not mandating that this is what must be done and a patient would be free to treat themselves with something else if they felt it more useful.¹⁶⁹ So, while a Roman patient places trust in the recommendations of a physician, they are more involved in their care than we in contemporary times. This shows that the status of Roman physicians should be seen as likely less significant than doctors in modern western medicine.¹⁷⁰

5 – Understanding the Language of Medicine

In relation to the language used relating to medicine we can gain interesting information on how medicine was understood. To begin, Latin differentiates between positive and negative pharmaceuticals with *medicamentum* being used principally of positive treatments and *venenum* being used of poisons.¹⁷¹ This contrasts to Greek where the term φάρμακον can mean either a positive or negative treatment.¹⁷² The variation in Latin suggests that poisons especially were seen as a distinct category which existed beyond accidental medical overdose. It is less correct to claim that *medicamentum* also represented a distinct category as, although less common, this could be applied to a negative pharmaceutical especially with the term *malum*.¹⁷³

Adding to the versatility of *medicamentum*, it may also be used of cosmetics.¹⁷⁴ From this dual role a parallel can be drawn with the idea that Roman medicine, in contrast to the Greek, merely

¹⁶⁷ This is particularly noticeable with the absence of a strong class system in Australia.

¹⁶⁸ The contempt expressed in Pliny and the outspoken characters in Plautus suggest that a patient would often aggressively confront a physician. See Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 922.

¹⁶⁹ Without this ability the *herbari* would not have survived as a separate category with this function being taken up by the physicians themselves.

¹⁷⁰ University of Virginia (2007)

¹⁷¹ Glare, (*medicamentum*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1197); Glare, (*venenum*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012:2234).

¹⁷² Liddell and Scott, Liddell, (φάρμακον) An Intermediate Greek - English Lexicon (2013:855).

¹⁷³ Glare, (*medicamentum*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1197).

¹⁷⁴ Glare, (*medicamentum*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1197).

attempted to conceal the symptoms of an illness rather than treat its underlying cause.¹⁷⁵ The metaphor that cosmetics are medicine would seem strange to us, specifically because we view medicines as treating a problem while cosmetics merely conceal. From this evidence we find additional insight that Romans considered healing to be related to the apparent symptoms rather than needing enquiry to find something hidden and treat the inferred problem.

If we are to understand properly what is meant by medicine, we must understand what is meant by health. So while *sanitas* may mean health it also conveys a sense of mental wellbeing and “good sense”: thus we can say that to have health is also to have good sense.¹⁷⁶ We additionally find that when used in oratory it may mean “freedom from undesirable or debased features”.¹⁷⁷ From this we see that the Roman definition of health describes a positive sense of mind and body while we would define health in terms of equilibrium and normality. It is for this reason that we find *sano*, to heal, may also mean to curb a harmful tendency.¹⁷⁸

6 – Establishing the Power of Treatments

It would be impossible in the scope of this work to discuss the relative power of every treatment found in Pliny, Soranus and Dioscorides. So instead I will present selected pharmaceuticals and consider their significance. The pharmaceuticals to be considered are saffron, radish, poppy, *elaterium* (cucumber) and honey

When understanding the use of saffron we find that in 9 out of the 16 examples collected it is applied orally.¹⁷⁹ Of these there are only two examples in Soranus; in neither case is it applied by itself and in only one is it likely the active ingredient.¹⁸⁰ It is also significant that in the treatment where it is an active component it is to be applied by the patient themselves.¹⁸¹ The absence of the need for any

¹⁷⁵ Hillman (2004:78).

¹⁷⁶ Glare, (*sanitas*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1862).

¹⁷⁷ Glare, (*sanitas*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1862).

¹⁷⁸ Glare, (*sano*) Oxford Latin Dictionary (2012: 1862).

¹⁷⁹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.120; Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.79; Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.26.2-3 (App. 1: 0116, 1443, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1873, 1874).

¹⁸⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.77. (App. 1: 0069) (active ingredient), Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.120. (App. 1: 0116).

¹⁸¹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.77. (App. 1: 0069).

medical practitioner illustrates that this treatment must have been regarded as safe. It is only in the work of Dioscorides where we find treatments of pure saffron.¹⁸² In addition to identifying the general traits of the substance he also provides the lethal dose.¹⁸³ The quantity of saffron which he identifies was likely unobtainable, as while 19g may sound small, saffron in the ancient world, as now, was highly labour-intensive to produce and so such an amount would entail a significant cost.¹⁸⁴ His belief that saffron has a lethal dose does suggest that he considers it dangerous. This is supported by the above average tendency for topical application in Dioscorides. In the remedies listed by Pliny, we only encounter saffron in small quantities in other treatments.¹⁸⁵

The complex treatments which contain saffron suggest a tendency to protect a patient from the power of the pure plant. Similarly when an untrained woman is to administer the substance they only apply it topically; likely another means of reducing risk.¹⁸⁶ This suggests that saffron was regarded as a powerful form of treatment as, though seen as dangerous, it was still used.

Radish is another interesting pharmaceutical to be considered in terms of its status in Roman healing. It is principally applied orally suggesting that it is not regarded as overly dangerous or powerful. Among the main uses of Radish is to induce vomiting and so it is unsurprising that we also find an antidote to radish overdose.¹⁸⁷ In Pliny we also find radish used as an amulet, suggesting either substantial medicinal power, in that its proximity results in healing or that it contains magical properties. There are, however, major differences in the use of radishes between Pliny and Soranus: in Soranus we find them used only for the purpose of inducing vomiting,¹⁸⁸ while in Pliny we find that radishes can cure at least 28 illnesses, including a variety of women's complaints that we would expect to find in Soranus.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.26.2-3. (App. 1: 1864,1865, 1868-1872).

¹⁸³ General traits Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.26.2-3. (App. 1: 1864; 1873).

¹⁸⁴ Deo (2003:1).

¹⁸⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.73, 20.79.(App. 1: 1360, 1443).

¹⁸⁶ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.77. (App. 1: 0069).

¹⁸⁷ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.13. (App. 1: 0589).

¹⁸⁸ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.15, 3.28, 3.44. (App. 1: 0226, 0295, 0416)

¹⁸⁹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.13. (App. 1: 0558-0591) see chapter III. 4.

The use of poppy is discussed extensively in Pliny. While he considers all forms of poppy suitable for inducing sleep, the dark poppy, he states, may cause death.¹⁹⁰ His description of poppies contains unique elements: specifically, he lists treatments for which poppy was not to be used.¹⁹¹ Additionally he includes a section on the testing of opium quality.¹⁹² The first of these suggests that opium use was prolific and was used to treat many ailments; the second illustrates a concern for the quality. This appears to be concerned mostly with the purchase of opium, but also relates to a need for safety where there is substantial difference in opioid concentration.¹⁹³

The inclusion of very specific actions in relation to the harvest of poppy also indicates a concern for safety. An example is that the resin should be harvested at the third hour of the day.¹⁹⁴ This appears to be a social ritual, though precisely why it is useful is unclear. The regular application of opium in topical treatments is also a way of curbing the danger of the substance. It is only in a topical treatment where we find opium use in Soranus.¹⁹⁵ Additionally we find the use of less potent versions of poppy so as to protect the patients, particularly meconium, which consists of the boiled heads and leaves.¹⁹⁶ Thus this produces a weaker oral medicine making it appropriate for illnesses like sleeplessness without the risk of poisoning the user. Pliny also differentiates extensively between types of poppies and their different uses. This again is a means of allowing safe use both through the selection of a cultivar with known qualities and through assuring the patient that the poppy has known qualities and that it will be effective against the particular ailment.¹⁹⁷

Elaterium was a Roman medicine made out of the juice of the seeds of the exploding cucumber.¹⁹⁸ As one can tell merely from that description, this substance is again associated with complex preparation. In contrast to others, however, it shows fewer signs of danger or restriction. In contrast, elaterium requires ageing to be effective, which would suggest usage mostly by professional healers.

¹⁹⁰ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1421); Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.77. (App. 1: 1435).

¹⁹¹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1428).

¹⁹² Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1433).

¹⁹³ Frick, et al. (2005:666).

¹⁹⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1420).

¹⁹⁵ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.31. (App. 1: 0379).

¹⁹⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1432).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76-79. (App. 1: 1419, 1420, 1434, 1436, 1440 and 1444).

¹⁹⁸ Exploding cucumber refers to *Ecballium elaterium* a plant native to Europe and northern Africa

As the instructions for making and ageing these lozenges are contained in medical texts it suggests that the physicians themselves were to make these products. As time was needed for their manufacture and they couldn't be made on demand it seems unlikely that a non-physician would keep a supply on hand. This would again be a remedy which would be difficult to produce as the quantities of juice yielded must have been low.¹⁹⁹ This again indicates it was likely applied mostly by physicians rather than the public which may explain the lack of controls. Pliny identifies that the lethal dose of elaterium or scorpion cucumber is greater than an obol.²⁰⁰ We again see a reference to the testing of the substance to prove its quality, again an indication of possible danger. A particular time of year is also specified for the harvest and preparation of elaterium. This may either be a meaningless ritual or may be to encourage the standardisation of strength of the remedy.

Honey is among the most common of medicinals to appear in Roman treatments. It is most often not the active ingredient but just a component of mixtures. There are seemingly no restrictions on its use, including its regular use as food without medical implications.²⁰¹ It occurs regularly in all three works and is even given orally to infants.²⁰² This illustrates that it was not regarded as dangerous and so was also ascribed little power. The inclusion of honey in complex remedies is not an indication of an attempt to control risks as the honey does not appear as the main ingredient.

7 – How Romans Reduced the Danger of Medicines

From the treatments described in the ancient sources it is also possible to interpret what methods were used to regulate the use of dangerous treatments and medicine in general.

The first way patients were protected from pharmaceuticals was through a regulation of dose. An appropriate quantity of a treatment is often outlined in medical works, especially where the

¹⁹⁹ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.2.

²⁰⁰ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.3. (App. 1: 0496); Scorpion cucumber is a wild Arabian variety of cucumber which is called cucumber by the general public. An associated living plant cannot be established. For a description see Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, XX. 3. 7-8.

²⁰¹ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.120, 3.13. (App. 1: 0197, 0113-0117); Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.13, 20. 15, 20.17. (App. 1: 0577, 0579, 0601, 0616); Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.1, 1.3, 1.13. (App. 1: 1717, 1719, 1731, 1778).

²⁰² Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.86. (App. 1: 0085).

substance is regarded as dangerous.²⁰³ It is surprising, however, that so many treatments do not list a quantity, suggesting that this feature was less significant than in our own society. This may well be explained as our medicines are precisely measured in relation to potency, whereas there would have been variation in the quality of the medicaments a Roman would use. This variation lends itself to a dynamic approach to the quantity of treatments and further illustrates the skills of Roman physicians.

A physician may also attempt to treat a disease with a substance of weaker potency.²⁰⁴ This is well illustrated in the distinction between opium and meconium. Although they are seemingly applied to the same illnesses, the variation in strength allows for treating a patient with a reduced risk of death or gaining the stronger results from the more dangerous and potent treatment. In Dioscorides the use of other treatments of different strength is very common. Particularly it was widely believed that a 'wild' specimen was much more potent than its cultivated counterpart.²⁰⁵ This may well be a reflection of the relative value of a wild specimen: if a treatment was more expensive due to it being drawn from wild plants, then the patient may expect stronger results.

A variation in the type of treatment can also be noted, particularly any movement away from treatments involving ingestion, as treatments become more dangerous. This of course reduces risk of poisoning and depending on the substance may have little to no effect on its efficacy. There was, with this method, a symbolic reduction in the effectiveness of the treatment with the same reduction applying to the risks. This particular tactic in reducing risk is also associated with those physicians who are less authoritative and more risky. This explains the polarisation of treatments in which women more commonly apply topical rather than oral treatments.

²⁰³ E.g. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20. 52, 20.78 . (App. 1: 1147, 1436).

²⁰⁴ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.120. (App. 1: 0113), Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.76. (App. 1: 1432).

²⁰⁵ Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.7.3. (App. 1: 1748) c.f. Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.8.3. (App. 1: 1762).

Antidotes are also a common way of reducing the risk of dangerous substances. Mostly, where a dangerous treatment is listed, an antidote can also be found.²⁰⁶ Entire works are dedicated to the listing of antidotes and by examining the pharmaceuticals in these antidotes it is clear that they would have been ineffective.²⁰⁷ It was likely that they expected that antidotes would (rarely) actually save a person and, with this lack of confidence, they were not a principal means of promoting safe use of treatments but merely a last ditch attempt to prevent death.

Finally, as we have seen, a patient may use the expertise of a professional as a means of protecting themselves from harm. We see this in all sources whether explicit or implicit. In Soranus we have clear examples of the use of professional anointers, midwives and physicians.²⁰⁸ This illustrates the distinction of their roles and shows how they would be utilised to perform specific treatments. In this respect we can expect that for many of the women's diseases a professional gynaecologist or midwife of either gender would likely have been sought to correctly treat the ailment.

8 – Conclusions

In this chapter it has been established that an understanding of Roman medicine from the Roman perspective can be best approximated through the use of numerous modern approaches. An understanding of the physical and social context of Roman healing illustrates that variations in healing locality were likely linked to gender roles. The social environment, too, was closely tied to gender and class and consequently illustrates major differences from the contemporary understanding of medicine. By analysing some language features we gained an understanding of the underlying meaning of terms, shedding light on Roman culture and its distinct approach to illness and medicine. A sample collection of treatments has also been assessed in relation to their danger and power in Roman healing. Such an analysis allows an understanding of the meanings ascribed to different objects and also forms a basis of further investigations. This process greatly benefitted from

²⁰⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 20.21, 34, 51,69 . (App. 1: 0697, 0876, 1082, 1315),Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 1.19.4. (App. 1: 1828).

²⁰⁷ Such as Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*.

²⁰⁸ Soranus, *Gynecology*, 3.15. (App. 1: 0218); Soranus, *Gynecology*, 2.67, 3.32. (App. 1: 0058, 0304); Soranus, *Gynecology*, 4.9-10. (App. 1: 0448).

the understanding of gender as established in previous chapters. Using the data on the power of treatments a model was presented outlining the principle ways Roman culture regulated the risks of medicine.

V – Conclusions

In the preceding work there have been many discoveries and highlights worthy of note, the foremost of which I will now present in conclusion.

By utilising a variety of non-traditional methods it became clear that the traditional view, presenting the *paterfamilias* as a healer, was in need of reassessment. While this may have represented an ideal, it failed to consider evidence showing that, in reality, a close involvement with medical treatment would often be unachievable due to the absence of the *paterfamilias*: these absences resulted from duties of the *paterfamilias* such as military service, management of rural properties, political or business obligations. It was also apparent that medicine should often be viewed as part of the domestic role. Evidence for this can be found in Celsus' reference to medicines kept 'on hand' and through the association with the domestic role in epigraphic material. Further, that as part of this role, it may have often been an activity for a woman, either a free matron or a slave, as in the case of a rural estate.²⁰⁹

It was also illustrated that, in contrast to republican sources and their modern proponents, the healer was a core aspect of medical treatment. This view was informed by the 'meaning response' and the universal tendency to place emphasis on the non-practical aspects of healing.²¹⁰ The clear statement of Pliny that, ideally, Romans should not place emphasis on the physicians also suggests that this was not the reality at the time. This established the importance of gender roles in healing as it showed that these positions would likely have been authoritative and represented a distinct part of female life.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ This was identified based on associations within the epigraphic material, the instructions in the letters of Cicero and clear instructions in the agricultural manuals for the head slave's wife to be the medical carer.

²¹⁰ Moerman and Jonas (2002)

²¹¹ That healers were significant demonstrates that the women fulfilling these roles should also not be taken lightly. Women fulfilling such roles can be seen in the *medicae* referred to in epigraphic material, the chief slave's wife found in the agricultural manuals and the midwives described in Soranus. Women who were members of a 'women's network' as discussed in Bailey (2012:5) were also examples of practitioners without having the same formal status.

Chapter II also established that women could be professional physicians.²¹² This was achieved mostly using epigraphic material as evidence. The extent of their functions and their status in society were not clear from this evidence.

In contrast to the variety of sources used in chapter II, chapters III and IV drew their evidence from the material contained in appendix two and through comparison with social science methodologies and modern societies. In chapter III we found that medicines were burdened with social restrictions on their application. Most notably it was discovered that women tended to apply more topical treatments in comparison to orally administered pharmaceuticals. It appears that women did not perform surgery whereas men were not wetnurses and were likely to be less popular in the areas of midwifery and gynaecology.²¹³

This distinction in medical practice was epitomised through the differences between Pliny and Soranus. While Pliny believed there were diseases particular to women this view was contradicted in Soranus' work. Similarly Pliny and Dioscorides make no mention of female healers while Soranus acknowledges them regularly despite preferring male practitioners. Soranus also ascribes greater rights to the patient than the earlier works. This was seen to fit with broader changes to the status of women in the society which occurred in this period.²¹⁴ This chapter also showed that female physicians must have possessed knowledge of medical theory. This was shown by the complex remedies found in Soranus, and furthered by his assertion that midwives required familiarity with medical literature. Through an understanding of how Romans perceived medicine this suggests that these women would have been capable to treat any form of disease not just those which effect women.

²¹² Professional physicians were those performing this task as an occupation regardless of training as well as those who identified themselves with such an occupation i.e. call themselves doctors.

²¹³ This was shown based on comparison with Greek culture, particularly through mythology.

²¹⁴ The women of the ruling class were seen to be increasingly involved in public life. Examples were women such as Cornelia, Fulvia, Terentia, Antonia, Livia and Agrippina. It seems likely that this practice would then have filtered down to the rest of society. Additionally, there was a growth in the legal status of women in the empire. Particularly it was made easier for them to gain independence and hold property as shown by Gardner (1986) and Matthews (1995:767)

From the contrasts between Pliny and Soranus we also find that female physicians were likely well respected by the end of my period of study. There was resistance to referring to female healers in Pliny or Dioscorides while females are listed in a variety of roles in Soranus. They were, as expected, considered the leaders in the field of child birth and were notably given authority in regards to the decision of whether a child should be reared. This was established through the study of Soranus who identified female involvement early in his work; he later illustrates their role in advising the decision on the rearing of the child. The association of women with child birth is also established in artistic depictions. In this chapter the social status of female physicians was also explored, revealing that they, similar to their male counterparts, were often of low social status.²¹⁵ This was made clear through the use of epigraphy which showed that female physicians were often related to male physicians. The status of male physicians was, in turn, established jointly through their having either foreign or simple names (unlike the three names used by the elite) in epigraphy and through other sources, especially plays, which show that physicians were often foreigners and not of high social status. Through an examination of evidence from cultures similar to that of Rome it was also found that female healers were likely preferred by female patients, and that this practice was generally accepted by other male members of the household.²¹⁶

Practices which excluded women were also considered.²¹⁷ This showed that while there were few practices which did not allow female involvement, there were notable differences in the ways in which medicine was practised. Surgery was an example of a form of treatment which excluded female practitioners. It was seen that this most likely stemmed from an inability to train them.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Physicians in the early Empire were traditionally of Greek origin and were often freedmen or the descendants of freedmen.

²¹⁶ From examination of "Greek" origins of female healers it was found that women likely preferred to have female medical attendants. The existence of female healers also suggests that they must have been preferred, since women in these roles were a contradiction of traditional gender roles in Roman society.

²¹⁷ The most notable excluded practice was surgery; this is suggested by the inability to train surgeons without war. Men were by necessity excluded from wet nursing and likely uncommon as midwives, as suggested in Soranus.

²¹⁸ The requirement to learn in battle situations was expressed in the pseudo-Hippocratic work '*The Physician*' thus precluding female involvement.

However, it was also suggested that this exclusion stemmed from a cultural concern that this occupation required skills unsuited or unbecoming of a woman.²¹⁹

Chapter IV presented a framework, using modern approaches, to understand the significance of pharmaceuticals to a Roman and how Roman culture related to its medical system. It illustrated that the physical environment of medical treatment related to the gender of the practitioner and to the type and power of the treatment. This was achieved by examination of the treatment environments described in Soranus and examining how each space would affect a patient and the treatments possible. The social environment was also important; the gender and class of the physician having a notable impact on the form and effectiveness of treatment.²²⁰ An assessment of the language used in Roman medicine also showed that it was a distinct medical system from its Greek and Italic predecessors. This was achieved by examining the meanings ascribed to Greek and Latin medical terms in order to understand the underlying cultural ideas behind these words. Using this framework a selection of treatments found in Roman medicine were considered and an attempt made to understand the power (by this I mean the perceived strength of a substance) and importance which was placed on them in Roman society. This investigation proved effective, though to apply this to a full set of treatments would be a mammoth task. Using this investigation a model was proposed which explained the ways in which Romans reduced the risks of pharmaceutical use.

Following on from this research there are a number of areas which would benefit from further study. As stated above an assessment of the power of more treatments would be an excellent area of research. Not only would this provide additional insight into Roman culture and medical treatments but the accuracy of the study would be improved through analysing more treatments thus providing more evidence. Although there is an apparent lack of evidence, greater research into the distinct role of female doctors, gynaecologists and midwives would be extremely valuable in terms of our

²¹⁹ The role of the surgeon involved an ability to ignore the pain of the patient. This would contrast with the expected role of a woman as a caring figure and so was culturally inappropriate.

²²⁰ This was shown using conclusions drawn from throughout this thesis such as; the social class of the physician, the formality of the healer and the gender of the healer. The means of accessing medical care was also discussed as a substantial influence on the format of treatment.

understanding of these roles and women in professional healing. The use of innovative methodologies may allow for such an investigation.

Overall this work has revealed the complexities of gender and healing. It has shown that women were an active and integral part of Roman medicine and, through its attempt to reconstruct the Roman perspective, has returned a voice to the occupants of the ancient world.

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Appendix 1 – Roman Remedies Surveyed

n#	Reference	Treatment	Type	Aim (illness)
0001	Sor. 1. 26	Warm oil vaginal suppository	v. sup.	First menstruation
0002	Sor. 1. 26	Rest and bathing	bath	First menstruation
0003	Sor. 1. 26	Moderate rocking and walking	other	First menstruation
0004	Sor. 1. 26	Softening medicines suppositories and injections	v. sup.	First menstruation
0005	Sor. 1. 49	Vigorous rubbing	bath	Pica pregnancy (2nd Trimester)
0006	Sor. 1. 50	Cupping	cupping	Pica pregnancy (2nd Trimester)
0007	Sor. 1. 51	Dietary remedies	oral	Pica pregnancy (2nd Trimester)
0008	sor. 1. 54	Exercise sleep vocal exercises	other	Pregnancy (3rd Trimester)
0009	Sor. 1. 56	Hold abdomen up with bandages	other	Pregnancy (3rd Trimester)
0010	Sor. 1. 56	Rub abdomen with oil	bath	Pregnancy (3rd Trimester)
0011	Sor. 1. 56	Lots of vaginal suppositories and dilating the uterus	v. sup.	Pregnancy (3rd Trimester)
0012	Sor. 1. 61	Apply sticky things, lead or wool to the vagina	topical	Contraception
0013	Sor. 1. 61	Woman hold breath and draw away	other	Contraception
0014	Sor. 1. 61	Squat and induce sneezing, wipe vagina	other	Contraception
0015	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with old olive oil	topical	Contraception
0016	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with honey	topical	Contraception
0017	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with cedar resin	topical	Contraception
0018	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with juice of the balsam tree	topical	Contraception
0019	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with white lead with other things	topical	Contraception
0020	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with myrtle oil and white lead	topical	Contraception
0021	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with moist alum	topical	Contraception
0022	Sor. 1. 61	Smear cervix with galbanum and wine	topical	Contraception
0023	Sor. 1. 61	Put a lock of fine wool on cervix	v. sup.	Contraception
0024	Sor. 1. 61	Vaginal suppositories to contract and condense	v. sup.	Contraception
0025	Sor. 1. 62	Pine bark, Tanning sumach, equal w/ wine wrapped in wool	v. sup.	Contraception

0026	Sor. 1. 62	Cimolian earth, panax root, equal w/ water wrapped in wool	v. sup.	Contraception
0027	Sor. 1. 62	Inside pomegranate peel w/ water	v. sup.	Contraception
0028	Sor. 1. 62	2 pomegranate peels, 1 oak galls after menstruation	v. sup.	Contraception
0029	Sor. 1. 62	Moist alum, inside pomegranate rind w/ water app/ wool	v. sup.	Contraception
0030	Sor. 1. 62	Unripe oak galls, outside pomegranate peel, ginger (2dracmas) w/ wine and dry	v. sup.	Contraception
0031	Sor. 1. 62	Grind figs and Natron	v. sup.	Contraception
0032	Sor. 1. 62	Pomegranate peel, gum and oil of roses	v. sup.	Contraception
0033	Sor. 1. 62	Honey water	v. sup.	Contraception
0034	Sor. 1. 63	Cyrenaic Balm w/ 2 cyaths of water	drink	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0035	Sor. 1. 63	Wallflower seed, myrtle (3obles each), Myrrh (1drachm), white pepper 2 seeds w/ wine (3days)	drink	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0036	Sor. 1. 63	Rocket seed (1obol), cow parsnip (1/2 Obol) w/ oxymel	drink	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0037	Sor. 1. 63	Amulets	folk	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0038	Sor. 1. 63	Mule uteri and ear dirt	folk	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0039	Sor. 1. 63	Panax balm, Cyrenaic Balm and Rue seeds (2 obols) coat with wax w/ diluted wine	oral	Induce menstruation (contraception)(abortion)
0040	Sor. 1. 64	Old oil	injection	Abortive
0041	Sor. 1. 64	Old oil W/ rue Juice or honey or iris oil or absinthium & honey or panax balm or spelt, rue and honey or Syrian Unguent	injection	Abortive
0042	Sor. 1. 64	Poultice and plasters of lupine meal, ox bile and absinthium	poultice and plaster	Abortive
0043	Sor. 1. 64	Heavy exercise shaking etc. (for 30 days)	other	Abortive
0044	Sor. 1. 64	Diuretics (to bring about menstruation)	oral	Abortive
0045	Sor. 1. 64	Rubbing w/ oils	bath	Abortive
0046	Sor. 1. 64	Hot baths	bath	Abortive
0047	Sor. 1. 64	Oil suppositories	v. sup.	Abortive

0048	Sor. 1. 64	Bath of linseed, fenugreek, mallow, marshmallow and wormwood	bath	Abortive
0049	Sor. 1. 64	Poultice of linseed, fenugreek, mallow, marshmallow and wormwood	poultice	Abortive
0050	Sor. 1. 65	Softening vaginal suppositories	v. sup.	Pre abortive
0051	Sor. 1. 65	Myrtle, wallflower seed, bitter lupines (equal) /w water	v. sup.	Abortive
0052	Sor. 1. 65	Rue leaves (3drachms), myrtle (2 drachms) and sweet bay (2 drachms) w/ wine	v. sup.	Abortive
0053	Sor. 1. 65	Wallflower, cardamom, brimstone, absinthium, myrrh (equal) w/ water	v. sup.	Abortive
0054	Sor. 1. 65	Bleed a lot	venesection	Abortive
0055	Sor. 1. 65	No wine	oral	Pre abortive
0056	Sor. 1. 65	Shacking	other	Abortive
0057	Sor. 1. 65	Softening clyster	topical	Abortive
0058	Sor. 2. 67 (2)	Pennyroyal, clod of earth, barley groats, apple, quince, lemon, melon and cucumber	smelling	Birth (revival)
0059	Sor. 2. 68	Winching out foetus	other	Difficult birth
0060	Sor. 2. 69	Warm oil (lots)	topical	Birth (revival)
0061	Sor. 2. 69	Worm oil soaked cloths on abdomen	topical	Birth (revival)
0062	Sor. 2. 76	Sea sponge and diluted vinegar	topical	Inflamed breasts
0063	Sor. 2. 76	Alum or fleawort and coriander or purslane	topical	Stop lactation
0064	Sor. 2. 76	Relaxing poultices bread softened by water and olive oil or hydromel	poultice	Tension or clotting of breasts
0065	Sor. 2. 76	Fomentations and warm oil squeezed with sponges w/warm water or fenugreek, mallow, or linseed	bath	Tension or clotting of breasts
0066	Sor. 2. 76	Surgery	surgery	Suppurating breasts
0067	Sor. 2. 76	Wax salve	salve	Breast inflammations past its height
0068	Sor. 2. 77	Ground pyrite	poultice	Stopping lactation
0069	Sor. 2. 77	Cypress, wine and saffron	poultice	Stopping lactation
0070	Sor. 2. 77	Henna oil, triturated pumice	poultice	Stopping lactation
0071	Sor. 2. 77	Cumin W/ oil or water	poultice	Stopping lactation

0072	Sor. 2. 77	Moist alum w/ vinegar and rose oil	poultice	Stopping lactation
0073	Sor. 2. 77	Cumin, raisins	poultice	Stopping lactation
0074	Sor. 2. 77	Sesame w/ honey	poultice	Stopping lactation
0075	Sor. 2. 77	Green tribulus boiled in Vinegar	poultice	Stopping lactation
0076	Sor. 2. 77	Ivy b in Vinegar	poultice	Stopping lactation
0077	Sor. 2. 77	Dried figs b. In Vinegar	poultice	Stopping lactation
0078	Sor. 2. 77	Bran b. In Vinegar	poultice	Stopping lactation
0079	Sor. 2. 77	Celery w/ bread	poultice	Stopping lactation
0080	Sor. 2. 77	Peppermint w/ bread	poultice	Stopping lactation
0081	Sor. 2. 77	Cabbage w/ bread	poultice	Stopping lactation
0082	Sor. 2. 80	Use of anything sharp (including bread)	surgery	Omphalectomy
0083	Sor. 2. 82	Sprinkle with fine salt, natron or aphronitre (possibly diluted)	bath	Clean and firm up flesh (newborn)
0084	Sor. 2. 82	Clean eyes with oil	bath	Newborn
0085	sor. 2. 86	Give baby honey and hydromel	oral	Newborn
0086	Sor. 2. 87	Use wet-nurse for at least 3 days	other	
0087	Sor. 2. 95	Nurse to wean herself onto wine after 40 days	diet	
0088	Sor. 2. 97	Relaxing exercise, walks and rubbing especially breasts	other	To prevent lactation stopping
0089	Sor. 2. 97	Vocal exercises, baths, wholesome foods and upper exercises	other	To prevent lactation stopping
0090	Sor. 2. 98	Vigorous exercise	other	Lessen milk production
0091	Sor. 2. 98	Baths, eat gruel like foods and drink water	diet	Make milk more liquid
0092	Sor. 2. 98	Far or spelt porridge, eggs, pine cones, pigs feet, snouts and ears, meat of kids and some wine	diet	Thicken milk
0093	Sor. 2. 110	Ground pig ankle bone	powder	Healing the navel
			topical	
0094	Sor. 2. 110	Ground snail shell	powder	Healing the navel
			topical	
0095	Sor. 2. 110	Bulb of purse tassels	powder	Healing the navel

0096	Sor. 2. 110	Heated lead	topical	
0097	Sor. 2. 118	Chicken fat	topical	Healing the navel
0098	Sor. 2. 118	Hare brain	bath	Softening gums (teething)
0099	Sor. 2. 118	Oil soaked wool on neck hands and jaws	topical	Softening gums (teething)
0100	Sor. 2. 118	Meal	topical	Softening gums (teething)
0101	Sor. 2. 118	Fenugreek	poultices	Softening gums (teething)
0102	Sor. 2. 118	Linseed	poultices	Softening gums (teething)
0103	Sor. 2. 118	Sea sponge w/ boiled honey	poultices	Softening gums (teething)
0104	Sor. 2. 118	No bath wet nurse to drink little (only water) and gruel like food and should force milk from the breast	fomentation	Softening gums (teething)
0105	Sor. 2. 119	Sea sponge w/ honey water and juice of barley	oral	Sympathetic disturbances
0106	Sor. 2. 119	Hot cumin w/ water poultice and salt w/ olive oil on tonsils + ritual	oral	Inflamed tonsils
0107	Sor. 2. 120	Honey (if small)	oral	Inflamed tonsils
0108	Sor. 2. 120	Loosening poultice (if dry and inflamed)	oral	Oral thrush
0109	Sor. 2. 120	Astringent poultice, lentils and pomegranate peel (if moist)	oral	Oral thrush
0110	Sor. 2. 120	Anthera remedy	oral	Oral thrush
0111	Sor. 2. 120	Rose of cypress blossom	oral	Oral thrush
0112	Sor. 2. 120	Tamarisk fruit	oral	Oral thrush
0113	Sor. 2. 120	Black mulberries, poppyheads and plantain w/ honey (when healing)	oral	Oral thrush
0114	Sor. 2. 120	Other astringent w/ honey (when healing)	oral	Oral thrush
0115	Sor. 2. 120	Iris w/ honey or dry powder	oral	Oral thrush
0116	Sor. 2. 120	Rose leaves chopped, rose blossom, saffron, myrrh, oak gall, frankincense, frankincense bark w/ honey	oral	Oral thrush
0117	Sor. 2. 120	Honey water and the juice of a sweet pomegranate	oral	Oral thrush
0118	Sor. 2. 121	Heat	bath	Itching

0119	Sor. 2. 121	Olive oil and wax	bath	Itching
0120	Sor. 2. 121	Bathing w/ roses or lentils (when eruptions at height)	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores
0121	Sor. 2. 121	Bathing w/ myrtle, mastic, bramble or pomegranate peel (when eruptions at height) more astringent	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0122	Sor. 2. 121	Plantain w/ bread	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0123	Sor. 2. 121	Endive	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0124	Sor. 2. 121	Powder of barley and purslane	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0125	Sor. 2. 121	Houseleek	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0126	Sor. 2. 121	Navelwort	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0127	Sor. 2. 121	Dried roses	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0128	Sor. 2. 121	Fresh roses boiled with melilot or dates	poultice	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0129	Sor. 2. 121	Litharge, white lead, alum, vinegar, w/ myrtle oil or rose oil or mastic oil	ointment	Exanthemata, blisters and sores at height
0130	Sor. 2. 122	Water and olive oil (when over peak)	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0131	Sor. 2. 122	Linseed	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0132	Sor. 2. 122	Fenugreek	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0133	Sor. 2. 122	Roots of wild mallow	bath	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0134	Sor. 2. 122	Egg white with moist wax salve	salve	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0135	Sor. 2. 122	Boiled honey	salve	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0136	Sor. 2. 122	Lentils with boiled	salve	Exanthemata, blisters and sores over peak
0137	Sor. 2. 122	White lead	topical	On clean ulcer to seal it
0138	Sor. 2. 122	The remedy diluted with juices	topical	On clean ulcer to seal it
0139	Sor. 2. 122	Gum laudanum	poultice	On clean ulcer to seal it
0140	Sor. 2. 122	Eggs	poultice	On clean ulcer to seal it
0141	Sor. 2. 122	Barleycorn	poultice	On clean ulcer to seal it
0142	Sor. 2. 122	Cadmia w/ rose oil	poultice	On clean ulcer to seal it

0143	Sor. 2. 122	Cleans with natron	bath	On clean ulcer to seal it
0144	Sor. 2. 122	Sweet diet for nurse	diet	On clean ulcer to seal it
0145	Sor. 2. 122	Honey suppository	suppository	To make bowels move
0146	Sor. 2. 122	Turpentine suppository to size of chickpea	suppository	To make bowels move
0147	Sor. 2. 122	Millet	oral?	Loose bowels
0148	Sor. 2. 123	Cardamom, cumin, nettle seed and pepper	lozenge	Wheezing
0149	Sor. 2. 123	Honey water	oral	Wheezing
0150	Sor. 2. 123	Induce vomiting	other	Swallowed phlegm
0151	Sor. 2. 123	Small pine cone, roasted almonds, linseed, juice of liquorice, pine seed, tragacanth and honey	lozenge	Coughing
0152	Sor. 2. 124	Egg yolk w/ rose oil	pledget	Psoriasis
0153	Sor. 2. 124	Heliotrope leaf, grated pumpkin, melon skin, juice of black nightshade, w/ rose oil	pledget	Psoriasis
0154	Sor. 2. 125	Omit bathing and passive exercise	bath	Flux of the bowels
0155	Sor. 2. 125	Astringent plasters	plaster	Flux of the bowels
0156	Sor. 2. 125	Inject juice of plantain (1/2 pint) w/ ear syringe	injection	Flux of the bowels
0157	Sor. 2. 125	Nurse to receive equivalent treatment (no bath astringent food and water)	bath, oral	Flux of the bowels
0158	Sor. 3. 9	Cut away hymen	surgery	Disease preventing menstrual flux
0159	Sor. 3. 9	Massage uterus	other	Disease preventing menstrual flux
0160	Sor. 3. 9	Treat uterus with hardening medicines	topical	Disease preventing menstrual flux
0161	Sor. 3. 10	Put in a warm light room and apply pressure to parts in pain	other	Disease preventing menstrual flux
0162	Sor. 3. 10	Warm cloth	fomentation	Full retention of menstrual flux
0163	Sor. 3. 10	Warm linen towels w/ wool and warming pans filled with warm water	other	Full retention of menstrual flux
0164	Sor. 3. 10	Bladders containing warm oil	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0165	Sor. 3. 10	Lukewarm ground grain in bags	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0166	Sor. 3. 10	Sponge wrung out in boiling water and wrapped in cloth	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux

0167	Sor. 3. 10	Soft wool in oil applied to loins and abdomen	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0168	Sor. 3. 10	Warm water as mouthwash and to drink	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0169	Sor. 3. 10	Linseed	poultices	Full retention of menstrual flux
0170	Sor. 3. 10	Bread w/ warm hydromel	poultices	Full retention of menstrual flux
0171	Sor. 3. 10	Sitz baths	bath	Full retention of menstrual flux
0172	Sor. 3. 10	Rubdown with ointment	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0173	Sor. 3. 11	Venesection behind arm	venesection	Full retention of menstrual flux
0174	Sor. 3. 11	Warm oil with water (Sitz bath)	bath	Full retention of menstrual flux
0175	Sor. 3. 11	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow (Sitz bath)	bath	Full retention of menstrual flux
0176	Sor. 3. 11	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow w/ egg mix	poured into labia (injection)	Full retention of menstrual flux
0177	Sor. 3. 11	Wool soaked in fenugreek, linseed and mallow w/ egg mix surrounded by felt	v. sup.	Full retention of menstrual flux
0178	Sor. 3. 11	Warm water as mouthwash and to drink	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0179	Sor. 3. 11	Spelt gruel w/ honey water or water	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0180	Sor. 3. 11	Gruel w/ honey	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0181	Sor. 3. 11	Gruel w/ olive oil dill and salt	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0182	Sor. 3. 11	Gruel w/ soaked bread	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0183	Sor. 3. 11	Gruel w/ sipping eggs	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0184	Sor. 3. 11	Give food only every second day	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0185	Sor. 3. 11	Cupping dry followed by wet	cupping	Full retention of menstrual flux (3rd day after venesection)
0186	Sor. 3. 11	Wet cupping of pubes and hypochondriac region	cupping	Full ret. of menstrual Flux (ailment at height initial stage abating)
0187	Sor. 3. 11	Use leeches if above ineffective	cupping	Full ret. of menstrual Flux (ailment at height initial stage abating)

0188	Sor. 3. 11	Relaxing poultices bread w/ warm pork fat	poultices	Healing leech wounds
0189	Sor. 3. 11	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ wild marrow root	poultices	Healing leech wounds
0190	Sor. 3. 11	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ linseed w/ the finest meal	poultices	Healing leech wounds
0191	Sor. 3. 11	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ fenugreek	poultices	Healing leech wounds
0192	Sor. 3. 11	Relaxing poultices bread boiled with olive oil honey and a decoction of mallow or fenugreek	poultices	Healing leech wounds
0193	Sor. 3. 11	Warm oil anal injection (4 cyaths)	injection	Full retention of menstrual flux
0194	Sor. 3. 11	Simple anal suppositories	suppository	Full retention of menstrual flux
0195	Sor. 3. 13	Wool w/ warm olive oil	suppository	Full retention of menstrual flux
0196	Sor. 3. 13	Juice of fenugreek, linseed or mallow beaten in oil and boiled with goose or chicken fat on wool	suppository	Full retention of menstrual flux
0197	Sor. 3. 13	196 triturated with egg yolk by means of refined honey	suppository	Full retention of menstrual flux
0198	Sor. 3. 13	Melilot in sweet wine	decoction	Full retention of menstrual flux
0199	Sor. 3. 13	Inner part of dates boiled with sweet wine	oral	Full retention of menstrual flux
0200	Sor. 3. 13	Sponges w/ hot water	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0201	Sor. 3. 13	Sponges w/ oil and hot water	topical	Full retention of menstrual flux
0202	Sor. 3. 13	Sponges with fenugreek, linseed or mallow decoction, swinging in hammock	topical, other	Full ret. of menstrual Flux when progressed well
0203	Sor. 3. 14	Bathing	bath	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0204	Sor. 3. 14	Varied food	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0205	Sor. 3. 14	Wine	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0206	Sor. 3. 14	Rocking	other	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0207	Sor. 3. 14	Promenading	other	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0208	Sor. 3. 14	Active exercises	other	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0209	Sor. 3. 14	Massage of the whole body	other	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0210	Sor. 3. 14	Massage uterus w/ sponges	topical	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0211	Sor. 3. 14	Marjoram or lily oil smeared on orifice and neck of uterus	cerates	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)

0212	Sor. 3. 14	High emollient suppositories: wax, turpentine, ox fat w/ olive or henna oil	bath	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0213	Sor. 3. 14	Suppository of juices	suppository	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0214	Sor. 3. 14	Marrow, fat, and relaxing seed	suppository	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0215	Sor. 3. 14	Marjoram remedy for the relief of pain		Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0216	Sor. 3. 14	Olive oil	bath	Full ret. of mens. Flux when healed (restoratives)
0217	Sor. 3. 15	If chronic use treatments during attacks and then restoratives	other	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0218	Sor. 3. 15	Use a professional anointer	bath	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0219	Sor. 3. 15	Metasyncretic cure	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0220	Sor. 3. 15	Fasting followed by bread diet w/pungent	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0221	Sor. 3. 15	Then bland foods vegetables brain or delicate fish	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0222	Sor. 3. 15	Then to fowl	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0223	Sor. 3. 15	Then to fresh pork	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0224	Sor. 3. 15	No wine or bath on the day of the change but both the day after	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0225	Sor. 3. 15	Also apply topical remedies like above after the pungent period	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0226	Sor. 3. 15	Then repeat but induce vomiting in addition to the fast with radishes	diet	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0227	Sor. 3. 16	Irritating cataplasms: bayberries	poultice	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0228	Sor. 3. 16	Irritating cataplasms: seeds	poultice	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0229	Sor. 3. 16	Irritating suppositories: rue ground w/ honey	v. sup.	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0230	Sor. 3. 16	Irritating suppositories: thin leaved fleabane	v. sup.	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0231	Sor. 3. 16	Irritating suppositories: raisons without stones w/ natron or salt	v. sup.	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0232	Sor. 3. 16	Cumin, pepper, absinthium, hyssop, butter and old olive oil bean sized and smeared with sweet oil or lily oil	v. sup.	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0233	Sor. 3. 16	White hellebore	oral	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0234	Sor. 3. 16	Long travel	rocking	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic
0235	Sor. 3. 16	Natural waters	bath	Full ret. of mens. Flux chronic

0236	Sor. 3. 23	Put in a warm light room and apply pressure to parts in pain	other, topical	Inflammation of uterus
0237	Sor. 3. 23	Rubdown with ointment	bath	Inflammation of uterus
0238	Sor. 3. 23	Venesection behind arm	venesection	Inflammation of uterus
0239	Sor. 3. 23	Warm oil with water (Sitz bath)	bath	Inflammation of uterus
0240	Sor. 3. 23	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow (Sitz bath)	bath	Inflammation of uterus
0241	Sor. 3. 23	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow w/ egg mix	topical	Inflammation of uterus
0242	Sor. 3. 23	Warm water as mouthwash and to drink	mouthwash, drink	Inflammation of uterus
0243	Sor. 3. 23	Spelt gruel w/ honey water or water	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0244	Sor. 3. 23	Gruel w/ honey	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0245	Sor. 3. 23	Gruel w/ olive oil dill and salt	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0246	Sor. 3. 23	Gruel w/ soaked bread	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0247	Sor. 3. 23	Gruel w/ sipping eggs	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0248	Sor. 3. 23	Give food only every second day	diet	Inflammation of uterus
0249	Sor. 3. 23	Cupping dry followed by wet	cupping	Inflammation of uterus
0250	Sor. 3. 23	Wet cupping of pubes and hypochondriac region	cupping	Inflammation of uterus
0251	Sor. 3. 23	Use leeches if above ineffective	bleeding	Inflammation of uterus
0252	Sor. 3. 23	Relaxing poultices bread w/ warm pork fat	poultices	Inflammation of uterus
0253	Sor. 3. 23	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ wild marrow root	poultices	Inflammation of uterus
0254	Sor. 3. 23	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ linseed w/ the finest meal	poultices	Inflammation of uterus
0255	Sor. 3. 23	Relaxing poultices bread boiled w/ fenugreek	poultices	Inflammation of uterus
0256	Sor. 3. 23	Relaxing poultices bread boiled with olive oil honey and a decoction of mallow or fenugreek	poultices	Inflammation of uterus
0257	Sor. 3. 23	Warm oil anal injection (4 cyaths)	injection	Inflammation of uterus
0258	Sor. 3. 23	Simple anal suppositories	suppository	Inflammation of uterus
0259	Sor. 3. 23	Wool w/ warm olive oil	topical	Inflammation of uterus

0260	Sor. 3. 23	Juice of fenugreek, linseed or mallow beaten in oil and boiled with goose or chicken fat on wool	topical	Inflammation of uterus
0261	Sor. 3. 23	196 triturated with egg yolk by means of refined honey	topical	Inflammation of uterus
0262	Sor. 3. 28	Place in warm bright room	other	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0263	Sor. 3. 28	Straighten and bind all available limbs	other	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0264	Sor. 3. 28	Move jaw and place warm compresses over the middle of her body	other, topical	To revive after a seizure
0265	Sor. 3. 28	Warm all cool parts with body heat from hands	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0266	Sor. 3. 28	Dry cupping (groin and pubes)	cupping	Persistent aphonia
0267	Sor. 3. 28	Cover with wool	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0268	Sor. 3. 28	Moisten groin with warm sweet oil	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0269	Sor. 3. 28	Put warm water in mouth, then honey water	mouthwash	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0270	Sor. 3. 28	Movement in hammock	rocking	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (initial)
0271	Sor. 3. 28	Bleeding (if strength allows)	bleeding	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (post initial)
0272	Sor. 3. 28	Inject with warm olive oil, moisten parts, give warm water as mouthwash, abstain from food for 3 days	injection	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (post initial)
0273	Sor. 3. 28	Rub down and give gruel like food (every 2nd day till cured)	massage, diet	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0274	Sor. 3. 28	Warm oil with water (Sitz bath)	bath	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0275	Sor. 3. 28	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow (Sitz bath)	bath	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0276	Sor. 3. 28	Fenugreek, linseed and mallow w/ egg mix	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0277	Sor. 3. 28	Linseed	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0278	Sor. 3. 28	Bread w/ warm hydromel	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0279	Sor. 3. 28	Fat, marrow, fenugreek, mallow, oil of lilies or henna oil	suppository	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0280	Sor. 3. 28	Clyster of olive oil or oil w/ water	enema	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0281	Sor. 3. 28	Wax salves and highly emollient suppositories	salve	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)

0282	Sor. 3. 28	Varied food, bath and wine	diet	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (3rd day)
0283	Sor. 3. 28	Passive exercises, promenades, vocal exercises, reading aloud, anointing, gymnastics baths and varied food	other	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (restorative)
0284	Sor. 3. 28	Pungent diet	diet	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0285	Sor. 3. 28	Pitch plaster	plaster	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0286	Sor. 3. 28	Cupping	cupping	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0287	Sor. 3. 28	Intense heat	other	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0288	Sor. 3. 28	Vigorous local massage	massage	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0289	Sor. 3. 28	Pungent sitz baths	bath	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0290	Sor. 3. 28	Sprinkling powders	topical	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0291	Sor. 3. 28	Irritating suppositories and poultices	suppository, poultice	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0292	Sor. 3. 28	Mustard plasters	plaster	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0293	Sor. 3. 28	Cyclic treatment		Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0294	Sor. 3. 28	Choke by means of white hellebore	oral	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0295	Sor. 3. 28	Provoke vomiting by radishes	oral	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0296	Sor. 3. 28	Traveling by land and sea	other	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0297	Sor. 3. 28	Natural waters	drink	Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0298	Sor. 3. 29	Lists of others treatments		Hysterical suffocation (seizure) (chronic) (active)
0299	Sor. 3. 32	Relaxing injections	injection	Air in uterus
0300	Sor. 3. 32	Relaxing poultices	poultice	Air in uterus
0301	Sor. 3. 32	Dry cupping	cupping	Air in uterus
0302	Sor. 3. 32	Wet cupping	cupping	Air in uterus
0303	Sor. 3. 32	Easy to digest foods	diet	Air in uterus
0304	Sor. 3. 32	Midwife to remove the embedded clot (w/ finger)	other, surgery	Air in uterus

0305	Sor. 3. 32	Relaxing treatments		Air in uterus (chronic)
0306	Sor. 3. 32	Strengthen w/ warm ointments	ointment	Air in uterus (chronic)(remission)
0307	Sor. 3. 32	Massage of the legs and effected parts	massage	Air in uterus (chronic)(remission)
0308	Sor. 3. 32	Varied (pungent) food	diet	Air in uterus (chronic)
0309	Sor. 3. 32	Pitch plaster on loins or abdomen	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0310	Sor. 3. 32	Sprinkle pitch plaster with natron or apply intense heat	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0311	Sor. 3. 32	Mustard and dried figs rubefacient (increases blood flow)	rubefacient	Air in uterus (chronic)
0312	Sor. 3. 32	Barley w/ boiled figs, rue, Hyssop and honey	poultice	Air in uterus (chronic)
0313	Sor. 3. 32	Natron, figs, absinthium	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0314	Sor. 3. 32	Ground grain w/ boiled figs, and hyssop	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0315	Sor. 3. 32	Seeds of cataplasm	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0316	Sor. 3. 32	Polyarchus	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0317	Sor. 3. 32	Bayberry (first with wax salve then alone)	plaster	Air in uterus (chronic)
0318	Sor. 3. 32	Carrots, Cretan daucus and pennyroyal w/ water	bath	Air in uterus (chronic)
0319	Sor. 3. 32	Wormwood, hyssop, horehound, sweet bay or its fruits, cassia and spikenard	bath	Air in uterus (chronic)
0320	Sor. 3. 32	Rue, pennyroyal, honey, natron, and turpentine w/ galbanum, iris, rue, hyssop, and ox bile	suppository	Air in uterus (chronic)
0321	Sor. 3. 32	Rich ground figs (1drachm), soft cyclamen root (2drachm), white aphronite (1 drachm) dip in milk	suppository	Air in uterus (chronic)
0322	Sor. 3. 32	Cupping in circle wet and dry	cupping	Air in uterus (chronic)
0323	Sor. 3. 32	Diospolis remedy		Air in uterus (chronic)
0324	Sor. 3. 32	Mint remedy		Air in uterus (chronic)
0325	Sor. 3. 34	Same as for air in uterus 299 -324		Soft swelling of uterus
0326	Sor. 3. 34	Warm olive oil	v. sup.	Soft swelling of uterus
0327	Sor. 3. 34	Henna or iris oil	v. sup.	Soft swelling of uterus
0328	Sor. 3. 38	Warm poultices	poultice	The mole (exasperations)

0329	Sor. 3. 38	Cupping	cupping	The mole (exasperations)
0330	Sor. 3. 38	Scarification	bleeding	The mole (exasperations)
0331	Sor. 3. 38	Leeches	bleeding	The mole (exasperations)
0332	Sor. 3. 38	Heat	other	The mole (exasperations)
0333	Sor. 3. 38	Relaxing injections	injection	The mole (exasperations)
0334	Sor. 3. 38	Softening suppository	suppository	The mole (exasperations)
0335	Sor. 3. 38	Sitz baths	bath	The mole (exasperations)
0336	Sor. 3. 38	Cerates boiled w/ marshmallow, and sweet olive or henna oil		The mole (exasperations)
0337	Sor. 3. 38	Diachylian cataplasm	poultice	The mole (exasperations)
0338	Sor. 3. 38	Mnaseas cataplasm	poultice	The mole (exasperations)
0339	Sor. 3. 38	Food of good juices which make good humours	diet	The mole (exasperations)
0340	Sor. 3. 38	Bandage to alleviate downward pull	other	The mole (exasperations)
0341	Sor. 3. 38	Restorative cures		The mole (remissions)
0342	Sor. 3. 38	Pitch plaster	plaster	The mole (remissions)
0343	Sor. 3. 38	Application of heat	other	The mole (remissions)
0344	Sor. 3. 38	Sun baths	bath	The mole (remissions)
0345	Sor. 3. 38	Natron and salt massage	massage, bath	The mole (remissions)
0346	Sor. 3. 38	Mustard and dried figs rubefacient (increases blood flow)	rubefacient	The mole (remissions)
0347	Sor. 3. 38	Seeds of cataplasm	cataplasm	The mole (remissions)
0348	Sor. 3. 38	Bayberry cataplasm	cataplasm	The mole (remissions)
0349	Sor. 3. 38	Polyarchus	cataplasm	The mole (remissions)
0350	Sor. 3. 38	Cephisophon	cataplasm	The mole (remissions)
0351	Sor. 3. 38	Boiled sea water w/ sweet bay, bayberry, pennyroyal, hyssop, salvia, horehound, wormwood, dittany, centaury, germander, garlic germander	bath	The mole (remissions)

0352	Sor. 3. 38	Butter, hyssop, goose fat, chicken fat, deer's marrow or brain, and honey or fig and raisin flesh w/ old olive oil or henna, iris, marjoram, amarakos, lilies or malabathron oil	bath	The mole (remissions)
0353	Sor. 3. 38	Pungent diet	diet	The mole (remissions)
0354	Sor. 3. 38	Cyclic treatment		The mole (remissions)
0355	Sor. 3. 38	Natural waters, shower baths, swimming in the sea or natural waters	bath	The mole (remissions)
0356	Sor. 3. 38	Radishes for vomiting	oral	The mole (remissions)
0357	Sor. 3. 38	Hellebore	oral	The mole (remissions)
0358	Sor. 3. 41	Lie in small dark cool room	other	Uterine haemorrhage
0359	Sor. 3. 41	Stay still cross legs	other	Uterine haemorrhage
0360	Sor. 3. 41	Flat sponges soaked in cold water or vinegar applied to groin etc. And later the chest	topical compress	Uterine haemorrhage
0361	Sor. 3. 41	Bandage limbs	other	Uterine haemorrhage
0362	Sor. 3. 41	Cold water and fanning on face	bath, other	Uterine haemorrhage
0363	Sor. 3. 41	Moisten head with fresh cold olive oil	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0364	Sor. 3. 41	Drink vinegar	drink	Uterine haemorrhage
0365	Sor. 3. 41	Cold water	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0366	Sor. 3. 41	Vinegar	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0367	Sor. 3. 41	Myrtle berries	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0368	Sor. 3. 41	Dried roses	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0369	Sor. 3. 41	Omphakitis oak galls	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0370	Sor. 3. 41	Myrtle and lentils	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0371	Sor. 3. 41	Mastic	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0372	Sor. 3. 41	Pomegranate peels	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0373	Sor. 3. 41	Bramble blossom	bath	Uterine haemorrhage

0374	Sor. 3. 41	Oak leaves	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0375	Sor. 3. 41	Willow leaves	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0376	Sor. 3. 41	Tanning sumach	bath	Uterine haemorrhage
0377	Sor. 3. 41	Juice of 367-376	v. injection	Uterine haemorrhage
0378	Sor. 3. 41	Juice of plantain, knotgrass, endive, black nightshade, fleawort, or perdikion	v. injection	Uterine haemorrhage
0379	Sor. 3. 41	Hypocist and acacia juice w/ opium w/ vinegar	v. injection	Uterine haemorrhage
0380	Sor. 3. 41	Omphakion (2 cyaths)	v. injection	Uterine haemorrhage
0381	Sor. 3. 41	Juice of above with wool and inserted	v. sup.	Uterine haemorrhage
0382	Sor. 3. 41	Sponge soaked in above be inserted	v. sup.	Uterine haemorrhage
0383	Sor. 3. 41	Hot cupping loins groins and flanks	cupping	Uterine haemorrhage
0384	Sor. 3. 41	Dates soaked in tart wine or vinegar w/ cerate of roses or quinces, ground leaves of myrtle or meddlers, or alum, aloe, blossoms of the wild vine, hypocist, acacia, omphakatis oak gall and freshly made olive oil or rose, myrtle, mastic, or quince oil	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0385	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: purslane w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0386	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: henbane w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0387	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: plantain w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0388	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: fleawort w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0389	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: black nightshade w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0390	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: perdicion w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0391	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: knotgrass w/ barley powder and vinegar or	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage

		dates		
0392	Sor. 3. 41	Astringent cooling plaster: endive w/ barley powder and vinegar or dates	plaster	Uterine haemorrhage
0393	Sor. 3. 41	Oak gall, pulverised frankincense, chalcites (equal) w/ sweet wine	v. sup.	Uterine haemorrhage
0394	Sor. 3. 41	Ashes of sea sponge soaked in pitch	v. sup.	Uterine haemorrhage
0395	Sor. 3. 41	Dry dregs of wine with astringent juices	v. sup.	Uterine haemorrhage
0396	Sor. 3. 41	Black remedy (papyrus w/ vinegar or troches for dysentery)	oral	Uterine haemorrhage (w/ erosion)
0397	Sor. 3. 41	Rice in cold water or vinegar, or spelt or bread and soft boiled egg in vinegar	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face)
0398	Sor. 3. 41	Endive or plantain in vinegar and freshly ground sumach	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face)
0399	Sor. 3. 41	Fresh olive oil well boiled	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face)
0400	Sor. 3. 41	Apples and baked quinces or boiled pears and a bit of ringdove breast meat boiled in vinegar and stuffed with myrtle berries	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face)
0401	Sor. 3. 41	partridge or francolin	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face)
0402	Sor. 3. 41	Some wine	diet	Uterine haemorrhage (after time of sympathetic reactions)
0403	Sor. 3. 41	Bath when completely firm	bath	Uterine haemorrhage (after sponging face) (when firm)
0404	Sor. 3. 44	Treat as for uterine haemorrhage if non painful or ulcerating		Flux of the uterus (non-painful non-ulcerating)
0405	Sor. 3. 44	Mild astringent potions: Lotus tree sawdust, w/Samian earth, w/2 cyaths of water and tart wine together with rennet of hare, calf lamb or deer or grapestones, myrtle berries, pomegranate peel or pine bark (2 drachmas)	oral	Flux of the uterus (non- painful non ulcerating)
0406	Sor. 3. 44	Theban dates, quinces and apples	oral	Flux of the uterus (non-painful non ulcerating)
0407	Sor. 3. 44	Tragos, spelt or barley juice	injection	Flux of the uterus (painful) (non-ulcerating)
0408	Sor. 3. 44	Warming poultices	poultice	Flux of the uterus (painful) (non-ulcerating)
0409	Sor. 3. 44	Warm thin food	diet	Flux of the uterus (painful) (non-ulcerating)
0410	Sor. 3. 44	Treat as for painful flux	other	Flux of the uterus (painful) (clean ulcerating)

0411	Sor. 3. 44	As for dysentery	other	Flux of the uterus (painful) (dirty ulcerating)
0412	Sor. 3. 44	Passive exercises, promenades, vocal exercises,	other	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0413	Sor. 3. 44	The restorative cure, baths, wine in moderation, varied food, intense heat	other	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0414	Sor. 3. 44	Sun baths, metasyncretic cupping, pitch plasters, massage with hands or linen towel	other	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0415	Sor. 3. 44	Depilatories or metasyncretic unguents, mustard plasters	other	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0416	Sor. 3. 44	Radishes for vomiting, pungent diet, cyclic cure, swimming, shower baths in natural waters	other	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0417	Sor. 3. 44	Land or sea travel, sitz baths	bath	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0418	Sor. 3. 44	Irritating vaginal suppositories	v. sup.	Flux of the uterus (chronic) (remission)
0419	Sor. 3. 46	Seat in decoctions of roses, myrtle, mastich, bramble	bath	Flux of semen
0420	Sor. 3. 46	Acacia and hypocist in tart wine on lower abdomen and groins	massage	Flux of semen
0421	Sor. 3. 46	Dates quinces and myrtle	poultice	Flux of semen
0422	Sor. 3. 46	Vomit after meals or on empty stomach	oral	Flux of semen
0423	Sor. 3. 46	Upper exercise and massage	other	Flux of semen
0424	Sor. 3. 46	Halikakabon root dried (1 drachma) w/ water	oral	Flux of semen
0425	Sor. 3. 46	Seed of the chaste tree w/ water	oral	Flux of semen
0426	Sor. 3. 46	Seed of hemp or rue	oral	Flux of semen
0427	Sor. 3. 46	Dry diet w/ roast fowl and dry wine	diet	Flux of semen
0428	Sor. 3. 46	Gymnastics and sweetening, massage cold baths anoint abdomen and loins in rose oil	other, massage	Flux of semen (chronic)
0429	Sor. 3. 48	Treat as chronic lax disease		Atony of the uterus
0430	Sor. 3. 48	Sea sponges w/ diluted vinegar on pubes and loins	compress	Prevent miscarriage
0431	Sor. 3. 48	Astringent sitz baths	bath	Atony of the uterus
0432	Sor. 3. 48	Rose, narcissus, lily or quince oil injected into uterus	injection	Atony of the uterus
0433	Sor. 3. 48	Exercise	other	Atony of the uterus
0434	Sor. 3. 48	Little food mainly meat mildly astringent with astringent wine, no dairy	diet	Atony of the uterus

0435	Sor. 4. 7	Position them on their knees for delivery	other	Women fat or with concave loins
0436	Sor. 4. 7	Warm sweet olive oil w/ decoction of fenugreek , mallow, linseed or egg whites		
0437	Sor. 4. 7	Linseed or fenugreek in olive oil on loins pubes and abdomen	anointment	
0438	Sor. 4. 7	Oily sitz bath or fomentation applied with sponges and quickly removed with linen	bath	
0439	Sor. 4. 7	Warm olive oil or grain bags	compress	Pain
0440	Sor. 4. 7	Move them about on a litter	rocking	
0441	Sor. 4. 7	Breathing control	other	
0442	Sor. 4. 7	Weak women to be fed simple food in interval	diet	
0443	Sor. 4. 7	Push aside blockages of the uterus with ointment	ointment	
0444	Sor. 4. 7	Remove blockages of the uterus surgically	surgery	
0445	Sor. 4. 7	Water w/ oil or hydromel	enema	Retained faeces
0446	Sor. 4. 7	Ureteral catheter	surgery	Retained urine
0447	Sor. 4. 8	Move foetus	surgery	
0448	Sor. 4. 9 - 10	Hook extraction	surgery	Failed to deliver correctly (save mother)
0449	Sor. 4. 11	Amputate prolapsed limbs	surgery	Severe prolapse which cannot be straightened or death
0450	Sor. 4. 11	Drain foetus of fluids to make it small and cause it to collapse	surgery	
0451	Sor. 4. 12	Reassemble foetus to ensure no parts remain	surgery	
0452	Sor. 4. 16	Follow umbilical to placenta and remove it by lateral movements	surgery	Retention of the placenta
0453	Sor. 4. 16	Treat as an inflammation: injections poultice and warm foods	poultice, diet	Retention of the placenta w/ contracted cervix
0454	Sor. 4. 37	Wash uterus with cold water or diluted vinegar and adjust with finger	topical	Uterine prolapse
0455	Sor. 4. 37	Adjust with sponge	topical	Uterine prolapse
0456	Sor. 4. 37	Apply sponge w/ diluted vinegar or wool to vagina and bind thighs	topical	Uterine prolapse
0457	Sor. 4. 37	Fast for three days then give simple food every second day	diet	Uterine prolapse
0458	Sor. 4. 38	Enema and catheter	enema	Retention of urine or faeces

0459	Sor. 4. 38	Bathe prolapsed part with lukewarm oil	bath	Uterine prolapse
0460	Sor. 4. 38	Use a woollen tampon coated in thin linen w/ diluted vinegar, acacia juice or hypocist w/ wine increasing depth into vagina	topical	Uterine prolapse
0461	Sor. 4. 38	Wool with astringent wine over vagina	compress	Uterine prolapse
0462	Sor. 4. 38	Cover lower abdomen with sponges and diluted vinegar	compress	Uterine prolapse
0463	Sor. 4. 38	Cover abdomen pubes and loins w/ sponges and diluted vinegar and bandage them	compress	Uterine prolapse
0464	Sor. 4. 38	Cupping on each flank	cupping	Uterine prolapse
0465	Sor. 4. 38	Sweet smells continually	smell	Uterine prolapse
0466	Sor. 4. 38	Warm dark tart wine sitz bath	bath	Uterine prolapse
0467	Sor. 4. 38	Bramble myrtle, mastich or pomegranate peel sitz	bath	Uterine prolapse
0468	Sor. 4. 38	Dates barley, groats pomegranate peel and lentils w/ oxymel	poultice	Uterine prolapse
0469	Sor. 4. 39	Warm oil, water and oil, fenugreek, linseed or mallow juice	bath	Uterine prolapse (long duration) (white)
0470	Sor. 4. 39	Bleeding	venesection	Uterine prolapse (long duration) (white)
0471	Sor. 4. 39	Wash w/ warm diluted vinegar, sitz bath in same	bath	Uterine prolapse (chronic)
0472	Sor. 4. 39	Dry cupping	cupping	Uterine prolapse (chronic)
0473	Sor. 4. 39	Dates or quince	plaster	Uterine prolapse (chronic)
0474	Sor. 4. 39	Willow	plaster	Uterine prolapse (chronic)
0475	Sor. 4. 39	Intense heat	other	Uterine prolapse (chronic)(metasyncretic)
0476	Sor. 4. 39	Pungent unctions	anointment	
0477	Sor. 4. 39	Mustard	plaster	
0478	Sor. 4. 39	Natron, raisins and salt	v. sup.	
0479	Sor. 4. 39	Treat as for ulceration		Uterine prolapse (black)
0480	Sor. 4. 39	Amputate black parts	surgery	Uterine prolapse (black)
0481	Plin. 20. 2	Elaterium (juice of the seed of wild (exploding) cucumber)	lozenge	Dim vision

0482	Plin. 20. 2	Elaterium (juice of the seed of wild (exploding) cucumber)	lozenge	Eye diseases
0483	Plin. 20. 2	Elaterium (juice of the seed of wild (exploding) cucumber)	lozenge	Sores of the eyes
0484	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber root boiled in vinegar	ointment	Gout
0485	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber root boiled in vinegar (juice)	ointment	Toothache
0486	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Impetigo
0487	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Itch
0488	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Psora and lichen
0489	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Parotid swellings
0490	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Superficial abscesses
0491	Plin. 20. 2	Wild cucumber elaterium dried w/ resin	ointment	Restores natural colour to scars
0492	Plin. 20. 2	Juice of leaves of ecballium elaterium (squirting cucumber) w/ vinegar	ear drops	Deafness
0493	Plin. 20. 3	Keep a cucumber fastened to her body without it touching the ground	other	Conception is aided
0494	Plin. 20. 3	Seeds of cucumber wrapped in rams wool tied to her loins (and removed after delivery)	other	Labour
0495	Plin. 20. 3	Seeds of the 'scorpion' cucumber or elaterium		Scorpion sting
0496	Plin. 20. 3	Seeds of the 'scorpion' cucumber or elaterium 1/2 to 1 obolus	purge or emetic	Purge
0497	Plin. 20. 3	Seeds of the 'scorpion' cucumber or elaterium 1/2 to 1 obolus	drink	Phthiriasis or dropsy
0498	Plin. 20. 3	Seeds of the 'scorpion' cucumber or elaterium w/ honey or old olive oil	oral?	Quinsy or tracheal afflictions
0499	Plin. 20. 4	Serpentine/stray cucumber	decoction	Gout
0500	Plin. 20. 4	Serpentine/stray cucumber	decoction	Diseases of the joints
0501	Plin. 20. 4	Serpentine/stray cucumber seed dried in sun and pounded (20 Denarii) w/ water (1/2 sextus)	drink	Lumbago
0502	Plin. 20. 4	Serpentine/stray cucumber w/ woman's milk	liniment	Sudden tumours
0503	Plin. 20. 4	Elaterium		Promotes lactation causes abortion
0504	Plin. 20. 4	Elaterium (injected in nostrils)	injection	Asthma
0505	Plin. 20. 4	Elaterium (injected in nostrils)	injection	Jaundice

0506	Plin. 20. 4	Elaterium (smeared on face)	ointment	Removes freckles and spots
0507	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed (three finger pinch) pounded w/ cumin w/ wine	drink	Coughs
0508	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ woman's milk	drink	Phrenitis (malaria: raving and delirium)
0509	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ acetabulum		Dysentery
0510	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ equal weight of cumin	topical	Excretion of pus
0511	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ hydromel	drink	Diseases of the liver
0512	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ sweet wine	drink	Diuretic
0513	Plin. 20. 5	Cultivated cucumber seed w/ cumin	enema	Kidney pain
0514	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones	oral	Laxative (constipation)
0515	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones pulp	topical	Flux or pain of eyes
0516	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones root	topical	Ceria (hard honey comb like sores)
0517	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones root dried and ground into flower (4 oboli) with hydromel w/ half mile walk	drink	Emetic
0518	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones root dried and ground into flower	topical	Skin smoothing cosmetics
0519	Plin. 20. 6	Pepones rind	topical emetic	Clears face of spots
0520	Plin. 20. 6	Gourd leaves topical application	topical emetic	Clears face of spots
0521	Plin. 20. 6	Gourd leaves w/ honey	topical	Night rash
0522	Plin. 20. 6	Gourd leaves w/ honey and wine	topical	Dog bites, multipede and 'seps' bites
0523	Plin. 20. 6	Cucumber	smell	Revives those who have fainted
0524	Plin. 20. 7	Σομφός chewed	oral	Good for stomach
0525	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus dried drastic purge	oral	Purgative
0526	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus enema	enema	Problems with the bowels, kidneys and loins
0527	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus enema	enema	Paralysis
0528	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus dry powder w/ boiled honey pills	oral	Stomach
0529	Plin. 20. 8	Seven colocynthus seeds followed by hydromel	oral	Jaundice

0530	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus pulp w/ wormwood and salt	oral	Toothache
0531	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus juice w/ warm vinegar	oral	Loose teeth firm
0532	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus juice w/ oil	bath	Pains of spine, loins and hips
0533	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus seeds in cloth on body	topical	Periodic fever
0534	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus warmed juice	drops	Ear ache
0535	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus inner pulp	topical	Corns and ἀποστήματα
0536	Plin. 20. 8	Juice from boiling colocynthus pulp and seeds		Loose teeth firm and stops toothache
0537	Plin. 20. 8	Boiled colocynthus mixture w/ wine		Inflammation of the eye
0538	Plin. 20. 8	Colocynthus leaves w/ cypress leaves burned in a clay put w/ goose grease	topical	Cures wounds
0539	Plin. 20. 8	Fresh colocynthus bark		Cools gout and inflammations of the head (especially babies)
0540	Plin. 20. 8	Fresh colocynthus bark or seeds		Erysipelas (shingles)
0541	Plin. 20. 8	Juice from scrapings w/ rose oil and vinegar (liniment)	liniment	Cools fever
0542	Plin. 20. 8	Dust of the dry fruit		Heals wounds
0543	Plin. 20. 8	As food	oral	Stomach, ulcerations of the intestines and bladder
0544	Plin. 20. 9	Hot turnip		Chilblains prevents feet from becoming chilled
0545	Plin. 20. 9	Hot decoction	oral	Cold gout
0546	Plin. 20. 9	Raw pounded w/ salt		All ailments of the feet
0547	Plin. 20. 9	Turnip seed liniment or drunk with wine	liniment or drunk	Snake bites and poisons preventative
0548	Plin. 20. 9	Turnip seed w/ wine and oil	drunk	Antidote to poisons
0549	Plin. 20. 9	As food	oral	Aphrodisiac
0550	Plin. 20. 9	As food w/ rocket	oral	Aphrodisiac more potent
0551	Plin. 20. 9	Turnip roasted w/ grease	ointment	Pain with joints
0552	Plin. 20. 10	Turnip seed w/ meal of vetches, barley wheat and lupines	topical	Smoothing the face/skin
0553	Plin. 20. 11	Angular leaved navew decoction w/ hydromel or a drachma of the juice	drink	Purgings of women, the bladder and urine

0554	Plin. 20. 11	Angular leaved navew seed roasted and ground w/ warm water (4 cyaths)	drink	Dysentery
0555	Plin. 20. 11	Angular leaved navew seed roasted and ground w/ warm water (4 cyaths)	drink	Prevents urination unless linseed drink is take with it
0556	Plin. 20. 11	Bunias navew (like radish and turnip)	oral	Poisons antidote
0557	Plin. 20. 12	Wiled radish	oral	Diuretic
0558	Plin. 20. 13	Cultivated radishes	oral	Purge the stomach, loosen phlegm, promote urine and removes bile
0559	Plin. 20. 13	Radish skin in wine in morning (too 3 cyathi)	drink	Break up and remove gall stones
0560	Plin. 20. 13	Radish skin w/ vinegar and water	liniment	Snake bites
0561	Plin. 20. 13	To eat on empty stomach in morning w/ honey	oral	Cough
0562	Plin. 20. 13	Roasted radish seed	oral	Cough
0563	Plin. 20. 13	Radish amulet	other	Phthiriasis
0564	Plin. 20. 13	Decoction of leaves w/ water (2 cyathi)	drink	Phthiriasis
0565	Plin. 20. 13	Neat radish juice (2 cyathi)	drink	Phthiriasis
0566	Plin. 20. 13	Liniment of crushed radish	liniment	Inflammation
0567	Plin. 20. 13	Radish skins w/ honey	liniment	Recent bruise
0568	Plin. 20. 13	Eaten at their hottest	oral	Lethargic persons
0569	Plin. 20. 13	Radish seed roasted beaten and mixed with honey	oral	Asthmatics
0570	Plin. 20. 13	Radish or seed rubbed on hands	topical	Horned viper and scorpion antidote
0571	Plin. 20. 13	Radish		Fungi, henbane, and bulls blood antidote
0572	Plin. 20. 13	Radish seeds w/ water	drink	Mistletoe poisoning
0573	Plin. 20. 13	Radish juice	drink	Mistletoe poisoning
0574	Plin. 20. 13	Radish w/ vinegar or mustard	oral	Dropsy, lethargies, epilepsy and melancholia
0575	Plin. 20. 13	Radish	oral	Iliac (disease of the bowels)
0576	Plin. 20. 13	Radish	oral	Coeliac
0577	Plin. 20. 13	Radish with honey	oral	Ulcers of the intestines and chest suppurations

0578	Plin. 20. 13	Radish with honey cooked in mud	oral	Promotes menstrual discharge
0579	Plin. 20. 13	Radish with vinegar or honey	oral	Intestinal worms
0580	Plin. 20. 13	Radish boiled to a third w/ wine	oral decoction	Intestinal hernia
0581	Plin. 20. 13	Radish cooked	oral	Spitting blood
0582	Plin. 20. 13	Radish feed cooked to women lying	oral	Increase lactation
0583	Plin. 20. 13	Radish rubbed on a woman's head when hair falls out	topical	Hair falls out
0584	Plin. 20. 13	Radish placed on navel for pains of the womb	topical	Pain in womb
0585	Plin. 20. 13	Radish return scars to normal colour	topical	Scaring
0586	Plin. 20. 13	Radish seed in water	decoction	Phagedaenae ulcers
0587	Plin. 20. 13	Radish as food	oral	Aphrodisiac (damages voice)
0588	Plin. 20. 13	Leaves of long radish	oral	Improve sight
0589	Plin. 20. 13	Hyssop	oral	Radish overdose
0590	Plin. 20. 13	Radish juice in ear	ear drops	Deafness
0591	Plin. 20. 13	Eaten after a meal	oral	To prevent vomiting
0592	Plin. 20. 14	Marsh mallow		Ulcers, broken cartilages and bones
0593	Plin. 20. 14	Marshmallow leaves in water	drink	Relax the bowels
0594	Plin. 20. 14	Marsh mallow	liniment	Bee, wasp, and hornet stings
0595	Plin. 20. 14	Marshmallow roots, dug up before dawn and wrapped in natural wool of a sheep which has given birth to a ewe. Bound on scrofulous sores. (possibly dug up with gold tool)	topical	Scrofulous sores
0596	Plin. 20. 14	Marshmallow root w/ wine	liniment	Gout without swelling
0597	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus seed crushed w/wine	drink	Swollen belly
0598	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus seed crushed w/wine	drink	Hysterical suffocation and pains of women
0599	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus seed crushed w/bread and raisin wine	drink	Belly-ache
0600	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus		Diuretic

0601	Plin. 20. 15	Fresh staphylinus w/ honey	oral	Treats phagedaenic ulcers
0602	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus dry sprinkled on flower	oral	Treats phagedaenic ulcers
0603	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root w/ hydromel	oral	Liver, spleen loins and kidney afflictions
0604	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root w/ hydromel	oral	Chronic dysentery
0605	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root (4 oz.) Boiled in milk	drink	Strangury
0606	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root (4 oz.) w/ water	drink	Dropsy
0607	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root (4 oz.) w/ water	drink	Opisthotonic (tetanus), tetanus, pleurisy and epilepsy
0608	Plin. 20. 15	As food	oral	Suffer no harm when bitten by a snake
0609	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus w/ axle grease	ointment	Bites
0610	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus leaves chewed	oral (mastication)	Indigestion
0611	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus eaten	oral	Aphrodisiac
0612	Plin. 20. 15	Cultivated staphylinus seed w/ wine vinegar and water.	drink	Scorpion sting
0613	Plin. 20. 15	Staphylinus root	dentifrice	Toothache
0614	Plin. 20. 16	Gingidion cooked or raw	oral	Stomach
0615	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip w/ vinegar and silphium	oral	Stimulates appetite
0616	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip w/ pepper and honey wine	oral	Stimulates appetite
0617	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip w/ fish sauce	oral	Stimulates appetite
0618	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	oral	Diuretic
0619	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	oral	Aphrodisiac
0620	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	drink	A cordial in convalescence
0621	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	drink	Useful after lots of vomiting
0622	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	oral	Mercury poisoning
0623	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip	oral	Occasional incontinence
0624	Plin. 20. 17	Wild parsnip juice w/ goats milk	drink	Looseness of the bowels

0625	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort seed w/ white wine	drink	Chronic cough, ruptures, and convulsions
0626	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort seed (2-3 spoonful's) w/ white wine	drink	Opisthotonic (tetanus), liver problems, colic and strangury
0627	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort leaves	oral	Aid parturition
0628	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort leaves	topical	Erysipelas (shingles)
0629	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort leaves or seed	oral	Aids digestion
0630	Plin. 20. 18	Heartwort	oral, drink and injection	Veterinary uses
0631	Plin. 20. 19	Elecampain (while fasting)	masticant	Strengthens the teeth
0632	Plin. 20. 19	Elecampain removed from the ground without touching it (confection)	confection	Cough
0633	Plin. 20. 19	Juice of boiled elecampain root	drink	Expels worms
0634	Plin. 20. 19	Dry powdered elecampain root	oral	Cough, convulsions, flatulence, and afflictions of the trachea
0635	Plin. 20. 19	Elecampain	oral	Keeps off bite of poisonous creatures
0636	Plin. 20. 19	Elecampain leaves steeped in wine	drink	Lumbago
0637	Plin. 20. 20	Onions	smell	Feebleness of vision
0638	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice in eye	topical	Feebleness of vision
0639	Plin. 20. 20	Onions	oral	Induce sleep
0640	Plin. 20. 20	Onions w/ bread	masticant	Heal sores of the mouth
0641	Plin. 20. 20	Fresh onions w/ vinegar	topical	Dog bites and abrasions
0642	Plin. 20. 20	Dry onions w/ honey and wine	bandage	
			topical	Dog bites and abrasions
			bandage	
0643	Plin. 20. 20	Onions cooked in ash w/ barley flour	topical	Fluxes of the eyes
0644	Plin. 20. 20	Onions cooked in ash w/ barley flour	topical	Sores of the genitals
0645	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice	ointment	Eye sores
0646	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice	ointment	Albugo (eye disease of unusual whiteness)

0647	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice	ointment	Argema (eye disease w/ white speck on black of eye)
0648	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ honey	ointment	Snake bites
0649	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ honey	ointment	Ulcers
0650	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ woman's milk w/ goose grease or honey	ear drops	Sore ear lops, singing, hardness of hearing
0651	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ water	drink	Sudden dumbness
0652	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice	gargle	Toothache
0653	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice	topical	Animal bites especially scorpions
0654	Plin. 20. 20	Crushed onions	liniment	Mange or itch
0655	Plin. 20. 20	Boiled onions	oral	Dysentery or lumbago
0656	Plin. 20. 20	Onion peelings burnet to ash w/ vinegar	topical	Snake bites
0657	Plin. 20. 20	Onions in vinegar	topical	Multipede bites
0658	Plin. 20. 20	Onions as food	oral	Healthy complexion
0659	Plin. 20. 20	Onions eaten daily on an empty stomach	oral	Good health, good for stomach, loosen the bowels
0660	Plin. 20. 20	Onions as suppository	suppository	Haemorrhoids
0661	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ fennel juice	drink	Incipient dropsy
0662	Plin. 20. 20	Onion juice w/ rue and honey	drink	Quinsy and lethargies
0663	Plin. 20. 21	Leeks crushed w/ gall nut or mint (in nose)	nasal plugs	Nose bleeding
0664	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice w/ woman's milk	drink	Flux after miscarriage
0665	Plin. 20. 21	Leek		Chronic cough, and afflictions of the chest and lungs
0666	Plin. 20. 21	Leek leaves	topical	Pimples, burns and epinyctis (perpetually running sore in corner of eye)
0667	Plin. 20. 21	Pounded leeks w/ honey	topical	Other sores
0668	Plin. 20. 21	Leaks in vinegar	topical	Bites of serpents, poisonous creatures and beasts
0669	Plin. 20. 21	Leaks and goats gall		Ear problems

0670	Plin. 20. 21	Leak w/ mead		Ear problems
0671	Plin. 20. 21	Leek w/woman's milk	ear drops	Singing in ears
0672	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice in nostrils	nose drops	Headache
0673	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice (2 tablespoons) w/ honey (1 tablespoon)	ear drops	Headache at night
0674	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice w/ neat wine	drink	Scorpion and snake bite
0675	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice w/ 1/2 sextarius of wine	drink	Lumbago
0676	Plin. 20. 21	Leek juice or leek as food	oral	Spitting blood, consumption, and chronic catarrhs
0677	Plin. 20. 21	Juice (acetabulum) w/ barley water	drink	Jaundice, dropsy and kidney pains
0678	Plin. 20. 21	Juice (acetabulum) w/ honey	drink	Purges womb
0679	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Fugal poisons
0680	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Applied to wounds
0681	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Aphrodisiac
0682	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Quenches thirst
0683	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Pick me up after drinking
0684	Plin. 20. 21	Leek	oral	Make voice brilliant
0685	Plin. 20. 22	Headed leek juice w/ gall nut, frankincense or acacia gum	oral	Spitting blood
0686	Plin. 20. 22	Headed leek juice	drink	Open constricted womb
0687	Plin. 20. 22	Headed leek as food	oral	Increased female fertility
0688	Plin. 20. 22	Headed leek beaten w/ honey	topical	Cleanses sores
0689	Plin. 20. 22	Leek w/ barley water or eaten raw except head without bread only on alternating days	oral	Cough, catarrh of the chest, affections of lungs and trachea
0690	Plin. 20. 22	Leek w/ barley water or eaten raw except head without bread only on alternating days	oral	Benefits voice, venery and sleep
0691	Plin. 20. 22	The heads boiled in water (changed twice)	oral	Diarrhoea and chronic fluxes
0692	Plin. 20. 22	Head leak skin decoction	topical	Dye for grey hair
0693	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic	topical	Deters serpents and scorpions with its smell

0694	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic (drunk eaten or applied as ointment)	oral drink	Cures bites
0695	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ wine and brought up by vomiting	topical	
0696	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic	drink	Haemorrhoids (snake species)
0697	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic	drink	Shrew mouse bite
0698	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ honey	drink	Antidote for aconite (panther strangler) henbane
0699	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic (roasted in its own leaves) w/ oil	ointment	Dog bites
0700	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic (roasted in its own leaves) w/ oil	liniment	Serpent bites
0701	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic fumigations	liniment	Bruises (including blisters)
0702	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic ash w/ oil	fumigation	Bring away placenta
0703	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic cooked	topical	Running sores on head
0704	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ centaury	oral	Asthmatics
0705	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic in split fig	oral	Dropsy
0706	Plin. 20. 23	Fresh garlic in neat wine w/ coriander	oral	Purge
0707	Plin. 20. 23	Pounded garlic w/ milk	drink	Purge
0708	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ wine	drink	Asthmatics
0709	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ oil and pottage	drink	Jaundice
0710	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ oil and pottage		Iliac passion (severe colic)
0711	Plin. 20. 23	Raw garlic	liniment	Scrofulous sores
0712	Plin. 20. 23	Well boiled garlic	oral	Mad men
0713	Plin. 20. 23	Pounded w/ vinegar and water	oral	Phrenitis (malaria: raving and delirium)
0714	Plin. 20. 23	3 ponded garlic heads w/ vinegar	gargle	Quinsy
0715	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic inserted into hollow teeth	gargle	Toothache
0716	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic juice w/ goose fat	topical	Toothache
0717	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ drink	ear drops	
0718	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ vinegar and soda	drink	Phthiriasis and scurf
			injection	Phthiriasis and scurf

0719	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic boiled w/ milk	oral	Catarrhs
0720	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic crushed and mixed w/ soft cheese	oral	Catarrhs
0721	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic crushed and mixed w/ soft cheese	oral	Relieves hoarseness
0722	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic in gruel of peas or beans	oral	Relieves hoarseness
0723	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic boiled	oral	Benefits the voice
0724	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic cooked in oxymel	oral	Expels tape worms and other intestinal parasites
0725	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic in pottage	oral	Tenesmus
0726	Plin. 20. 23	Well boiled garlic	ointment	Pains in the temples
0727	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic cooked and beaten	ointment	Blisters
0728	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic decoction w/ stale grease or milk	drink	Cough
0729	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic roasted under live ashes and taken w/ equal amount of honey	oral	Cough and spitting blood or pus
0730	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ salt and oil		Sprains and ruptures
0731	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ fat	oral	Tumours
0732	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ sulphur and resin	poultice	Draws pus from fistulas
0733	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ pitch	poultice	Extracts arrows
0734	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ wild marjoram	topical	Leprous sores, lichen and freckly eruptions (cleansed and cured)
0735	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic ash w/ oil and fish sauce	liniment	Leprous sores, lichen and freckly eruptions (cleansed and cured)
0736	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic ash w/ oil and fish sauce	liniment	Erysipelas (shingles)
0737	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic ash and honey	topical	Returns normal colour to discoloured skin
0738	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic as food or drink	oral	Epilepsy
0739	Plin. 20. 23	One garlic head w/ dry wine and silphium (1 obolus)	drink	Quartan ague
0740	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic boiled in broken beans and eaten	oral	Cough and suppuration of the chest
0741	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic	oral	Induce sleep
0742	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic w/ fresh coriander in neat wine	drink	Aphrodisiac

0743	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic drawbacks		Dulls sight, creates flatulence, injures stomach, creates thirst
0744	Plin. 20. 23	Garlic oral and topical		Veterinary uses
0745	Plin. 20. 24	Goat-lettuce juice thickened w /vinegar (2 obolii) and water (1 cyath)	drink	Dropsy
0746	Plin. 20. 24	Goat-lettuce stalks and leaves crushed w/ salt	topical	Cut sinew
0747	Plin. 20. 24	Pounded plant w/ vinegar (twice a month)	mouthwash	Toothache (preventative)
0748	Plin. 20. 25	Caesapon lettuce pounded w/ pearl barley	ointment	Sores
0749	Plin. 20. 25	ισότις lettuce leaves pounded w/ pearl barley	ointment	Wounds
0750	Plin. 20. 25	Lettuce used by wool dyers like sorrel roots or leaves	topical	Stops bleeding, heals phagedaenic or putrefying ulcers
0751	Plin. 20. 25	Lettuce used by wool dyers like sorrel roots or leaves	topical	Spreading ulcers, tumours before suppuration and erysipelas
0752	Plin. 20. 25	Lettuce used by wool dyers like sorrel roots or leaves in drink	drink	Good for spleen
0753	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk	drink	Eye diseases,
0754	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk	drink	White ulcers
0755	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk	drink	Films
0756	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk	drink	Wounds and inflammations
0757	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk	drink	Dimness of sight
0758	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce 'resin' (dry sap) w/ woman's milk on wool	topical	Eye fluxes
0759	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce juice (less than 2 oboli) in vinegar and water	drink	Purges the bowels
0760	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce juice in wine	drink	Heals snake bites
0761	Plin. 20. 26	Wiled lettuce leaves and stalks pounded w/ vinegar	drink	Heals snake bites
0762	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce leaves and stalks	ointment	Scorpion sting
0763	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce leaves and stalks w/ wine and vinegar	ointment	Poisonous spiders
0764	Plin. 20. 26	Wiled lettuce	oral	Neutralises other poisons
0765	Plin. 20. 26	Wiled lettuce w/ honey and vinegar	topical	Bowel troubles
0766	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce juice	drink	Difficulty making urine

0767	Plin. 20. 26	Wild lettuce juice (2 oboli) w/ vinegar and wine (1 cyathus)	drink	Dropsy
0768	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Causes sleep
0769	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Reduces sexual desires
0770	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Cooling a heated body
0771	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Cleansing the stomach
0772	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Making blood
0773	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Clams flatulence and belching
0774	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Aids digestion
0775	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Moderates eating
0776	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Loosens thick phlegm
0777	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces	oral	Good for upset stomachs
0778	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce w/ oboli of digestive w/ sweet wine w/ squill or wormwood wine (if phlegm thick)	drink	Good for upset stomachs (w/ phlegm)
0779	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce w/ oboli of digestive w/ sweet wine w/ hyssop wine (If also has cough)	drink	Good for upset stomachs (w/ cough)
0780	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuces w/ wild endive	oral	Colic affections and hardness in the abdomen
0781	Plin. 20. 26	White lettuce (lots)	oral	Melancholic patients and bladder troubles
0782	Plin. 20. 26	White lettuce w/ salt	oral	Burns (prior to blistering)
0783	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce w/ saltpetre then in wine	oral	Prevents the spread of ulcers
0784	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce pounded	topical	Erysipelas (shingles)
0785	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce stalks pounded w/ pearl barley and cold water	topical	Soothe cramps, sprains
0786	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce stalks pounded w/ pearl barley cold water and wine	topical	Eruptions of pimples
0787	Plin. 20. 26	Bitter lettuce cooked	oral	Cholera
0788	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce juice	injection	Cholera
0789	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce stalks boiled	oral	Good for the stomach
0790	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce stalks boiled	oral	Good for sleep

0791	Plin. 20. 26	Milky bitter lettuce w /woman's milk	drink	Clarity of vision w/ bathing
0792	Plin. 20. 26	Milky bitter lettuce w /woman's milk	drink	Eye troubles caused by chill
0793	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce w/ attic honey	oral	Chest complaints
0794	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce (food)	oral	Menstruation is regulated
0795	Plin. 20. 26	Seed of cultivated lettuce	topical	Scorpion stings
0796	Plin. 20. 26	Crushed lettuce seed w/ wine	drink	Prevent amorous dreams
0797	Plin. 20. 26	Lettuce (food)	oral	Not harmed by noxious waters
0798	Plin. 20. 26	Taken to often		Impair eyesight
0799	Plin. 20. 27	Beet roots soaked and hung out to dry		Snakebites
0800	Plin. 20. 27	White beet boiled w/ raw garlic	oral	Tapeworms
0801	Plin. 20. 27	Dark roots boiled	oral	Remove dandruff
0802	Plin. 20. 27	Dark beet juice	drink	Headache, giddiness,
0803	Plin. 20. 27	Dark beet juice	ear drops	Noises in the ear
0804	Plin. 20. 27	Dark beet juice	drink	Diuretic
0805	Plin. 20. 27	Dark beet juice	injected	Dysentery and jaundice
0806	Plin. 20. 27	Dark beet juice	liniment	Toothache and serpent bite
0807	Plin. 20. 27	Beet	decoction	Chilblains
0808	Plin. 20. 27	White beet on forehead	topical	Eye fluxes
0809	Plin. 20. 27	White beet w/ alum	topical	Erysipelas (shingles)
0810	Plin. 20. 27	White beet crushed	topical	Burns
0811	Plin. 20. 27	White beet	topical	Eruptions of pimples
0812	Plin. 20. 27	White beet boiled	topical	Spreading sores
0813	Plin. 20. 27	White beet (raw)	topical	Mange and running sores on the head
0814	Plin. 20. 27	White beet juice w/honey	nasal drops	Clears the head
0815	Plin. 20. 27	White beet gently boiled w/ lentils and vinegar	oral	Relax the bowels
0816	Plin. 20. 27	Beet boiled vigorously	oral	Prevents flux of stomach and bowels

0817	Plin. 20. 28	Wild beet leaves	topical	Good for burns
0818	Plin. 20. 28	Wild beet seeds (1 acetabulum)	oral	Dysentery
0819	Plin. 20. 29	Endive juice w/ rose oil and vinegar	drink	Headache
0820	Plin. 20. 29	Endive oil w/ wine	drink	Pains of the liver and bladder
0821	Plin. 20. 29	Endive oil	topical	Fluxes of the eyes
0822	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory (food)	oral	Cool gatherings
0823	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory	liniment	Cool gatherings
0824	Plin. 20. 30	Boiled chicory juice	drink	Loosens bowels
0825	Plin. 20. 30	Boiled chicory juice	drink	Benefits liver kidneys and stomach
0826	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory boiled in vinegar	oral	Stops painful urination
0827	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory boiled in vinegar w/ honey wine	drink	Jaundice (w/ no fever)
0828	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory	oral?	Helps bladder
0829	Plin. 20. 30	Chicory boiled down in water	oral	Purges women aids in dispelling dead foetus
0830	Plin. 20. 30	Magi say: anoint w/ juice of the entire chicory plant w/ oil	bath	Become more popular and attain requests more easily
0831	Plin. 20. 31	Wild chicory boiled	oral	Is astringent on a relaxed stomach
0832	Plin. 20. 31	Wild chicory raw	oral	Tightens loose bowels
0833	Plin. 20. 31	Wild chicory w/ lentils	oral	Dysentery
0834	Plin. 20. 31	Wild and cultivated chicory		Ruptures and cramps
0835	Plin. 20. 31	Wild and cultivated chicory		Flux of sperm
0836	Plin. 20. 32	Seris (endive)	oral	Stomach (esp. Troubled by humours)
0837	Plin. 20. 32	Seris w/ vinegar	oral	Cooling
0838	Plin. 20. 32	Seris	liniment	Cooling
0839	Plin. 20. 32	Wild seris roots w/ pearl barley	draught	Benefit stomach
0840	Plin. 20. 32	Seris	topical	Heart burn (applied above left breast)
0841	Plin. 20. 32	Seris w/ vinegar		Gout, spitting of blood, seminal flux

0842	Plin. 20. 33	Curly leaved cabbage (selinas)	oral	Stomach and moderately laxative
0843	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas	oral	Headache
0844	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas	oral	Dimness of the eye
0845	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas	oral	Sparks in the eye
0846	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas	oral	Good for spleen
0847	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas	oral	Good for stomach
0848	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas raw w/ oxymel, coriander, rue, mint and silphium root (2acetabula) (in morning)	oral	Good for the hypochondria
0849	Plin. 20. 33	Selinas w/ barley flour w/ dash or rue, coriander and salt	liniment	Gout, rheumatic joints
0850	Plin. 20. 33	Cabbage juice boiled down	fomentation	Good for sinews and joints
0851	Plin. 20. 33	Hot water	fomentation	Wounds and cancerous sores
0852	Plin. 20. 33	Pounded cabbage (twice daily)	topical	Wounds and cancerous sores
0853	Plin. 20. 33	851 and 852	fomentation, topical	Fistulas and sprains
0854	Plin. 20. 33	851 and 852	fomentation, topical	Tumours
0855	Plin. 20. 33	Boiled cabbage eaten fasting w/ oil and salt	oral	Prevents dreams and sleeplessness
0856	Plin. 20. 33	Cabbage boiled then boiled again w/ oil salt cumin and pearl barley	oral	Gripings
0857	Plin. 20. 33	Cabbage in dark wine	drink	Clears bile
0858	Plin. 20. 33	Warm urine of person on cabbage diet	drink	Pains in the sinews
0859	Plin. 20. 33	Warm urine of person on cabbage diet	bath	Prevents children becoming weak
0860	Plin. 20. 33	Cabbage juice w/ wine	ear drops	Hardness of hearing and impetigo
0861	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage not overcooked	oral	Bring away bile
0862	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage not overcooked	oral	Loosens bowels
0863	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage boiled twice	oral	Treats diarrhoea
0864	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage (food)	oral	Prevents drunkenness
0865	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage (after drinking)	oral	Dispels unpleasant effects of drinking

0866	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	oral	Brightens vision
0867	Plin. 20. 34	Raw cabbage juice w/ attic honey	eye drops	Brightens vision touches the corner of eyes
0868	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	oral	Clears the senses
0869	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	oral	Good for stomach and sinews
0870	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	oral	Paralysis, palsy and spitting blood
0871	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage boiled twice w/ salt	oral	Coeliac and dysentery
0872	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage boiled twice w/ salt	oral	Tenesmus and kidney troubles
0873	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage (food)	oral	Gave lactating women lots of milk
0874	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage (food)	oral	Aided woman's purgings
0875	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage stalk (raw)	oral	Brings out dead unborn baby
0876	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage seeds	oral	Antidote to poisonous fungi
0877	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage juice w/ wine	drunk	Antidote to poisonous fungi
0878	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage w/ goats milk, salt and honey	drink	Opisthonic tetanus
0879	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage (food) and cabbage water	oral	Gout
0880	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage water W/ salt	drink	Heartburn and epilepsy
0881	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage water w/ white wine (for forty days)	drink	Spleen ailments, jaundice and phrinitis
0882	Plin. 20. 34	Juice of raw cabbage	gargle or drink	Hoarseness
0883	Plin. 20. 34	Raw cabbage juice w/ vinegar, coriander, dill, honey and pepper	drink	Hiccoughs
0884	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage		Flatulence of the stomach, snake bite, putrid sores (long term)
0885	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage water w/ barley meal	drink	Aching joints or gouty limbs
0886	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage juice w/ vinegar or fenugreek	drink	Aching joints or gouty limbs
0887	Plin. 20. 34	885, 886	drink	Epinyctis and all other spreading eruptions
0888	Plin. 20. 34	885, 886	drink	Sudden dimness of sight
0889	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage in vinegar	oral	Sudden dimness of sight

0890	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	topical	Bruises and livid marks
0891	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage in vinegar w/ a ball of alum	topical	Leptous sores and itch
0892	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage in vinegar w/ a ball of alum	topical	Prevents hair falling out
0893	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage	topical	Good for genitals and testis
0894	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage w/ beans	topical	Good for genitals and testis, and convulsions
0895	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage w/ rue	oral	High fever and stomach troubles
0896	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage w/ rue seed	oral	Bring away afterbirth
0897	Plin. 20. 34	Cabbage w/ rue seed	oral	Antidote to shrew mouse bite
0898	Plin. 20. 34	Dry cabbage leaves	oral	Purge by vomit or stool
0899	Plin. 20. 35	Brussels sprouts	oral	Difficult to digest and bad for the kidneys
0900	Plin. 20. 35	Ash from cabbage stalks w/ stale grease		Sciatica
0901	Plin. 20. 35	Ash from cabbage stalks w/ silphium and vinegar	depilatory	Prevents hair growth
0902	Plin. 20. 35	Ash from cabbage lukewarm in oil	drink	Convulsions, internal ruptures and falls from a height
0903	Plin. 20. 35	Ash from cabbage boiled in water	drink	Convulsions, internal ruptures and falls from a height
0904	Plin. 20. 35	Cabbage	oral	Creates bad breath and harms the teeth and gums
0905	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage powder	snuff	Removes nose troubles and bad smells
0906	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage	oral	Flatulence, melancholy (illnesses of black bile)
0907	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage w/ honey (apply for 7 days)	topical	Fresh wounds
0908	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage in water	drink	Scrofula and fistula
0909	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage	oral	Running sores, removes excrescences and smooths scars
0910	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage	masticant	Sores in mouth and tonsils
0911	Plin. 20. 36	Cabbage water w/ honey	gargle	Sores in mouth and tonsils
0912	Plin. 20. 36	Three parts wild cabbage two parts alum in strong vinegar	liniment	Itch and chronic leptous sores

0913	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage	topical	Mad dog bite
0914	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage w/ silphium juice and strong vinegar	topical	Mad dog bite
0915	Plin. 20. 36	Wild cabbage seed roasted	oral	Helps against serpents fungi and bulls blood
0916	Plin. 20. 36	Boiled wild cabbage leaves	oral	Diseases of the spleen and hardness of breasts
0917	Plin. 20. 36	Raw wild cabbage leaves w/ sulphur and soda	oral	Diseases of the spleen and hardness of breasts
0918	Plin. 20. 36	Ash of wild cabbage roots	topical	Swollen uvula, heals serpent bites
0919	Plin. 20. 36	Ash of wild cabbage roots w/ honey	topical	Parotid swellings
0920	Plin. 20. 37	Lapsana (a wild cabbage)(cooked)	oral	Loosens the bowels
0921	Plin. 20. 38	Sea cabbage	oral	Strong purgative
0922	Plin. 20. 38	Sea cabbage	oral	Bad for the stomach
0923	Plin. 20. 39	Squill skinned and dried then plunged in vinegar for 48 days before solstice squills removed and vinegar stored		
0924	Plin. 20. 39	Squill vinegar	drink	Sharpens vision
0925	Plin. 20. 39	Squill vinegar	drink	Beneficial for pains in stomach and sides if taken for 2 days
0926	Plin. 20. 39	Too much squill vinegar	drink	Brings on the appearance of death
0927	Plin. 20. 39	Squills alone	masticant	Good for the gums and teeth
0928	Plin. 20. 39	Squills in vinegar and honey	oral	Tapeworm and other intestinal parasites
0929	Plin. 20. 39	Fresh squills placed under the tongue	topical	Prevent dropsical patients suffering thirst
0930	Plin. 20. 39	Dried raw squills boiled in vinegar	topical	Snake bites
0931	Plin. 20. 39	Roast squills then clean then boil centres in water w/ honey and vinegar (3 oboli)	oral	Diuretic for dropsy,
0932	Plin. 20. 39	Roast squills then clean then boil centres in water w/ honey and vinegar (3 oboli)	oral	Diseases of the spleen and stomach (w/ no ulceration)
0933	Plin. 20. 39	Roast squills then clean then boil centres in water w/ honey and vinegar (3 oboli)	oral	Gripping pains, jaundice, chronic cough and asthma
0934	Plin. 20. 39	Squill leaves (applied for 4 days)	topical	Scrofula

0935	Plin. 20. 39	Squills cooked in oil	topical	Dandruff and running sores
0936	Plin. 20. 39	Squills cooked in honey	oral	Digestion
0937	Plin. 20. 39	Squills cooked in honey	oral	Purge the bowels
0938	Plin. 20. 39	Squills cooked in oil and mixed w/ resin	topical	Cracks in the feet
0939	Plin. 20. 39	Squill seed w/ honey	topical	Lumbago
0940	Plin. 20. 39	Squills hung in doorway	folk	Keep off evil enchantments
0941	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ vinegar and sulphur	topical	Cuts on the face
0942	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs pounded	topical	Contraction of the sinews
0943	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs pounded w/ wine		Dandruff
0944	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs pounded w/ honey or pitch	topical	The bites of dogs
0945	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ honey	topical	Stop bleeding
0946	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ coriander and flour	topical	Nosebleed
0947	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs in vinegar	drink	Lichen
0948	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs in vinegar w/ dry wine or egg	drink	Eruptions on the head
0949	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs	topical	Eye fluxes
0950	Plin. 20. 40	Bulb centres	topical	Dry ophthalmia
0951	Plin. 20. 40	Red bulbs w/honey and soda (in the sun)	topical	Remove spots on the face
0952	Plin. 20. 40	Red bulbs w/wine or vinegar (in the sun)	topical	Removes freckles
0953	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs	topical	Wounds
0954	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ honey wine (applied for a minimum of 4 days)	topical	Wounds
0955	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ honey wine (applied for a minimum of 4 days)	topical	Broken ear-laps and hydrocele
0956	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ honey wine and flour (applied for a minimum of 4 days)	topical	Joint pains
0957	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs boiled applied to belly	topical	Soften hard abdomen
0958	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ wine and diluted rain water	drink	Dysentery
0959	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs w/ silphium (pills the size of a bean)	pill	Internal spasms
0960	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs bruised	topical	Sweating

0961	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs	oral	Good for sinews, paralytics
0962	Plin. 20. 40	Red bulbs w/ honey and salt		Heal sprains of the foot quickly
0963	Plin. 20. 40	Megarian bulbs	oral	Strong aphrodisiac
0964	Plin. 20. 40	Garden bulbs w/ concentrated must or raisin wine	oral	Aid delivery
0965	Plin. 20. 40	Wiled bulbs w/ silphium	pill	Intestinal worms or afflictions
0966	Plin. 20. 40	Wild bulb seed w/ wine	drink	Venomous spiders
0967	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs in vinegar	topical	Snake bites
0968	Plin. 20. 40	Bulb seed (to drink)	drink	Raving mad
0969	Plin. 20. 40	Bulb flowers pounded	topical	Spots on the leg and patches created by fire
0970	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs	oral	Weakens eye
0971	Plin. 20. 40	Bulbs	oral	Difficult to digest
0972	Plin. 20. 41	Bulbine	topical	Recent wounds
0973	Plin. 20. 41	Emetic' bulb	oral	Emetic
0974	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus	oral	Good for stomach
0975	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus w/ cumin	oral	Flatulence of the stomach and colon
0976	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus w/ cumin cooked in wine	oral	Improves vision moves the bowels gently, benefits pains in the chest and spine and intestinal trouble
0977	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus seed (3 oboli) w/ equal cumin in drink	drink	Pains in loins and kidneys
0978	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus	oral	Aphrodisiac
0979	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus	oral	Diuretic (except when bladder is ulcerated)
0980	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus roots pounded w/ white wine	drink	Disperses stone and pain in loins and kidneys
0981	Plin. 20. 42	Asparagus root in sweet wine	drink	Pain in the womb
0982	Plin. 20. 42	Root boiled in vinegar	oral	Elephantiasis
0983	Plin. 20. 42	Pounded asparagus and oil	bath	Never stung by bees
0984	Plin. 20. 43	Wild asparagus	oral	Relieve jaundice

0985	Plin. 20. 43	Wild asparagus water decoction (up to a hemina)	drink	Aphrodisiac
0986	Plin. 20. 43	Wild asparagus seed w/ dill (3 oboli)	oral	Aphrodisiac
0987	Plin. 20. 43	Decoction of wild asparagus juice	drink	Snake bites
0988	Plin. 20. 43	Wild asparagus root w/ fennel root		Not listed
0989	Plin. 20. 43	Asparagus, parsley and cumin seed (3oboli) in wine (2 cyathi)	oral	Haematuria
0990	Plin. 20. 43	Asparagus, parsley and cumin seed (3oboli) in wine (2 cyathi)	oral	Diuretic
0991	Plin. 20. 43	Asparagus, parsley and cumin seed (3oboli) in wine (2 cyathi)	oral	Bad for dropsy and venery and the bladder (unless boiled)
0992	Plin. 20. 43	Asparagus root juice boiled in wine (held in mouth)	gargle	Toothache
0993	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley w/ honey	eye drops	Eye fluxes
0994	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley decoction	fomentation	Flux of the limbs
0995	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley pounded or w/ bread or pearl barley	poultice	Flux of the limbs
0996	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley	oral	Bad for eyesight
0997	Plin. 20. 44	If female parsley is eaten	oral	Makes eater (of either sex) barren
0998	Plin. 20. 44	If nurse eats female parsley	oral	Babies become epileptic
0999	Plin. 20. 44	Application of (m) parsley leaves	topical	Softens hardness of the breasts
1000	Plin. 20. 44	Juice of parsley roots w/ wine	drink	Lumbago
1001	Plin. 20. 44	Juice of parsley roots w/ wine	ear drops	Hardness of hearing
1002	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley seed	oral	Diuretic
1003	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley seed	oral	Aids the menses and the afterbirth
1004	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley seed decoction	fomentation	Restores bruises to their natural colour
1005	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley w/ egg white	drink	Kidney troubles
1006	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley boiled	drink	Kidney troubles
1007	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley pounded in cold water	drink	Mouth ulcers
1008	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley seed in wine	drink	Bladder stones
1009	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley root w/ old wine	drink	Bladder stones

1010	Plin. 20. 44	Parsley seed w/ white wine	drink	Jaundice
1011	Plin. 20. 46	Alexanders seed in drink	drink	Colic and intestinal worms
1012	Plin. 20. 46	Seed boiled w/ honey wine	drink	Dysuria
1013	Plin. 20. 46	Alexander rood boiled in wine	drink	Stones, lumbago and pains in the side
1014	Plin. 20. 46	Alexander taken in drink and as a liniment	drink and liniment	Bite of a mad dog
1015	Plin. 20. 46	Alexander juice	drink	Warms those who have been chilled
1016	Plin. 20. 46	Mountain parsley	oral	Aids urination and menses
1017	Plin. 20. 46	Wild celery		Spider bites
1018	Plin. 20. 46	Wild celery and mountain parsley w/ wine	drink	Promotes menses
1019	Plin. 20. 47	Rock parsley juice (2 spoonful's) w/ juice of horehound (1 cyath) and warm water (3 cyaths)	drink	Abscesses
1020	Plin. 20. 47	Cow parsley in drink or topical	drink, topical	Antidote to snake bites
1021	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	oral	Bad for stomach urine and eyesight
1022	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)		Causes madness lethargies and liver troubles
1023	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)		Breeds pestilent animals
1024	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)		Amplifies scorpion venom
1025	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ wine and a little vinegar	drink	Cures scorpion stings
1026	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) smelt in vinegar	smell	Good for fainting, lethargies and cooling inflammations
1027	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ rose or myrtle oil or vinegar	liniment	Headache
1028	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ wine	eye drops	Eye fluxes
1029	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ vinegar	oral	Good for stomach, dispels belching
1030	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	topical	Dispels looseness of bowels
1031	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	oral	Diuretic, jaundice and dropsy
1032	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	oral	Diarrhoea of cholera
1033	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	oral	Coeliac complaints

1034	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) boiled	oral	Dysentery
1035	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ wine	drink	Tenesmus, spitting blood and hardness of the hypochondria
1036	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) on breast	topical	Stops lactation
1037	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ goose grease	ear drops	The ears of babies
1038	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) seed pounded in nostril	snuff	Promotes sneezing
1039	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)	liniment	Promotes mucus from the head
1040	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ vinegar	oral	Purges womb
1041	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil) w/ cobblers blacking	topical	Removes warts
1042	Plin. 20. 48	Ocimum (basil)		Veterinary uses
1043	Plin. 20. 48	Wild basil root		Bites of wild beasts
1044	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket seed	oral	Poison of scorpions and shrew mouse
1045	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket	bath	Keeps of bodily parasites
1046	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket w/ honey	topical	Removes spots of the face
1047	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket w/ vinegar	topical	Removes freckles
1048	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket w/ ox gall	topical	Reduces livid scares to whiteness
1049	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket w/ wine	drink	Harden (body)
1050	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket slightly pounded	fomentation	Clears vision
1051	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket (*lacuna)		Coughing of babies
1052	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket decoction		Extracts broken bones
1053	Plin. 20. 49	Rocket (3 leaves) (plucked with the left hand)pounded w/ hydromel	drink	Aphrodisiac
1054	Plin. 20. 50	Cress	oral	Counter aphrodisiac
1055	Plin. 20. 50	White cress (1 denarius) w/ water (7 denarius)	drink	Purge, removes bile
1056	Plin. 20. 50	White cress w/ bean meal and covered in cabbage leaf	oral	Scrofula
1057	Plin. 20. 50	Dark cress	oral	Purges humours of the head; clears the vision
1058	Plin. 20. 50	Dark cress w/ vinegar	oral	Calms troubled minds

1059	Plin. 20. 50	Dark cress w/ wine or a fig	oral	Benefits the spleen
1060	Plin. 20. 50	Dark cress w/ honey (daily on empty stomach)	oral	Cough
1061	Plin. 20. 50	Cress seed	oral	Intestinal parasites
1062	Plin. 20. 50	Cress seed w/ wild mint	oral	Intestinal parasites
1063	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ wild marjoram and sweet wine	drink	Asthma and cough
1064	Plin. 20. 50	Cress decoction in goats milk	drink	Relieves chest pains
1065	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ pitch	plaster	Superficial abscesses
1066	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ vinegar	topical	Extracts thorns and removes spots
1067	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ egg white		Carcinoma
1068	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ vinegar (on spleen)	topical	Spleen
1069	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ vinegar in honey (for babies) (on spleen)	topical	Spleen
1070	Plin. 20. 50	Burnt cress	topical	Deters serpents and neutralises scorpion stings
1071	Plin. 20. 50	Pounded cress		Headache
1072	Plin. 20. 50	Pounded cress w/ mustard		Mange
1073	Plin. 20. 50	Cress pounded w/ fig	topical	Hardness of hearing
1074	Plin. 20. 50	Cress juice (poured in ears)	ear drops	Toothache
1075	Plin. 20. 50	Cress juice w/ goose grease	topical	Dandruff and sores of the head
1076	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ leaven	topical	Brings boils to a head
1077	Plin. 20. 50	Cress	topical	Makes carbuncles suppurate and break
1078	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ honey	topical	Cleanses phagedaenic ulcers
1079	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ pearl barley and vinegar	topical	Sciatica and lumbago
1080	Plin. 20. 50	Cress w/ pearl barley and vinegar	topical	Lichen and rough nails
1081	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice extracted by pounding with a little water and store in a copper box	drink	Overdose is poisonous
1082	Plin. 20. 51	Hemlock juice	drink	Antidote to rue juice
1083	Plin. 20. 51		topical	Good for the hands and face of rue gatherers

1084	Plin. 20. 51	Pounded rue leaves w/ wine	drink	Antidote aconite and mistletoe
1085	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Poisonous fungi
1086	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Protects against snake bites
1087	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	topical	Scorpion, spiders, bees, hornets and wasps stings
1088	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	topical	Cantharides and salamander injuries and bites of mad dog
1089	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice /w wine (1 acetabulum) w/ rue leaves pounded or chewed w/ honey or salt	oral	
1090	Plin. 20. 51	Rue leaves boiled w/ vinegar and pitch	oral	
1091	Plin. 20. 51	Smeared w/ rue juice or having it on their person	bath	Never stung by poisonous creatures
1092	Plin. 20. 51	Burning rue	fumigation	Snakes avoid smell
1093	Plin. 20. 51	Wild rue root w/ wine	drink	Most powerful form
1094	Plin. 20. 51	Draught more effective if taken outside		
1095	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Good for the eyes
1096	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice w/ attic honey or milk of women who has born a male or straight	eye drops	Dim vision
1097	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ pearl barley	eye drops	Eye fluxes
1098	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ wine or vinegar and rose oil	drink	Headache
1099	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ wine or vinegar and rose oil w/ barley flour and vinegar	drink	Headache (chronic)
1100	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Indigestion, flatulence, chronic pains of the stomach
1101	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ honey (on abdomen and chest)	oral	Opens the womb and corrects displacement of it
1102	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ figs boiled down to a half w/ wine	drink	Dropsy
1103	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ figs boiled down to a half w/ wine	drink	Pains in chest, side and loin; coughs asthma
1104	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ figs boiled down to a half w/ wine	drink	Complaints of lung liver and kidneys and cold shivers
1105	Plin. 20. 51	Rue leaf decoction	drink	Prevents hangover
1106	Plin. 20. 51	Rue (food) boiled in hyssop w/ wine	oral	Colic

1107	Plin. 20. 51	Rue (food) boiled in hyssop w/ wine	oral	Stops internal haemorrhage
1108	Plin. 20. 51	Rue boiled in hyssop w/ wine	injection	Stops nosebleed
1109	Plin. 20. 51	Rue boiled in hyssop w/ wine	gargle	Rinsing teeth
1110	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice	ear drops	Ear ache
1111	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice w/ rose oil or baby oil or wine and honey	ear drops	Hardness of hearing or ringing in ears
1112	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice w/ vinegar (poured over cranium and temples)	topical	Phrenitis
1113	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice w/ vinegar wild thyme and bay (poured over cranium and temples)	topical	Phrenitis
1114	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar	smell	Lethargies
1115	Plin. 20. 51	Rue juice (4 cyaths)	drink	Epilepsy
1116	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Fever
1117	Plin. 20. 51	Rue raw	oral	Shivering fits
1118	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Diuretic
1119	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ sweet dark wine (drink or topical)	drink or topical	Promotes menstruation, brings away placenta and dead foetus
1120	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	fumigation	Stimulate the womb
1121	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar, barley and honey	oral	Heart burn
1122	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar honey and barley boiled in oil and spread over fleece	oral	Sever colic
1123	Plin. 20. 51	Dried rue (2 drachma) sulphur (1 1/2 drachma)	oral	Purulent spittings
1124	Plin. 20. 51	3 sprays boiled in wine	oral	Spitting blood
1125	Plin. 20. 51	Rue pounded w/ wine and cheese	oral	Dysentery
1126	Plin. 20. 51	Crumbled in draught w/ bitumen	oral	Shortness of breath
1127	Plin. 20. 51	Rue seed (3 oz.) Oil (1 pound) wine (1 sextarius)	drink	Heavy falls
1128	Plin. 20. 51	Rue leaves boiled in oil	topical	Frostbite
1129	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Urinal incontinence
1130	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ honey and alum	oral	Itch and leprous sores

1131	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ nightshade lard and beef suet	oral	Vitiligo, warts, and scrofula
1132	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar, oil or white lead		Erysipelas
1133	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar		Carbuncles
1134	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ vinegar and silphium	topical	Night pustules
1135	Plin. 20. 51	Rue decoction	topical	Swollen breasts
1136	Plin. 20. 51	Rue decoction w/ wax		Phlegm outbursts
1137	Plin. 20. 51	Rue w/ tender sprigs of laurel	topical	Testicular flux
1138	Plin. 20. 51	Wild rue w/ old axle grease	topical	Hernia
1139	Plin. 20. 51	Rue seed w/ wax	topical	Broken limbs
1140	Plin. 20. 51	Rue root	topical	Blood shot eyes, scars and spots
1141	Plin. 20. 51	Rue boiled in rose oil w/ (1 oz.) Aloe	bath	Antiperspirant
1142	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Spermatorrhoea and amorous dreams
1143	Plin. 20. 51	Rue	oral	Kills foetus
1144	Plin. 20. 51	Rue		Veterinary uses
1145	Plin. 20. 51	Nasal injection w/ wine or vinegar	injection	Quadruped has swallowed a bloodsucker
1146	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint leaves	masticant, topical	Elephantiasis
1147	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint leaves (2 drachmi) in wine (2 cyaths)	drink or topical	Snake bites
1148	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint leaves (2 drachmi) in wine (2 cyaths) w/ salt, oil and vinegar	drink or topical	Scorpion stings
1149	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint juice	decoction	Scopendra
1150	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint leaves dried and powdered	oral	Antidote to poisons
1151	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint in drink brings about menstruation	drink	Brings on menstruation and kills the foetus
1152	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint	oral	Ruptures spasms orthopnoea colic and cholera
1153	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint	topical	Lumbago and gout
1154	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint juice	ear injection	Ear parasites

1155	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint in drink	drink	Jaundice
1156	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint	ointment	Scrofula
1157	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint	oral	Prevents amorous dreams
1158	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint w/ vinegar	drink	Expels worms
1159	Plin. 20. 52	Wild mint w/ vinegar poured over the head in the sun	topical	Dandruff
1160	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ water or honey wine	drink	People choked by curdled draught
1161	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	oral	Stops bleeding in both genders including menstrual flux
1162	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ water and starch	drink	Stops violent disturbance of the bowels
1163	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	topical	Ulceration and abscesses of the womb
1164	Plin. 20. 53	Mint (3 oboli) w/ honey wine	oral	Liver complaints, spitting blood
1165	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	topical	Sores on children's head
1166	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	oral	Dries a wet and braces a dry trachea
1167	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ honey wine and water	drink	Clears purulent phlegm
1168	Plin. 20. 53	Mint juice	drink	Benefits the voice before strain
1169	Plin. 20. 53	Mint juice w/ coriander rue and milk	gargle	Swollen uvula
1170	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ alum	oral	Tonsils
1171	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ honey	oral	A rough tongue
1172	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	oral	Internal spasms and lung complaints
1173	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ pomegranate juice	drink	Hiccoughs and vomiting
1174	Plin. 20. 53	Mint juice	fumigation	Infections of the nostrils
1175	Plin. 20. 53	Mint pounded	topical	Cholera
1176	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ vinegar	drink	Internal bleeding
1177	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ pearl barley	plaster	Iliac troubles and tensions of the breasts
1178	Plin. 20. 53	Mint on temples	topical	Headache
1179	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	topical	Scolopendra, sea scorpion and serpent

1180	Plin. 20. 53	Mint	topical	Eye fluxes, head eruptions, rectal troubles
1181	Plin. 20. 53	Mint (when held in the hand)	topical	Chafing
1182	Plin. 20. 53	Mint w/ honey wine	ear drops	
1183	Plin. 20. 53	Eaten from garden without picking (for 9 days)	oral	Spleen problems
1184	Plin. 20. 53	Mint powder (three fingered pinch) w/ water	drink	Stomach ache
1185	Plin. 20. 53	Mint powder (3 fingered pinch) w/ drink	drink	Expels worms
1186	Plin. 20. 54	Mint and pennyroyal w/ vinegar	smell	Reviving the fainted
1187	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal	topical	Headache
1188	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal	smell	Prevents headache thirst, susceptibility to heat or cold
1189	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ pearl barley and vinegar	topical	Pains
1190	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ cold water, salt and pearl barley	drink	Checks nausea
1191	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ cold water, salt and pearl barley	drink	Pains in the chest
1192	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ cold water	drink	Stomach pains
1193	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal in vinegar and pearl barley	oral	Gnawing and vomiting
1194	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal in salt, vinegar and pearl barley	oral	Loosens the bowels
1195	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal boiled w/ honey and soda	oral	Complaints of the intestines
1196	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ wine	drink	Diuretic
1197	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ Armenian wine	drink	Disperses stone and all internal pain
1198	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ honey and vinegar	oral	Relives menstruation and afterbirth
1199	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ honey and vinegar	oral	Hysteria
1200	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ honey and vinegar	oral	Expels dead foetus
1201	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal seed	smell	Aphasia
1202	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal seed w/ vinegar (1 cyathus)	drink	Epilepsy
1203	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ unwholesome water	drink	Water purification
1204	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w /wine	drink	Relieves tiredness

1205	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ salt and vinegar (rubbed on sinews)	bath	Sinews when cramped
1206	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ honey		Opisthotonic tetanus
1207	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal decoction	drink	Serpent bites
1208	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal w/ wine (especially if grown in dry soil)	drink	Stings of scorpions
1209	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal	oral	Ulceration of the mouth and cough
1210	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal flower (burnt)	fumigation	Kills fleas
1211	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal in wool	smell	Tertian ague (before fever)
1212	Plin. 20. 54	Pennyroyal (placed under bed clothes	smell	Tertian ague (before fever)
1213	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal (dittany) rubbed	bath	Patients w/ chill rubbed before a bath
1214	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal (dittany) rubbed	bath	Ague (before shivering fits)
1215	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal	oral	Convulsions gripping of bowels and gout
1216	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal w/ honey and salt	drink	Cramps
1217	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal	oral	Makes expectoration easier w/ lung troubles
1218	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal w/ salt	oral	Spleen troubles, bladder asthma and flatulence
1219	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal decoction or juice	drink	Hysteria heals scolipendra wound, scorpion and Man bite
1220	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal root fresh	topical	Spreading ulcers
1221	Plin. 20. 55	Wild pennyroyal root dry	topical	Restores the colour of scars
1222	Plin. 20. 56	Pennyroyal and catmint (boiled to 1/3)	drink	Disperse chills, help menstruation and allay the heats of summer
1223	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint	oral	Antidote to snake bites
1224	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint burning	fumigation	Deters snakes
1225	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint under bedclothes	small	Deters snakes
1226	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint	topical	Lachrymal fistula
1227	Plin. 20. 56	Fresh catmint w/ 1/3 part bread in vinegar	liniment	Headache
1228	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint juice	nose drops	Nosebleed

1229	Plin. 20. 56	Catmint root w/ myrtle seeds and warm raisin wine	gargle	Quinsy
1230	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin	oral	Stomach trouble
1231	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin pounded w/ bread	oral	Dispels phlegm or flatulence
1232	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin w/ water or wine	drink	Dispels phlegm or flatulence
1233	Plin. 20. 57	1231 and 1232		Gripping and pains in the bowels
1234	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin		Produces paleness
1235	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin lozenges or fresh in vinegar	topical	Nosebleed
1236	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin	topical	Fluxes of the eyes
1237	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin w/ honey	topical	Swollen eyes
1238	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin w/ honey (on abdomen for babies)	topical	Swollen eyes
1239	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin w/ white wine (after bathing)	drink	Jaundice
1240	Plin. 20. 57	Ethiopian cumin w/ vinegar and water	drink	Incontinence of urine
1241	Plin. 20. 57	Ethiopian cumin w/ honey	electuary	Incontinence of urine
1242	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin (parched) and beaten w/ vinegar	drink	Liver troubles and vertigo
1243	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin crushed w/ sweet wine	drink	Over acrid urine
1244	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin in wine	drink	Uterine disorders
1245	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin leaves in wool	topical	Uterine disorders
1246	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin dried (crushed) w/ honey, rose oil or wax	topical	Swollen testis
1247	Plin. 20. 57	Wild cumin w/ oil	topical	Bites of serpents, scorpions or scolopendras
1248	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin (3 finger pinch) w/ wine	drink	Vomiting and nausea
1249	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin (3 finger pinch) w/ wine	drink	Colic
1250	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin (hot) in lint held in place w/ bandages	topical	Colic
1251	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin (3 drachmae) w/ wine (3 cyaths)	drink	Opens up suffocation of the womb
1252	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin w/ veal suet or honey	ear drops	Ringings or noises in ear
1253	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin w/ honey raisins and vinegar	topical	Bruises
1254	Plin. 20. 57	Cumin w/ vinegar	topical	Black freckles

1255	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin)		Dispels flatulence and gripping
1256	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin)		Promotes urine and menstruation
1257	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin)		Relieves bruises and fluxes of the eye
1258	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin) w/ linseed and wine (2 drachmi)	drink	Scorpion wounds
1259	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin) w/ linseed and wine and myrrh (equal) (2 drachmi)	drink	Cerastes bite
1260	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin)		Makes users pale
1261	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin) w/ raisons or resin	fumigation	Purge of womb
1262	Plin. 20. 58	Ami (like cumin) (smelt during intercourse)	smell	More easily conceive
1263	Plin. 20. 59	Capers (daily)	oral	Prevents paralysis and pains of the spleen
1264	Plin. 20. 59	Caper root crushed and rubbed on skin in sun	bath	Removes white eruptions
1265	Plin. 20. 59	Skin of the caper root (2 drachma) w/ wine (not permitted to bathe)	drink	Spleen troubles
1266	Plin. 20. 59	Capper in drink	drink	Lumbago and paralysis
1267	Plin. 20. 59	Caper seed pounded in vinegar	drink	Toothache
1268	Plin. 20. 59	Caper decoction	drink	Toothache
1269	Plin. 20. 59	Caper root	masticant	Toothache
1270	Plin. 20. 59	Caper boiled in oil (injection)	ear drops	Ear ache
1271	Plin. 20. 59	Caper leaves, or fresh root w/ honey	topical	Phagedaenic sores
1272	Plin. 20. 59	Fresh root w/ honey	topical	Scrofula
1273	Plin. 20. 59	Capers boiled	drink	Parotid tumours and worms
1274	Plin. 20. 59	Capers pounded w/ barley meal	topical	Pains in the liver
1275	Plin. 20. 59	Capers		Diseases of bladder
1276	Plin. 20. 59	Capers w/ vinegar and honey	drink	Tapeworm
1277	Plin. 20. 59	Capper and vinegar decoction	drink	Sores in the mouth
1278	Plin. 20. 59	Capers		Harmful to stomach
1279	Plin. 20. 60	Lovage	oral	Good for stomach, convulsions and flatulence
1280	Plin. 20. 61	Ox cunila (chewed and applied to wounds (left on for 5 days)	masticant	Heals wounds

1281	Plin. 20. 61	Ox cunila pounded w/ wine	and topical	
1282	Plin. 20. 61	Ox cunila dry or after pounding the leaves	drink	Bites of serpents
1283	Plin. 20. 61	Ox cunila w/ wine	topical	Tumours problems with the male organs
1284	Plin. 20. 62	Chicken cunila w/ salt	drink	Combines well w/ wine all treatments
1285	Plin. 20. 62	Chicken cunila w/ meal oil and vinegar		Good for eyes
1286	Plin. 20. 62	Chicken cunila w/ meal oil and vinegar	drink	Cough, liver complaints and pains in the side
1287	Plin. 20. 63	Male cunila (cunilago) w/ vinegar and water	drink	Snake bites
1288	Plin. 20. 63	Male cunila (3 leaves) w/ oil	bath	Deters scorpions
1289	Plin. 20. 64	Soft cunila or libanotis cunila w/ wine or vinegar	bath	Serpents kept away
1290	Plin. 20. 64	Soft cunila or libanotis cunila w/ water	oral	Antidote against snake bite
1291	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila juice w/ rose oil	topical	Kill fleas
1292	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila juice	topical	Ear lops
1293	Plin. 20. 65	Mountain cunila	drink	Stings
1294	Plin. 20. 65	Mountain cunila	topical	Bites of serpents
1295	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila	oral	Diuretic and cleanses afterbirth
1296	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila (while fasting) sprinkled in drink	oral	Digestion and appetite
1297	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila	drink	Indigestion
1298	Plin. 20. 65	Cunila w/ barley meal, vinegar or water		Sprains
1299	Plin. 20. 66	Piperitis w/ drink	oral	Stings of wasps and the like
1300	Plin. 20. 66	Piperitis	drink	Epilepsy
			oral	Good for gums, teeth, belching, sweetness of breath
1301	Plin. 20. 67	Wild marjoram w/ warm water	drink	Gnawing of the stomach and indigestion
1302	Plin. 20. 67	Wild marjoram/ white wine	drink	Stings of spiders and scorpions
1303	Plin. 20. 67	Wild marjoram on wool w/ vinegar and oil	topical	Sprains and bruises
1304	Plin. 20. 68	Goat oregano	oral	Diuretic disperses tumours

1305	Plin. 20. 68	Goat oregano w/ drink	drink	Mistletoe poisoning, viper bites, acid belching and the hypochondria
1306	Plin. 20. 68	Goats oregano w/ honey	oral	Coughs pleurisy and pneumonia
1307	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium	smell	Keep away serpents
1308	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium boiled	oral	Snake bites
1309	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium boiled	drink	Diuretic
1310	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ all heal root	oral	Ruptures and convulsions
1311	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ fig or hyssop boiled to 1/6 (1 acetabulum)	oral	Dropsy
1312	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ fig or hyssop boiled to 1/6 (1 acetabulum) when going to bath	oral	Itch, prurigo and psoriasis
1313	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium juice w/ woman's milk	ear drops	
1314	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium	oral	Tonsils, uvula and sores on the head
1315	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium boiled w/ wine and ashes	drink	Antidote to opium and gypsum
1316	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium (1 acetabulum)	oral	Loosens the bowels
1317	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium	topical	Bruises, and toothache
1318	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ honey and soda	dentifrice	Whitens teeth
1319	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium	topical	Nosebleed
1320	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium boiled w/ barley meal		Parotid tumours
1321	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ gall nut and honey	oral	Rough trachea
1322	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium leaves w/ honey and salt	oral	Spleen
1323	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium boiled w/ vinegar and salt	oral	Loosens black phlegm
1324	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium beaten w/ oil	nose drops	Jaundice
1325	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium (rubbed w/)	bath	Tired bodies
1326	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ pitch	topical	Epinyctis
1327	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ roasted fig	topical	Boils
1328	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ oil vinegar and barley meal		Scrofulous swellings

1329	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium w/ fig	oral	Pains in side
1330	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium pounded w/ vinegar	topical	Fluxes of blood from the genitals
1331	Plin. 20. 69	Heraclium pounded w/ vinegar	topical	Bringing away afterbirth
1332	Plin. 20. 70	Dittander (pepperwort)	topical	Clears complexion but produces sores
1333	Plin. 20. 70	Wax and rose oil	topical	Clear the sores left by dittander
1334	Plin. 20. 70	Used as per 1333 and 1334	topical	Removes leprous sores, psoriasis and sores left by scars
1335	Plin. 20. 70	Dittander (attached to arm)	topical	Draws away (to itself) the pain of toothache
1336	Plin. 20. 71	Git (roman coriander) w/ vinegar and honey	topical	Cures wounds of scorpion and snake
1337	Plin. 20. 71	Git burnt	fumigation	Snakes kept away
1338	Plin. 20. 71	Git (1 drachma) in drink	drink	Spider bite
1339	Plin. 20. 71	Git pounded in linen	smell	Stops nose running
1340	Plin. 20. 71	Git w /vinegar	smell	Headaches
1341	Plin. 20. 71	Git w/ iris juice	nose drops	Fluxes and swelling of the eyes
1342	Plin. 20. 71	Git boiled in vinegar	drink	Toothache
1343	Plin. 20. 71	Git pounded in linen	masticant	Mouth ulcers
1344	Plin. 20. 71	Git w/ vinegar	topical	Leprous sores and freckles
1345	Plin. 20. 71	Git w/ drink and soda	drink	Difficulty breathing
1346	Plin. 20. 71	Git	liniment	Chronic swellings and suppurations
1347	Plin. 20. 71	Git	oral	Increases woman's milk production
1348	Plin. 20. 71	Git juice	drink	Poisonous in large doses
1349	Plin. 20. 71	Git juice	drink	Cleanses eye, diuretic and emmenagogue
1350	Plin. 20. 71	Git (30 grains) tied to body	topical	Afterbirth is brought away
1351	Plin. 20. 71	Git pounded w/ urine	topical	Cures corns of the feet
1352	Plin. 20. 71	Git	fumigation	Kills gnats and fleas
1353	Plin. 20. 72	Anise (raw or boiled) w/ wine	drink	Scorpion stings

1354	Plin. 20. 72	Anise w/ alexanders and a little honey (rinse w/ wine)	masticant	Bad breath
1355	Plin. 20. 72	Anise		Makes the face look younger
1356	Plin. 20. 72	Anise (on pillow)	smell	Relieves sleeplessness
1357	Plin. 20. 72	Anise	oral	Sharpens appetite
1358	Plin. 20. 73	Anise burned and inhaled through nose	fumigation	Headache
1359	Plin. 20. 73	Anise root	topical	Eye fluxes
1360	Plin. 20. 73	Anise plant w/ saffron and wine	topical	Eye fluxes
1361	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ pearl barley	topical	Violent fluxes, and extracting things which have got into the eye
1362	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ water	topical	Cancers in the nose
1363	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ hyssop and honey in vinegar	gargle	Quinsy
1364	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ rose oil	ear drops	Ear ailments
1365	Plin. 20. 73	Parched anise w/ honey	drink	Phlegm in chest
1366	Plin. 20. 73	Bitter almonds peeled (50) and anise (1 acetabulum) w/ honey	oral	Cough
1367	Plin. 20. 73	Anise (3 drachmae), poppy seed (2 drachmae) w/ honey divide to bean size 3 doses daily	oral	Cough
1368	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	oral	Flatulence of the stomach, gripping the intestines and colic trouble
1369	Plin. 20. 73	Anise boiled	drink or smell	Hiccoughs
1370	Plin. 20. 73	Anise leaves boiled	oral	Indigestion
1371	Plin. 20. 73	Anise juice w/ boiled celery	smell	Stops sneezing
1372	Plin. 20. 73	Anise in drink	drink	Promotes sleep
1373	Plin. 20. 73	Anise in drink	drink	Disperses stone
1374	Plin. 20. 73	Anise in drink	drink	Stops vomiting and swelling of the hypochondria
1375	Plin. 20. 73	Anise in drink	drink	Chest troubles
1376	Plin. 20. 73	Anise in drink	drink	Sinews

1377	Plin. 20. 73	Anise juice boiled w/ oil	topical	Headache
1378	Plin. 20. 73	Anise roasted	oral	Dysentery and tenesmus
1379	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ opium (pills the size of lupine seed) 3 times a day w/ wine (1 cyathus)	oral	Dysentery and tenesmus
1380	Plin. 20. 73	Anise juice	drink	Lumbago
1381	Plin. 20. 73	Anise seed pounded w/ mint	oral	Dropsy and coeliac trouble
1382	Plin. 20. 73	Anise root	oral	Diseases of the kidneys
1383	Plin. 20. 73	Anise and parsley	poultice	Women in labour and pain in the womb
1384	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ dill in drink	drink	Women in labour
1385	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ pearl barley	topical	Phrenitis
1386	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ pearl barley	topical	Babies w/ epilepsy or convulsions
1387	Plin. 20. 73	Anise (in hand)	topical/folk	Prevents epileptic fit
1388	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	smell	Makes birth easier
1389	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ pearl barley	drink	To be given after delivery
1390	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ vinegar	drink	Indurations
1391	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ soda boiled in oil		Fatigue
1392	Plin. 20. 73	Anise seed in drink	drink	Less fatigue when traveling
1393	Plin. 20. 73	Anise seed (3 finger pinch) w/ honey wine and beaver oil(2 oboli)	drink	Flatulence of the stomach, belly and intestines
1394	Plin. 20. 73	Anise seed (3 finger pinch), henbane (3 finger pinch) w/ asses milk	drink	Orthopnoea
1395	Plin. 20. 73	Water w/ <i>lacuna</i> acetabula of anise and 10 pounded bay leaves	drink	Before taking an emetic
1396	Plin. 20. 73	Anise chewed and applied warm	topical	Suffocation of the womb
1397	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ beaver oil and oxymel	drink	Suffocation of the womb
1398	Plin. 20. 73	Cucumber seed (3 finger pinch) linseed (3 finger pinch) w/ white wine (3 cyaths)	drink	Dispels vertigo after birth
1399	Plin. 20. 73	Anise seed (3 finger pinch) w/ fennel, vinegar and honey (1 cyath)	oral	Quartan agues
1400	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ bitter almonds	topical	Diseases of the joints

1401	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	oral	Antidote for asp poison
1402	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	oral	Diuretic, quenches thirst, aphrodisiac
1403	Plin. 20. 73	Anise w/ wine	drink	Promotes a gentle perspiration
1404	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	smell	Protects clothes from moths
1405	Plin. 20. 73	Anise	oral	Injures stomach except when theirs flatulence
1406	Plin. 20. 74	Dill	oral	Causes belching and relives gripping
1407	Plin. 20. 74	Dill	oral	Stops diarrhoea
1408	Plin. 20. 74	Dill roots w/ water or wine	topical	Eye fluxes
1409	Plin. 20. 74	Dill seed boiling	smell	Hiccoughs
1410	Plin. 20. 74	Dill w/ water	drink	Indigestion
1411	Plin. 20. 74	Dill ash	oral	Inflamed uvula but weakens sight and powers of generation
1412	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon in drink or w/ oil as embrocation	drink	Pains in the side and chest, convulsions chronic coughs
1413	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon in drink or w/ oil as embrocation	drink	Expectoration and inflammation of the hypochondria
1414	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon in drink or w/ oil as embrocation	drink	Vertigo, palsy and opisthotonic tetanus
1415	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon in drink or w/ oil as embrocation	drink	Diseases of the spleen and loins and violent chills
1416	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon w/vinegar	smell	Suffocation of the womb
1417	Plin. 20. 75	Sagapemon	oral	Useful as an antidote to harmful drugs
1418	Plin. 20. 76	White poppy calyx w/ wine	drink	Induce sleep
1419	Plin. 20. 76	White poppy seed	oral	Elephantiasis
1420	Plin. 20. 76	Dark poppy resin (soporific) obtained by slicing buds at the third hour of the day incision made beneath the calyx not in the head itself		
1421	Plin. 20. 76	Resin dried and made into a lozenge (called opium)	oral	Induces sleep (may cause death)
1422	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy juice	injections	Harmful to eyesight
1423	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy seed pounded w/ milk	drink	Induces sleep

1424	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy seed w/ rose oil		Headache
1425	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy seed w/ rose oil	ear drops	Earache
1426	Plin. 20. 76	Opium or poppy leaves w/ woman's milk	liniment	Gout
1427	Plin. 20. 76	Opium w/ vinegar	liniment	Erysipelas and wounds
1428	Plin. 20. 76	Pliny discouraged opium use for the following		Eye salves, febrifuges, coeliac and digestives
1429	Plin. 20. 76	Dark poppy w/ wine	drink	Coeliac trouble
1430	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy boiled (decoction)	drink	Sleeplessness
1431	Plin. 20. 76	Poppy boiled (decoction)	fomentation	
1432	Plin. 20. 76	Heads and leaves are boiled to make meconium (weaker than opium)		
1433	Plin. 20. 76	How to test opium quality and preserve it		
1434	Plin. 20. 77	Roaming poppy (self-seeded) flower eaten	oral	Purge
1435	Plin. 20. 77	5 heads of roaming poppy boiled in 3 heminae of water	drink	Induce sleep
1436	Plin. 20. 78	Ceratitis (wild poppy) (1/2 acetabulum) w/ honey wine	drink	Purge
1437	Plin. 20. 78	Ceratitis leaves w/ oil		Eye ulcers of beasts of burden
1438	Plin. 20. 78	Ceratitis root (1 acetabulum) w/ water (2sextarii) boiled to 1/2	drink	Complaints of loin and liver
1439	Plin. 20. 78	Ceratitis leaves w/ honey	topical	Carbuncles
1440	Plin. 20. 79	Heraclium (wild poppy) pounded (1 acetabulum) w/ white wine	drink	Epilepsy
1441	Plin. 20. 79	Heraclinum	oral	Causes vomiting and is useful for the drug diacodion or aratriace
1442	Plin. 20. 79	Diacodion and aratriace = wild poppy heads (120) in rain water (3 sextari) for 2 days then boil mix an dry then boil again on low heat w/ honey	drink	
1443	Plin. 20. 79	Newer version of diacodion and aratriace (which Pliny believes is no better) adds saffron, hypocisthis, frankincense and gum of acacia(6 drachmae) w/ Cretian raisin wine (1 sextarius)	drink	
1444	Plin. 20. 80	Tithymalon (wild poppy) seed w/ 1/2 acetabulum of honey wine	oral	Purges the bowels
1445	Plin. 20. 80	Poppy head fresh or dried	topical	Relieves eye fluxes

1446	Plin. 20. 80	Opium in nearly neat wine	drink	Antidote to scorpion stings
1447	Plin. 20. 80	Dark poppy heads or leaves ground w/ wine	drink	Antidote to scorpion stings
1448	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis (euphorbia peplis)	oral	Antidote to arrow poison and haemorrhoids (snake) bite
1449	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis (euphorbia peplis)	topical	Poison is drawn out
1450	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis after juice extraction w/ raisin wine	drink	Henbane poison
1451	Plin. 20. 81	Seed has similar effect as 1449 -1451		Poison
1452	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	drink	Purifies water
1453	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis pounded w/ wine	topical	Headache and sores on the head
1454	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis chewed w/ honey	topical	Other sores
1455	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis chewed w/ honey	topical	Cranium of infants
1456	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis chewed w/ honey	topical	Umbilical hernia
1457	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ pearl barley on head and temples	topical	Eye fluxes
1458	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ milk and honey eyes themselves	topical	Eye fluxes
1459	Plin. 20. 81	Pounded peplis leaves w/ bean husks, blisters, pearl barley salt and vinegar	topical	Eyes falling forward
1460	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis raw	masticant	Mouth sores and gumboils
1461	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis boiled juice w/ myrrh	drink	Toothache and sore tonsils
1462	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	masticant	Makes loose teeth firm, strengthens the voice, keeps away thirst
1463	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ gall nut, linseed and honey (equal)	topical	Pains of the back or neck
1464	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ honey and Cimolian chalk	topical	Breast complaints
1465	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis seed w/ honey	oral	Asthma
1466	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	oral	Strengthens stomach
1467	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ pearl barley	topical	High temperature
1468	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	masticant	Cools the intestines
1469	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	oral	Stops vomiting

1470	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis eaten w/ vinegar or in drink w/ cumin	oral, drink	Dysentery and abscesses
1471	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis boiled	drink	Tenesmus
1472	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	oral	Epilepsy
1473	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis (1 acetabulum) w/ concentrated must	oral	Menstruation
1474	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ salt	topical	Hot gout or erysipelas
1475	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis juice	drink	Helps kidneys and bladder and expels parasites
1476	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis w/ oil and pearl barley	topical	Pain of a wound
1477	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis		Softens indurations of the sinews
1478	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis (after delay)	oral	Aid afterbirth
1479	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis	oral	Stops lust and amorous dreams
1480	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis (worn around neck)	folk topical	Disease of the uvula
1481	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis ointment (on head)	topical	Free from catarrh all year
1482	Plin. 20. 81	Peplis		Weakens eyesight
1483	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander in drink or applied	drink topical	Antidote to amphisbaena (snake) bite
1484	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander pounded	topical	Night rashes and blisters
1485	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander pounded	topical	Tumours and gatherings
1486	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander pounded w/ vinegar	topical	Panus (superficial abscess to the hair follicle)
1487	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander seed (3)	oral	Before fit of tertian ague
1488	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander seed (< 3) in ointment on forehead	topical	Before fit of tertian ague
1489	Plin. 20. 82	Fresh coriander	topical	Cool inflammations
1490	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander w/ honey or raisons	topical	Spreading sores
1491	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander w/ honey or raisons	topical	Diseased testis, burns carbuncles and sore ears
1492	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander w/ woman's milk	topical	Eye fluxes
1493	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander seed w/ water	drink	Fluxes from belly or intestines
1494	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander w/ rue in drink	drink	Cholera
1495	Plin. 20. 82	Coriander seed w/ pomegranate juice and oil	drink	Intestinal parasites

1496	Plin. 20. 82	Grain of coriander seed in drink	drink	Delays menses by one day per grain
1497	Plin. 20. 83	Orache		May cause dropsy jaundice and pallor hard to digest
1498	Plin. 20. 83	Orache		Nothing can grow near it
1499	Plin. 20. 83	Orache		Causes freckles and pimples
1500	Plin. 20. 83	Orache		If boiled water must be changed often
1501	Plin. 20. 83	Orache		Injures the stomach
1502	Plin. 20. 83	Orache w/ beet	injection	Complaints of the womb
1503	Plin. 20. 83	Orache w/ drink	drink	Sting of the Spanish fly
1504	Plin. 20. 83	Orache raw or boiled	topical	Superficial abscesses, incipient boils and all indurations
1505	Plin. 20. 83	Orache w/ honey vinegar and soda	topical	Erysipelas and gout
1506	Plin. 20. 83	Orache	topical	Removes scabrous nails without leaving a sore
1507	Plin. 20. 83	Orache seed w/ honey	oral	Jaundice
1508	Plin. 20. 83	Orache seed w/ honey and soda	bath	Rub throat and tonsils
1509	Plin. 20. 83	Orache boiled w/ or without mallows or lentils	oral	Purge
1510	Plin. 20. 83	Orache	oral	Emetic
1511	Plin. 20. 84	Malache (mallow)	oral	Relaxes the bowels
1512	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow	topical	Treat stings (esp. Scorpions, wasps and shrew mouse)
1513	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow and oil or mallow carried	bath	Never stung
1514	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow	oral	Counteract the poison of white lead
1515	Plin. 20. 84	Raw mallow w/ saltpetre	topical	Extracts splinters and thorns
1516	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow root boiled (some say you must also induce vomiting)	oral	Counteracts poison of sea hare
1517	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow juice (1/2 cyathus)	drink	Immune to all diseases
1518	Plin. 20. 84	Mallows rotted in urine	topical	Running sores of the head
1519	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow and honey	topical,	Lichen and sores in the mouth

1520	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow root decoction	gargle	
1521	Plin. 20. 84	Root of single stemmed mallow (stabbed around tooth)	topical	Dandruff and loose teeth
1522	Plin. 20. 84	Root or plant (unclear) of single stemmed mallow	topical	Toothache
1523	Plin. 20. 84	Root or plant (unclear) of single stemmed mallow w/ saliva	topical	Scrofula and parotid abscesses
1524	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow seed in dark wine	topical	Superficial abscesses
1525	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow root in dark wool as amulet	drink	Phlegm and nausea
1526	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow boiled in milk (5 day course)	folk	Prevent breast problems
1527	Plin. 20. 84	Mallows rotted in urine	drink	Cough
1528	Plin. 20. 84	Mallows w/ goose grease		Injure the stomach
1529	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow leaves (handful) in oil and wine	topical	Cause abortion
1530	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow leaves under women in labour	drink	Assist menstruation
1531	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow juice (hemina) boiled in wine	folk	Deliver more quickly
1532	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow seed (attached to arms)	drink	Woman in labour
1533	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow seed	topical	Spermatorrhoea
1534	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow roots (3) near vagina	oral	Aphrodisiac
1535	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow	topical	Aphrodisiac
			injections or fomentation	Tenesmus, dysentery and rectal troubles
1536	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow juice (3 cyathi)	drink	Melancholia
1537	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow juice (4 cyathi)	drink	Raving
1538	Plin. 20. 84	Decocted mallow juice (1 hemina)	drink	Epilepsy
1539	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow juice warm	drink	Stone, flatulence, gripping and apisthotonus
1540	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow leaves boiled to an oily paste	topical	Erysipelas and burns
1541	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow leaves raw w/ bread	poultice	Painful wounds
1542	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow decoction juice	drink	Sinews, bladder and gnawing of the intestines
1543	Plin. 20. 84	Mallow past	oral,	Soothes the womb

1544	Plin. 20. 84	Althea root	injection	More effective than mallow 1513 - 1544 esp. Spasms and ruptures
1545	Plin. 20. 84	Althea root boiled in water	drink	Stops loose bowels
1546	Plin. 20. 84	Althea root w/ white wine	drink	Scrofula, parotid abscesses and inflammation of the breast
1547	Plin. 20. 84	Althea leaves boiled in wine	topical	Superficial abscesses
1548	Plin. 20. 84	Althea leaves dried and boiled in milk	drink	Cough
1549	Plin. 20. 84	Althea root boiled down	drink	Thirsty wounded soldiers
1550	Plin. 20. 84	Althea w/ honey and resin	topical	Wounds
1551	Plin. 20. 84	Althea w/ honey and resin	topical	Bruises sprains and swellings
1552	Plin. 20. 84	Althea w/ honey and resin	topical	Muscles sinews and joints
1553	Plin. 20. 84	Althea w/ wine	drink	Cramp or dysentery
1554	Plin. 20. 85	Wild sorrel root w/ axel grease	topical	Scrofula
1555	Plin. 20. 85	Wild sorrel	topical	Heal the wounds of scorpions and prevent bite when carried
1556	Plin. 20. 85	Sorrel root boiled in vinegar	mouthwash	Good for teeth
1557	Plin. 20. 85	Sorrel root boiled in vinegar	drink	Jaundice
1558	Plin. 20. 85	Sorrel seed	oral	Inveterate stomach troubles
1559	Plin. 20. 85	Root of horse sorrel	topical	Scabrous nails
1560	Plin. 20. 85	Sorrel seed (2 drachmae) w/ wine	drink	Dysentery
1561	Plin. 20. 85	Pointed sorrel seed washed in rain water w/ gum acacia (lentil size)	oral	Spitting of blood
1562	Plin. 20. 85	Sorrel leaves and root w/ soda and a little frankincense (to use steep lozenge in vinegar)	lozenge	
1563	Plin. 20. 86	Cultivated sorrel on forehead	topical	Eye fluxes
1564	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel root	topical	Lichen and leprous sores
1565	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel boiled in wine	drink	Scrofula and parotid abscesses

1566	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel w/ wine	drink	Stone
1567	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel	liniment	Spleen and coeliac troubles dysentery and tessimus
1568	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel		Causes belching, is diuretic, removes dimness of sight
1569	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel rubbed on body	bath	Stops bodily itching
1570	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel put in the bottom of a bath	bath	Stops bodily itching
1571	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel root	masticant	Strengthens loose teeth
1572	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel decoction w/ wine	drink	Checks looseness of the bowels
1573	Plin. 20. 86	Sorrel leaves decoction	drink	Relax bowels
1574	Plin. 20. 86	Ox sorrel root	oral	Dysentery
1575	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard pounded w/ vinegar	topical	Serpent and scorpion stings
1576	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard pounded w/ vinegar	oral	Poisons of fungi
1577	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard kept in mouth or used as a gargle w/ hydromel	masticant	Phlegm
1578	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard	masticant	Toothache
1579	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ vinegar and honey	gargle	Uvula
1580	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard	oral	Beneficial to stomach troubles
1581	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ food w/ juice of cucumber	oral	Causes expectoration from the lungs for asthmatics and epileptic exhaustion
1582	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard	oral	Clears the senses and head
1583	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard	oral	Relaxes the bowels causes menstruation and urine
1584	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ figs and cumin (equal)	topical	Dropsy
1585	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ vinegar	smell	Revives fainted women w/ prolapses, lethargies and epileptics
1586	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ heartwort (if severe w/ fig and vinegar) to legs or even head	topical	Lethargies
1587	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ fig (applied externally to cause blisters)	topical	Chronic pains in chest, loins hips and shoulders

1588	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ red earth	topical	Itch, leprous sores, psoriasis, tetanus and opisthotonos
1589	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ honey	topical	Scabrous checks dimness of vision
1590	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard juice dried from stem	topical	Cures toothache
1591	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard seed and root w/ must	oral	Strengthens throat, stomach, eyes, head and senses
1592	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard seed and root w/ must	oral	Lassitude of women
1593	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ vinegar	drink	Disperses stone
1594	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard w/ honey and goose grease or Cyprian wax	topical	Livid marks and bruises
1595	Plin. 20. 87	Mustard seed soaked in oil and pressed (to extract oil)	topical	Stiff sinews, loins and hips and violent chills
1596	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound leaves and seeds	topical	Serpent bites, pains in chest and sides and chronic cough
1597	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound stalks boiled w/ Italian millet to dilute	drink	Spitting of blood
1598	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound w/ grease	topical	Scrofula
1599	Plin. 20. 89	Fresh horehound seed (2 finger pinch) w/ emmer (handful) w/ oil and salt	oral	Cough
1600	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound and fennel boiled from 3 -2 sextari then add 1 sextari of honey and boil to 2 dose 1 spoonful w/ cyathus of water	drink	Cough
1601	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound w/ honey	topical	Illnesses of the male genitals
1602	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound w/ vinegar		Lichen
1603	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound	topical	Ruptures, spasms, cramps and sinews
1604	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound w/ salt and vinegar	oral	Relax bowels and aid menstruation and the afterbirth
1605	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound dried w/ honey	oral	Dry cough
1606	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound dried w/ honey	oral	Gangrene and hangnails
1607	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound juice	topical	Ear lops, nostrils, jaundice and lessening bile secretion
1608	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound	oral	Antidote to poisons

1609	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound plant w/ iris and honey	oral	Purges the stomach
1610	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound plant w/ iris and honey	oral	Clears phlegm from lungs,
1611	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound plant w/ iris and honey	oral	Promotes urine avoid if bladder is ulcerated or kidneys effected
1612	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound juice	drink	Improves eyesight
1613	Plin. 20. 89	Horehound juice egg and honey	topical	Abscesses
1614	Plin. 20. 89	Pounded horehound w/ old axle grease	topical	Dog bites
1615	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme boiled in wine	drink	Snake bites (esp. Cenchris, scolopendras and scorpions)
1616	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme burnet	fumigation	Deters poisonous creatures
1617	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme		Antidote to marine creatures
1618	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme w/ vinegar and rose oil (on temples and forehead)	topical	Headache
1619	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme w/ vinegar and rose oil (on temples and forehead)	topical	Phrenitis and lethargies
1620	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme (4 drachmae) w/ water	drink	Gripping, strangury, quinsy and vomiting
1621	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme leaves (4 oboli)	oral	Liver complaints
1622	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme leaves (4 oboli) w/ vinegar	drink	Spleen troubles
1623	Plin. 20. 90	Wild thyme w/ oxymel (2 cyathi)	drink	Spitting blood
1624	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium	topical	Stings of hornet like creatures
1625	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium w/ bread of in wine alone	topical	Headache and eye fluxes
1626	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium	topical	Heals night rashes and spots on a woman face (in four days)
1627	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium (food) or as juice	oral	Vomiting, coughing, gripping and fluxes of the stomach
1628	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium eaten or topical	oral topical	Causes abortion
1629	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium w/ wine	drink	Diuretic
1630	Plin. 20. 91	Wild sisymbrium (w/ wine?)	drink?	Expels stone
1631	Plin. 20. 91	Sisymbrium w/ vinegar (poured on head)	topical	Remain awake and keep roused

1632	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed	topical	Removes spots on a woman's face
1633	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed juice	topical	Improves eyesight
1634	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ frankincense and water or myrrh and wine		Eye fluxes
1635	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ honey or grease or wax	topical	Parotid abscesses
1636	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ water	drink	Fluxes from the stomach
1637	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed boiled in water and oil w/ anise	topical	Quinsies
1638	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed roasted	oral	Looseness of bowels
1639	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ vinegar	drink	Coeliac troubles and dysentery
1640	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ raisins	oral	Pains of the liver
1641	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed seed	electuaries	Consumption
1642	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed meal w/ soda, salt or ash	oral	Softens indurations of the sinews, muscles joints and nape of neck
1643	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed meal w/ soda, salt or ash	oral	Softens membrane of brain
1644	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ fig	oral	Parotid abscess
1645	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ wild cucumber root	topical	Extracts things piercing the flesh including broken bones
1646	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed boiled in wine	oral	Stops sore from spreading
1647	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w /honey	oral	Stops eruptions of phlegm
1648	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ cress (equal)	oral	Scabrous nails
1649	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ resin and myrrh	oral	Testis and hernia
1650	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed w/ water	drink	Gangrene
1651	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed oil (1 sextarius) w/ fenugreek (equal) in hydromel	drink	Stomach ache
1652	Plin. 20. 92	Linseed in oil or honey	enema	Dangerous maladies of intestine and lower trunk
1653	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach	oral	Injures stomach
1654	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach	oral	Disturbs bowels to cause cholera
1655	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach w/ wine	drink	Scorpion stings

1656	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach	liniment	Corns on feet
1657	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach w/ oil	oral	Spleen and pains in temples
1658	Plin. 20. 93	False spinach	oral	Stops menstruation
1659	Plin. 20. 94	Spignel root w/ water	drink	Diuretic, disperses flatulence of stomach
1660	Plin. 20. 94	Spignel root w/ water	drink	Gripping troubles of bladder and womb
1661	Plin. 20. 94	Spignel w/ honey	topical	Joints
1662	Plin. 20. 94	Spignel w/ celery (on lower abdomen)	topical	Diuretic for babies
1663	Plin. 20. 95	Fennel juice collected when stem is swelling to bud, dried and applied in honey	topical ointment	Dimness of vision
1664	Plin. 20. 95	Fennel seed	topical ointment	Dimness of vision
1665	Plin. 20. 95	Fennel juice from root when germination has begun	topical ointment	Dimness of vision
1666	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel seeds w/ wine	drink	Wounds of serpents and scorpions
1667	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel juice	ear drops	Kills ear worms
1668	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel plant	oral	Digestives
1669	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel seed	oral	Tightens relaxed stomach
1670	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel pounded w/ water	oral	Relieves nausea
1671	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel	oral	Complaints of lungs and liver
1672	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel (moderate amount)	oral	Stops looseness of the bowels
1673	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel	oral	Diuretic
1674	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel	decoction	Restores milk to breasts
1675	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel root w/ barley water or fennel root juice w/ wine	drink	Cleanse the kidneys
1676	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel root w/ wine	drink	Dropsy and spasms
1677	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel leaves w/ vinegar	topical	Inflamed tumours
1678	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel leaves	oral	Expel bladder stones
1679	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel in all forms	topical	Creates an abundance of seed (improved fertility)

1680	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel w/ wax	topical	Bruises
1681	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel root in juice or honey		Dog bites
1682	Plin. 20. 96	Fennel w/ wine	drink	Multipede sting
1683	Plin. 20. 96	Hippomarathum (wild fennel)	oral	Expels stone well
1684	Plin. 20. 96	Hippomarathum (wild fennel) (2 finger pinch) w/ soft wine (seed better than root)	drink	Bladder and retarded menstruation
1685	Plin. 20. 96	Hippomarathum		Serpent bites
1686	Plin. 20. 97	Hemp seeds	oral	Make genitals impotent
1687	Plin. 20. 97	Hemp juice	ear drops	Drives out parasites but causes headache
1688	Plin. 20. 97	Hemp juice	drink	Veterinary uses
1689	Plin. 20. 97	Hemp root boiled	drink	Cramped joints, gout and violent pains
1690	Plin. 20. 97	Hemp raw	topical	Burns
1691	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel stems boiled w/ brine and honey	oral	Good for stomach (causes headache if too many eaten)
1692	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel root (1 denarus) w/ wine (2 cyathi)	drink	Snake bites
1693	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel root	topical	Snake bites
1694	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel root (1 denarus) w/ wine (2 cyathi)	drink	Griping
1695	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel in oil and vinegar	drink	Profuse perspiration even fevers
1696	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel juice (bean size)	drink	Loosens bowels
1697	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel pith	oral	Good for womb
1698	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel seeds (10) w/ wine and pith	oral	Stop bleeding
1699	Plin. 20. 98	Giant fennel seed (1 spoonful) from fourth day of the moon to the seventh	oral	Epilepsy
1700	Plin. 20. 98	Juice of the root	drink	Beneficial to eyesight
1701	Plin. 20. 99	Σκόλθμς thistle juice	topical	Restores skin and hear lost by mange
1702	Plin. 20. 99	Thistle root boiled	drink	Causes thirst in those who are drunkards
1703	Plin. 20. 99	Thistle	oral	Strengthens the stomach

1704	Plin. 20. 99	Thistle	oral	Generates only male children
1705	Plin. 20. 99	Thistle gum	lozenge	Makes breath sweet
1706	Plin. 20. 100	Wild thyme (2 denarii) opopanax (eq.), spignel (eq.) trefoil seed (1 denarus) aniseed (6 denarii) fennel seed (eq.) ami (eq.) and Parsley (eq.) and (12 denarii) vetch meal; sieve and kneed w/ wine; form lozenges of 1 victoriatus take w/ 3 cyathii of wine	lozenge	Counteract poisons of venomous animals
1707	Dios. 1. 1. 2	(African) iris germanicis	oral	Cough
1708	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris root (7 drachmai) w/ hydromel	drink	Purge thick humours and
1709	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris root	oral	Induce sleep, cause crying, colic
1710	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris w/ vinegar	drink	Help those bitten, splenetics, people who have spasms
1711	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris w/ vinegar	drink	Hypothermics or shiverers, premature ejaculation
1712	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris w/ wine	drink	Draws down menses
1713	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris decoction	vapour Bath	Women's vapour bath
1714	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris decoction	vapour Bath	Soothing and dilating the genitalia
1715	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris decoction	clyster	Hip disease
1716	Dios. 1. 1. 2	Iris decoction	clyster	Fleshes up ducts and hollows
1717	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris roots w/ honey	v. sup.	Draw out foetus
1718	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris roots boiled	cataplasm	Soften scrofulous glands swellings and old indurations
1719	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris dried and cleanse (ulcers) w/ honey	topical	Fill ulcers
1720	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris dried	topical	Flesh up bones stripped of flesh
1721	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris w/ vinegar and unguent roses	plaster	Headaches
1722	Dios. 1. 1. 3	Iris w/ vinegar and unguent roses and twice the amount of white hellebore	plaster	Clear birthmarks and freckles
1723	Dios. 1. 2. 2.	Yellow flag (Iris pseudacorus) decoction	drink	Diuretic pains in side, chest and liver
1724	Dios. 1. 2. 2.	Yellow flag (Iris pseudacorus) decoction	drink	Colic, ruptures, spasms and reduces the spleen

1725	Dios. 1. 2. 2.	Yellow flag (<i>Iris pseudacorus</i>) decoction	drink	Strangury bitten by animals
1726	Dios. 1. 2. 2.	Yellow flag (<i>Iris pseudacorus</i>) decoction	sitz baths	Woman's complaints
1727	Dios. 1. 2. 2.	Yellow flag (<i>Iris pseudacorus</i>) root juice	topical	Remove cataracts
1728	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel boiled or ground	drink	Dry bladder and kidneys
1729	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel boiled or ground	drink	Difficult urination, stomach flatulence, colic
1730	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel boiled or ground	drink	Uterine conditions and joint pains
1731	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel ground w/ honey	oral	Chest rheums
1732	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel boiled	sitz bath	Encourage menstruation
1733	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel	plaster	Cause urination
1734	Dios. 1. 3. 1.	Athamantic spignel (in excess)	drink	Causes headaches
1735	Dios. 1. 4. 2.	Galingale	drink	Diuretic: kidney stones and edemata
1736	Dios. 1. 4. 2.	Galingale		Scorpion sting
1737	Dios. 1. 4. 2.	Galingale	sitz baths	Uterus chills and closings, aids menstruation
1738	Dios. 1. 4. 2.	Galingale ground	oral	Mouth sores and spreading ulcers
1739	Dios. 1. 4. 2.	Galingale w/ heat producing emollients and in thickening unguents		
1740	Dios. 1. 5. 1.	Indian' galingale	depilatory	Hair removal
1741	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom w/ water	drink	Epileptics, coughs and patients suffering from hip disease
1742	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom w/ water	drink	Paralysis, ruptures, spasms colic and intestinal flatworm
1743	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom w/ wine	drink	Kidney problems, difficult urination, scorpion stings and animal venoms
1744	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom (1 drachma) w/ bark of sweet bay root	drink	Breaks stones
1745	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom	fumigation	Abortion
1746	Dios. 1. 6. 1.	Cardamom w/ vinegar	topical	Mange
1747	Dios. 1. 7. 3.	Spikenard (soaked) oft. Adulterated by powdered antimony (to be removed)	drink	Bind bowel

1748	Dios. 1. 7. 3.	Spikenard	v. sup.	Stop uterine bleeding and heavy discharges
1749	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard w/ cold water	drink	Nausea heartburn, flatulence, liver ailments, jaundice and renal dysfunction
1750	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard boiled	sitz bath	Uterine inflammation
1751	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard	topical	Purulent blepharitis
1752	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard	topical	Toning eyelids and increasing eyelash growth
1753	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard powder	topical	Used as a deodorant
1754	Dios. 1. 7. 4.	Spikenard triturated w/ wine	topical	Eye medication
1755	Dios. 1. 8. 2.	Celtic spikenard oft. Adulterated by he-goat		
1756	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard		Same as Syrian spikenard
1757	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard	oral	More diuretic better for stomach (than Syrian)
1758	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard	oral	Liver inflammations, jaundice
1759	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard w/ wormwood	drink	Flatulence of the stomach
1760	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard	oral	Spleen, kidneys and bladder
1761	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard w/ wine	drink	Venomous bites
1762	Dios. 1. 8. 3.	Celtic spikenard		Emollients draughts and warming salves
1763	Dios. 1. 9. 1.	Same as Celtic spikenard	oral	
1764	Dios. 1. 10. 1.	Hazelwort	oral	Diuretic warming: edemata and chronic hip disease
1765	Dios. 1. 10. 1.	Hazelwort	oral	Bring about menses
1766	Dios. 1. 10. 1.	Hazelwort (7 ounciai) w/ hydromel	drink	Purge (up)
1767	Dios. 1. 11. 2.	Cretan spikenard decoction	drink	Warm current urination
1768	Dios. 1. 11. 2.	Cretan spikenard	drink	Warm current urination and pain in side
1769	Dios. 1. 11. 2.	Cretan spikenard	oral	Bring about menses, mixed with antidotes
1770	Dios. 1. 11. 2.	Cretan spikenard often adulterated w/ butchers broom		
1771	Dios. 1. 12. 2	Malabar		Same as spikenard

1772	Dios. 1. 12. 2	Malabar	oral	More diuretic
1773	Dios. 1. 12. 2	Malabar	oral	More wholesome
1774	Dios. 1. 12. 2	Malbar boiled dried and ground	plaster	Eye inflammations
1775	Dios. 1. 12. 2	Malbar placed under tongue	oral	Mouthwash
1776	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia	oral	Warming diuretic, desiccative and mildly astringent
1777	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia	topical	Short sighted eye medicines and emollients
1778	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia w/ honey	topical	Removes birthmarks
1779	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia	drink	Brings menses helps bite victims
1780	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia	drink	Internal inflammations and kidneys
1781	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia (sitz bath or to make thick smoke)	sitz bath or fumigation	Dilating the cervix
1782	Dios. 1. 13. 3.	Cassia (non-cinnamon) w/ reagents		Same effect as cinnamon cassia
1783	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon	oral	Warming, diuretic, emollient and digestive
1784	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon w/ myrrh	drink	Draw menses and embryo's (abortive)
1785	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon	oral	Antidote to animal venoms and poisons
1786	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon		Clears cataracts
1787	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon w/ honey	topical	Birthmarks and freckles
1788	Dios. 1. 14. 4.	Cinnamon	oral	Coughs, head colds, edemata kidney diseases and difficult urination
1789	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom	oral	Warming astringent, desiccative, and soporific
1790	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom on forehead	poultice	Analgesic
1791	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom	topical	Softens and removes boils
1792	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom w/ basil	cataplasm	Scorpion bites
1793	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom	topical	Soothes eye inflammations
1794	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom w/ raisins	oral	Inflammations of internal organs
1795	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom	v. sup.and	Female disorders

1796	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom decoction	sitz baths	
1797	Dios. 1. 15. 2.	Nepal cardamom adulterated by amomis	drink	Liver and kidney diseases and gout
1798	Dios. 1. 16. 1.	Costusroot		Warm diuretic, emmenagogic
1799	Dios. 1. 16. 1.	Costusroot	v. sup.	Uterine problems
1800	Dios. 1. 16. 1.	Costusroot	sitz baths	Uterine problems
1801	Dios. 1. 16. 1.	Costusroot	anal	Uterine problems
			suppository	
1802	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot (2 ounciai)	drink	Viper bite
1803	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot w/ wormwood, and wine	drink	Chest pains spasms and flatulence
1804	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot w/ honey	drink	Aphrodisiac
1805	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot w/ water	drink	Intestinal flatworms
1806	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot w/ oil	ointment	Shiver (prior to fit) and paralytics
1807	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot w/ water or honey	topical	Removes freckles
1808	Dios. 1. 16. 2.	Costusroot adulterate w/ commagene calamint		
1809	Dios. 1. 17. 2.	Camel hay		Warm, crush stones, aid digestion, soften open up
1810	Dios. 1. 17. 2.	Camel hay		Diuretic, emmenagogic, relax breathing, cause headaches and bind
1811	Dios. 1. 17. 2.	Camel hay flower	drink	Spitting blood, pains in stomach, lungs, liver, and kidneys
1812	Dios. 1. 17. 2.	Camel hay root (1 drachma) w/ pepper(eq.)	oral	Nauseous stomachs, edemata and spasms
1813	Dios. 1. 17. 2.	Camel hay decoction	sitz baths	Uterine inflammation
1814	Dios. 1. 18. 1.	Sweet flag	masticant	Causes urination
1815	Dios. 1. 18. 1.	Sweet flag boiled w/ dogtooth grass or celery seed	drink	Edemata, kidney disease, strangury and ruptures
1816	Dios. 1. 18. 1.	Sweet flag	drink of	Causes menstruation
			topical	

1817	Dios. 1. 18. 1.	Sweet flag w/ turpentine (burned with smoke inhaled through a tube)	fumigation	Coughs
1818	Dios. 1. 18. 1.	Sweet flag boiled	sitz baths	
1819	Dios. 1. 19. 1.	Opobalsamon extracted from mecca balsam by burning rods only 6-7 choes PA		
1820	Dios. 1. 19. 2.	Opobalsamon adulterated w/ terebinth, flower of henna, mastic, lilies and metopoion etc.		
1821	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam juice		Clears cataracts
1822	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam w/ cerate of roses	topical	Uterine chills
1823	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	topical	Draws out afterbirth or foetus
1824	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	topical (liniment)	Stops shivering fits
1825	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	topical	Cleanses sores
1826	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	drink	Digestive and diuretic
1827	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	drink	Dyspnea
1828	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	drink	Antidote to leopards bane and milk
1829	Dios. 1. 19. 4.	Mecca balsam	drink	Bitten by wild animals
1830	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam fruit	drink	Pleurisy, lung inflammations, coughs hip diseases
1831	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam fruit	drink	Epileptics, dizziness, orthopnea, colic, difficult urination
1832	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam fruit	drink	Wild animal bites
1833	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam fruit	fumigation	Female diseases (burned bellow)
1834	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam fruit boiled down	sitz bath	Dilating the cervix
1835	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam wood boiled	drink	Indigestion, colic, venomous bites, spasms and diuretic
1836	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam wood boiled w/ iris dried	drink	Head injuries
1837	Dios. 1. 19. 5.	Mecca balsam	drink	Reduces epithelial waste

1838	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn		Warming astringent
1839	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn boiled w/ wine	drink	Mouthwash
1840	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn		Thrush
1841	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn decoction	topical, bath	Filth around genitalia
1842	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn decoction	topical, bath	Spreading ulcers
1843	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn decoction	topical, bath	Fetid nose sores
1844	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn	v. sup.	Draws out embryo/foetus
1845	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn decoction	drink	Stays bowels and spitting blood
1846	Dios. 1. 20. 1.	Camels thorn decoction	drink	Stops difficult urination and flatulence
1847	Dios. 1. 21. 1.	Tree moss (from cedar, white poplar and oak)	sitz bath	Astringent: uterine diseases
1848	Dios. 1. 21. 1.	Tree moss used in unguents w/ ben and ointments and analgesics		
1849	Dios. 1. 22. 1.	Aloewood (eaglewood) alone or decoction	masticant	Mouthwash
1850	Dios. 1. 22. 1.	Aloewood	topical	Deodorant
1851	Dios. 1. 22. 1.	Aloewood (1 drachma)	drink	Excessive accumulation of stomach fluid, stomach limpness and heartburn
1852	Dios. 1. 22. 1.	Aloewood w/ water	drink	Pains in side and liver dysentery and colic
1853	Dios. 1. 23. 1.	Nascaphthon	fumigation	Constricted cervix (burnt bellow)
1854	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol (3 obols) w/ water or vinegar and honey	drink	Thins obese people
1855	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol		Splenetics, epileptics and asthmatics
1856	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol w/ hydromel	drink	Brings on menses
1857	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol		Removes scars from the eyes
1858	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol w/ wine		Dim sightedness
1859	Dios. 1. 24. 1.	Bisabol		Pyorrhea and toothache
1860	Dios. 1. 25. 1.	Cyphi	oral	Antidotes
1861	Dios. 1. 25. 1.	Cyphi	drink	Asthmatics
1862	Dios. 1. 25.	Recipe for cyphi		

1863	Dios. 1. 26. 2.	Saffron adulterated w/ chopped saffron residuum and litharge or galena and daubed w/ must	adulterant	
1864	Dios. 1. 26. 2.	Saffron	general properties	Digestive, emollient, astringent and diuretic properties
1865	Dios. 1. 26. 2.	Saffron	oral	Healthy complexion
1866	Dios. 1. 26. 2.	Saffron w/ grape syrup	drink	Counters nausea
1867	Dios. 1. 26. 2.	Saffron w/ woman's milk	topical	Stops tearing of the eyes
1868	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron	drink	Internal afflictions
1869	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron	suppository or poultices	Uterine or rectal afflictions
1870	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron	oral	Aphrodisiac
1871	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron	topical	Inflammation from erysipelas
1872	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron	topical	Ear inflammation
1873	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron (3 drachmae) w/ water	drink	Poisonous dose
1874	Dios. 1. 26. 3.	Saffron root w/ grape syrup	drink	Diuretic
1875	Dios. 1. 27. 1.	Saffron residuum (remains after making saffron unguent)		Removes cataracts, diuretic, emollient aids digestion and warms
1876	Dios. 1. 28. 2.	Elecampane root decoction	drink	Causes urination and menstruation
1877	Dios. 1. 28. 2.	Elecampane root w/ honey	lozenge	Coughs, orthopnea, ruptures, spasms, flatulence and animal bites
1878	Dios. 1. 28. 2.	Elecampane leaves boiled in wine	plaster	Hip diseases
1879	Dios. 1. 28. 2.	Elecampane root preserved in grape syrup	oral	Stomach
1880	Dios. 1. 29. 1.	Egyptian elecampane single root w/ wine	drink	Help those bitten by animals
1881	Dios. 1. 30. 1.	Young olive oil	drink	Good for the stomach
1882	Dios. 1. 30. 1.	Young olive oil (held in the mouth)	masticant	Staunches the gums and firms teeth
1883	Dios. 1. 30. 1.	Young olive oil	topical	Antiperspirant
1884	Dios. 1. 30. 1.	All oils	topical	Warm and soften flesh

1885	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil	drink	Ease and soften bowel and take edge off abrasive medications
1886	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil (drunk and vomited)	drink, purge	Poisons
1887	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil (1 cotyle) w/ water or barley water (eq.)	drink	Purge
1888	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil (6 cyathi) boiled w/ rue (drink warm)	drink	Colic
1889	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil (6 cyathi) boiled w/ rue	drink	Intestinal worms
1890	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Olive oil (6 cyathi) boiled w/ rue	enema	Intestinal obstruction
1891	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Old oil	topical	Warms more, aids perspiration
1892	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Old oil	salve	Sharp sightedness
1893	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Wild olive oil	topical	Headaches
1894	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Wild olive oil	topical	Stops perspiration and the falling of hair
1895	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Wild olive oil	topical	Clears dandruff, scurf, mange and leprosy
1896	Dios. 1. 30. 2.	Wild olive oil	topical	Delays hair greying