

In Praise of Asclepius

Aelius Aristides, *Selected Prose Hymns*

Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris
ad Ethicam RELigionemque pertinentia

XXIX

Mohr Siebeck

SAPERE

Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris
ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia

Schriften der späteren Antike
zu ethischen und religiösen Fragen

Herausgegeben von

Reinhard Feldmeier, Rainer Hirsch-Luipold,
und Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

unter der Mitarbeit von

Natalia Pedrique und Andrea Villani

Band XXIX



In Praise of Asclepius

Aelius Aristides, Selected Prose Hymns

Introduction, Text, Translation and
Interpretative Essays by

Christian Brockmann, Milena Melfi,
Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, Robert Parker,
Donald A. Russell, Florian Steger, Michael Trapp

edited by

Donald A. Russell, Michael Trapp,
and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

Mohr Siebeck

SAPERE is a Project of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities within the programme of the Union of the German Academies funded by the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Lower Saxony.

ISBN 978-3-16-153659-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-156426-0
ISSN 1611-5945 (SAPERE. Scripta antiquitatis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2016 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohr.de

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

This book was supervised by Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (representing the SAPERE Editors) and typeset by Magdalena Albrecht, Marius Pfeifer, and Andrea Villani at the SAPERE Research Institute, Göttingen. Printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

SAPERE

Greek and Latin texts of Later Antiquity (1st–4th centuries AD) have for a long time been overshadowed by those dating back to so-called ‘classical’ times. The first four centuries of our era have, however, produced a cornucopia of works in Greek and Latin dealing with questions of philosophy, ethics, and religion that continue to be relevant even today. The series SAPERE (*Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia*, ‘Writings of Later Antiquity with Ethical and Religious Themes’), now funded by the German Union of Academies, undertakes the task of making these texts accessible through an innovative combination of edition, translation, and commentary in the form of interpretative essays.

The acronym ‘SAPERE’ deliberately evokes the various connotations of *sapere*, the Latin verb. In addition to the intellectual dimension – which Kant made the motto of the Enlightenment by translating ‘*sapere aude*’ with ‘dare to use thy reason’ – the notion of ‘tasting’ should come into play as well. On the one hand, SAPERE makes important source texts available for discussion within various disciplines such as theology and religious studies, philology, philosophy, history, archaeology, and so on; on the other, it also seeks to whet the readers’ appetite to ‘taste’ these texts. Consequently, a thorough scholarly analysis of the texts, which are investigated from the vantage points of different disciplines, complements the presentation of the sources both in the original and in translation. In this way, the importance of these ancient authors for the history of ideas and their relevance to modern debates come clearly into focus, thereby fostering an active engagement with the classical past.

Preface to this Volume

In the middle decades of the second century AD the acclaimed orator Aelius Aristides wrote a number (eight in all) of prose hymns to traditional Greek gods and thereby demonstrated that the cults of these gods had not yet become obsolete and were more than just a topic of backward-looking *paideia*. This volume presents four of these texts, specifically those that focus on the god of healing Asclepius, together with a new edition of the Greek text, a new English translation with commentary, and a number of essays shedding additional light on these texts from various perspectives. (Drafts of the translation and the essays were discussed during a very enjoyable little conference in Oxford in March 2014.) All in all, the volume wants to show how in these texts of Aristides the author's rhetorical skills, his outlook on the world and his personal religiosity come together to form a remarkable whole.

The introduction (on Aristides himself, his life and his work on the one side, and on the peculiar literary form of the prose hymn on the other) is provided by one of the most knowledgeable experts on second century Greek prose literature, Michael Trapp (Professor of Greek Literature and Thought, King's College London), who is also currently working on a comprehensive new Loeb edition of Aristides's works. As for the texts and their translation, we were very fortunate (once again) to be able to enlist the incomparable scholarship and long-standing expertise of Donald Russell (Professor and Fellow Emeritus of St. John's College, Oxford), who – although by this time almost ninety-three years old – readily consented to be part of yet another SAPERE enterprise (he had already contributed substantially to volume 16 on Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* and to volume 24 on Synesius's *De insomniis*). The notes on the translation are a team effort by several of the volume's contributors: Donald Russell, Milena Melfi, Robert Parker, Michael Trapp and myself.

The four essays in the second part of the volume were written by experts in various fields of Classical Antiquity and aim to provide additional insights into the content and meaning of Aristides's hymns concerning Asclepius and his healing cult. Robert Parker (Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in New College, Oxford) inquires into the role of religion in these prose hymns and how it interacts with other, and at first sight often incongruous, components (myth, philosophical tradition and rhetoric), making these texts the home of an interesting multiplicity of perspectives. Milena Melfi (Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology, New College, Oxford),

one of whose main research interests has been Asclepius and his sanctuaries, presents an overview of the archaeological history of the Asclepieum of Pergamum and then a detailed description of what it looked like at the time Aristides was intimately connected to it. Christian Brockmann (Institut für Griechische und Lateinische Philologie, Hamburg), who has worked extensively on ancient medical authors, provides a very interesting comparison of the attitudes towards Asclepius that were held by Aristides and the greatest (and also literarily most productive) physician of his time, Galen, and indicates that the two may have more in common with regard to Asclepius than one might assume at first sight. And last but not least, Florian Steger (Institut für Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin, Universität Ulm), expert in the History of Medicine with a special focus on practical, day-to-day medicine in the times of the Roman Empire, discusses Aristides as a patient of Asclepius, looking not only at the prose hymns presented in this volume but also at the famous *Hieroi Logoi*, which seem to provide (quite literally) a view of the patient from inside himself.

All the contributors hope to have put together a volume that sheds some new light on a part of Aristides's oeuvre that so far has not yet been much of a focus of interest but may well deserve a closer look. Finally many thanks are due to the indefatigable work of the SAPERE editorial staff (Dr. Natalia Pedrique, Dr. Simone Seibert and Dr. Andrea Villani, who has provided the indices), without whom this volume could not have been published.

Göttingen, April 2016

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath

Table of Contents

SAPERE	V
Preface to this Volume	VII

A. Introduction

Introduction (<i>Michael Trapp</i>)	3
1. Aelius Aristides: Life and Works	3
1.1. Outline of a life	3
1.2. Surviving works and the corpus	7
1.3. Lost works	12
1.4. Persona and themes	13
1.5. Aristides and Posterity: reputation and transmission	16
1.6. The manuscript tradition	17
1.7. Editions	20
2. The Form of the Prose Hymn	22
3. Suggested Variations from Keil's Text	27

B. Texts, Translations and Notes

Texts and Translations by <i>Donald A. Russell</i>	30
<i>Or.</i> 38. Ἀσκληπιιάδαι	30
<i>Or.</i> 39. Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ	38
<i>Or.</i> 42. Λαλιὰ εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν	44
<i>Or.</i> 53. Πανηγυρικός ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι (τῶ) ἐν Περγάμῳ	50
Notes on the Translations (<i>Donald A. Russell</i> [R.], <i>M. Melfi</i> [M.], <i>H.-G. Nesselrath</i> [N.], <i>R. Parker</i> [P.], <i>M. Trapp</i> [T.])	54

C. Essays

Religion in the Prose Hymns (<i>Robert Parker</i>)	67
1. Oration as Offering	67
2. The Prose Hymn	68
3. Aristides and the Mythological Tradition	70
4. The Influence of Philosophical Religion	76
5. Polytheism and Henotheism	81
6. Conclusion	88
The Archaeology of the Asclepium of Pergamum (<i>Milena Melfi</i>)	89
1. The Early Foundation	90
2. The Asclepium and the Kings (Fig. 1)	91
3. Asclepius and the Making of Attalid Religious Policy (Fig. 2)	95

4. Towards a Roman Sanctuary	100
5. The New Asclepieum (Fig. 3 and 4)	101
6. Approaching the Sanctuary	103
7. The Peristyle Court and the 'Old' Buildings	106
8. The 'New' Buildings	108
9. Some Conclusions	111
A God and Two Humans on Matters of Medicine: Asclepius, Galen and Aelius Aristides (<i>Christian Brockmann</i>)	115
Aristides, Patient of Asclepius in Pergamum (<i>Florian Steger</i>)	129
1. Asclepius Medicine: Patients of Asclepius — Available Sources	129
2. Aristides, Patient of Asclepius	131
D. Appendices	
I. Bibliography	145
1. Abbreviations	145
2. Editions, Commentaries, Translations	146
3. Articles and Monographs (and Editions of other Texts)	146
4. List of Illustrations	149
II. Indices (<i>Andrea Villani</i>)	151
1. Source Index (selection)	151
2. General Index	157
III. About the Authors of this Volume	163

A. Introduction

Introduction

Michael Trapp

"I am not one of those who vomit their words out, but one who crafts them to perfection." (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.9, 583)

"For all this time, Asclepius kept me alive and gave me one day after the next, and even today it is He and He alone who sustains me." (Aristides, *Sacred Tales* 2.37)

1. Aelius Aristides: Life and Works

1.1. Outline of a life

Publius Aelius Aristides Theodorus was born in 117 AD (perhaps on 26 November) into a rich landowning family in Mysia in north-western Asia Minor (to the east of the Troad and the north-east of the city of Pergamum).¹ Besides his estates in that region, his father Eudaemon also had strong ties to the city of Smyrna, which his son was to inherit and enhance.

¹ Aristides's birth-date is established by reference to the personal horoscope he cites in *Sacred Tales* [= *ST*] 4.58: see BEHR 1968, 1–3, with the corrections in: id., "Aelius Aristides' Birth Date Corrected to November 26, 117 A.D.", *AJP* 90 (1969) 75–77. His full Roman name appears on the honorific inscription *OGI* 709 = *IGRom* I 1070; his adoption of the extra surname 'Theodorus' is explained at *ST* 4.53–54 and 70. Aristides's life and career can be reconstructed in more detail than many that are known from the second century AD and from the reigns of the Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, through which he lived. This is in large part because his surviving works include, besides speeches and essays containing incidental biographical information, the extraordinary medico-hagiographical diary known as the *Sacred Tales* (*Hieroi Logoi*), which in its own selective way documents his experiences and achievements in the years 143–155 and 165–177 AD. But it is also because of the status he rapidly gained as a literary classic, which was responsible for the accumulation of further quantities of biographical material; this is now represented principally by the subscriptions that can still be found attached to four of his speeches in the manuscript tradition (*Orr.* 22, 30, 37 and 40: see KEIL's (1898) *apparatus criticus*, p. 31, 211, 312 and 330), the scholarly *Prolegomena* with which editions of his works came to be prefaced (see LENZ 1959), and the biography that is included by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists* (*VS* 2.9, 581–585). In modern scholarship, the most elaborate attempt to synthesize this biographical information is BEHR 1968, supplemented by id., "Studies on the biography of Aelius Aristides", in: *ANRW* II.34.2 (Berlin / New York 1994) 1140–1233, but this is over-optimistic about the degree of certainty that can

In 131/2 AD the Emperor Hadrian visited the area, and oversaw the reorganization of its civic structures. Aristides's birthplace became attached to the newly constituted *polis* of Hadriani, with its neighbours Hadriania and Hadrianotherai;² it was perhaps also at this time that both Aristides and his father were granted Roman citizenship.

He was naturally given the literary-rhetorical education standard for his social status, though thanks to the combination of parental resources with the natural aptitude which he presumably began to manifest at an early stage, the teachers from whom he received it were of more than average quality. His *grammatikos* was Alexander of Cotiaenum, who also taught the future emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius;³ his tutors in oratory were said to have been among the most distinguished declaimers of the age – Marcus Antonius Polemo in Smyrna, Tiberius Claudius Aristocles in Pergamum, and Herodes Atticus (Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes) in Athens.⁴ At this stage, the young Aristides will have given every appearance of being set for a prominent career both in elite politics (perhaps at Imperial as well as local level) and as a star oratorical performer.

The first documented events of his adult life come with the early 140s AD, when he undertook a journey south via Cos, Cnidus and Rhodes to Egypt, some of the results of which were later exploited in his *Egyptian Discourse* (*Or.* 36). How many speaking engagements, if any, he undertook in the course of the excursion is unclear,⁵ but at least two of the surviving works have been argued to stand quite close to it in time: the very first of the prose hymns, *Or.* 45, *Regarding Sarapis*, may have been delivered in Smyrna soon after his return, in approximately 142 AD;⁶ and *Or.* 25, *The Rhodian Oration*, if genuine, ought to belong to the same period, because addressing the aftermath of the earthquake that devastated the island at

be achieved and must be used with caution: see most recently JONES 2013, Chronological Appendix.

² See BEHR 1968, 3–5, with nn. 3 and 6.

³ BEHR 1968, 10–11. The surviving fragments of Alexander's work are edited and discussed in A. R. ДУСК, "The Fragments of Alexander of Cotiaenum", *Illinois Classical Studies* 16 (1991) 307–335; Aurelius acknowledges him and the lessons he has learned from him at *Meditations* 1.10.

⁴ BEHR 1968, 12–13. Their status as oratorical superstars of their age is reflected in the admiring treatments given to them in Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*: VS 1.25, 530–544 (Polemo), 2.1, 545–566 (Herodes) and 2.3, 567–568 (Aristocles).

⁵ BEHR 1968, 14–16 is as usual over-optimistic about the possibility of establishing a large number of appearances (tendentiously citing *Orr.* 33.27–29, 24.56, 26.26 and 95, and 36.18 and 34 as evidence of performances); but it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that Aristides must have been doing some writing and performing during this period.

⁶ See e.g. BEHR 1968, 21–22; RUSSELL 1990, 200. This dating is however anything but secure, particularly in so far as it rests on the supposition that the dedication to Sarapis as a saviour deity makes it impossible for Aristides to have composed it later in his life, when Asclepius had become his principal divine patron: ancient religious devotion did not standardly have this kind of exclusivity (see PARKER in this volume, p. 86–87).

this time.⁷ Oratorical ambitions were however very much to the fore in his next venture, a trip to Rome undertaken in 143 or 144. Though nowhere explicitly stated,⁸ a major motive behind the expedition must have been to establish a presence and a reputation on the grandest stage of all for a performer. Whether any of the surviving works can be assigned to this episode is again uncertain. The possible candidates are the speech *Regarding Rome* (*Or.* 26), which some would however date much later in Aristides's career;⁹ and the speech *Regarding the Emperor* (*Or.* 35), which is normally dismissed as an impostor from the third century AD, but has recently been argued to fit well with what is known of the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.¹⁰ What is entirely clear, and of fundamental importance for the shape of Aristides's career, is the premature and bitterly disappointing end to which this Roman venture came; his health, already fragile before departure from home, gave way spectacularly, and after months of assorted indispositions he had no choice but to make his painful and ignominious way home to Smyrna.¹¹

It was at this point, soon after the return from Rome, that the course of Aristides's life took the turn that was to prove decisive both for his self-image and for much of his reputation in modern scholarship. Impelled by the first of what was to prove a life-long series of dream visions from the healing god Asclepius, commanding him to walk barefoot,¹² Aristides made himself into the god's protégé and devotee and took up residence in his sanctuary, the Asclepieum, at Pergamum.¹³ There followed a two-year stay, which he subsequently dubbed the *kathedra*,¹⁴ a term which literally means "staying/sitting still" or "inactivity", but may also hint at the stability and security he felt this period to have brought him.¹⁵ For the first year of this retreat, Aristides retired completely from oratorical ac-

⁷ See BEHR 1968, 14–16; and cf. *Or.* 24.3, where Aristides recalls a meeting with Rhodian ambassadors in Egypt after the quake.

⁸ Indeed, perhaps deliberately suppressed in the light of actual events.

⁹ See BEHR 1968, 88–90 with n. 92 for the argument for a later dating; JONES 2013 reasserts the older assumption that the documented visit to Rome is the natural place to locate this speech.

¹⁰ JONES 2013, Part III.

¹¹ *ST* 2.60–70, supplemented by 2.5–8 and 4.32–37 (plus perhaps 4.31).

¹² *ST* 2.7.

¹³ On the topography and history of the Pergamum Asclepieum, see MELFI in this volume, p. 90–113.

¹⁴ Aristides uses this term at *ST* 2.70 and 3.44; it is also found in the manuscript subscription to *Or.* 30.

¹⁵ BEHR's suggestion (1968, 26) that he was also thinking wistfully of an official 'chair' of rhetoric, tentatively accepted by S. SWAIN, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, classicism, and power in the Greek world, AD 50–250* (Oxford 1996) 257 seems less likely. If there is a sophistic reference at all, might it be to the period of seated reflection the performer could take before launching into a declamation (e.g. Philostratus, *VS* 1.25, 537; cf. D. RUSSELL, *Greek Declamation* [Cambridge 1983] 79–80)?

tivity,¹⁶ devoting himself instead to healing dreams and medical therapy. The god, however, besides ordering him to keep the record of the healing dreams on which the bulk of the *Sacred Tales* was later based,¹⁷ also urged him back into oratory with a series of highly complimentary nocturnal visions.¹⁸ At first, he studied and performed only within the shrine, to small audiences of fellow inmates;¹⁹ of the surviving orations, number 30, the *Birthday Speech to Apellas*, is firmly dated to this period by its subscription (“during the *kathedra* in Pergamum, when he was twenty-nine”), and numbers 24 (*To the Rhodians: Concerning Concord*) and 32 (*Funeral Address in honour of Alexander*) may belong in it as well.²⁰ Eventually, apparently some time in 147 AD, Aristides was able to emerge again into the outside world, and though still not robustly healthy, to resume his public activities both as member of the land-owning and gubernatorial elite and as orator.²¹

For the remaining thirty or forty years of his life, though he remained prone to bouts of illness, and continued to feel himself deeply dependent on the protection and healing commands of Asclepius, Aristides seems to have enjoyed a notably successful career. Not many of his surviving works can be given a precise date with any confidence, but on any account the bulk of them must belong to the years after 147, and the *Sacred Tales*, themselves apparently published in the very late 160s and 170s, claim a good number of triumphant performances at major venues such as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus and Cyzicus.²² *Or. 37, Athena*, is dated by its subscription to 152/3 AD; 40, the *Hymn to Heracles*, to 165 AD; and 22, *The Eleusinian Oration* (in fact delivered in Smyrna), to 171 AD. The orations relating to the destruction of Smyrna by an earthquake, and its subsequent reconstruction with Imperial assistance, *Orr. 18–20 (A Monody [Lament] for Smyrna, A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna, and A Palinode for Smyrna)* must all date from the years 178–180. The *Tales* also show Aristides repeatedly embroiled in legal manoeuvring aimed at escaping the imposition of costly

¹⁶ *ST* 4.14.

¹⁷ *ST* 2.2.

¹⁸ *ST* 4.14–29.

¹⁹ *ST* 4.16–18.

²⁰ As suggested by JONES 2013. The case for placing *Or. 24* here is that it refers to the earthquake of ca. 140 AD as a past event (24.3) and that at the time of writing, Aristides himself is too ill to travel (24.1). *Or. 32* refers back to the visit to Rome as a past event (32.39) and also makes reference to Aristides’s own physical weakness (32.41). But these are clearly not decisive indications; BEHR 1968, 76 places *Or. 32* in ca. 150 AD.

²¹ According to its subscription, *Or. 30*, the *Birthday Speech to Apellas*, was “read” during the *kathedra*, in 146 (“when he was twenty-nine”); it is an open question whether this means that Aristides performed the speech in person, or simply sent it for someone else to read at the festivities.

²² *ST* 5.26–46.

and troublesome priesthoods and administrative posts, which implies continuing wealth, prestige and public profile.²³

The date of his death cannot be fixed with certainty. Philostratus records disagreement over whether he was sixty or closer to seventy when he died, which gives a date range from 177 to around 185.²⁴ Charles A. Behr supposed that none of his surviving works could be placed later than 180 (*Or.* 53), but Graham Burton and Christopher Jones have defended a date of 183/4 for *Or.* 21 (*The Smyrnaean Oration* [II]);²⁵ “between 180 and 185” may then be the best that can be done in the current state of our knowledge. The secure dates in Aristides’s career can thus be tabulated as follows:

117:	birth
ca.142:	<i>Orr.</i> 25 [?], 45 [?]
143–144:	visit to Rome; <i>Orr.</i> 26 [?], 35 [?]
145–7:	<i>kathedra</i> in Pergamum Asclepieum; <i>Orr.</i> 24 [?], 30, 32 [?]
152/3:	<i>Or.</i> 37
165:	<i>Or.</i> 30
ca.168–175:	<i>Orr.</i> 46, 47–52 (<i>Sacred Tales</i>)
171:	<i>Or.</i> 22
178–180:	<i>Orr.</i> 18–20
180:	<i>Or.</i> 53 [?]
183–184:	<i>Or.</i> 21 [?]
ca.180–185:	death

1.2. Surviving works and the corpus

The manuscripts of Aristides present his surviving works in what at first appears a bewildering variety of orders. As was first recognized by Keil, it is the sequence followed by the eleventh-century codex Laurentianus 60.8 (T) that makes the most coherent sense, and is likely to have been devised for an early collected edition, from which the traditions represented by the other surviving manuscripts diverged by selection and relocation of the individual works:²⁶

²³ E.g. *ST* 4.71–94, 4.95–99, 4.100–104; see BEHR 1968, 63–68, 77–86 and BOWERSOCK 1969, 36–40.

²⁴ Philostratus, *VS* 2.9, 585.

²⁵ BEHR 1968, 113–114; G. BURTON, “The Addressees of Aelius Aristides, *Orations* 17K and 21K”, *Classical Quarterly* 42.2 (1992) 444–447 and JONES 2013.

²⁶ So BEHR, rightly (1973, xix; LENZ / BEHR 1976, lxxiv–lxxxiv, xcvi). The process will have been the same as can be seen at work in the manuscript traditions of Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre.

- Orr. 1–4: *Panathenaic Oration, Platonic Orations*
 Orr. 5–16: declamations on historical and mythological themes
 Orr. 17–36: orations and essays on contemporary themes
 17–27: political themes
 28–36: personal issues
 Orr. 37–46: prose *Hymns* and related items
 Orr. 47–52: the *Sacred Tales*
 Or. 53: *On the water in Pergamum* (fragment)

The overall progression seen here, from star pieces to declamations, to civic material, to personal material, to (personal, idiosyncratic) hymns, to the extremely personal *Sacred Tales* (which share themes and preoccupations with the *Hymns*), though not the only one that might be devised and slightly strained in its placing of one or two individual items, nevertheless makes coherent sense as the result of an effort both to display the range of Aristides's output, and to sort it into a relatively tidy set of categories.²⁷ The Aristides who emerges from it is an individual highlighted both for his genius as a performer and champion of oratory (Orr. 1–36), and for his highly distinctive contributions to religious discourse. How these two sides to his published personality intertwine and balance against each other will be the theme of the next section of this Introduction, after the more detailed review of his work that now follows.

By beginning with the *Panathenaic Oration* (1) and the three *Platonic Discourses* (2–4: the *Reply to Plato: In Defence of Oratory*, and the *Defence of the Four*, and the shorter *Reply to Capito*), the manuscript arrangement gives pride of place to the works which are not only Aristides's largest, but also most effectively highlight him as a champion of Hellenism and of oratory. The *Panathenaic Oration* allows Aristides both to show off his mastery of the classic historians and panegyrists of the city of Athens, itself the chief glory and principal touchstone of Hellenism, and to construct an idealized portrait of the city that by implication (though crude confrontation is avoided) throws even Rome into the shade.²⁸ In its title and its subject matter it links Aristides very directly with the great precedent of Isocrates, but at the same time it is, quite explicitly, an ambitious attempt to outdo not only Isocrates but any and every author who has ever treated of the city of Athens, in an account that will do justice to its subject as never before.²⁹ Moreover, in one of the oration's most distinctive manoeuvres, Aristides

²⁷ Compare the analysis of sequence of Aristides's orations offered by M. KOREN-JAK, "Conversing with posterity: Hermogenes, Aristides and Sophistic φιλοτιμία", in: ROSKAM / DE POURCQ / VAN DER STOCKT 2012, [253–266] 262–265.

²⁸ See Or. 1.25, 26 and 30, which contrast Athenian autochthony with the status of the Romans as migrants from abroad, and invite speculation on what this says about the value of Roman citizenship.

²⁹ Or. 1.4–5.

seeks to associate the city's status as the cradle of eloquence and linguistic excellence with his own entitlement to be seen as the embodiment of a particularly pure and principled form of oratory.³⁰ This stress on the high moral value of oratory, and on Aristides himself as its chief exponent and defender, is then continued in the three *Platonic Discourses* (*Orr.* 2–4), in which Aristides takes elaborate and vehement issue with Plato's dismissal of oratory and orators (politicians) in the *Gorgias*. *Or.* 2, the *Reply to Plato*, concentrates on rebutting the charges that oratory has no status as a skill or science (*technê*) and is morally irresponsible, while *Or.* 3, the *Defence of the Four*, defends the reputations and records of the four great orator-politicians of the fifth century BC (Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles) whom Plato singles out for special criticism; *Or.* 4, the *Reply to Capito*, offers a smaller-scale response to some Platonising objections to *Or.* 2. In these orations, Aristides once again, as in the *Panathenaicus*, demonstrates his mastery of both a body of classic writing (he ranges over the *Phaedrus*, *Laws*, *Politics*, *Apology* and *Seventh Letter* as well as the *Gorgias* in constructing his reply to Plato) and of a set of key oratorical skills, at the highest level of development: those of polemical argumentation this time, to match the encomiast's repertoire displayed in *Or.* 1. In *Or.* 2 in particular, Aristides repeatedly casts his discourse as a personal confrontation between himself and Plato as spiritual equals, metaphorically toasting each other in argument as if at a feast of the great and the good;³¹ Plato has Aristides's respect as a giant of Greek literary achievement, but at the same time Aristides displays throughout a buoyant confidence that he has succeeded in teaching even the great master of philosophy a lesson or two in sound argument.

Next in the sequence come twelve historical and mythological declamations (5–16): the *Sicilian Orations* (5–6), the *Orations on Peace* (7–8), the *Orations to the Thebans* (9–10), and the *Leuctrian Orations* (11–15), all of which conjure up situations and events from fifth and fourth century BC Greek history, plus the *Embassy to Achilles* (16), which revisits a celebrated oratorical opportunity from Book 9 of the *Iliad*. The two *Sicilian Orations*, picking up on material from Books 6 and 7 of Thucydides,³² argue the cases for and against the dispatch of Athenian reinforcements to Sicily in 413 BC. The *Orations on Peace* make a pair of two separate episodes from elsewhere in the Peloponnesian War: the visit of Spartan ambassadors to Athens following defeat at Pylos in 425 BC (remembered from Thucydides 4.16–21), and the visit of Athenian ambassadors to Sparta after the defeat at Aegospotami in 405 (recalled from Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 2.2.12–14); in

³⁰ *Or.* 1.2 and 322–330.

³¹ *Or.* 2.462–466; cf. 2.11–12 and 2.18–19.

³² Aristides thus supplies the debate implied but not described in Thuc. 7.11–15, as the Athenians react to the letter from Nicias.

each case, Aristides impersonates a representative of the victorious city arguing for clemency to the defeated. The *Orations to the Thebans* present a Demosthenic speaker (who indeed picks up on a lost Demosthenic oration of 338 BC) attempting to persuade the people of Thebes to resist pressure from Philip of Macedon to allow him free passage through their territory on his way to attack Athens. The five *Leuctrian Orations* imagine a series of speeches in the Athenian Assembly in 370 BC, following the Battle of Leuctra, arguing the relative merits of alliance with Sparta against Thebes (*Orr.* 11 and 13), alliance with Thebes against Sparta (*Orr.* 12 and 14), and neutrality (*Or.* 15). The *Embassy to Achilles*, finally, presents an extra speech of persuasion, in addition to those given by Homer to Odysseus, Phoenix and Ajax,³³ attempting to bring home to the angry Achilles the folly and the unreason of his secession from the Greek army.

There then follow twenty orations and essays on contemporary themes (17–36). The first eleven of these (17–27) are ‘political’ in the sense of being either about cities or addressed to city audiences. The five Smyrna orations (17–21) divide between the three that relate to the destructive earthquake of 178 AD and its aftermath (*Or.* 18, *A Monody [Lament] for Smyrna*, deploring the damage to the city; *Or.* 19, *A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna*, soliciting Imperial assistance for the work of reconstruction; and *Or.* 20, *A Palinode for Smyrna*, celebrating the ensuing renaissance), and two pieces of other dates that blend praises of the city with gracious compliments to visiting Roman proconsular governors of the Province of Asia (*Orr.* 17 and 21, *Smyrnaean Orations* [I and II]). *Or.* 22, the *Eleusinian Oration*, in fact also delivered in Smyrna, is a reaction to the news of the sack of Eleusis by the marauding Costobocci in 171 AD. *Orr.* 23 and 24 (*Concerning Concord*, and *To the Rhodians: Concerning Concord*) are both exhortations to civic and inter-city harmony (*homonoiia*) of a kind familiar also from the somewhat earlier works of Dio Chrysostom.³⁴ The former is addressed to the Provincial Assembly (*Koinon*) of Asia at Pergamum, and aimed in particular at relations between the cities of Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna, while the latter deals with the internal troubles of just the single city of Rhodes. *Or.* 25, which may or may not be a genuine speech of Aristides’s, also addresses the people of Rhodes, but this time – somewhat in the manner of *Or.* 18 – in consolation for an earthquake (presumed to be that of the early 140s AD). *Or.* 26 is the panegyric *Regarding Rome*, celebrating the city and its Empire as models of responsible power and virtuous order. *Or.* 27 is the *Panegyric (Festival Oration) in Cyzicus*, celebrating the restoration and reconsecration of an earthquake-damaged temple.

The remaining nine of the ‘contemporary’ pieces (28–36) group together as all relating to matters more personal to Aristides, bearing either on his

³³ *Iliad* 9.223–642.

³⁴ E.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Orr.* 38–41 and 44.

private social circle and acquaintances or on his own values and profile as an orator. *Or.* 30 celebrates the birthday of a well-born pupil, C. Julius Apellas, while both *Orr.* 31 and 32 commemorate recent deaths – of Aristides’s other pupil Eteoneus in the case of *Or.* 31, and of his distinguished former tutor Alexander of Cotiaeum in that of *Or.* 32. In *Orr.* 28 and 33–34 the focus is on Aristides himself and his oratory: *Or.* 28, *Concerning a Remark in Passing*, defends a moment of improvised self-reference in a recent performance (probably of *Or.* 37, *Athena*); *Or.* 33, *To Those Who Criticize Him Because He Does Not Declaim*, defends his well-established preference for careful preparation and written text over improvised live performance; and *Or.* 34, *Against Those Who Burlesque The Mysteries (of Oratory)* is an attack on those who, in his estimation, do not adhere to the same high oratorical principles as himself. *Or.* 36, the last in this cluster, is personal in a different sense: a set-piece discussion of the classic conundrums of the annual rising and the sources of the River Nile, drawing in part on Aristides’s own Egyptian travels, but engaging at length with older Greek writing on the subject as well. The two items that fit least comfortably into this group are *Orr.* 29 and 35. *Or.* 29, *Concerning the Prohibition of Comedy*, expresses a strong personal opinion of a similarly high-minded nature to Aristides’s views on oratory, but does so in the form of a speech of advice to the people of Smyrna, so could with some justice have been grouped with the city speeches instead. *Or.* 35, *Regarding the Emperor*, which like *Or.* 25 is of disputed authenticity, is a straightforward piece of encomium to a new occupant of the Imperial throne which could also, still more appropriately, have been grouped with the more public pieces.

Then come the prose hymns and related items (37–46), in what looks like a relatively random sequence that aims neither at chronological order nor any kind of thematic organization: the hymns to gods (*Orr.* 37, *Athena*; 38, *The Sons of Asclepius*; 40, *Heracles*; 41, *Dionysus*; 42, *Address to Asclepius*; 43, *Regarding Zeus*; and 45, *Regarding Sarapis*) are interwoven with the items in praise of sacred places (*Orr.* 39, *On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius*; 44, *Regarding the Aegean Sea*; and 46, *The Isthmian Oration: Regarding Poseidon*, in which Poseidon shares the limelight with not only the subsidiary divinities Ino and Melicertes, but also with the Isthmus); and what seems to be the earliest of all the *Hymns*, *Or.* 45, *Regarding Sarapis*, comes next to last in the series. The *Hymns* are followed by the six books of the *Sacred Tales*, of which the last (52) is only a very brief fragment. One final item, the fragmentary *Or.* 53 (*On the water in Pergamum*) may originally have stood after *Or.* 39 (*On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius*).³⁵

³⁵ LENZ / BEHR 1976, xxvii, lxvii, xcv.

1.3. Lost works

In addition, Philostratus's biography of Aristides preserves the titles or themes of a number of historical declamations that do not now survive; like the surviving *Orr.* 5–15, they all centre on themes and occasions culled from classical (i.e. fifth and fourth century BC) history: *The Mercenaries Ordered to Give back their Land*, *The Spartans Debate the Building of a Defensive Wall*, *Isocrates Tries to Wean the Athenians off the Sea*, *Upbraiding Callixenus for not Allowing the Burial of the Ten*, *Aeschines On Not Receiving the Corn from Chersobleptes*, *Rejecting a Treaty after the Murder of their Children*.³⁶ Aristides himself alludes to a further range of lost works, in both prose and verse, many though not all dating from the period of the *kathedra*. We hear of speeches *In Defence of Running* and *In Praise of Athena* and *Dionysus*,³⁷ three speeches *To Asclepius*,³⁸ various unspecified pieces performed at home from his sick-bed,³⁹ and a declamation *Demosthenes Advises Action while Alexander is away in India*, delivered to a very small and select audience in the Asclepieum.⁴⁰ It is not clear how many of these were ever circulated in written form. In verse, there is mention of a dedicatory couplet in elegiacs,⁴¹ a poem about the marriage of Coronis and the birth of Asclepius,⁴² a paean commanded by Apollo himself in Rome,⁴³ and a range of other lyric verses for Asclepius, Apollo, Pan, Hecate and other divinities composed for performance by a boys' choir financed by the writer.⁴⁴ Finally, there is the lost denunciation of pantomime, *Against the Dancers*, known not from Aristides himself or from Philostratus, but from the reply to it made by Libanius in his *Or.* 64 some two centuries later.⁴⁵ Overall, this muster of lost works confirms the dual focus of the surviving corpus, dividing principally between the kinds of performances expected of a star orator and items of a more distinctive religious flavour. The attack on pantomime, made on behalf of the superior 'spectacle' of instructive and morally responsible oratory, can clearly be related to Aristides's other defences and praises of his calling in *Orr.* 28 and 33–34.

³⁶ Philostratus, *VS* 2.9, 583–585.

³⁷ *ST* 4.25.

³⁸ *ST* 4.30.

³⁹ *ST* 1.64; assigned by BEHR to the year 148 AD.

⁴⁰ *ST* 4.14–18.

⁴¹ *ST* 4.43–47.

⁴² *ST* 1.73.

⁴³ *ST* 4.31, presumably in 143/4 AD.

⁴⁴ *ST* 4.38–42; on Aristides's verse output, see E. L. BOWIE, "Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry in the Second Sophistic", in: *ANRW* II.33.1 (Berlin / New York 1989) [209–58] 214–220.

⁴⁵ See G. W. BOWERSOCK, "Aristides and the Pantomimes", in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 69–77.

1.4. Persona and themes

Given the existence and the fascination of the *Sacred Tales*, it is understandable that most of the attention paid to Aristides over the last seventy years should have concentrated on his medical history, psychology and religious experience.⁴⁶ While these are valuable and absorbing objects of study in their own right, they also intertwine with his oratorical career, and indeed are central to the image of himself as composer and speaker that, from the 140s onwards, he worked to project to his public.

From the vantage-point of a generation or so later, and above all in the light of the particular project he was pursuing in *The Lives of the Sophists*, Philostratus in his biographical note was happy to classify Aristides as a sophist, in the same broad style as a Scopelian, a Polemo or a Hadrian of Tyre. He grants him a certain measure of difference, in being proudly and self-consciously averse to extempore performance (“I am not one of those who vomit their words out, but one who crafts them to perfection”, *VS* 2.9, 583), but this serves to define his sophistic profile more closely rather than to move him to the edges or out of the category.

As the preceding survey ought to have suggested, there is certainly ample evidence in Aristides’s surviving and attested works to bear out this Philostratean classification. Aristides’s enthusiastic expertise in the central sophistic activity of historical declamation emerges not only in the surviving *Orations* 5 to 15, but also in the list of titles of lost works provided by Philostratus, and the Asclepieum declamation in the person of Demosthenes mentioned in the *Sacred Tales*.⁴⁷ Other orations, though not in themselves declamatory, give further evidence of his grasp of the materials, in terms of events, characters, and classic literary sources, on which declamation depended: above all, the enormous historical survey that accounts for so much of the length of the *Panathenaic Oration* (*Or.* 1), and the close argumentation over the careers of the Athenian Great Four in *Or.* 3. Equally evident is his ability to provide the appropriate oratorical (epideictic) embellishment for a range of social and civic occasions, from birthdays and funerals (*Orr.* 30–32) to city encomia (*Orr.* 1, 17, 26), celebrations of local (re)building projects (*Orr.* 20, 27), and speeches of welcome to visiting dignitaries (*Or.* 21). Like many another good sophist, he can be seen using his social connections to act as an unofficial ambassador for his home city, pleading her case with the powerful, as in his *Letter to the Emperors* (*Or.* 19).

⁴⁶ E.g. most recently PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS 2010; ISRAELOWICH 2012. Interest in Aristides as a medical curiosity goes all the way back to Galen: H. O. SCHRÖDER / P. KAHLE (eds.), *Galenus in Platonis Timaeum Commentarii fragmenta*. CMG. Supplementum 1 (Leipzig 1934) 99 and BOWERSOCK 1969, 61–62.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 12.

Aristides's public oratory does indeed have a more serious side, embracing lament as well as celebration (*Or.* 18), and morally improving exhortation and advice in the face of natural disaster and civic unrest as well as praise (*Orr.* 23–24, 25, 29), but this kind of assertion of personal moral authority serves as much to associate him with others of Philostratus's sophistic heroes, such as a Polemo, a Scopelian, an Alexander Peloplaton or an Herodes Atticus, as to distance him from the category. A leavening of such pieces, opposing and instructing rather than celebrating and endorsing, is entirely compatible with an essentially sophistic persona; it is only when the balance tilts as far towards the more serious end of the scale as it does in the surviving corpus of Dio Chrysostom's work,⁴⁸ that a different label (whether 'philosopher', or 'symbouletic orator') starts to look tempting.

A suitable conclusion to this survey of the contours of a sophistic Aristides is provided, perhaps paradoxically, by the *Sacred Tales*, in which as already noted he has almost as much to say about his oratorical prowess as about his health and his devotion to Asclepius. It is Asclepius who not only urges him back into oratorical activity while he is still an inmate of the temple, but continues thereafter to send him a series of dreams in which he keeps company with the literary greats of the classic past and is repeatedly compared to them in the most favourable of terms.⁴⁹ And the evidence of the god's continuing favour after his return to the normal world includes such lovingly retailed episodes of oratorical triumph as the successive occasions on which he attracts a far larger crowd at much shorter notice than a visiting rival at Smyrna, departs to perform in Ephesus, and then returns to Smyrna for a second triumphant appearance with multiple encores.⁵⁰

Aristides himself, however, has a second story to tell alongside this one, in which his perfectionism and distaste for extemporizing are symptoms of an approach and a set of attitudes that in fact profoundly differentiate him from mere sophists. In his own vision, expounded most directly in *Orr.* 2, 33 and 34, oratory is not simply a skilled, artistic activity, but an engrossing vocation dedicated to the most enlightened and noblest of ends, to which he himself has pledged his life with the single-minded fervour of a religious devotee.⁵¹ Any composer and speaker who aims principally at pleasing and entertaining his audience, as opposed to leading them and saying what is in their best interests, is guilty of profaning the sacred mysteries of the calling (*Or.* 34).

⁴⁸ See M. TRAPP, "Dio Chrysostom and the Value of Prestige", in: ROSKAM / DE POURCQ / VAN DER STOCKT 2012, [119–141] 120–125, 138–140.

⁴⁹ See *ST* 4.14–29 for the return to oratorical activity, and 5.56–66 for one of the most lavish of the dreams.

⁵⁰ *ST* 5.29–41.

⁵¹ See especially *Orr.* 2.429–437, 33.19–21 and 34.42–44.

The roots of this view of himself in his experiences during the *kathedra*, and in particular in his conviction that it was his patron divinity Asclepius who prompted and licensed his return to oratorical activity in spite of his illnesses, are clear enough. But rather than seeing its emergence primarily as the result of some psychological quirk, and making Aristides the victim of a confusion between his professional and his religious identity, we might also view it as an active manoeuvre on his part, and a rather successful piece of self-formation, on a par with Dio Chrysostom's use of the experience of exile to reshape his oratorical profile.⁵² Being the high-minded and dedicated purist, wedded to indefatigable study of the classics and the defence of the highest values of civilized existence, and scorning the public's demands for mere entertainment, gave him (for his generation at least) a unique profile as performer and public figure, and both compensated for and complemented his other identity as the chronic invalid miraculously sustained by the special interest of Asclepius. Seen in this light, Aristides's self-presentation as the proponent of a sanctified oratory not only turned what could have been a story of disaster (with the abject failure of his first trip to Rome) into a story of divinely favoured success; it also neatly outmanoeuvred the oratorical competition in the ceaseless sophistic battle for prestige and competitive advantage.

Although this exalted *persona* appears in its most concentrated form in the three orations just specified and the *Sacred Tales*, it can be argued to have a more diffuse presence too across pretty well the whole range of Aristides's surviving work. An attitude of high moral seriousness and indignant devotion to truth in the face of perversity and error on the part of those who should know better manifestly pervades all the Platonic orations, as also, in an only slightly modified form, the *Panathenaicus*, in which Aristides can paint himself as the rebutter of slanders against the good name of Athens, and the only writer or speaker fully to live up to the moral imperative of praising the city as she truly deserves. In his civic orations, whether celebratory or symbouleutic, Aristides consistently speaks (as indeed the very role of speaker on such occasions virtually dictates) as one of sound judgement and high principle, qualified to lay down the law about behaviour and attitudes in a wide range of circumstances. Even in his more purely declamatory pieces, whether surviving or known only by title, he opts consistently for moments of tension and crisis – the failure of the Sicilian Expedition, the prospect of Greek defeat at Troy – that call for the clear thought and principled determination of the statesman as much as for the oratorical fireworks of the declaimer; and the more frivolous and paradoxical registers of the declamatory repertoire – as represented, for example, by Polemo's speeches for the fathers of Callimachus and Cyn-

⁵² Dio, *Or.* 13; cf. J. L. MOLES, "The career and conversion of Dio Chrysostom", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98 (1978) 79–100.

girus, Dio's encomium of a parrot, or Lucian's of a fly – are conspicuous by their absence.

Against this background, it should be evident how very well the prose *Hymns* (*Orr.* 37–46 and 53) fit in, both with the general conspectus of Aristides's works and with his distinctive oratorical *persona*. As pieces of encomium, directed both to personal divinities and to places, they cohere on the one hand with his praises of distinguished human individuals (Eteoneus, *Or.* 31; Alexander of Cotiaem, *Or.* 32; perhaps Antoninus in *Or.* 5) and on the other with his celebrations of distinguished places (Athens, *Or.* 1; Rome, *Or.* 26; Smyrna, *Or.* 17); indeed there is something very close to an overlap or internal self-reference between what is said about the Aegean and its islands in *Or.* 44 and the account of the seaward approaches to Attica in the *Panathenaicus* (*Or.* 1.10–13).⁵³ But simultaneously, as pieces that claim a special authority to discourse about the divine and the sacred, and a special relationship with the divinities celebrated (Asclepius and Sarapis above all), they march with Aristides's self-presentation in the *Sacred Tales* as the special protégé of Asclepius, and in *Orr.* 2, 33 and 34 as the upholder of an exalted and purified form of oratory. As might be expected, the claim to a special relationship is made most directly in the *Address to Asclepius* (*Or.* 42);⁵⁴ but it is present by implication in all the *Hymns*, as an integral part of the encomiast's *persona*: the ability to praise in a worthy and appropriate manner presupposes an unusually close connection, just as the performance of the praise reinforces and enhances it. The dual nature of the *Hymns*, therefore, as simultaneously a mode of sophistic epideictic and an instance of purified, sacred oratory, locate them right at the heart of Aristides's project of oratorical self-fashioning.

1.5. Aristides and Posterity: reputation and transmission

We cannot tell exactly how successful and popular Aristides's works were during his lifetime; his own reports of wildly enthusiastic audiences in the later books of the *Sacred Tales*, coming as they do from a far from dispassionate source, cannot be the whole story; but there is no reason to dismiss them as wholly misleading either. At all events, the written versions of his speeches rapidly established themselves as classics in the eyes of posterity.⁵⁵ According to Photius, he was highly praised by Phrynichus in Book 11 of his Atticist style-manual *Sophistic Materials* (Σοφιστικὴ Παράσκευή),

⁵³ Cf. RUSSELL 1990, 215–219.

⁵⁴ *Or.* 42.6–15.

⁵⁵ See in general C. P. JONES, "The Survival of the Sophists", in: T. C. BRENNAN / H. I. FLOWER (eds.), *East and West. Papers in Ancient History Presented to G. W. Bowersock* (Cambridge, Mass 2008) [113–125] 120–124.

which may indeed date from his lifetime.⁵⁶ This enthusiasm on the part of grammarians and rhetoricians continued in regular references to him as example and model in other later antique treatises and handbooks, including Menander Rhetor's.⁵⁷ Philostratus's biography in the *Lives of the Sophists*, for all its selective angle of vision, testifies to the state of his reputation in the early third century. The seven books of Porphyry's *Against Aristides*, though clearly not the work of a fan, show that he was of active concern to philosophers too, especially Platonists, in the second half of the century;⁵⁸ in the fourth century Libanius, in spite of taking issue with the attack on pantomime, was a keen admirer.⁵⁹ The general verdict of later classical antiquity was summed up in the fourth century, and passed on to Byzantine readers and critics, by the Sopater who composed the surviving *Prolegomena* to *Aristides*,⁶⁰ who singles him out as "a wise and wonderful man" and the best of the third of the historic three waves ("crops") of Greek oratory.⁶¹ Photius in the ninth century devotes three whole codices of his *Library* (*Bibliotheca*) to excerpts from the works, praising their author not only for his style but also for the skill and beauty with which he organizes his ideas.⁶² In the fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites, resuming a theme that can be traced all the way back to *Aristides* himself, composed a formal comparison (*synkrisis*) between *Aristides* and *Demosthenes*.⁶³

1.6. The manuscript tradition

Evidence for the transmission of the text of *Aristides* begins with four papyrus fragments from the fifth to seventh centuries AD, two of the *Panathenaicus* and one each of *Or. 3* (*Defence of the Four*) and the *Sacred Tales*.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ See JONES 2008.

⁵⁷ Menander, *Treatise* I, 349.10–11, 349.24–25 and 350.9–10 SPENGL 3; see also Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 6 and Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 6 and 8. *Aristides* is in fact the only post-classical orator to be cited in these rhetorical handbooks and treatises.

⁵⁸ Porphyry's work is attested by the *Suda* lexicon, and by references in Olympiodorus's commentary on the *Gorgias*, and was apparently aimed against *Aristides*'s Platonic treatises collectively, not only the *Reply To Plato*. See C. A. BEHR, "Citations of Porphyry's *Against Aristides* preserved in Olympiodorus", *AJP* 89.2 (1968) 186–199.

⁵⁹ See R. CRIBIÖRE, "Vying with *Aristides* in the Fourth Century: Libanius and his Friends", in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 263–278.

⁶⁰ The *Prolegomena* are discussed in LENZ 1959; for Sopater, see G. A. KENNEDY, *A History of Rhetoric*, vol. 3: *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983) 104–109.

⁶¹ The three crops are: (1) Themistocles, Pericles and their contemporaries; (2) Demosthenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, and the rest of the Ten Orators; (3) Polemo, Herodes, *Aristides* and their contemporaries.

⁶² Photius, *Bibl. codd.* 246–248, p. 8–126 HENRY (BUDÉ).

⁶³ M. GIGANTE (ed.), *Saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide* (Milano / Varese 1969); cf. e.g. *Aristides, Or. 2.72*, 186, 255 and 280, with *ST* 4.18–19 and 97.

⁶⁴ P. Bingen 24 (c6th, *Or. 47*); P. Oxy. 4949 (c6th, *Or. 1*); P. Mich. inv. 6651 (c6th/7th, *Or. 1*); P. Ant. 182 (c7th, *Or. 3*).

The earliest surviving medieval manuscript is codex A, written in around 917 AD by the scribe John the Calligrapher for the churchman and scholar Arethas,⁶⁵ when he was archbishop of Caesarea, and now divided into two as Parisinus graecus 2951 and Laurentianus 60.3; this contains forty-two of the fifty-three orations, and is the only manuscript to preserve the fragmentary *Or.* 53.⁶⁶ The earliest nearly complete text, missing only the fragmentary *Orr.* 52 and 53,⁶⁷ is T (Laurentianus graecus 60.8), dating from the eleventh century. The remainder of the 234 manuscripts catalogued by Behr, and the nineteen extra ones subsequently indicated by Pernot, distribute themselves over the eleventh to sixteenth centuries.⁶⁸

On Behr's analysis,⁶⁹ what these witnesses collectively show is a divided tradition descending from the earliest reconstructable common ancestor (the archetype, O) by two routes, via the (now also lost) hyparchetypes ω and φ . Initially, in *Orr.* 1–4 (though the situation changes for other segments of the corpus), the ω -family is represented by just two surviving manuscripts, T = Laurentianus graecus 60.8 (c11th) and (for its first 210 leaves, up to *Or.* 3.257) Q = Vaticanus graecus 1297 (c12th); all the other surviving manuscripts descend by one route or another from φ . They are represented by V = Marcianus graecus Appendix 8.7 (c11th), A = Parisinus graecus 2951 (c10th), R = Vaticanus graecus 1298 (c11th), E = Parisinus graecus 2950 (c11th), M = Marcianus graecus 423 (c12th/13th), U = Urbinas graecus 123 (c14th), and by manuscripts of Photius's *Bibliotheca*, with their rich sets of excerpts from Aristides in codd. 246–248 (Ph). The papyrus fragments seem to represent a different line or lines of transmission, but are so short that they are of no great use in correcting and controlling what the medieval manuscripts report. For the *Hymns* (*Orr.* 37–46 and 53), the ω -family is represented by T alone, while the principal representatives of the φ -family are V = Marcianus graecus Appendix 8.7 (c11th), A = Parisinus graecus 2951 (c10th), and U = Urbinas graecus 123 (c14th), as before, plus B = Bodleianus Canonicianus graecus 84 + Parisinus graecus 2948 (c12th), C = Laurentianus LIX.15 (c10th), D = Laurentianus LX.7 (c12th), F = Angelicanus III C 11 (c13th) and S = Urbinas graecus 122 (c10/11th). Thanks to dislocations of the corpus of Aristides's works in the course of transmission, the lines of descent within the φ -family are not the

⁶⁵ For Arethas's polemical engagement with Aristides, see L. QUATTROCELLI, "Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium: the Case of Arethas", in HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 279–293.

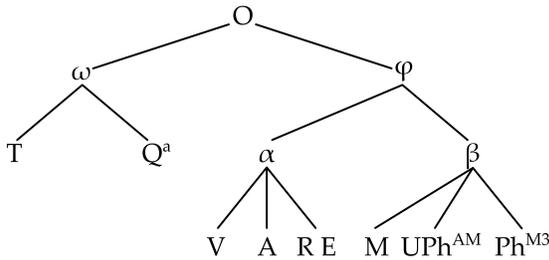
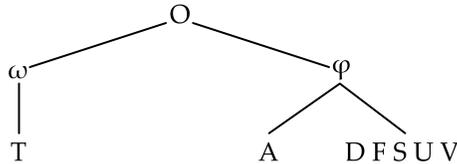
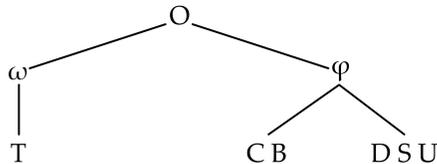
⁶⁶ Described at length in LENZ / BEHR 1976, xxvi–xxvii.

⁶⁷ LENZ / BEHR 1976, xvii–xviii; it is however clear from a cluster of lesser manuscripts, copied from the same exemplar as T in *Orr.* 47–52, that the exemplar did contain *Or.* 52.

⁶⁸ LENZ / BEHR 1976, ix–lxvi; L. PERNOT, *Les Discours siciliens d'Aelius Aristide* (*Or.* 5–6). *Étude littéraire et paléographique: Edition et traduction*. Monographs in Classical Studies (New York 1981) 437–440.

⁶⁹ Summarized (for *Orr.* 1–4) at BEHR 1973, xix and LENZ / BEHR 1976, lxxxi.

same for all the *Hymns*, but differ between *Orr.* 37–41 and 53 on the one hand, and *Orr.* 42–46 on the other. In processing this evidence, the editor's task is, where all the manuscripts agree and report the reading of the hypothesized archetype, to decide whether or not what they agree on is acceptable Greek for Aristides and the particular literary form he is working in at the time, and if it is not, to propose improvements, or mark the passage as corrupt. Where the manuscripts disagree, it is to decide, on the same grounds, which if any of them has reported the wording correctly, bearing in mind the possibility that a later manuscript may well either have preserved the truth alone among its surviving relatives, or have succeeded in restoring the correct reading by informed guesswork (conjecture).

Simplified stemma for *Orr.* 1–4 (after Behr)Simplified stemma for *Orr.* 37–41 + 53 (after Behr)Simplified stemma for *Orr.* 42–46 (after Behr)

1.7. Editions

The history of the modern editing and translation of Aristides's work begins with the publication of just two orations, 1 and 36, printed as an appendix to Aldus Manutius's 1513 edition of Isocrates.⁷⁰ The first full edition, omitting only *Orr.* 16 and 53, was the Juntine, edited by Eufrosino Bonino and published by Filippo Giunta in Florence in 1517; this was based on two inferior manuscripts, Laurentianus Conventi soppressi 9 and Laurentianus 60.24 et 20, and followed the disturbed and faulty ordering of the individual orations that they jointly presented. The first and in many ways still the most useful and insightful translation of Aristides, into Latin, was made by Willem Canter and published in Basel in 1566.⁷¹ Canter based his work on existing printed editions, but devised a new order for the individual items, which was to be followed by all subsequent editions up to and including Dindorf's.⁷² For his critical notes and emendations, he drew in the first instance on reports of now unidentifiable manuscripts supplied to him by Johannes Oporinus and Arnoldus Arlenius; for a second edition of his additional critical notes he also used two Venetian manuscripts, one from Augsburg, and a 'codex M. Sophiani' from Padua.⁷³ Subsequent editions, based on the combination of the Juntine text and Canter's translation were produced by Paulus Stephanus (Paul Estienne, son of the great Henri) in Geneva in 1604, and Samuel Jebb in Oxford in 1722–1730 (though Jebb did also consult a range of manuscripts from libraries in Oxford and Paris). Johann Jakob Reiske, who planned but never completed an edition of his own, published what is by a long way the acutest set of notes and comments on Aristides in 1761,⁷⁴ and made a compilation of the scholia which was used by Dindorf for vol. 3 of his edition. Dindorf's edition of 1829, based on Jebb, but incorporating material from Laurentianus 60.3 (A), 60.7 (D) and 60.8 (T), then summed up scholarly effort to date.

⁷⁰ For a more detailed account of earlier editions and translations, see LENZ / BEHR 1976, xcvi–cxvi.

⁷¹ CANTER 1566.

⁷² Using KEIL (1898) and LENZ / BEHR (1976–1980) numbering in Roman numerals and DINDORF's (1829) in Arabic, CANTER's (1566) order was: XLIII (1), XXXVII (2), XLVI (3), XLI (4), XL (5), XLII (96), XXXVIII (7), XLV (8), XXXV (9), XXX–XXXII (10–12), I (13), XXVI (14), XVII (15), XXVII (16), XLIV (17), XXXIX (18), XXII (19), XVIII (20), XX–XXI (21–22), XLVII–LII (23–28), V–VIII (29–32), XI–XV (33–37), IX–X (38–39), XXIX (40), XIX (41), XXIII (42), XXV (43), XXIV (44), XVI (52), II–IV (45–47), XXXVI (48), XXVIII (49), XXXIV (50), XXXIII (51).

⁷³ W. CANTER, *De ratione emendandi scriptores graecos Syntagma* (Antverpiae 1571) (originally published in a supplementary volume to the 1566 translation), 4. The compliments paid to CANTER by REISKE, BEHR, OLIVER and others (LENZ / BEHR 1976, cv; OLIVER 1968, 7) are richly deserved, and both OLIVER and BEHR should have learned more from him. Though he often paraphrases and abbreviates, his great strength is his grasp of the rhetorical shape and direction of Aristides's Greek.

⁷⁴ REISKE 1761.

The much needed fresh start was made by Bruno Keil, whose edition of 1898 initiated modern study of the text. Keil recollated the Florentine manuscripts used by Dindorf, but also broadened the editorial base by adding nine others,⁷⁵ and at long last abandoned Canter's ordering of the individual items in favour of that preserved by Laurentianus 60.8 (T). Though he planned a complete edition, he finished only the second volume, containing *Orr.* 17–53. After an interval, his work was taken up by Friedrich Lenz, who published a fundamental study of the *Prolegomena* in 1959, but in his turn had prepared only the text of *Orr.* 1 and 5–16 for publication by the time of his death in 1969. Lenz's materials were inherited by Charles A. Behr, including both Lenz's and Keil's copies of Dindorf's edition with their annotations,⁷⁶ and Behr published the completed edition of *Orr.* 1–16, with his own text of *Orr.* 2–4 and an extensive introduction, in instalments between 1976 and 1980. Before that, he had already produced his own text and translation of *Orr.* 1–2 for the Loeb Classical Library in 1973.

In between Keil and Lenz / Behr, James H. Oliver produced editions with translation and commentary of *Orr.* 26⁷⁷ and 1.⁷⁸ In the first of these Oliver used Keil's text, with a few supplementary emendations, but in the second he constructed his own. Behr's complete translation of the works, based on Lenz / Behr and Keil, appeared in two volumes in 1981 and 1986, and a Spanish translation with extensive introduction, by F. Gascó and others, came out in five volumes in Madrid between 1987 and 1999. Work specifically on the *Hymns* is represented by Amann's 1931 commentary on *Or.* 43, the *Hymn to Zeus*,⁷⁹ Höfler's of 1935 on *Or.* 45, the *Hymn to Sarapis*,⁸⁰ Ürschels's of 1962 on *Or.* 41, the *Hymn to Dionysus*,⁸¹ and Jöhrens's of 1981 on *Or.* 36, the *Hymn to Athena*.⁸² *Or.* 38, the hymn *The Sons of Asclepius*, along with 39, *On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius*, 42, the *Address to Asclepius*, and 53, *On the water in Pergamum* are all translated in the Edelsteins' *Asclepius*.⁸³ Most recently, Johann Goeken has produced a series of

⁷⁵ Laur. gr. 59.15 (C), Paris. gr. 2950 (E), Vat. gr. 1298 (R), Vat. gr. 1297 (Q), Vat. Urb. Gr. 122 (S), Vat. Urb. Gr. 123 (U), Vat. gr. 75 (a), Rom. Angel. III C 11 (F), Bodl. canon. gr. 84 (B).

⁷⁶ BEHR 1973, xx–xxi.

⁷⁷ J. H. OLIVER, *The Ruling Power. A study on the Roman empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides*. TAPhS 43.4 (Philadelphia 1953) 871–1003.

⁷⁸ OLIVER 1968.

⁷⁹ AMANN 1931.

⁸⁰ A. HÖFLER, *Der Sarapishymnos des Ailios Aristeides*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 27 (Stuttgart / Berlin 1935).

⁸¹ W. ÜRSCHELS, *Der Dionysoshymnos des Ailios Aristeides* (Bonn 1962).

⁸² JÖHRENS 1981.

⁸³ EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 134–139, 159–163, 409–413, 414–415.

articles and chapters, culminating in a full edition and commentary of all the prose hymns, with extensive and penetrating discussion of the genre.⁸⁴

2. The Form of the Prose Hymn⁸⁵

In classical Greek, the word ὕμνος (*hymnos*) could have both a broader and a more specific application. In its broadest meaning it was a name for any kind of song; in its more specific application it referred to a song (poem) praising or honouring a god, and within that it could also, in some contexts, operate as the term for one particular *kind* of song in honour of the gods, distinguishing it from other kinds such as paeans, preludes and processional songs.⁸⁶ In the ten works (plus one short fragment) collectively known as his *Hymns* (*Orr.* 37–46, plus 53), it is the second of these three levels of meaning that Aristides picks up on. They are all short speeches in praise and honour of either a divinity (Athena, the Sons of Asclepius, Heracles, Dionysus, Asclepius, Zeus, Sarapis, Poseidon), or a place presented as having special claims to sanctity (the well in the sanctuary of Asclepius, the Aegean Sea).⁸⁷

In choosing praise of the gods as material for prose oratory, and in calling the resulting products “hymns”,⁸⁸ Aristides was not doing anything startlingly new or original for his times. What gives him his special status in this connection is the fact that later writers on oratory, particularly Menander Rhetor, identified him as the classic model for this kind of composition, and that he himself in the opening paragraphs of his *Sarapis* explicitly defended the production of hymns in prose as well as in verse. In this programmatic statement (*Sarapis* [*Or.* 45] 1–14) he argues that poets cannot reasonably claim sole rights over the praising of the gods for a whole series of reasons, ranging from the greater degree of system and completeness that goes with prose as opposed to verse delivery, to the priority of prose over verse in age and value, and (most strikingly) the alleged ability of prose to embody the key quality of *metron* (measure-metre) to a

⁸⁴ GOEKEN 2012.

⁸⁵ For helpful discussion, see now the comprehensive study by GOEKEN 2012, esp. 113–188 (“La poétique des hymnes en prose”). Useful older treatments include RUSSELL 1990, and AMANN 1931, 1–14. See also PARKER in this volume, p. 68–70.

⁸⁶ See R. C. T. PARKER, “hymns (Greek)”, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (42012) 715f.

⁸⁷ The status of the fragmentary *Or.* 53 is more ambiguous. Like *Orr.* 39 and 44, it sets out to praise a location, but too little survives to be clear how heavily Aristides insisted in it on ideas of sanctity. It is the thematic link (water) with *Or.* 39, and the fact that Aristides presents it, like *Orr.* 37–41, as inspired by a dream vision (*manteutos*), that justify its inclusion in this volume.

⁸⁸ Aristides directly or indirectly labels his speeches *hymnoi*, and characterises his activity in delivering them as *hymnein*, at *Zeus* (43.2), *Athena* (37.1), *Poseidon* (46.31), *Dionysus* (41.9), *Heracles* (40.1), *Sarapis* (45.1–14 and 34), and *Aegean Sea* (44.2).

higher degree.⁸⁹ For Menander Rhetor, writing in the following century, this generic self-consciousness combined with the volume of his output of prose hymns made Aristides the prime model for the form, as is shown not only by his glowing praise at the end of his book of instructions on hymns (*Treatise I*, 344.1–4 Spengel 3) but also in the advice he gives for beginning an oration in praise of Apollo (a ‘Sminthiac’), which echoes the opening of the *Sarapis* (*Treatise II*, 437.6–27 Spengel 3).

Already a century before Aristides, however, the Roman theorist and teacher Quintilian in his comprehensive *Education of the Orator* (*Oratoriae Institutiones*) had included instructions on how to speak well of a divinity in his pages on praise and censure (*de laude et vituperatione*). According to this advice:

“In gods, we shall first venerate the majesty of their nature in general terms, and then the power of each individually and any inventions which have given useful service to mankind. Thus the power of Jupiter will be shown to consist in ruling all things, that of Mars in war, that of Neptune in his control of the sea. Similarly with inventions: Minerva has the arts, Mercury letters, Apollo medicine, Ceres corn, and Bacchus wine. Next come any actions that antiquity attributes to them; while honour is also added to gods by parentage (e.g. if one is the child of Jupiter), by age (as with those born of Chaos), and finally by their offspring (as Apollo and Diana lend honour to Latona). It is grounds for praise in some of them that they were born immortal, and in others that they achieved immortality by their virtues.”⁹⁰

Advice on praising the gods in prose is also given by the rhetorician Alexander, who is thought to belong to the second century AD and perhaps to be approximately contemporary with Aristides.⁹¹ In a rather more complex set of instructions than Quintilian’s, Alexander recommends praising a divinity on the basis of his birth and age, the number and distinction of the peoples who revere him, the conduct he inspires, the type of god he is (celestial, terrestrial, aquatic), his places of worship, the arts and crafts he is patron of, his inventions, his deeds, functions and status in the company of the gods, and his disposition towards humanity, in particular his *philanthropia*. He prefaces this with some reflections of a slightly more theoretical nature, on how the philosophical view that divinity is eternal, ungenerated and indestructible, and the more popular belief that gods can be born, can both be brought into play without incoherence. Plato is invoked as a model here twice over, first for the belief in the co-existence of a supreme, ungenerated god with a subordinate category of generated gods (a reference to the *Timaeus*), and second for the rhetorical strategy of

⁸⁹ For a fuller analysis of the *Sarapis* prologue, see RUSSELL 1990, 201–206 and GOEKEN 2012, 77–87.

⁹⁰ Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.7–9 (trans. RUSSELL).

⁹¹ ἀπὸ πόσων δεῖ θεὸν ἐπαινεῖν (“list of the grounds on which a god should be praised”), from the περὶ ῥητορικῶν ἀφορμῶν (*Foundations of Oratory*) of Alexander, p. 4–6 SPENGL 3. On Alexander’s identity and date, see PARKER in this volume, p. 69 with n. 8.

distinguishing between a more sophisticated and a more popular human view, with the saving proviso that the full truth is known to god alone (cf. *Apology* 23a, 42a).

Comparing what Quintilian and Alexander have to say with the contents of Aristides's hymns, it is evident how very neatly the prose hymn fits into the rhetoricians' standard scheme of oratorical forms, as a subcategory of the encomium, the speech of praise. Given this, it could look back to and draw on a rich past history of oratorical composition, stretching all the way back to the fifth-century sophists and their great fourth-century heir Isocrates.⁹² But Alexander's mention of Plato is significant too, for at least in Aristides's hands, prose hymnography could also draw on an almost equally rich set of Platonic precedents, running from the deliberately extravagant and parodic encomia of the God of Love in the *Symposium*⁹³ to the invocation of the Muses and the prayer to Pan in the *Phaedrus*,⁹⁴ the rhapsodic account of the "place beyond the heavens" (ὑπερουράνιος τόπος) of the same dialogue,⁹⁵ and the lofty cosmic visions of the *Timaeus*.⁹⁶ At the same time, the obvious affinity of the prose hymn with religious cult and with the traditions of verse hymnography meant that their language, formulae and structures remained available as sources of inspiration too.

As stylistic models, these various sources of inspiration are exploited by Aristides in different proportions in different hymns, so as to produce what Donald Russell has aptly called "a stylistic spectrum, with very clear differences between the extremes".⁹⁷ At one end of this spectrum, the blending of Platonic precedents with the language of cult yields a style characterised by "short cola, simple non-periodic structures, asyndeton, anaphora, and other Gorgianic figures like isocolon, and a distinctly grandiose choice of vocabulary". At the other end of the spectrum, the dominant influence is that of the traditions of conventional oratory: "there is much more periodic structure and a closer resemblance to the epideictic style used for regular encomia of men or places." With this divergence in verbal style goes a corresponding difference in tone of voice and the at-

⁹² For a very full account of the history and workings of encomium as an ancient literary form, see PERNOT 1993; for a briefer account of the prescriptions for it in rhetorical handbooks, PATILLON 1997, lxxiv–lxxx.

⁹³ Especially those put into the mouths of Phaedrus, Pausanias and Agathon, *Symp.* 178a–180b, 180c–185c and 194e–197e.

⁹⁴ *Phdr.* 237a, 239b.

⁹⁵ *Phdr.* 247c–e: οὐτε τις ὑμνήσέ πω τῶν τῆδε ποιητῆς οὐτε ποτὲ ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν ("no earthly poet has yet hymned it as it deserves, nor will one ever"). Plato's status as a model for prose hymnography is explicitly underlined by Menander Rhetor (*Treatise* I, 334.5–21 SPENGLER 3; cf. 343.3–4), but is already firmly in Aristides's field of view.

⁹⁶ *Ti.* 27c–92c.

⁹⁷ RUSSELL 1990, 200–201.

titude adopted by the speaker to the deity he is praising on the one hand and the audience he is addressing on the other. In the more 'hymnic' pieces the tone is more rapt and enthusiastic, and the utterance is directed more consistently to the deity being praised, with the audience as it were incidentally listening in. In the more epideictic pieces, there is a leveler and more expository tone, addressed more consistently to the audience, with the divinity or place in question as an object of discussion rather than the direct recipient of an address, though moments of direct address are not excluded.

Of the hymns, *Athena*, *Zeus*, *Dionysus* and *Sarapis* (with the exception of the prologue) represent the 'hymnic' end of the spectrum, and *Poseidon* and *The Aegean Sea* the epideictic. The pieces included in this volume all fall somewhere between the two extremes, but with if anything a greater affinity with the epideictic than with the 'hymnic' end. Although Aristides does in them from time to time fall into apostrophe – the most notable examples are §§4 and 22–24 of *The Sons of Asclepius* and 12–14 of the *Address to Asclepius* – he speaks in general as respectful and stylish expositor rather than as rapt devotee. Even in the *Address to Asclepius*, where the recipient of the praise is his own special divine patron, the opening invocation gives way immediately (within §1) to reasoned exposition with the god as its third-person subject; direct address returns only in the peroration (12–14).

In their structure, the three complete hymns in this volume follow simple patterns closely related to the standard rhetoricians' prescriptions for encomia.⁹⁸ Thus *Or. 38, The Sons of Asclepius*, begins with a prologue (§§1–4) in which Aristides explains the genesis of the speech in a dream vision, before moving on to an account of the distinguished origins and upbringing of the Sons (§§5–7) and their beneficent deeds (§§8–21). The account of their deeds begins with their earthly careers (§§8–13), then diverges into the achievements of their descendants (§§14–18), before moving on, via a recapitulation of their earthly doings, to their apotheosis and continuing benefactions as gods (§§19–21). The oration then concludes (§§22–40) with an ending which weaves together a final apostrophe, a favourable comparison (*synkrisis*) with another divinised pair of brothers, the Dioscuri, and an appeal for personal favour to the orator which echoes one of the traditional formulae for concluding a verse hymn.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Compare for instance the instructions given in ch. 9 of the *Progymnasmata* of Theon (109.9–112.21 SPENGL 2): Greek text and French translation in PATILLON 1997, 74–78; English translation in G. KENNEDY, *Progymnasmata. Greek textbooks of prose composition and rhetoric*. Writings from the Greco-Roman world 10 (Atlanta 2003) 50–52. Elaborate prescriptions for the praise of a country and a city can be found in Menander Rhetor, *Treatise I*, 344.16–367.8 SPENGL 3, and for an Emperor in *Treatise II*, 368.3–377.30 SPENGL 3. Full discussion in PATILLON 1997, lxxiv–lxxx and PERNOT 1993.

⁹⁹ Compare e.g. *Hom. Hymns* 8.15–17, 11.5, 15.9, 20.8, 30.17–18.

Or. 39, On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius, begins with a prologue (§§1–3) taken up with the conventional encomiastic commonplace of the inadequacy of words to bestow the praise that is deserved, before moving on to praise in turn the unsurpassably beautiful location (*thesis*) of the well (§§4–6), the extraordinary quality (*physis*) of its water (§§7–11), and its unparalleled usefulness (§§12–17). The peroration (§§16–18) asserts the superiority of the well and its water over all other liquids and their sources, even the great rivers Choaspes and Peneus. This is perhaps the most purely epideictic of the three, closest to a conventional encomium of a place and, because directed towards an inanimate subject, the least devotional in tone.

Or. 42, the Address to Asclepius, is much more personal. It begins with a prologue in which Aristides declares his personal relationship to the god and feelings about him (§§1–3), before moving on to a brief account of his powers (§4) and a more extended account of his beneficial deeds (§§5–11). The account of the god's deeds looks briefly at his benefits to the generality of mankind (§5), before turning for the majority of its length (§§6–11) to the blessings he has bestowed individually on Aristides himself. The peroration (§§12–15) keeps the focus firmly on the relationship between Aristides and his god, summing up its blessings in succession in enthusiastic apostrophe (§§12–14) and discursive statement (§§14–15), in one last juxtaposition of the 'hymnic' and the epideictic mode.

Or. 53, finally, On the water in Pergamum, is too short for a full analysis to be possible. We recognise once more a conventional encomiastic opening, in the account of the genesis of the speech and of the speaker's feelings about this brief that occupy the prologue (§§1–4), and we observe the transition in §5 to praise of the city through an account of its historical distinction, but there the text gives out. What there is suggests that in its full form this would have been another fairly conventional encomium of place, closer to *Or. 39* than to *Orr. 38* and *42*, and may indeed have had an even fainter connection with Aristides and his god than *39*.

Reading these selected hymns thus puts us in touch not only with Aristides the devotee of Asclepius, and of the figures and places connected with him, but also with Aristides the rhetorical craftsman. The sophistication and success of his craftsmanship emerges clearly from the contrast between the prescriptions offered by Quintilian and Alexander on the one hand, and the actual contents of the hymns on the other. Rather than remaining within the restrictive confines of the standard formulae for encomium, Aristides uses them as the framework for a more imaginative elaboration, drafting in resources of style and vocabulary that lift his work to a more exalted level, aligning it both with the language and atmosphere of religious cult, and with the expressive freedom and exalted imagination of Plato. The fact that this blend was subsequently recommended as

a model of good practice by Menander is not proof of a lack of originality and initiative on Aristides's part. Rather, it shows – in this area of oratorical activity as in others – just how influential his creativity was on later generations of Greek orators.

3. Suggested Variations from Keil's Text (see also notes):

Or. 38.3	τὸ σύμβαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου
Or. 38.7	ἔδει βαδίζειν ἔχοντας οἴκοι τὸν ἐπιστάτην
Or. 38.10	⟨ὅτι⟩ τὴν Φιλοκλήτου νόσον [...] οὗτοι δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀξηθεῖσαν ἰάσαντο
Or. 38.21	ἐμφανεῖς κινουμένους
<i>ibid.</i>	κλισιάδες τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖνται
Or. 38.24	φιλανθρωπία θέντες αὐτὸν εἰς κάλλιον
Or. 39.4	ἀθρόον ⟨ἐκπίνομεν ὅσον⟩ εἰσεχεάμεθα
Or. 39.6	οὕτως ἔστιν. ἔτι ...
<i>ibid.</i>	ἢ τοῦτο ἐκ τούτων ῥέον
Or. 39.7	αὐτόχυτον ⟨ὄν⟩
Or. 39.10	{τὸ} ἐγκαταλαμβάνον
Or. 42.1	ἐκ πελάγους πολλοῦ {καὶ} κατηφείας
Or. 42.4	{ἐν ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξεν τρόπῳ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἴρηται}
Or. 42.5	πάσας {δὲ} ἔχων
Or. 42.8	θέρμης οὐκ ἀδήλως [...] δεόμενον
Or. 42.9	Εὐρώπης, {καὶ} τὰς περὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλίας τῶν συνευφραϊνο- μένων
<i>ibid.</i>	εἶπερ εἴη μεμνησθαι
Or. 42.10	{ὅσα δ' αὐτῶν οἴον τε ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεστι λόγοις.}

Each of these textual variants is marked by an asterisk (*) in the Greek text.

B. Texts, Translations and Notes

Or. 38. Ασκληπιάδαι

1. 'Κλύτε φίλοι, θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος', ἔφη αὐτὸ τὸ ὄναρ· ταύτην γὰρ δὴ ἐδόκουν ἀρχὴν ποιείσθαι τοῦ λόγου, ὡς ὕπαρ τὸ ὄναρ σκοπῶν ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ· ἐχέτω δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὡς ὕπαρ, καὶ τὸ δρώμενον ὡς ἡ πρόρρησις εἶχεν.

Ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἄρα ἐγκώμιον ποιῆσαι Ποδαλειρίῳ· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ποδαλειρίῳ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπήχθην εἰς Μαχάονα. (2.) ἀποροῦντι δέ μοι ὁπότερον χρὴ ἐπαινεῖν, τέλος ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέρους· οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι θεμιτὸν εἶναι παραλιπεῖν τὸν ἕτερον, ἐπειδὴ γε ἀμφοῖν ἔσχον ἐννοιαν, ὁπότερός τε εἴη ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ὄνειρατος, ἐνέσεσθαι πάντως ἀμφοῖν ἐπαινουμένων· καὶ ἐμοὶ πρὸς τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἔξεν καλῶς.

3. Εἶεν. θεοῦ δὴ προβαλόντος, πότερον δεδιέναι χρὴ μειζόνως ἢ θαρρεῖν; δεδιέναι μὲν ἀνάγκη, μὴ χεῖρον ἐπιδειξώμεθα ἐν τοσοῦτῳ κριτῇ, αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες καλλίους· αὐτῷ γὰρ μελήσειν εἰκός. οὐ γὰρ ἂν προῦβαλεν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι τὸ σύμβαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου.* (4.) πρὸς δὲ καὶ καλέσαι βοηθὸν τῷ λόγῳ θαυμαστῶς ὡς εἰς ἐπιτήδειον καθέστηκεν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ δοκοῦνθ' ἑαυτοῖς ὥστ' εἶπειν τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὰς Μούσας καλοῦσιν, ἧ που καλλίων ἢ κληῖσις ἡμῖν, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβαλόντος δεώμεθα μουσηγέτην ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ γενέσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ὦ πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις κληθεῖς, ἔχω δ' εἶπειν ὅτι καὶ παραδείξας καὶ ἄλλα καὶ (τὰ) περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους, ἔξαγε καὶ νῦν ὅπῃ σοι φίλον τὸν λόγον.

5. Σχεδὸν δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἢ ἀρχὴ τῷ ἐγκωμίῳ, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ τε λόγου καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων. τετραγονίαν γὰρ τοιάνδε οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλήνων ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ διηγήσατο· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ θεσμοθέται, διὰ τεττάρων εἰσὶν εὐπατρίδαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς οὐδένες θεσμοθέται οὐδ' ἄλλο γε οὐδὲν γένος ἀνθρώπων. τέταρτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν ἐκ Διὸς διὰ πάντων ἄκρων. (6.) Ἀπόλλων μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Διὸς, Ασκληπιὸς δὲ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ Ασκληπιοῦ, διὰ πάσης τῆς κρατίστης φύσεως τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀνηρημένοι. Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν γὰρ τέταρτος ἀπὸ Διὸς διὰ Πηλέως καὶ Αἰακοῦ, Μίνως δὲ καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυς Διὸς παῖδες καὶ Θησεὺς Ποσειδῶνος, οὐδέτεροι μόνον ὁπότερου, ἀλλὰ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσιν, ὧν τῶν μὲν ἠττῶνται, τοῖς δ' εἰς ἴσον καθίστανται. (7.) μόνον δὲ οὗτοι πλήθει καὶ ἀρετῇ προγόνων εἰσὶν ἀνανταγώνιστοι, τοὺς ἐκ Διὸς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ασκληπιοῦ προσθήκη νικῶντες, ὅσοι γε ἥρωες αὐτῶν· γενομένους δ' αὐτοὺς τρέφει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Ὑγιείας κήποις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδέχετο ἢ ἡλικία, οὐκ ἐδίδαξατο τὴν τέχνην τὴν

Or. 38. The Sons of Asclepius

1. 'Listen, my friends: there has come in my sleep a dream divine.'¹

So spake the dream itself:² for these were the opening words of the speech I dreamed I was making, and I saw my dream as a real experience.³ Well, let the dream *be* real; let the performance be as the prophecy foretold.

Now the plan was to make⁴ an encomium of Podalirius – Podalirius first, but then I was led on to Machaon. (2.) Puzzled as to which of them to praise, I finally resolved to praise both. It was now not right (I thought) to leave either out, since I had had thoughts of them both, and, whichever of the two was the one meant by the dream, if I praised both, he would in any case be included! I should thus stand well both with him, and with the pair of them.

3. Well, now: when a god has set the subject, should one be more frightened or more reassured? Frightened indeed one must be, for fear of putting on a bad performance before such a great judge: but the hopes are fairer,⁵ for he will himself be concerned for the outcome. He would not have set the subject, if the outcome of the speech⁶ was not going to be to his liking. (4.) Moreover, just to summon him in aid is wonderfully appropriate. For if poets⁷ call on Apollo and the Muses just to say what they themselves have chosen, surely my invocation is nobler, when I ask the god who set my theme to join his father in leading my song.⁸

O thou who hast been so often invoked and for so many causes, thou who, I may claim, hast shown me the way especially in my speeches, guide this speech now in accordance with thy wishes!

5. The beginning of the encomium is not far to seek. The father of the speech⁹ is also the father of the youths. Such a span of four generations no Greek ever heard or spoke of. They are nobles from four generations back, like the Lawmakers¹⁰ – or rather, like no lawmakers or indeed any race of humans. They are fourth from Zeus – and each generation stands supreme. (6.) Apollo was the son of Zeus, Asclepius of Apollo, these two are sons of Asclepius. Their breeding is the highest through and through: and from this they have their nobility. Achilles indeed is fourth¹¹ from Zeus through Peleus and Aeacus; Minos and Rhadamanthus are children of Zeus; Theseus is the son of Poseidon; but none of these are the only children of either god; each is just one of many, gods and heroes, inferior to some, on a level with others. (7.) Our two alone are unrivalled in the number and excellence of their forebears; they surpass the children of Zeus and Apollo – the heroes, I mean – by claiming Asclepius as well. When they were born, their father brought them up in

ιατρικήν, ἀλλ' ἐδίδαξεν αὐτός· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι εἰς Χείρωνος ἔδει βαδίζειν ἔχοντας οἴκοι τὸν ἐπιστάτην,* οὐ πολὺ δὴ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ Χείρων ἦδη ἦν δεύτερος.

8. Οὕτω δὴ φύντες καὶ τραφέντες καὶ παιδευθέντες μέχρι μὲν ἡσύχαζε τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδε Θετταλία τε ἦσαν κόσμος πολὺ λιμνῶν τε καὶ πεδίων καὶ ποταμῶν ἐπιφανέστερος καὶ τοὺς ταύτη Ἑλληνας ὄρθουν, εἷς τε τὸ κοινὸν πολιτευόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνοις πρόποντα καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐκάστοις συμφορὰς ἐπανορθοῦντες, οὐδ' ἦν νοσεῖν ὅπου φανεῖη Μαχάων ἢ Ποδαλείριος. (9.) κινήθენტων δὲ Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Τρώων ἀδικίαν οὔτε ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὴν οἴκοι μονὴν ἠξίουσι οὔτε ἀπέκρουπτον ἑαυτοὺς ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινες, ἀλλὰ γνόντες ὡς αὐτῶν ὁ καιρὸς εἶη καὶ προῖδόμενοι τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας προῦστησαν ἐκόντες τῆς ἀπάντων σωτηρίας. (10.) ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς Τροίαν διπλὴν χρεῖαν παρείχοντο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἰατροὶ συνήσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις ὠφέλουσι, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν δὴ τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν ποιήσασθαι λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀλῶναι τὴν Τροίαν καὶ παντάπασις ἦλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῇ τε ἄλλῃ καὶ (ὅτι) τὴν Φιλοκτῆτου νόσον, ἣν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Ἄτρεϊδαι προκαταγνόντες ἀνίατον εἶναι Φιλοκτῆτην οὐχὶ δικαίως ἐν Λήμνῳ κατέλιπον, οὗτοι δέκα ἔτεσιν αὐξηθεῖσαν ἰάσαντο.* καὶ γίγνεται Φιλοκτῆτης τε ἐνεργὸς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Φιλοκτῆτη τὰ βέλη (τὰ) τοῦ Ἡρακλέους χρῆσιμα τῇ 'κείων τέχνῃ. (11.) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔάλω Τροία, προειδότες τὰς ἐσομένας ὑστερον Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀποικίας καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ὅτι πλείστους ἀπολαύειν, τοῦτο μὲν Τευθρανίαν ἡμεροῦσιν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς ὁ Κῶων λόγος, πλεύσαντες εἰς Κῶ τὴν Μεροπίδα, ἣν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Μερόπων Ἡρακλῆς ἐκ Τροίας ἀνιών ἔτι πρότερον, ἀδικίαν ἐγκαλέσας, ἐπόρθησεν, οἰκίζουσι τε καὶ εἰς ἠθὴ πρόποντα τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας κατέστησαν, τὸ λεγόμενον περὶ τοῦ προγόνου τοῦτο, ὡς ἔοικε, μιμησάμενοι. (12.) Ἀπόλλω τε γὰρ φασὶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν Δῆλον φερομένην πρότερον στήσαι κατὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐρείσαντα, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὗτοι τῆς Μεροπίδος τότε ἐπιβάντες, προκρίναντες ἀπασῶν εἶναι καλλίστην, ὅσαι παραπλήσια μέγεθος, ἰάσαντό τε καὶ ἀπέφηναν ἐμβατὸν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις, πρότερον σφαλερὰν καὶ ὑποπτον οὔσαν, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κυρίαν τῇ νήσῳ κατέστησαν. (13.) οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ῥοδίοις πολλῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ σεμνῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν πρώτοις εἶναι τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχὴν, ἣν αὐτοὶ προκρίναντες εἶλοντο σφῶν ἄρχειν Ἀσκληπιάδας, Ἡρακλειδῶν ποιησάμενοι διαδόχους. ἔσχον δὲ καὶ τὸν Καρικὸν τόπον καὶ Κνίδον τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱεράν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἢ ὁ ἕτερος ἢ ἀμφοτέρω, κεκοινωνήσθω τὰ νῦν· ἀπέλαυσε δὲ τι καὶ Κύρνος αὐτῶν.

the Gardens of Health,¹² and when they came of age he did not have them taught the art of medicine – he taught them himself; there was no need for them to go to Cheiron's³ school when¹⁴ they had a master at home, to whom Cheiron (as his name shows¹⁵) was greatly inferior.

8. So born, so bred, so educated, as long as the Achaean world was at peace, they were a glory of Thessaly,¹⁶ far more famous than her lakes and plains and rivers, and they guided the Greeks in those parts aright, acting in public for the common good in ways appropriate to their needs, and setting individuals' troubles to rights: wherever Machaon or Podalirius appeared, it was impossible to be ill. (9.) But when the Greeks were moved to action by the Trojan wrongdoing, they did not think it right to buy their way to stay at home¹⁷ or hide themselves as others did,¹⁸ but, realizing that this was their moment and foreseeing the chances of war, they willingly took charge of the safety of all. (10.) On arriving at Troy, they did a double service to the Achaeans: they were not only at hand as doctors, they helped with arms; they are said to have routed the enemy on many occasions.¹⁹ Moreover, the capture of Troy is altogether due to them – particularly because, when Philoctetes' sickness²⁰ had grown worse over ten years, and Odysseus and the Atridae had prematurely judged it to be incurable, and had therefore unjustly left Philoctetes on Lemnos, *they* cured it, and through *their* skill Philoctetes came to be of service to the Achaeans and Heracles' arrows to be useful to Philoctetes.²¹ (11.) And when Troy fell, foreseeing the future colonies of the Greeks in Asia, and at the same time wanting as many people as possible to enjoy their good services, they both pacified Teuthrania²² to receive their father, and also (as the Coans say) sailed to Meropid Cos²³ – which, when occupied by the Meropes²⁴ had been earlier sacked by Heracles on his return from Troy, on account of their crimes – and settled it, endowing it with customs appropriate to the nature of the land. In this, it seems, they were copying what is told of their ancestor. (12.) For the poets²⁵ relate that Apollo, as soon as he was born on the island, fastened Delos to the bottom of the sea, when it had previously been floating freely. Similarly, when these two landed on Meropis,²⁶ and judged it to be the fairest of all islands of comparable size, they made it healthy and accessible to Greeks and barbarians alike, though it had previously been dangerous and suspect, and made happiness prevail throughout the island. (13.) For the Rhodians too, who have long had many sources of pride, the chief, I believe, is their rule by these two,²⁷ when by their own preference they chose the sons of Asclepius to rule over them, making them the successors of the descendants of Heracles.²⁸ They also occupied the region of Caria²⁹ and Cnidus, which is

14. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ λόγων πολλῶν. ποιησάμενοι δὲ παῖδας συνεργούς τε καὶ διαδόχους τῆς σφετέρας ἐπιστήμης ὥσπερ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο ἐπέθηκαν τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐεργεσιῶν, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ εἰς ἅπαντας ἤδη, ἵνα μὴ ποτε ἐπιλείπη τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπικουρία καὶ χάρις, ἀλλ' ὧσιν ἐκ προγόνων τε καὶ ἐκγόνων σωτήρες ἀθάνατοι τῆς φύσεως, τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον κατ' ἀνθρώπους πολιτευόμενοι καὶ συνόντες ἅπασιν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐφ' αὐτῶν. (15.) καὶ γὰρ τοὶ κατέλυσαν μὲν τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βεβημένους, τὰς δ' εὐεργεσίας σύμβολον τοῦ γένους ἐποίησαντο. ἴδρυνται δὲ οὔτε ἐν Θετταλία οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν Κῶν προαστίοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰατρικῆς ἐνέπλησαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Τριπτόλεμος σίτου διὰ τῶν σπερμάτων· πάντα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἐξεφοίτησεν. καὶ καθάπερ τὴν Μηδεῖαν φασὶ διὰ τοῦ Θετταλῶν πεδίου φεύγουσαν, ἐκχυθέντων τῶν φαρμάκων, ποιῆσαι Θετταλίαν ἅπασαν πολυφάρμακον, οὕτως ἢ τούτων ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ φιλανθρωπία χυθεῖσα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πάσας μὲν πόλεις Ἑλλήνων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τόπους ἐκόσμησέν τε καὶ κοσμεῖ, καὶ προσέτι γε ἔσωσε καὶ σώζει, καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἐπ' ἄμφοιν προσέστω χρόνος. (16.) εἰ δ' ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀπὸ τούτων Ἴπποκράτης ἔφν κληρονόμος τῆς τέχνης διὰ πάντων ἰδιωτῶν τῶν μέσων, ἰκανὴ τῇ τε γῆ φορὰ καὶ χάρις τούτοις παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἦν ἂν τῆς σποραῶ· νῦν δὲ ὥσπερ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν κατεσκευάσθη δι' αἵματος τὴν τέχνην σώζων· οὕτω θεία μοῖρα ἠγήσατο Μαχάονι καὶ Ποδαλειρίῳ τῆς γενέσεως. (17.) μάθοι δ' ἂν τις τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις αὐτοὺς ἀντεξετάζων τῆς χρείας ἔνεκα τῆς κοινῆς καὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης. Ἡρακλεῖδαι γὰρ ἐν μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἐσκεδάσθησαν καὶ οὐχ ἐν σύνταγμα αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐν φύλον· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὁμότιμοι, ὥστε ἀλλήλοις ἀντὶ ξένων καθειστήκεσαν· ἔπειθ' ὅσον αὐτῶν ἦν κράτιστον, οὔτε συμφορῶν ἄμοιρον λέγεται γενέσθαι τὴν τε πατρῶαν οὐ παντελῶς διασώσασθαι τέχνην. οὐ γὰρ ταῖς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργεσίαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ καθ' αὐτοὺς δυνάμει τὴν λαμπρότητα ἐκτήσαντο. (18.) Ἀσκληπιάδαι δὲ ἐκ Μαχάονος ἀρξάμενοι καὶ Ποδαλειρίου κοινὴ πᾶσιν ἀσφάλεια καὶ σωτηρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγόνασι, τὴν τοῦ προγόνου διασωσάμενοι τέχνην, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι σύμβολον τοῦ γένους. πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ τύχη τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀξία· οὔτε γὰρ ἠλάθησαν οὔθ' ἰκέτευσαν εἰς πόλιν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ διεξήλθον καθαροὶ συμφορῶν, μιᾷ φατρία καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ καὶ τύχῃ χρῆσάμενοι διὰ τέλους.

sacred to Aphrodite (for whatever one or both of them held,³⁰ let it be held in common now) and even Corsica³¹ has benefited from them.

14. But this is a long story. In making their children collaborators and successors in their science, they put the finishing touch, as it were, on their services to the Greeks – and, let me add, to all of humanity – so that their assistance and favour should never fail mankind, and they, by means both of their ancestors and their descendants, should be the undying saviours of our species, dwelling forever amongst men, present to all as they were to the people of their own time. (15.) They put down the famous doctors of Egypt,³² and made acts of beneficence the token of their own race.³³ Nor did they settle down in Thessaly or in the suburbs of Cos,³⁴ but filled everywhere with medicine, as Triptolemus did with corn by scattering the seeds,³⁵ for it all spread abroad from them and by their doing. And just as they say that Medea, on her flight through the plains of Thessaly, spilled out her drugs and made Thessaly a land of drugs³⁶ – so their knowledge and generosity spilled out far and wide and to all the cities of the Greeks and many regions of the barbarians it became, and still remains, a glory – saved them too and saves them still – and let us add the future tense as well! (16.) And even if Hippocrates alone of their descendants³⁷ had arisen to be the heir to their skill, and all those between had been mere laymen, that would still have been a crop sufficient for the earth, and men would have been grateful to them for the sowing; but in fact, the family of the Asclepiadae has been made as it were a nation which preserves the art through the line of blood; so well did divine destiny guide Machaon and Podalirius in their begetting of children. (17.) One can see this by comparing them with the descendants of Heracles, in respect of their universal usefulness and their own fortune. First of all, the Heraclids were scattered, there was no single community of them, practically speaking not even a single tribe. They were not equal in honour, so that they stood as strangers to one another. Secondly, the best among them are said not to have been exempt from misfortune,³⁸ or to have wholly preserved their ancestral skill. For it was not by benefiting the common good that they won distinction, but by their own power. (18.) By contrast, the descendants of Asclepius, beginning with Machaon and Podalirius, were a common source of security and salvation for all, preserving their ancestor's³⁹ art as yet another identifying feature of their race. Their fortune too was worthy of their chosen purpose: they were not banished or driven to be suppliants in any way,⁴⁰ but survived untouched by misfortunes, enjoying to the end one brotherhood,⁴¹ one mind, and one fortune.

19. Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας τε καὶ τοῦνομα πρώτους λαβόντας τὸ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν. οἱ δὲ ἕως μὲν ἦσαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, στρατείας καὶ ὀμιλίας καὶ γενέσει παίδων προπόντων ἑαυτοῖς καὶ συλλήβδην ἀπάση τῇ πολιτικῇ δυνάμει τὰς πόλεις ὠφέλουν, οὐ μόνον τὰς τοῦ σώματος νόσους ἐξαιρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων νοσήματα ἰώμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἐγγίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδωτες, ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν σώζοντες τοὺς ὑπηκόους, {καὶ} τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκόλουθον κατασκευασάμενοι. (20.) ἐπεὶ δὲ κρείττους ἦσαν ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν μένειν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀποδύντες τὰ σώματα εἰς ἕτερον θεσμόν ἔρχονται, οὐχ ὥσπερ Μενέλεός τε καὶ ὁ Ἑξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθος, εἰς τὸ Ἥλύσιον πεδίον καὶ τὰς ἔξω νήσους, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατοι γενόμενοι τὴν γῆν διέρχονται, τοσοῦτον τῆς ἀρχαίας φύσεως ἀποστάντες ὅσον τὴν ἡλικίαν φυλάττουσι.

21. Καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ μὲν ἤδη ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἐμφανεῖς κινουμένους,* πολλοὶ δὲ ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ· ὁ καὶ μέγιστον ἔστω κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἀμφιάραος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τροφώνιος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ χρησιμωδοῦσί τε καὶ φαίνονται, οὗτοι δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς διάττουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀστέρες, περίπολοι κοινοὶ καὶ πρόδρομοι τοῦ πατρὸς. ὄσαχοῖ δὲ Ἀσκληπιῶ ἐἴσοδοι, καὶ τούτοις κλισιάδες τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖνται* πανταχοῦ γῆς, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡ κοινωμία τῷ πατρὶ σώζεται νεῶν θυσῶν παιάνων προσόδων ἔργων ἃ πράττουσιν.

22. Ὁ μακαριστοὶ μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ἄνω προγόνων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, εὐδαίμονες δὲ τῶν ἀφ' ὑμῶν φύντων, ἔτι δὲ ὑμῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν, οἷς Ἰασώ τε καὶ Πανάκεια καὶ Αἰγλή σύνεστιν καὶ Ὑγίεια, ἡ πάντων ἀντίρροπος, Ἡπιόνης δὲ παῖδες ἐπώνυμοι· οὐδ' ὑμῖν θᾶκοι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οὐδὲ διεσκηνώσατε. (23.) ὦ κάλλιστος μὲν αὐτοὶ χορὸς τῷ πατρὶ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνάγοντες παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, χοροποιοὶ μακρῷ πάντων ἄριστοι, καὶ προσέτι ἱεροποιοὶ τε καὶ ἐπιστάται κρατήρων καὶ χαρίτων ἀπασῶν. αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι θυσίαι τε καὶ ἑορταὶ νόμῳ καθεστᾶσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐργαστηρίου πλεῖσται μὲν ἐφ' ἡμέραν καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας, καθαρῶς δὲ ἀπὸ καρδίας ἔρχονται τὴν εὐθυμίαν ἀφ' ὧν σύνισμεν φέρουσαι. ὑμῶν ἴχνη πλεῖστα καὶ φανερώτατα, αἰεὶ δ' ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ σκιά, φῶς ὅποι κινῴσθε ἔπεται. (24.) ὦ Διοσκούροις ἰσόμοιροι καὶ ἡλικιωταὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ τῆς γενέσεως, οἱ πολλὰς μὲν ἤδη τρικυμίας κατεπαύσατε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ στυλπνοὺς λαμπτήρας ἔν τε νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἠπείρου ἀνήψατε, οὗτος ὑμῖν ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος ἐξ ὕπνου τε καὶ ἐνυπνίου συντεθεὶς εὐθύς. ὑμεῖς δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρα προαότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία θέντες αὐτὸν εἰς κάλ-

19. I return now to the point from which I digressed,⁴² to the founders and those who first took the name of ‘Asclepius’ children’.

While they dwelt among men, they were of service to their cities in military campaigns, in social intercourse, in producing children worthy of themselves, and, in a word, in their whole function in society. Not only did they eradicate bodily diseases, but they also healed the sicknesses of cities,⁴³ or rather prevented them from taking hold in the first place, saving their subjects from both evils by making their rule accord with their art. (20.) But since they were too good to remain among us, thanks to their father and their ancestors, they have sloughed off their bodies and gone to another jurisdiction⁴⁴ – not like Menelaus and ‘fair-haired Rhadamanthus’⁴⁵ to Elysian fields and far off islands, but becoming immortal and traversing the earth, departing from their former nature just so far as to preserve their youth.

21. Many have seen them and known them moving about openly⁴⁶ at Epidaurus – and in many other places too: let this be their greatest praise. Amphiaraus and Trophonius in Boeotia and Amphilochus in Aetolia⁴⁷ give oracles and appear there, but these two dart all over the earth, the universal attendants and harbingers of their father. Wherever Asclepius enters, for these also, all over the earth, gates are flung open for them,⁴⁸ and their partnership with their father is maintained in every way, in temples, in sacrifices, in paeans, in processions, in the deeds they perform.⁴⁹

22.⁵⁰ O blessed ones in your ancestors on both sides,⁵¹ happy too in those sprung from you, and indeed in yourselves and your siblings, for Iaso, Panacea and Aigle are with you – and Hygieia too, who is a match for them all – truly named children of Epione.⁵² You have no seats of worship apart from one another, nor do you dwell apart. (23.) O fairest choir of your father, bringing him many choirs of men, yourselves far the best choirmasters of all, <the best> temple-wardens, too, and masters of the mixing-bowl⁵³ and of every act of thanksgiving. Other sacrifices and festivals are almost all set up by law; but those that come from you and your workshop, while they are more in number every day compared with all others, yet come purely from the heart and bring contentment from our consciousness.⁵⁴ Your tracks are very many and very plain to see: a light follows wherever you move, as his shadow follows a man. (24.) O you who are equal to the Dioscuri⁵⁵ in fate, equal to them in age but in a different generation,⁵⁶ who have calmed many a stormy sea and lit many a bright light on continent and island, this is my speech for you, composed straight after my sleep and my dream. Do you, in your kindness and bene-

λιον,* τῆς τε νόσου παύετε καὶ διδοίητε ὑγιείας τε ὅσον οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ βούλεται τὸ σῶμα ὑπακούειν, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν βίου ῥαστώ- νην.

Or. 39. Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ

1. Τί δ' ἂν εἴποις τὸ φρέαρ τὸ ἱερόν; ἢ δηλον ὅτι τὴν τοῦ λόγου μέμφη φύσιν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ πάντα ἀφικνουμένην οὐδ' ἐνδείξα- σθαι δυναμένην ἐνίστε ἀρκούντως τὸ ὄν; τοῦτο γοῦν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς λό- γος ὁποῖόν τι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐστὶν ἐνδείξαίτο, ἀλλ' ἀμεί- νους ἐσμέν πίνειν τούτου τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ λούεσθαι καὶ προσορᾶν ἡδέως ἢ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν καλῶν ἐρῶντες, οἱ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει τοῦ κάλλους ἐαλώκασιν καὶ ἴσασιν οἶων ἐρῶσιν, ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτοὺς ἔρηται, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν περὶ ἀπόντων, παρόντας δὲ οἶμαι δεῖξαιεν ἄν. (2.) τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ φρέατος πε- πόνθαμεν, καὶ ἐσμέν ἐρασταὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ πάμπολλοι, μᾶλλον δὲ πάν- τες σχεδόν, ὁποῖου δὲ ὄντος οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐάν τινα ἡμῶν ἀπολαβῶν τις ἐρωτᾷ, παραλαβόντες ἂν αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοίημεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ δεικνύοιμεν. τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀποχρήσει, γευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πειραθῆς τοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρω λωτοῦ γεγεῦσθαι δόξει, μένειν ἐθέ- λων καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀξιώων ἀποχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. (3.) ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ χρῆ τὸ τῶν διψώντων, φασί, πίνειν σιωπῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπικοσμησαί τι καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ προσεῖπεῖν τὸν τε σωτήρα θεόν, οὗ καὶ τόδ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τε καὶ ποιήμα, καὶ τὰς ἐχούσας αὐτὸ Νύμφας καὶ συνεργαζομένας, καὶ ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ χαριζομένας τε καὶ συνυπηρετού- σας.

4. Τίς οὖν δὴ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρχή, ἢ ὥσπερ ἡνίκ' ἂν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίνωμεν, προσθέντες τοῖς χεῖλεσι τὴν κύλικα οὐκέτι ἀφίσταμεν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόον (ἐκπίνομεν ὅσον) εἰσεχεάμεθα,* οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀθρόα πάνθ' ἔξει λεγόμενα; ἔστω δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς τῷ χεῖλει προσαγωγῆς ἐκεῖνο ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς πάσης οἰκουμένης ἐστίν. ὁ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων χωρίων εἴλετο ὁ θεὸς ὡς ὑγιεινότατον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ὁ ταῖς εὐεργεσί- ας ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπάντων ἐκφανέστατον, ἢ που σφό- δρα τοῦτο κάλλιστόν ἐστι τῶν ἐν γῆ πάντων. (5.) καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλοι ἄλλοις τόποις θεοὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγγενεῖς εἰσιν, καίτοι καὶ τούτους τιμίους, οἶμαι, χρῆ δοκεῖν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ λαχεῖν αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε μείζον ἐστὶν ὅτι ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἐπιδάουρου δεῦρο ὀρη- θεῖς ὁ θεὸς ἠράσθη δὴ μάλιστα, ὡς δηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐλόμενός τε αὐτὸ ἐγκατέμεινε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ προκρίνας τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ θεῶν ὁ πραότατός τε καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος προσέχειν ἔκριεν, πῶς

volence to men⁵⁷ make it better;⁵⁸ put an end to my sickness, give me health enough to let my body obey my soul's wishes, and, in a word, give me ease of life.

Or. 39. On the well⁵⁹ in the Sanctuary of Asclepius

1. What should you say about the holy well? Obviously, you complain of the limitations of speech,⁶⁰ which cannot reach out adequately to all things, and sometimes cannot satisfactorily express what is. In this case, indeed, no speech could express the beauty and delight of our subject – we are better at drinking its water, bathing in it and looking on it⁶¹ with delight than at finding things to say about it. So it is with lovers of beautiful people:⁶² they are captured by the power of their beauty, and they know what their beloved is like, but if anyone asks them they have nothing to say if the beloved is not present – though if he is, they can at least point to him! (2.) We have had the same experience in regard to this well: many – indeed, almost all – of us are in love with it, but we cannot say what sort of thing this is which we love. But if anyone takes us aside and questions us, we should think it right to take him along and lead him to it, and just show it to him. Yet that will not be enough for him: once he tastes and tries it he will fancy he has tasted Homer's lotus,⁶³ will want to remain and be reluctant to leave. (3.) But we must not, as they say the thirsty do, 'drink in silence',⁶⁴ but adorn it also with words, and address the Saviour God whose work and creation it is, and the Nymphs who occupy it, work with him, grant us the favour of using the god's favour and join us in serving him.

4. So what should be our starting-point? Or is the speech to contain everything said in one gulp, just as, when we drink from the well, we put our lips to the cup and do not take them away but drink up at one gulp what we have poured into the cup?⁶⁵ For 'putting our lips to the cup' let us substitute the thought that this well is the most beautiful place in the whole world. For surely that spot which the god chose above all others as the healthiest and purest, and which he made the most brilliantly celebrated of all, must indeed be the most beautiful of any upon earth. (5.) Various gods are natives of various places, and these places deserve honour, simply because the gods have fallen to their lot, but here it is not so, for it is a greater thing that the god, when he came here from Epidaurus itself,⁶⁶ fell in love with this place – so that it is clear that he stayed here for ever, because he had chosen it and preferred it to all others. That which a god – the gentlest and kindest of

ἡμῖν γε, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς τούτου θεράπουσιν, ἄλλο τι λέγειν ἔνεστιν ἢ ὡς τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ βέλτιστον; (6.) ἐν καλλίστῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης οὕτως ἔστιν. ἐπι* δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅσος ὑπαίθριος χώρος καὶ βάσιμος ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐστίν· μέσον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἴδρῡται. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἀπὸ πλατάνου ρεῖ – ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄλλο τι σύμβολον καὶ τοῦτο παραπέφυκεν –, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τὸ ἐτι κάλλιόν τε καὶ ἱερώτερον, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βάθρων ἐκρεῖ, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ νεῶς ἔστηκεν, ὥστε παντὶ γε ταύτην τὴν δόξαν καὶ πίστιν ὑπείναι, ὅτι ἀπὸ ὑγιεινοῦ καὶ ὑγείας χορηγοῦ χωρίου φέρεται, ἀπὸ γε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ὁρμώμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι ἐξ ὑγιεινότερων ἢ καθαρωτέρων τόπων ὕδωρ ῥυεῖ ἢ τοῦτο ἐκ τούτων ῥέον.*

7. Ἐν τοιούτῳ δὴ φαινόμενον καὶ ἀπὸ τοιούτων ὁρμώμενον, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχει, κάλλιστόν ἐστι. πρῶτον μὲν γε λεπτότατον ἐγγυτάτω ἀέρος, ἔπειτα ὁ τούτῳ ἔπεται, κουφότατόν τε καὶ πραότατον, τρίτον γλυκύτατόν τε καὶ ποτιμώτατον, αὐτόχυτον (ὄν),* ὁ πίνων οὐκ ἂν οἶνον προσδεηθείης. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ ἔφη τὸν Τιταρήσιον ἐπιρρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πηγνειοῦ, ὥσπερ ἄνδρα ἐπινηχόμενον, ὑπὸ κουφότητος τοῦ ὕδατος· τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἰ ἐπιρρηξῆσαι αὐτῷ ὕδωρ ἕτερον, ἀντάνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἄνω, τὸ δὲ δύνεται, ὥσπερ (οἱ) ὕφαλοι, νεῦον εἰς μυχὸν ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ κἂν τὸ ἐπεγχυθὲν ὑψῶσαι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κουφότητι. ὡς δὲ οὐ κομπάζομεν, σταθμῶ κρίνεται· καίτοι τί ἂν εἴποι ὁ τῆς Στυγὸς ἀπορρῶξ ὅταν ἀνθιστάμενος ῥέπη; (8.) πρόσσεσι δὲ τούτῳ ὅτι οὔτε Στυγὸς ἐστὶν ἀπορρῶξ τόδε τὸ ῥεῦμα οὔτε ἄλλο ἔχει φρικῶδες οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὑγείας ἂν αὐτὸ προσείποις ἢ νέκταρος ἢ τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἀπορρῶγα. (9.) τεκμηριοῖ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, ὁ χρόνος γοῦν αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἄπτεται, ἀλλ' ἀπαντληθὲν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἔξω γενόμενον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ οἷόν περ τὸ αἰεὶ λειπόμενον ἐν τῷ φρέατι, ἄσηπτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς μένει. (10.) πλῆθος δ' αὐτὸ τοῦ φρέατος τούτου τοσοῦτον ὅσον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου φρέατος· μάλα ἀκμῆτας εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς ἀρτυομένους καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ φθάνη {τὸ} ἐγκαταλαμβάνον.* μόνον γοῦν τοῦτο πάντων φρεάτων ἀρτυομένων καὶ κενούντων τὸ ἴσον αἰεὶ μέτρον παρέχεται, τῷ τετραμένῳ πίθῳ τὸ ἀντίστροφον ποιοῦν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε πληροῦται, τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ τοῦ χεῖλους ἐγγύς ἐστιν. (11.) ἄτε γὰρ ὄν διάκονόν τε καὶ συνεργόν τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου τῶν θεῶν ἐτοιμώτατον πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ αἰεὶ πληρὴς ἐστὶ, καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἄγει σχολὴν ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἢ σώζειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦτο μιμούμενον τὸν δεσπότην αἰεὶ πληροῖ τὴν τῶν δεομένων χρείαν, καὶ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι θρέμμα ἢ δῶρον Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ὄπλα καὶ ἔργα Ἥφαιστοῦ, πρὸς τὸ ἐκεῖνῳ δοκοῦν κινούμενα.

gods to mankind – judged best, how can we – being moreover his servants – say other than that it is the best? (6.) It is thus indeed in the fairest part of the inhabited world;⁶⁷ and moreover that area of the sanctuary which is open to the sky and open to access is in the fairest place: for it is set in the centre of the centre. Now the water, if you so wish, flows from a plane tree⁶⁸ – which grows beside it as another token; or, if you wish (and this is something even fairer and more holy) it flows from the very steps on which the temple stands, so that in everyone's mind is the thought and belief that it comes from a place which is healthy and a giver of health, since it arises from the temple and the feet of the Saviour.⁶⁹ No water could flow out of healthier or purer places than this does from these.⁷⁰

7. Appearing in such a place, and coming from such a source, it is, of course, very beautiful. First, it is very fine – very nearly as fine as air;⁷¹ secondly (a consequence of this) it is very light and very gentle; thirdly, it is very sweet and very good to drink, poured out all by itself,⁷² for in drinking it one would not need to add wine. Homer said that the Titare-sios flowed on the surface of the Peneus,⁷³ like a swimmer, owing to the lightness of its water: but I fancy that if you throw⁷⁴ some other water into this <well>, the well-water would rise and the other sink, like divers, moving down from the surface to the depths – unless indeed one should say that it seems to me actually to *raise* the water poured into it by its own lightness. That we are not boasting, is proved by the scales: but what might the outflow of Styx say when it is put on the scales and sinks? (8.) And furthermore, *this* stream is no outflow of Styx,⁷⁵ nor does it have anything else frightening about it: one might rather call it an outflow of Health or Nectar⁷⁶ or something like that! (9.) It proves this also in the following way: time does not touch it, the water which is drawn off and taken outside has the same power as that which remains always in the well: it remains uncorrupted and unaffected.⁷⁷ (10.) As to the abundance of the well, it is such that, virtually, no other well can equal. Those who draw from it need to be tireless and to keep their head, lest it come too quickly and catch them unawares.⁷⁸ Alone of all wells, it offers the same measure when men draw from it and try to empty it⁷⁹ and it does just the opposite of the jar with holes in the bottom:⁸⁰ instead of never filling, it is always full up to the brim. (11.) As the servant and assistant of the god who is kindest to mankind, it is ready for service and always full: as the god never takes leisure to do anything other than saving human beings, so the well imitates its master, always satisfies the needs of those who make demands on it, and is as it were a

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐγενόμην, ποῖον ὕδωρ ἂν τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους τούτῳ παραβληθεῖν χρεῖας ἔνεκα; οὐ γὰρ μόνον πόμα, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ λουτρόν ἐστιν ἡδιστον καὶ ἀβλαβέστατον, οὐδ' (...) ἀντέστραπται πρὸς τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους, θέρους μὲν ψυχρότατον ὄν αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ, χειμῶνος δὲ ὡς ἠπιώτατον γιγνόμενον, τὰ τοῦ παρόντος ἀεὶ καιροῦ δυσχερῆ λύον καὶ παραμυθούμενον, οἶαν χρῆ τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ πηγὴν ἱερὰν εἶναι. (13.) καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἡδέα καὶ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ καὶ ἐτέρους ὁρῶντι τοῦτο μὲν θέρους ὥρα περὶ τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ φρέατος περιεστηκότας ἐξῆς, ὥσπερ ἐσμὸν μελιττῶν ἢ μυίας περὶ γάλα, ἐξ ἕω ζητοῦντας τὸ πνίγιος προκαταλαβεῖν ἀντ' ἄλλου πόματος τῶν κωλυόντων τὸ δίψος καὶ ἰσχύοντων, τοῦτο δὲ ὅταν τις κρυστάλλου πεπηγὸς τὴν χεῖρα προτείνας ἀπονησάμενος θερμότερος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡδίων γένηται. (14.) ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ χρῆται ὥσπερ ἄλλῳ τῷ συνεργῶ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἤδη πολλακίς τὸ φρέαρ τοῦτο συνεβάλετο εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν ἔχρηζον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν τε καὶ θαυματοποιῶν γεγυμνασμένοι πρὸς τὰς διακονίας εἰσὶ καὶ συμπράττοντες ἐκπλήττουσι τοὺς θεωμένους καὶ χρωμένους, οὕτω τοῦ μεγάλου θαυματοποιοῦ καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράττοντος ἀνθρώπων εὐρημα τοῦτο καὶ κτήμᾳ ἐστὶ συμπράττει δὴ πρὸς ἅπαντα αὐτῷ καὶ γίγνεται πολλοῖς ἀντὶ φαρμάκου. (15.) πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ λουσάμενοι ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκομίσαντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πίνοντες στέρνον ἰάθησαν καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον πνεῦμα ἀπέλαβον, τῶν δὲ πόδας ἐξώρθωσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι ἤδη δέ τις πίων ἐξ ἀφώνου φωνὴν ἀφήκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πίνοντες μαντικοὶ γιγνόμενοι. τοῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρύτεσθαι ἀντ' ἄλλης σωτηρίας καθέστηκεν. καὶ τοῖς τε δὴ νοσοῦσιν οὕτως ἀλεξιφάρμακον καὶ σωτηριόν ἐστὶν καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ἐνδαιτωμένοις παντὸς ἄλλου χρῆσιν ὕδατος οὐκ ἄμεμπτον ποιεῖ. (16.) πάντα γὰρ ἤδη μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ γίγνεται πειρωμένοις, οἶον εἴ τις μετὰ ἀνθοσμίαν οἶνον τῶν ἐξεστηκότων τινὰ πίνει. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αὐτὸ νοσοῦσι καὶ ὑγιαίνουσιν ὁμοίως ἡδιστον καὶ λυσιτελέστατον ἐκατέροις τε καὶ συναμφοτέροις ἐστίν, καὶ οὐτ' ἂν γάλα παραβάλοις οὐτ' ἂν οἶνον ποθήσαις, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Πίνδαρος τὸ νέκταρ ἐποίησεν αὐτόχυτον, πότιμον θεῖα τινὶ κράσει κεκραμένον ἀρκούντως. ὥστε εἰ δύο εἶεν κύλικες, ἡ μὲν ἐτέρου τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ οἶνου τοῦ καλλίστου, ἡ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀπορήσαις ἂν πότερον λάβοις. (17.) ἔτι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἱερὰ ὕδατα τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων χρῆσιν πέφευγεν, οἶον τὸ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ καὶ εἴ τι που ἄλλοθι ἄλλο τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ τῷ σώζειν τοὺς χρωμένους, οὐ τῷ μηδένα αὐτοῦ ψαύειν, ἱερὸν ἐστίν· καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καθαρσίους τε

nurseling or gift of Asclepius – like the tools and works of Hephaestus⁸¹ which Homer has portrayed as moving according to his will.

12. Since I have now reached this point,⁸² what water, in the world of men, could be compared to this for usefulness? Not only as a drink, but also as a bath it is both most delightful and most safe to use. Nor does it <change as other waters do>⁸³ but goes contrary to the seasons of the year, being at its coldest in summer, and at its mildest in winter, relieving and mitigating the hardships of the passing seasons, as befits Asclepius' holy spring. (13.) For it is a fine and pleasant thing, both for the user and for the spectator who on the one hand sees the people standing round the lip of the well in the summer like a swarm of bees or flies around a milk pail,⁸⁴ seeking from dawn to guard against the coming heat, preferring it to any other drink that prevents or restrains thirst – or on the other when the ice is hard, and a man puts out his hand, washes it, and becomes warmer and more comfortable. (14.) The god makes use of the Well like any other assistant in other ways, and the Well has often helped many people to secure what they desired from the god. Just as the slaves of doctors and wonder-workers⁸⁵ are trained to serve them, and help them to amaze spectators and clients, so this Well is the discovery and possession of the great wonder-worker who does everything for the salvation⁸⁶ of humanity. It aids him in everything, and for many it serves as a medicine. (15.) Many have regained their sight by bathing in it; many, by drinking it, have been cured of chest disease and recovered the breath we need for life. It has straightened the feet, or other limbs, of others. A dumb man has spoken after drinking it, like those who become prophets by drinking secret waters.⁸⁷ For some indeed, the mere act of drawing the water has been a means of salvation. For the sick, it is an antidote and a cure: for the healthy who live with it, it makes the use of any other water a mistake, (16.) for if you do try any other after this, it is like drinking a wine that has gone off after a fine vintage. This water alone is equally beneficial to the sick and to the healthy, to each separately and to both together;⁸⁸ you cannot compare milk to it, nor desire wine; it is, as Pindar said of nectar, 'poured by itself',⁸⁹ sufficiently blended for drinking by some divine process of mixing. So, if there were two cups, one of the finest wine and some other water, and one of *this* water by itself, you would be in doubt which to choose. (17.) Other sacred waters⁹⁰ escape the use of men – that of Delos for example and others like that in various places⁹¹ – but this water is sacred *because* it preserves those who use it, not because no one may

ἐξαρκεῖ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πίνειν καὶ λούεσθαι καὶ προσορώσιν εὐφραίνεσθαι.

18. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτε Κύδνον οὔτε Εὐρυμέδοντα οὔτε Χοάσπην, ὅθεν βασιλεὺς ἔπινεν περιφέρων, οὔτε ᾧ τοὺς καλλίστους στεφάνους ἀνήκεν ἢ γῆ περὶ τὴν ὄχθην ἑκατέραν, Πηνειόν, οὔτε (...) πηγὴν ἄβυσσον, οὔθ' ὅ τι ἔρεις ἕτερον ὕδωρ παραβάλοιμ' ἂν τούτῳ τῷ πάντα ἱερῷ, ἀλλ' εἶναι φαίην ἂν αὐτὸ ἐν ὕδασι τοσοῦτῳ νικῶν ὄσω περ τὸν προστάτην αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἐν θεοῖς. λοιπὸν ἐν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ὄσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν οὕτω κρίνοντες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς πρῶτος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον ἤνεγκεν, ὥς φασιν.

Or. 42. Λαλιὰ εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν

1. Ὡ πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις ἐν νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κληθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν, Ἀσκληπιεῖ δέσποτα, ὡς ἀσμένους καὶ ὑπερποθοῦσιν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν οἶον ἐκ πελάγους πολλοῦ {καὶ} κατηφείας* λιμένος τε λαβέσθαι γαληνοῦ καὶ προσειπεῖν τὴν κοινὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔστίαν, ἧς ἀτέλεστος μὲν οὐδεὶς δὴ που τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ, δυσχυρίσασθαι δὲ ἔστιν ὡς Ἑλλήνων γε οὐδεὶς πῶ πλείω μέχρι τοῦδε ἀπέλαυσεν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ σφόδρα εἰσθότι ταῦτα ἐμοὶ λέγειν, ὀκνητέον γε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον. (2.) οὐκοῦν τὰς γε προσρήσεις τὰς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ταύτας ἐλλείπομεν φεύγοντες τὴν συνήθειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο φυλάττομεν, ὅτι εἰθίσθημεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπιμελῆς μὲν δήπου καὶ ἢ διὰ τῶν θυμάτων τε καὶ θυμιαμάτων χάρις τε καὶ τιμὴ, εἴτε κατὰ τὴν Ἡσιόδου παραίνεσιν γιγνομένη εἴτε καὶ προθυμότερον τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου μοι πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα προσήκειν φαίνεται. (3.) εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὅλως μὲν κέρδος ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ βίου καὶ ὡσπερεὶ κεφάλαιον ἢ περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατριβή, τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναγκαιότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι, φαίνεται δὲ ἡμῖν γε καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον, οὔτε τῷ θεῷ καλλίων χάρις, οἶμαι, τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων οὔτε τοῖς λόγοις ἔχοιμεν ἂν εἰς ὅ τι κρεῖττον χρυσαίμεθα.

Καὶ δὴ λέγωμεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρξάμενοι, κοινὰ μὲν οἰδ' ὅτι καὶ βοώμενα – πῶς γὰρ οὐ; – τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἡμῖν δικαιοτέρα, ὄσω προστιθέντες καὶ πλεονάζοντες ταῖς θεραπαίαις ἀμείνους ἂν εἴημεν ἢ παραλείποντες ἃ μηδεὶς τῶν πάντων ἀξιοῖ σιγᾶν.

touch it. This same water serves for purification in the sanctuary, and for men to drink, to wash in, and to take delight in seeing.

18. For my part, I would not compare with this all holy water Cydnus or Eurymedon or Choaspes (though the Persian king used to carry this around with him and drink it⁹²), nor yet that river on both of whose banks the earth put forth the fairest garlands, the Peneus⁹³ – nor even that river <each branch of which> a bottomless spring <supplies>⁹⁴ – or yet any water you may mention! I would say rather that this water excels all others as much as its champion god excels among gods. One thing remains to say: in so judging we shall be acting piously. The god, so they say, was the first to cast his vote in its favour.

Or. 42. Address to Asclepius

1. O Lord Asclepius, whom we⁹⁵ have invoked often and for many causes, by day and by night, in private and in public, how glad, how very eager we were when you granted us, out of a vast sea of despair⁹⁶ to reach a calm haven⁹⁷ and address the common hearth of humanity, where no one under the sun is not an initiate,⁹⁸ but I can firmly assert that no Greek has ever yet had more benefit <than I>! Accustomed though I am to say such things, I must not therefore be more hesitant. (2.) We do not leave off our daily addresses to escape a habit, we maintain the practice just because we were habituated to it from the start. To me, indeed the gratitude and honour displayed in sacrifice and incense-burning is of course a concern, whether I offer it in accordance with Hesiod's precept⁹⁹ or with more zeal than my means allow,¹⁰⁰ but it is the service of speech¹⁰¹ that seems most appropriate for me. (3.) If it is true that the study of oratory is in general a profitable thing for a man in life, and as it were his crowning achievement, and if oratory devoted to the gods is the most vital and righteous of all, and if, moreover, for me oratorical success is seen to come from the god himself, then, I think, there is no fairer thank-offering to the god than that which comes from oratory, nor is there any better use to which I could put my oratorical powers.¹⁰²

Let us now start at the beginning, and say what I know is commonplace and trite – of course it is – but is all the more our duty to repeat, because we should do better service by enlarging and multiplying than by leaving out what nobody thinks ought to be left unsaid.

4. Ασκληπιουῦ δυνάμεις μεγάλαι τε καὶ πολλαί, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπασαι, οὐχ ὅσον ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος χωρεῖ. καὶ Διὸς Ασκληπιουῦ νεῶν οὐκ ἄλλως οἱ τῆδε ἰδρῦσαντο· ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἐμοὶ σαφῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰκὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον {ἐν ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξεν τρόπῳ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἰρηται},* οὐτός ἐσθ' ὁ τὸ πᾶν ἄγων καὶ νέμων σωτῆρ τῶν ὅλων καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ἀθανάτων, εἰ δὲ θέλεις τραγικώτερον εἰπεῖν, 'ἐφορος οἰάκων', σώζων τὰ τε ὄντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. εἰ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα καὶ τρίτον ἀπὸ Διὸς νομίζομεν αὐτόν, αὐθις (δ') αὐ καὶ συνάπτομεν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν {...}: ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ αὐτόν τὸν Δία γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ποτε, πάλιν δὲ αὐτόν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα τῶν ὄντων πατέρα καὶ ποιητήν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἔχεται καὶ λεγέσθω, ἐπανέλθωμεν δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν. (5.) πάσας {δὲ} ἔχων* ὁ θεὸς τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ πάντων ἄρα εὐεργετεῖν προεἴλετο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκάστῳ τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδιδούς. μεγίστην δὲ καὶ κοινοτάτην εὐεργεσίαν εἰς ἅπαντας κατέθετο ἀθάνατον ποιήσας τὸ γένος τῆ διαδοχῇ, γάμους τε καὶ παίδων γενέσεις καὶ τροφῶν ἀφορμὰς καὶ πόρους διὰ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐργασάμενος. τὰ δ' ἐν μέρει 'πρὸς ἄνδρα ὀρῶν' ἤδη διεδίδου, οἷον δὴ τέχνας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ βίους πάντας, κοινῶ τινι φαρμάκῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας πόνους καὶ πράξεις πάσας τῆ Ὑγιείᾳ χρώμενος. ἰατρεία δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον κατεστήσατο, καὶ φιλοτεχνεῖν ἀνέθηκεν ἑαυτῷ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, ὑπὲρ εὐθυμίας τῶν αἰεὶ δεομένων τε καὶ δεησομένων.

6. Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἄδουσίν τε καὶ ἄσονται τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν οὕτως μνησθῆναι βούλομαι. εἰσὶν οἱ φασιν ἀναστῆναι κείμενοι, ὁμολογούμενα δήπου λέγοντες καὶ πάλαι τῷ θεῷ μελετώμενα· ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν ὁσάκις, τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἐτύχομεν. ἔτη καὶ χρόνους ἔστιν οἷς ἐπέδωκεν ἐκ προορησεως· τούτων ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἀλυπότατον. (7.) ἀλλὰ καὶ μέλη τοῦ σώματος αἰτιῶνται τινες, καὶ ἄνδρες λέγω καὶ γυναῖκες, προνοία τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι σφίσι, τῶν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως διαφθαρέντων, καὶ καταλέγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλο τι, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στόματος οὕτως φράζοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐξηγούμενοι ἡμῖν τοῖνυν οὐχὶ μέρος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα συνθεῖς τε καὶ συμπήξας αὐτὸς ἔδωκε δωρεάν, ὥσπερ Προμηθεὺς τάρχαϊα λέγεται συμπλάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. πολλὰς ὀδύνας τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνας καὶ ἀπορίας μεθημερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς ἀφείλεν πολλοῖς, οὐ μὲν οὖν ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅσοις· τὰς δὲ γε ἡμετέρας περὶ ταῦτα τρικυμίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἄριστα σύννοιδεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ παύσας φαίνεται. (8.) καὶ μὴν τό γε παράδοξον πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς ἰάμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἷον τὸν μὲν

4. Many and great are the powers of Asclepius, or rather they are all-encompassing, beyond the scope of human life. It was not for nothing that the people have established the temple of Zeus Asclepius;¹⁰³ but if my teacher spoke plainly (and he, above all, must surely have done so) {in what manner he taught this and how is explained in the Sacred Tales}¹⁰⁴ it is he who guides and governs all, saviour of the universe and guardian of the immortals – or, if you prefer a loftier style, ‘the helm’s controller’,¹⁰⁵ keeping safe both what always is and what comes to be. If we believe him to be the son of Apollo and third in descent from Zeus, and yet again join them in name, <we do not hold contradictory beliefs>,¹⁰⁶ because men say that Zeus himself was once born and yet show him to be the father and creator of the world.¹⁰⁷ However, as Plato says, ‘let these things be and be said as the gods themselves wish’.¹⁰⁸

Let us go back to the point from which we digressed.¹⁰⁹

5. Possessing,¹¹⁰ as he does, all powers, the god chose to benefit mankind in every way, giving each his due. The greatest and most universal benefit he established for it was by making the race immortal by succession, working through Health to ensure marriage and procreation, and sources and provisions of nourishment.¹¹¹ Individual gifts he has distributed ‘with an eye to the man’¹¹² – skills and pursuits and various ways of life, using Health as a universal medicine for every labour and every action. He has set up centres of healing for public use, and has laid upon himself the practice of his art by night and by day, for the comfort of any who at any time need it, or will come to need it.

6. Men sing, and will always sing, of many different things; for my part, I wish to record in this way what was given to me. Some say they have risen again when they lay as dead, and this is a thing acknowledged and long practised by the god:¹¹³ I have enjoyed this benefit not once, but more times than it is easy to tell.¹¹⁴ To some, by his predictions, he has added years and length of days. I am one of these – this is the least painful way to speak of it.¹¹⁵ (7.) Some, both men and women, claim that limbs have developed on their bodies, by the god’s provision, when their natural limbs had perished: they tell various stories, some by word of mouth, some by statements on their dedications:¹¹⁶ for me, it was not a part of my body but the whole of it that he himself put together and made firm and gave me as a gift – just as Prometheus of old is said to have fashioned man!¹¹⁷ From many people – no one could say how many – he has taken away pains and discomforts and problems, both of the day and of the night.¹¹⁸ My storms of this kind he knows well, and it is plainly he who has put an end to them. (8.) There is very much that is paradoxical in the god’s prescriptions¹¹⁹ – that one, for in-

γύψου πίνειν, τὸν δὲ κωνείου, τὸν δὲ γυμνοῦσθαι καὶ λούειν ψυχρῶ, θέρμης οὐκ ἀδήλως, ὡς ἂν τις δόξαι, δεόμενον.* ἡμᾶς τοίνυν καὶ τούτον τὸν τρόπον τετίμηκεν, κατάρρους καὶ ψύξεις ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάττη παύων, κατακλίσεις ἀπόρους ὁδῶν μήκεις ἰώμενος, τροφῆς δ' ἐνδεία συνεχεῖ τὰς ἀμυθήτους καθάρσεις προσιθίεις, ἀναπνεῖν δὲ ἀποροῦντι λέγειν καὶ γράφειν προσατάτων, ὥστ' εἴ τι καὶ τοῖς οὕτω θεραπευθεῖσιν ἔπεστιν αὐχημα, μηδ' ἡμᾶς ἀμοίρους εἶναι τούτου. (9.) καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν καρτερήσεις ἑαυτῶν διηγούνται καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἷα ὑπέμειναν τοῦ θεοῦ καθηγουμένου, οἱ δὲ ὡς ῥαστώνην εὗροντο ὧν ἐδέοντο, ἡμῖν δὲ πλείστα μὲν δήπου κεκαρτέρηται κατὰ πολλοὺς καὶ παντοδαποὺς τρόπους, τὰ δὲ πάνυ κούφως ἐν ἡδονῇ γεγένηται, ὡς μηδαμῶ τὸς τρυφῶντας ἂν εἶναι, εἰ βούλοιο ἀντεξετάζειν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν πόλεις Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, {καὶ} τὰς περὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλίας τῶν συνευφραϊνομένων* ὡς ἐπ' οἰκειοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πῶς οὐκ ἐπέκεινα τρυφῆς θήσομαι; τί δ' ἂν εἴποις θορύβους ἐν βουλευτηρίοις καὶ σπουδὰς ἕξω παραδείγματος; τὸ δὲ καὶ πρὶν εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν πεπιστευθῆναι προέχειν, ἄρ' οὐ θεία τις χάρις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ῥαστώνης ἔχουσα; φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε, εἴπερ εἴη μεμνησθαι* τῶν κρειττόνων.

10. Ἦδη τοίνυν τινῶν ἤκουσα λεγόντων ὡς αὐτοῖς πλέουσι καὶ θορυβούμενοις φανείς ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ὤρξε, ἔτεροι δὲ γε φήσουσιν ὡς πράγματα ἄττα κατῶρθωσαν ὑποθήκαις ἀκολουθήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν ἔχομεν πεπειραμένοι. [ὅσα δ' αὐτῶν οἷόν τε ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ταῦτα ἔνεστι λόγοις.]* (11.) ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίσματα πυκτικὰ πύκτη τινὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαθεύδοντι προειπεῖν λέγεται τὸν θεόν, οἷς ἔδει χρησάμενον καταβαλεῖν τινὰ τῶν πάνυ λαμπρῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· μαθήματα δὲ ἡμῖν γε καὶ μέλη καὶ λόγων ὑποθέσεις καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοήματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν λέξιν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς παισὶ τὰ γράμματα.

Ἐπιθεις τοίνυν ὥσπερ κεφάλαιον τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δὴ κατακλείσω τὸν λόγον ἐνταῦθά σου.

12. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ, ὦ δέσποτα Ἀσκληπιέ, πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὥσπερ ὑπέειπον, παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας γεγένηται, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ πλείστης χάριτος ἄξιον καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν οἰκειότατον οἱ λόγοι. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Πινδάρου μετέβαλες· ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πάν τὸν παιᾶνα ὠρχήσατο, ὡς λόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὧν (...) ὑποκριτῆς εἶναι· προὔτρεψάς τε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως κατέστης ἡγεμῶν. (13.) καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἂ καὶ τούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν ἀκολουθῆσαι, καὶ τούτων ἐπεμελήθης, ὅπως ἔσται σοὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐν δόξῃ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ τῶν εἰς ἄρχον-

stance, should drink chalk, one hemlock, one should strip naked and take a cold bath when one would think that what he manifestly¹²⁰ needed was heat. He has honoured me in this way too, stopping catarrhs and chills by baths in rivers and the sea,¹²¹ curing helpless confinement to bed by long journeys, administering unheard of purges after continuous fasting, and ordering me to speak and write when I found it difficult to breathe; so, if those who have been so cured have cause to boast, I am not without such cause either. (9.) Some speak of their patience and all they endured under the god's guidance, while others tell how they found ease in the fulfilment of their needs.¹²² I have indeed endured, in many and various ways, but I have also experienced great ease and delight – a life of luxury would come nowhere in comparison! While I could tell of other cities in Europe and Asia¹²³ – as to the company *here* of those who share my joy as if it were a blessing to themselves, how could I fail to reckon this as above all luxury? And what can one say of the applause in council chambers¹²⁴ and the unexampled enthusiasm? As to my being believed to excel even before I spoke, is not this a divine grace, the very summit of ease? So should I say, were it permissible to mention the higher powers.¹²⁵

10. I have heard some say that the god appeared to them and stretched out his hand to them when they were at sea and in trouble and others will say that they have succeeded in some business by following the god's advice. This too I have experienced; I can speak of it, rather than listening to others' stories. {As much of this as is possible to record is also in the Sacred Tales.}¹²⁶ (11.) It is even said that the god prescribed certain boxing tricks to a boxer of our time who slept in the sanctuary¹²⁷ – tricks by means of which he was to knock out a very famous opponent. To me he has suggested¹²⁸ items of learning, songs, themes for speeches and also the actual thoughts and diction,¹²⁹ – just like those who teach children their letters.

Having made this the culmination of the god's benefactions, I shall now bring my speech to a conclusion.

12. Lord Asclepius, many gifts of all kinds have been granted to me from you and your generosity; but the greatest, the gift that deserves most thanks and is, surely, the dearest to my heart, is my oratory.¹³⁰ You have turned Pindar's experience upside down: Pan, they say, danced his Paean,¹³¹ whereas I, if it is right to say so, was thought worthy to perform the speech you yourself composed.¹³² You encouraged me to take up oratory, and were my guide in my training. (13.) But this was not enough: you took care also for what was bound to follow – that your work should be of high repute. There is no city, no private person, no

τας τελούντων, ὅς οὐ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμῖν ὀμιλήσας οὐκ ἠσπάσατο εἰς ὅσον οἶός τε ἦν τὸν ἔπαινον ἐκτείνων, οὐ τῶν ἐμῶν, οἶμαι, λόγων ταῦτα ἐργαζομένων, ἀλλὰ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου. (14.) τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον τῶν περὶ ταῦτα τὸ καὶ τοῖς θείοις βασιλευσιν εἰς τοσοῦτον οἰκείουσθαι καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν γραμμάτων συνουσίας ἐπιδείξασθαι λέγοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ σπουδαζόμενον ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτε, καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως μὲν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλίδων γενέσθαι, καὶ παντὸς δὴ τοῦ βασιλείου χοροῦ.

Ὀδυσσεὶ δὲ ὑπήρξεν παρ' Ἀθηναῶν ἐν Ἀλκινόου καὶ Φαίαξι ἐπιδείξασθαι – μέγα δὴ πού καὶ τοῦτο καὶ μάλα ἐν καιρῷ –, καὶ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρῆν ἀνακαλοῦν, ἔργω σοῦ δείξαντος ὅτι πολλῶν εἵνεκα προήγαγες εἰς μέσον, ὡς φανεῖν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ γένοιτο αὐτήκοοι τῶν κρειττόνων οἱ τελεώτατοι. (15.) τούτων καὶ πολλῶν ἐτέρων οὔτε (...) παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἰδίᾳ κἀνταῖς ὀμιλίαις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν δυνατὴν ἔχοντες χάριν οὐ παυσόμεθα, ἕως ἄν τι μνήμης καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν μετὸν ἡμῖν τυχεράνη. φαίην δ' ἄν ἔγωγε καὶ ταύτην παρὰ σοῦ κεκομίσθαι τὴν χάριν, τὸ σὲ τὸν πάντα ἄριστον παρεῖναι τε ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπιψηφίζειν τοὺς λόγους.

Or. 53. Πανηγυρικός ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι (τῷ) ἐν Περγάμῳ

1. Ὁμήρῳ μὲν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῶν χειμάρρων εἴρηται Ἰων δέ τε τηλόθι δοῦπον ἐν οὐρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμήν· καὶ φρίζαντα δὴ φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον εἰσελαύνειν τὰς οἰς· ἐγὼ δὲ καίτοι τοσοῦτον ὑμῶν ἀπέχων τὸ νῦν, ἀκούσας τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν εἰσβολὴν καὶ ὅσον τι κόσμου προσγένονεν τῇ πόλει, οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν ἠσυχάζειν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ἐφθεγγόμην τε ἃ ἐφθεγγόμην καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἡσθανόμην ἐλαφροτέρου καὶ χαρᾶς ἀπῆν οὐδέν. (2.) δυοῖν δ' ἡμέραιν πρότερον πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι – οὐ γὰρ χεῖρον ἴσως πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν· ἀκούσεσθε γὰρ ἡδέως τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν τοῦ προδείξαντος καὶ ἅμα τῆς εὐφημίας – ὄψις ὄνειράτων γενομένη μοι ὡσπερὶ διπλασίαν ἐδείκνυε τὴν πόλιν, χωρίου τε δὴ τινος προσθήκη, πεπορισμένου συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ δημοσίων δὴ κόσμων προσγενομένων παραπλησίων μάλιστα πῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φίλιον. διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ὄναρ τε ἐγανύμην καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνέστην, ἐλάμβανον εἰς ἀγαθὸν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ἐμαυτῷ. (3.) τριταία δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγγελία παρὰ ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφικνεῖται φράζουσα καὶ δὴ πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν συνεορτάζειν τῆς περὶ πάντα

one qualified to hold office, who has not, having been with me for a short time, greeted me warmly and praised me at length to the best of his powers¹³³ – though it was not my oratory, I am sure, that brought this about, but my master’s – yours! (14.) The greatest blessing in this connection is that I became so familiar with the divine emperors,¹³⁴ not only by written communications, but by my delivering speeches before them and being received enthusiastically, as no one ever before, by the emperors and the empresses alike, and indeed by all the imperial court.¹³⁵

Odysseus, by Athena’s gift, was enabled to deliver a speech before Alcinoos and the Phaeacians¹³⁶ – a great thing, no doubt, and very timely – and my affair too was so brought about and there was a sign which summoned me,¹³⁷ when you showed by deeds that you had brought me forward for many reasons, so that I might be conspicuous¹³⁸ in oratory, and the most perfect of the highest people should personally hear me. (15.) For these and many other blessings, I shall never cease rendering what thanks I can either <in public before many>¹³⁹ or privately by myself or in conversation with those I meet, as long as I possess some share of memory and mind. I should like to say that it is another favour from you that you, who are best in all things, are at my side and give my speech your approval.

Or. 53. On the water¹⁴⁰ in Pergamum

1. Homer says of the meeting of the torrents:

‘Far off in the mountains the shepherd heard their roar’,
and that he shivered and drove his sheep into a cave.¹⁴¹ And I, though I am now so far away from you, hearing about the coming of the water and all the splendour it has added to the city, could not stay quiet in my delight, but said what I said and felt my body easier; nothing was lacking to my joy.

2. Two days before I heard the news – it is perhaps good to tell you this, for you will be glad to hear it, for the sake of the god who gave the revelation and the auspiciousness of it – a dream vision¹⁴² showed me the city doubled in size, by the addition of an area contiguous with it, and public monuments added also, like those connected with Zeus Philios.¹⁴³ I rejoiced in my dream, and when I got up I took this as a good omen for the city and for me. (3.) Two days later came the news from one of my friends that all Asia was joining you in celebrating the good fortune in this.¹⁴⁴ The water, the message ran, was the most abundant

ἀγαθῆς τύχης· εἶναι γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πλήθει τε πλείστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον ὅσων ἔλαχον πόλεις. ἦγον οὖν οὐχ ὅσον ἡρινὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' οἴαν εἰκὸς ἄγειν Διὸς τε Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτήρος πανταχῆ τιμώντος· καὶ συνέχαιρον δὴ τῇ πόλει μὲν τῶν προσγεγονότων, ἔμαυτῶ δὲ ὡς ἠξιώθην προακοῦσαι, δηλον ὅτι ὡς οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐμοὶ τῆς πόλεως προσήκον. (4.) μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐλογιζόμενην ὡς τὸ μὲν χαίρειν κοινὸν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ παιδαριῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ἅτε τῆς ὄψεως προξενούσης τὴν ἡδονὴν, λόγῳ δὲ ἐπικοσμηῆσαι τὴν τῶν Νυμφῶν δόσιν τάχα ἂν τινος εἴη τῶν περὶ τὸν Παιᾶνα διατριψάντων καὶ τῶν ἐπιταχθέντων ζῆν ἐν λόγοις. ἀνεμιμησκόμην δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν, ὅτι Νύμφας καὶ Μούσας ἀεὶ πῶς συνάγουσι, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὡς χορηγὸν ἀεὶ προσαγορεύουσι τῶν Νυμφῶν, καὶ πάλιν γε Ἀπόλλωνα χορηγὸν Μουσῶν· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ὕμιν θεὸς Καλλιτέκνου προσηγορίαν εἶχε, τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα· ἀπανταχῆ δὴ πρέπον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄωρον ἐφαίνετο τῇ τῶν Νυμφῶν χάριτι συγκεράσαι τὴν παρὰ τῆς μουσικῆς. πᾶσι γὰρ ἂν προσήκοντα πράττειν οἷς εἶπον θεοῖς.

5. Ἐξ ἀρχῆς δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ κάλλιστα ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο μοι πρεσβύτατοι δαιμόνων ἐνταυθοῖ λέγονται γενέσθαι Κάβειροι, καὶ τελεταὶ τούτοις καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τῶσάυτην ἰσχὺν ἔχειν πεπίστευται ὥστε χειμώνων τε ἐξαισίων

and most beautiful that cities have had. So I spent the day not just as one of spring, but as it seemed right to pass a day which Zeus of Good Tidings and Asclepius the Saviour¹⁴⁵ honoured in every way. I was happy for the city because of what it had gained, and for myself because I was found worthy of hearing of it in advance – plainly because my ties with the city were as close as anyone’s.

4. I then reflected that, while the joy was common to all, men, women and children, as the vision brought pleasure, nevertheless it might be the duty of one who passes his days with the Healer and is ordered to live in the pursuit of oratory, to add some adornment to the gift of the Nymphs. I recalled how the poets always bring the Nymphs and the Muses together, and how they address Hermes as choirmaster of the Nymphs and Apollo as choirmaster of the Muses. With you, this god has the title Kallitekno^s,¹⁴⁶ because of his father; and surely it was everywhere proper and timely to link the grace of music with the grace of the Nymphs, for so I would seem to be doing what was right to all the gods I have mentioned.

5. It seems that the fairest gifts have been bestowed on the city from its beginning, by both gods and men. The oldest divine beings, the Cabiri,¹⁴⁷ are said to have been born here, with rituals and mysteries in their honour which are believed to have such power that they <can stem the violence>¹⁴⁸ of unseasonable storms ...

Notes on the Translations

- * The asterisk in the Greek text refers to the list of textual variants found at the end of the Introduction.
- 1 Aristides quotes Hom. *Il.* 2.56. [R.]
- 2 I. e. the dream that Aristides speaks of begins the speech which it suggests to the sleeping Aristides with the Homeric verse just quoted. [N.]
- 3 On the antithesis ὕπαρ – ὄναρ see already Hom. *Od.* 19.547 (Penelope describes a dream in which an eagle symbolizing Odysseus kills twenty geese symbolizing Penelope's suitors; then still within this dream the eagle reveals its identity to Penelope and predicts that what she has seen will come to pass οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ) and 20.90 (Penelope has another dream of Odysseus of such vividness that it was like οὐκ [...] ὄναρ [...], ἀλλ' ὕπαρ). In Aristides himself, compare *Or.* 37.1, 48.18. [N.]
- 4 I. e. in the dream. [R.]
- 5 This mention of a balance of hopes and fear is carefully calculated to secure the listener's sympathy for Aristides (*captatio benevolentiae*), as both a pious respecter of the god and someone specially favoured by him [T.]
- 6 Reading τὸ σύμβαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου (manuscripts offer the variants σύμπαν ἐπὶ [AT¹] and συμβαίνον ἐκ [SDUT²]) [R.].
- 7 Claiming superiority for his own procedure over that of the poets has a special point in an oration which is a prose transposition of what was originally a verse form (the hymn); poetic invocations of the Muses, Aristides suggests, have an air of artificiality about them, but his own invocation of Asclepius is the real thing. Compare especially what Aristides has to say about the legitimacy of prose as a medium for hymns in the preface to the hymn *Regarding Sarapis* (*Or.* 45.1–4). [T.]
- 8 Asclepius ordered the dream; his father is Apollo. [R.]
- 9 "The father of the speech" is a Platonic phrase (*Symp.* 177d, *Phdr.* 257b). [R.]
- 10 For the qualifications required of Athenian *thesmothetai* (archons), see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 55. They had to prove their parents and grandparents were citizens. Aristides's "nobles" (*eupatridai*) seem an exaggeration. [R.]
- 11 The reckoning is inclusive: Zeus fathered Aeacus, who (fathering Peleus) became the grandfather of Achilles. [N.]
- 12 The Ὑγείας κήποι seem to be attested only here (as a TLG search confirms): could they be an ad-hoc invention of Aristides? A possible model might be the 'Garden of Aphrodite' as an honorific name for either Cyrene (*Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 5.31) or the whole of Libya/North Africa (*Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 9.16a). [N.]
- 13 The Centaur who trained Achilles. [R.]
- 14 KEIL's addition of τούς seems superfluous. [R.]
- 15 This etymological pun (between the name Cheiron and the adjective χείρων, "worse") is not (it seems) found elsewhere, though the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v. Χείρων) comes quite close by explaining the name by the fact "that he lived in rather bad places" (διὰ τὸ ἐν χείροσι ... τόποις διάγειν). In grammarians, the name Χείρων and the comparative form χείρω can be found in juxtaposition in the grammarian Herodian (*Pros. cath.* 35.11 LENTZ; Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 734.2–3 LENTZ; see also Choerob. *Prol. in Theodos. canones* 274.30–31 HILGARD). [N.]
- 16 They came from the Thessalian town of Tricca. [R.]
- 17 This reference to Greeks buying their way out of participation in the Trojan War may be an ad-hoc invention on Aristides's part. The story that Odysseus tried to evade the call-up by feigning madness, first told in the epic poem the *Cypria*, was

- well known (*Cypria Arg.* 5 West; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 3.6–7; Lucian, *De domo* 30; Pliny, *NH* 35.129; etc.), but that is not the same thing. [T.]
- 18 An allusion to Achilles, whom his mother Thetis had spirited away to the island of Scyrus and hidden among the daughters of King Lycomedes. [N.]
- 19 Aristides's picture of Machaon and Podalirius routing their enemies in the Trojan War is an easy extension from the *Iliad*, where the two brothers lead a contingent of thirty ships from Oechalia (*Il.* 2.729–732), and Machaon at least is seen actively engaged in the fighting (*Il.* 4.200–202, 11.504–507). According to some sources Machaon was one of the contingent concealed in the Wooden Horse (Virgil, *Aen.* 2.263), and died in the subsequent fighting (*Little Iliad*, reported by Pausanias 3.26.9–10). [T.]
- 20 Reading ὄτι (instead of CANTER's supplement διὰ) and omitting δέ after οὔτοι (with some manuscripts). [R.]
- 21 Philoctetes was the inheritor of Heracles's famous bow and arrows (Heracles had given these to his father Poeas, because he helped him to ignite the pyre on which Heracles hoped to escape his intolerable pain). He took part in the Greek expedition to Troy, but was left behind on the island of Lemnos after he had been bitten by a snake and the wound festered and gave off an insufferable stench. In the tenth year of the Trojan War, however, the Greeks received an oracle that they would only be able to take Troy with the help of Heracles's bow and arrows that were still in Philoctetes's possession. So, Odysseus and Diomedes brought the still sick Philoctetes from Lemnos to the Greek camp before Troy, where he was healed by Machaon and Podalirius (or just Podalirius, because Machaon had already been killed: see notes 19 and 37), and his actions helped to vanquish the Trojans. [N.]
- 22 Teuthrania is the mythical name of the region where later Pergamum was situated, so that our two heroes according to Aristides laid the foundation (after a fashion) for the later Asclepieum there. [N.] These activities of Machaon and Podalirius in Teuthrania and Cos seem not to be attested elsewhere; they are anticipations of the prominence of the cults of Asclepius in Pergamum and Cos. [P.]
- 23 Cos is called 'Meropid' by Aristides also in *Or.* 33.27, by Callimachus (*Hymn to Delos*, v. 160) and in an Olympian victor's inscription mentioned in Paus. 6.14.12. [N.]
- 24 The Meropes mentioned here were the first mythical inhabitants of the island of Cos (see the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, v. 42: Κόως [...], πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, "Cos [...], city of the Meropes"). They were named after their king Merops who according to some variants of the myth seems to have sprung directly from the earth (like Cecrops in Attica), but according to another was a son of one Triopas and the Coans were named Meropes after him (Steph. Byz. s. v. Μέροψ). The clash of the Coan Meropes with Heracles is mentioned in Pind. *Nem.* 4.26, *Isthm.* 6.31–32 and narrated, inter alia, in an anonymous epic poem (*Meropis*, SH 903A) of controversial date (see A. BERNABÉ, *Poetae Epici Graeci I*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana [Stuttgart / Leipzig 1996] 132; H. LLOYD-JONES, *Supplementum Supplementi Hellenistici*. Texte und Kommentare 26 [Berlin / New York 2005] 105) quoted by the Hellenistic scholar Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrHist* 244 F 354bis). Other accounts of the story are found in Homer (*Il.* 14.250–255), Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 78), Apollodor (*Bibl.* 2.137–138 [= 2.7.1]). The story goes like this: Heracles, returning from his sacking of Troy, was forced by a storm (sent by Hera) to land on Cos, but its ruler Eurypylyus tried to prevent him from coming ashore (this may be the crime Aristides alludes to). For this, Heracles slew Eurypylyus and his sons. [N.]
- 25 For instance, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 1–125, Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 28–45. [R.]
- 26 I. e. the island of Cos (see n. 23 above). [N.]

- 27 A period of rule by Asclepiads on Rhodes is claimed here only, though Galen, *Meth. med.* 1.1 (6 KÜHN 10) mentions an extinct school of Asclepiads on the island: cf. H. VAN GELDER, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (Haag 1900) 330–331. [P.]
- 28 Heracles's son Tlepolemus settled in Rhodes (Diod. 4.58.7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.170 [= 2.8.2]) and founded the cities of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus (Hom. *Il.* 2.653–657; Diod. 4.58.8). After Tlepolemus had been slain by Sarpedon in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 5.629–659), his widow ruled for a time as guardian of his little son (cf. Paus. 3.19.10), but the change from the Heraclids to Podalirius and Machaon as rulers of Rhodes must have taken place soon after. [N.]
- 29 For the tradition that Podalirius was shipwrecked on the coast of Caria on the way home from Troy and there founded the cities Syrna/Syrnos and Bybassos see Steph. Byz. s. v. Σύρνα and Βυβάσσοϛ, Paus. 3.26.10, cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.18; according to Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 103 (14) the Asclepiad doctors in Cos and Cnidus were descendants of Podalirius and migrated thither from Syrnos (Aristides's claim that the brothers themselves occupied Cnidus appears unique). [P.]
- 30 Aristides here acknowledges that tradition associated Podalirius but not Machaon with Caria and Cnidus. [P.]
- 31 Syrnos in Caria (see n. 29 above) was also spelt Kyrnos (e. g. Diod. 5.60.4–5). Aristides has apparently read of the Carian Kyrnos in connection with Podalirius and confused it with the much more important island of Corsica, also called Kyrnos in Greek (U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Isyllos von Epidauros*. Philologische Untersuchungen 9 [Berlin 1886] 50 n. 14). [P.]
- 32 Respectful references to Egyptian medicine and its antiquity begin in Greek literature with Homer and Herodotus (*Od.* 4.227–232; *Histories* 2.84, 3.1 and 3.129); for closer to Aristides's time, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.82. [T.]
- 33 I. e. of the Hellenic race. [R.]
- 34 The Asclepieum of Cos lies 4 km to the southwest of the city on a hill overlooking it. [R.]
- 35 On the development of the Triptolemus myth see now H.-G. NESSELRATH, "Triptolemos – ein mythischer Kulturheld im Wandel der Zeiten", in: A. ZGOLL / R. G. KRATZ (eds.), *Arbeit am Mythos. Leistung und Grenze des Mythos in Antike und Gegenwart* (Tübingen 2013) 195–216. [N.]
- 36 The story is also found in a scholium to Ar. *Nub.* 749b (W. J. W. KOSTER, *Scholia in Aristophanem*, 1.3.2, *Scholia recentiora in Nubes* [Groningen 1974] 113): when Medea fled from Colchis together with Jason, she lost her bag, which was full of drugs, in Thessaly, and thus Thessaly became "drug-producing" (φαρμακουργός). The more immediate reason for Medea's flight through Thessaly probably was her killing of Iolcus's ruler Pelias, after which she and Jason had to seek refuge in Corinth (see Eur. *Med.* 9–11; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.144–145). [N.]
- 37 Particular guilds of doctors claimed to be "descendants of Asclepius, Asclepiadae", a claim made explicitly for Hippocrates in late sources (e. g. repeatedly in the letters supposedly relating to Hippocrates collected in E. LITTRÉ [ed.], *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. IX [Paris 1861] 312–428). The details of the line of descent below Asclepius are not normally specified, but Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 103) speaks of descendants of Podalirius founding the medical schools of Cos and Cnidus, and Podalirius's son Hippolochus (Tzetzes, *Chil.* 7.940–941; cf. Soranus, *Lives of Physicians* *FGH* 1062 F 2.1) was named as an ancestor of Hippocrates; in most traditions Machaon died before or during the siege of Troy (e. g. Paus. 3.26.9–10; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.1; Quintus of Smyrna 6.391–429), and Aristides may be unique in treating him too as a forbear of the Asclepiads (cf. C. NISSEN, *Entre Asclépios et Hippocrate. Étude des cultes guérisseurs et des médecins en Carie*. *Kernos* 22 [Liège 2009] 263 n. 6), though his sons Nicomachus and Gorgasus had a healing cult in Messenia (Paus. 4.30.3). [P. / T.]

- 38 See n. 41 below.
- 39 The “ancestor” to whom the sentence refers is Asclepius. [R.]
- 40 Machaon and Podalirius did not suffer the fate of the Heraclids: when Heracles had gone from this earth, his children had to flee from king Eurystheus who wanted them dead, because he feared that they might claim his throne. They found refuge in Athens and, after Eurystheus had been killed, returned to the Peloponnese, their ancestral domain. A plague, however, forced them to go into exile again, until they could finally come back and stay (Apolloclod. *Bibl.* 2.167–177 [= 2.8.1–4]). [N.]
- 41 ΚΕΙΛ suggested that Aristides might have used the form φατρία (instead of φρατρία), because he is talking about a ‘Dorica gens’. But it seems that the difference between φρατρία and φατρία is not one of dialect, as the latter occurs in a famous inscription from Chios. [P.] The Attic orator Aeschines uses φατρία (*Or.* 2.147), as does Aristides himself in *Or.* 3.481. [N.]
- 42 This harks back to § 14, where Aristides first mentions the children and descendants of Podalirius and Machaon. [N.]
- 43 The metaphorical use of the imagery of ‘sickness’ for describing the ‘unhealthy’ state of a polis has its roots in Plato (see *Grg.* 518e–519a). [Natalia Pedrique] The expression τὰ τῶν πόλεων νοσήματα itself may take its clue from Isocrates (*Or.* 10.34) and Plato (*Resp.* 8.544c), who call tyranny a “disease of the city”. [N.]
- 44 I. e. joined the society of the gods, so the phrase counts as urbane periphrasis rather than euphemism. [T.]
- 45 According to Hom. *Od.* 4.561–568, Menelaus’s fate was not the ‘normal’ death of other mortals, but he was promised a place in the Elysian Fields under the jurisdiction of “fair-haired Rhadamanthus”. In Pindar, *Ol.* 2.68–77, this place has become the “Island of the Blessed”. [N.]
- 46 Accepting ΚΕΙΛ’s conjecture (in his apparatus) ἐμφανείς (instead of ἐμφανῆ). [R.]
- 47 For the oracular cults of Amphiaraus and Trophonius in Boeotia see e.g. Paus. 1.34.1–5, 9.39.2–40.2. Amphilochus son of Amphiaraus was supposedly the founder of Amphilocheian Argos on the Ambraciote gulf, on the western fringes of Aetolia, but is not otherwise attested as having had an oracle in that region; he had a famous one at Mallus in Cilicia (e.g. Paus. 1.34.3). [P.]
- 48 ΚΕΙΛ deleted αὐτοῖς, but this may be unnecessary. [R.]
- 49 Aristides exaggerates, but cults of Machaon and Podalirius are quite numerous: see A. STEIN, “Machaon”, *RE* XIV (1930) 147 and H. KENNER, “Podaleirios”, *RE* XXI.1 (1951) 1132–1134. [P.]
- 50 For his peroration, Aristides launches into an enthusiastic and impassioned apostrophe to the sons of Asclepius, in which the verbal style (shorter clauses, parallelism of structure, anaphora, antithesis) strikes a noticeably more exalted and poetic note than the rest of the speech. Both the heightened language and the turn to direct address of the divinities at the end of the speech echo the procedures of verse hymns. [T.]
- 51 Machaon and Podalirius are sons of Asclepius and of Epione, who is regarded as the goddess “of the soothing of pain” (cf. Cornutus, *Theol.* 33.3, 71.2–5 LANG: τοῦ ὀνόματος ... δηλοῦντος ... τὸ παραύνητικὸν τῶν ὀχλήσεων διὰ τῆς ἡπίου φαρμακείας, “the name ... signifies ... the soothing of the pains through gentle medication”). In Hippocr. [*Ep.*] 10 she is called a daughter of Heracles. [N.]
- 52 Asclepius had six children by Epione: Podalirius, Machaon, Iaso, Panacea, Aigle and Hygieia (in some sources one more appears, Akeso). Iaso and Panacea have speaking names, ‘Curer’ and ‘All-heal’, and it is presumably because health is better than cure that Hygieia, health, “is a match for them all”. [P.]
- 53 I. e. the sons of Asclepius are metaphorically the masters of ceremonies (symposiarchs) of all the festivities held in their honour; it was one of a symposiarch’s functions to supervise the mixing bowl and the proportions of wine and water that

- went into it. For some thoughts on what makes a good symposiarch, see Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.4. [T.]
- 54 I.e. they are specially heart-warming because they spring directly from the worshippers' own grateful awareness of the blessings they have received. [T.]
- 55 The Dioscuri make a good comparison for the sons of Asclepius because they too were originally mortals, subsequently raised to the status of gods, and they too in their divine form intervene to save humans in moments of crisis. A concluding comparison, slanted so as to favour one's subject of the moment, is a standard element in rhetorical encomia. [T.]
- 56 The Dioscuri (who took part in the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis) are one generation older than Podalirius and Machaon (who took part in the Greek expedition against Troy). [N.]
- 57 For *philanthropia*, benevolence to mortals, as a distinguishing characteristic of Aristides's gods, see PARKER in this volume, p. 76. [R.]
- 58 The text is uncertain here. KEIL assumed a lacuna before θέντες, but by reading εἰς κάλλιον (instead of the transmitted εἰς καλλίους) it may be possible to do without such an assumption. [R.]
- 59 The well should be identified with the Hellenistic fountain for drawing water that in the Roman reconstruction of the Asclepieum was given central place in the sacred precinct, on the same axis as the monumental entrance and the temple of Asclepius. See MELFI in this volume, p. 111. [M.]
- 60 Complaining about the inadequacy of words to do justice to one's subject matter is another cliché of encomium; compare for example *Or.* 26.6 and Menander Rhetor, *Treatise* II, 368.8–15 SPENGLER 3. [T.]
- 61 The presence of water was a defining feature of the Asclepieum of Pergamum from its very beginning. By the time of Aristides, at least three sources of water were available in the sanctuary for different purposes: a stepped fountain for bathing, north of the temple of Asclepius; a fountain for drawing water for purification and ablution in the centre of the sacred precinct and next to the temples (the subject of this hymn); a spring dug in the rock west of the old incubation building, probably traditionally linked to the healing process. [M.]
- 62 In comparing his situation when confronted with the well to that of a lover, Aristides is again following a familiar encomiastic strategy (cf. e.g. Pindar, *Nemean* 8.1–8 and fr. 123 SNELL / MAEHLER; *Panegyricus Mesallae* 193–196; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 74). Comparisons of this sort could draw on a rich set of generalisations about love and the characteristic behaviour of lovers in earlier writing, from archaic lyric via Plato (*Symposium*, *Phaedrus*) to the novel. The question of whether a beautiful sight inspires or inhibits speech is taken up – in a more mischievously playful way – by Lucian in *De domo* (1–4, 18–19). [T.]
- 63 An allusion to Hom. *Od.* 9.83–104: the Lotophagi are the first way station on Odysseus's travels through unknown lands. [N.]
- 64 "Drink in silence" alludes to Plato, *Symp.* 214b, where Eryximachus asks Alcibiades if they should not talk or sing something while drinking instead of simply quenching their thirst. Aristides uses the same allusion in *Or.* 31.8. [N.]
- 65 After ἀθρόον KEIL posits a lacuna and proposes (in his apparatus) to fill it with something like πᾶν ἐκπίνομεν ὄσον. At least the initial πᾶν does not seem necessary. [R.]
- 66 The cult of Asclepius was imported to Pergamum from Epidaurus, following a procedure known from other Asclepiea: an Archias, son of Aristaechmus, having been healed by the Epidaurian Asclepius, founded the cult at Pergamum as a sign of gratitude to the Peloponnesian god (Paus. 2.26.8–9). See MELFI in this volume, p. 90. [M.]
- 67 After οὕτως ἔστιν, omit εἰπεῖν (as some manuscripts do). [R.]

- 68 For the plane tree as a marker of sacred space (particularly that of the Muses), see A. HARDIE, "Philetas and the Plane Tree", *ZPE* 119 (1997) [21–36] 27–30. Its most famous appearance in this role in classical literature is in the locus amoenus in Plato, *Phaedrus* 230b–c, which Aristides may well mean to evoke here. [T.]
- 69 The fountain for drawing water sprang from the same ground where the foundations of the temple of Asclepius were dug. This was the rocky outcrop of higher ground where the earliest and holiest buildings of the sanctuary were founded. [M.]
- 70 KEIL deletes ἡ τοῦτο ἐκ τούτων ἕξον, but these words may be kept. [R.]
- 71 In the conventional hierarchy of the elements, the crudest and densest is earth, with water, air, fire and aether representing the successive stages of increasing fineness and rarefaction above it. The water of this well is thus being praised as very nearly transcending its proper category and rising to the next one above. [T.]
- 72 Keeping αὐτόχυτον and adding ὄν after it. [R.] αὐτόχυτον is also used in § 16 below (where see n. 89): as already pointed out by KEIL, Aristides probably took the word from the explanation of a Pindaric verse (*Ol.* 7.7), to which Aristides there explicitly alludes. Cf. *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 7.12a (νέκταρ χυτόν: αὐτόχυτον καὶ ἄκρατον, "poured nectar: poured by itself and unmixed") and 12e (νέκταρ χυτόν καὶ αὐτὸ ἄκρατον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδέεται τοῦτο συγκράσεως, "nectar that is poured and itself unmixed: for this is not in need of mixture", to which Aristides's expression ὁ πίνων οὐκ ἂν οἶνον προσδεηθείης may also hark back). [N.]
- 73 In *Il.* 2.751–754, Homer describes how the Thessalian river Titaesius (called Titaesios in Homer) flows into the Peneus (on this river see n. 94 below) without mingling its waters but staying on Peneus's surface. [N.]
- 74 Instead of the almost unanimously transmitted ἐπιροήξαις, which is not easy to understand, one might consider ἐπιροήψαις, which was suggested by a second hand in manuscript U and also conjectured by CANTER. [N.]
- 75 The river Titaesius (see above n. 73) is called the "outflow of Styx" in *Hom. Il.* 2.755, i. e. immediately after the above-cited description of the Titaesius's mingling with the Peneus. [N.]
- 76 The Cyclops Polyphemus calls the wine that Odysseus offers him an "outflow of Nectar" (*Hom. Od.* 9.359). [N.]
- 77 Standing water is liable to spoil, unless it is of the very highest quality; cf. in general [Hippocrates] *Airs, Waters and Places* 7. [T.]
- 78 Deleting τὸ before ἐγκαταλαμβάνον, as WILAMOWITZ proposed. [R.]
- 79 Accepting KEIL's conjecture κενούντων (instead of ἔωντων). [R.]
- 80 An allusion to the plight of the Danaids, who murdered their husbands in their wedding night and were punished by having to fill a perforated jar with water in the underworld (cf. Zen. *Paroem.* 2.6; Hygin. *Fab.* 168). [R.]
- 81 On Hephaestus's moving automata see *Hom. Il.* 18.373–377 (moving tripods) and *Od.* 7.91–94 (dogs made from silver and gold by Hephaestus as guardians for Alcinous's palace). [N.]
- 82 These words signal the transition from one head of praise to another in the formal structure of the speech. Having praised the well's position (*thesis*) and its intrinsic qualities (*physis*), Aristides now moves on to laud its usefulness. [T.]
- 83 Assuming (with KEIL) a lacuna; the supplement given here is the general sense which seems to be required. [R.]
- 84 The fly simile is taken from Homer (*Il.* 16.641–663). As for the bees, Aristides might have *Hom. Il.* 2.87–90 in mind. [N.]
- 85 The Greek word used here, θαυματοποιός, can designate a number of different kinds of popular performer and showman, ranging from conjurors and jugglers to puppeteers (Plato, *Soph.* 235d, *Resp.* 514b; Demosth. 2.19). [T.]

- 86 As the following lines show, it is salvation in the sense of restoration to physical health that Aristides has in mind here; but Aristides is also alluding to the use of 'Saviour' as the regular cult title of Asclepius at Pergamum. [T.]
- 87 Drinking from a sacred spring as a source of prophetic inspiration is attested for Delphi (Lucian, *Hermotimus* 60; Paus. 10.24.7), Claros (Pliny, *NH* 2.232; Tac. *Ann.* 2.54; Max. Tyr. 8.1c; Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11), and a derelict sanctuary of Apollo in Boeotia (Paus. 9.2.1). That such springs were reserved for this use is not otherwise recorded, but they seem often to have been inaccessible to ordinary visitors (Paus. 10.24.7; Tac. *Ann.* 2.54; Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11); drinking of the spring at Claros shortened one's life according to Pliny (*NH* 2.232). [P.]
- 88 The point of the curious addition "to both together" is presumably to underline the consistency and reliability of the water's good effects, which depend on its own intrinsic qualities, not on its being used in special ways. [T.]
- 89 The allusion is to Pind. *Ol.* 7.7 (where Pindar talks of νέκταρ χυτόν, but αὐτόχυτον appears in the Pindar *Scholia* ad loc). Aristides has already used αὐτόχυτον in § 7. See above n. 72. [R.]
- 90 See n. 87 above on "secret waters". [P.]
- 91 What spring on Delos is meant is not known; on springs of restricted use see n. 87 above, and e. g. Paus. 1.34.4. [P.]
- 92 The river Cydnus (today Berdan) is one of the three great rivers of Cilicia; it flows into the Mediterranean near Tarsus and became famous because Alexander the Great almost died after bathing in its ice-cold waters (Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.7). The river Eurymedon (today Köprüçay) flows through Pamphylia into the Mediterranean; on its banks the Delian League under Athenian leadership defeated the Persians in an important battle around 465 BC. The river Choaspes (today Karkheh) is a tributary of the Tigris in Mesopotamia and allegedly had such extraordinary water that it was reserved for the Persian Great King (see Herodotus 1.188). [N.]
- 93 The Peneus is the biggest and most famous river of Thessaly. It flows through the Vale of Tempe, the beauty of which prompted a number of ekphraseis in Greek rhetoric (see Theon, *Prog.* 2, 68.13–17 SPENGLER 2 = 12 PATILLON; Aelian, *VH* 3.1, with the note ad loc. by N. G. WILSON, *Aelian. Historical Miscellany* [Cambridge, Mass 1997]; in the 4th century BC, the historian Theopompus produced a description of it in the ninth book of his *Philippica*, *FGrHist* 115 F 78; and Synesius, *Dio* 3C mentions a now lost piece of Dio of Prusa on it). [N.]
- 94 Accepting the lacuna posited by KEIL. The general sense of the missing words is not in doubt. For the "bottomless spring", compare what Herodotus 2.28 says of the Nile. [R.]
- 95 Aristides can use the first person plural with both plural and singular reference; here it makes best sense to take it as singular, since it is Aristides's own individual attachment to the god and experiences that are referred to. [T.]
- 96 Deleting καί between πελάγους πολλοῦ and κατηφείας. [R.]
- 97 There may be an allusion to a famous simile in Hom. *Od.* 23.233–238: Penelope's joy in finally recognising her long-lost husband Odysseus is compared to shipwrecked sailors who after mortal danger in a raging sea do finally reach dry land. [N.]
- 98 Compare the praise of Asclepius's shrine at Pergamum in *Or.* 23.17 as "surest and most secure of all harbours, sheltering the largest number and the most pre-eminent in its calm, where one and all can make their cables fast to Asclepius and be saved". [N./T.]
- 99 Hes. *Op.* 336. [R.]
- 100 Hesiod's precept advises offering sacrifice "in accordance with your means"; Aristides suggests it would be perfectly understandable, given the depth of his devotion, if he were more extravagant than that. [T.]
- 101 REISKE conjectured ἀπό instead of ἐπί. [R.]

- 102 Aristides thus argues that it is triply appropriate for him to render his thanks to Asclepius in the form of a speech rather than a tangible offering: formal speech is the highest kind of human activity, the gods are the highest subject of oratory, and he himself has the gift of eloquent speech thanks to the very god he is now praising. On Aristides's sense of himself as divinely inspired, and his oratory as a sacred activity, see TRAPP in this volume, p. 15. [R.]
- 103 The reference is to the domed temple of Zeus Asclepius recently built by Aristides's acquaintance L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (cos. 142), also mentioned by Aristides, *Orr.* 47.45, 78; 50.28, 46; Galen, *De anat. admin.* 1, 224f. KÜHN 2; cf. MELFI in this volume, p. 108–109. See *AvP* VIII.3, 9–14, for the argument that the temple imitates the Roman Pantheon and displays the same tendency as that building to run the individual traditional gods together into a single divine entity (whence the addition of Zeus to Asclepius), the dome evoking the whole cosmos. [P.]
- 104 I delete this reference to the *Hieroi Logoi*; it seems an interpolation quite out of place in a speech. [R.]
- 105 The quotation probably comes from an unknown tragedy (*TrGF* adesp. 39 SNELL / KANNICHT). The imagery is also found in Plato, *Politicus* 272e. [R.]
- 106 The lacuna was indicated by KEIL. Supplement, e.g., (οὐ τὰναντία νομιζομεν). [R.]
- 107 The image of Zeus as “father and creator of the world” has both Platonic and Stoic overtones; see Plato, *Timaeus* 28c and 41a, and Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 4–5 and 34 with the commentary by J. C. THOM, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus* (Tübingen 2005) (and cf. Max. Tyr. 11.12 and 41.2). [N. / T.]
- 108 *Pl. Phdr.* 246d. [R.]
- 109 This directs us back to the beginning of § 4 (the numerous δυνάμεις of Asclepius). [N.]
- 110 Leaving out (with some manuscripts) δέ after πάσας to mark a kind of new beginning with an asyndeton. [R.]
- 111 The cult of Asclepius at Pergamum was associated from its very beginning with that of Hygieia. The epistyle of a Hellenistic Doric temple attributed to the first monumental phase of the Asclepieum bears the inscribed names of both Asclepius and Hygieia (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 158). Contemporary evidence for the existence of a Hellenistic cult statue of Hygieia comes from an over-life-size head found in the sanctuary (DE LUCA 1991). From the 2nd century BC onwards inscriptions on stone preserve votive dedications to Asclepius and Hygieia by private individuals. [M.]
- 112 *Ar. Nub.* 1334. [R.]
- 113 See now L. LiDONNICI, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions: text, translation and commentary*. Text and translations 36 (Atlanta 1995) and H. SOLIN, “Inscriptliche Wunderheilungsberichte aus Epidauros”, *ZAC* 17 (2013) 7–50. *IG* XIV 966 = *IGUR* 148 (T. 438 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 250–251) speaks of two sufferers, Lucius and Julian, “despaired of by all men”, who were nevertheless cured by the god. In mythology, it was for bringing the dead back to life, or seeking to, that Asclepius was punished by Zeus: Diodorus 4.71, with Pindar, *Pythians* 3.54–58 and Aesch. *Ag.* 1022–1024. [T.]
- 114 Aristides nevertheless does his best to catalogue the god's medicinal blessings to him in the *Hieroi Logoi*. A hair-raising catalogue of his ailments is assembled by BEHR 1968, 264–268. [T.]
- 115 At *Hieroi Logoi* 2.18 Aristides recalls how Asclepius told him in a dream that he had been granted “ten years from me and three from Sarapis”. Here however he shies away from giving any distressing particulars, and the reminder of his own mortality they would constitute, under cover of a more generalized reference. [T.]

- 116 Restoration of sight to blind eyes and even empty sockets is recorded in *IC I xvii 24* (T. 442 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 254) and *IG IV² 1, 121 § ix* (T. 423 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 223). [T.]
- 117 For Prometheus as the “fashioner of man” see *Apollo*. *Bibl.* 1.45 [= 1.7.1]; the oldest explicit testimony is Philemon, fr. 93 KASSEL / AUSTIN. According to Pausanias (10.4.4), Prometheus created the first men near the Phocian town Panopeus, where some ‘leftovers’ of this act were still shown. [N.]
- 118 See for instance the testimony of Publius Granius Rufus, *IC I xvii 17–18* (T. 439–440, EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 252–253), along with the inscription of Apellas mentioned in the next note. [T.]
- 119 See for instance the prescriptions recorded by M. Julius Apellas of Mylasa in *IG IV² 1, 126* (T. 432 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 247–248). In the *Hieroi Logoi*, see for instance the account Aristides gives of the god’s prescriptions for dealing with a tumour, which included running barefoot in winter, riding on horseback, and making a trip by boat across a stormy harbour so as to eat an emetic made from honey and acorns on the other side (1.61–68). [T.]
- 120 Reading οὐκ ἀδήλως for the transmitted οὐδόλως, which WILAMOWITZ wanted to delete. [R.]
- 121 As described at e. g. *Hieroi Logoi* 1.59, 2.19–22, 2.54, 2.74–79. [T.]
- 122 Besides the Apellas inscription (n. 119 above), see also the third-person accounts in *IG IV² 1, 121* (T. 423 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 221–237) and the first-person account of Diophantus of Sphettus in *IG II² 4514* (T. 428 EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 241–242). [T.]
- 123 REISKE posited a lacuna after Εὐρώπης, but this may not be necessary, if we read τὰς περὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλίας τῶν συνευφραينوμένων instead of the transmitted καὶ τὰς περὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλίας καὶ συνευφραينوμένων. [R.]
- 124 As recorded for instance at *Hieroi Logoi* 5.16 (Cyzicus) and 5.29–41 (Smyrna). [T.]
- 125 Retaining (with manuscript O) μεμνησθαι instead of ΚΕΙΛ’s conjecture μεμνημένος. [R.]
- 126 Probably another interpolated reference to the *Hieroi Logoi*. [R.]
- 127 I. e. the boxer was practising incubation, sleeping in the sanctuary with the specific purpose of receiving therapeutic advice (or a cure) in a dream. [R.]
- 128 Supplying (with ΚΕΙΛ) something like προείπεν (from προείπειν λέγεται of the preceding sentence). [R.]
- 129 As recorded in more detail at *Hieroi Logoi* 4.25–31. [T.]
- 130 For Aristides’s sense of his oratory as a gift from Asclepius, see again *Hieroi Logoi* 4.14–20 and 25–31, but also the accounts he gives of oratory as a sacred calling in the *Orations*, especially *Or.* 2.429–437, 33.19–21 and 34.42–44. [T.]
- 131 Pind. fr. 95–100 SNELL / MAEHLER. [R.]
- 132 Lacuna posited by REISKE. The sense of the missing words is clear: following in the tracks of REISKE and ΚΕΙΛ, supplement, e. g., ὧν (αὐτὸς ἐποίησας, τούτων ἡξιούμην) ὑποκριτῆς εἶναι. [R.]
- 133 As recorded in *Hieroi Logoi* 5.16 and 5.29–41 (cf. n. 126 above), along with 4.78–79 and 4.10–12. In the *Hieroi Logoi*, however, the most complimentary things of all tend to be said to and about Aristides in his dreams rather than in waking reality. [T.]
- 134 Marcus Aurelius and his son and (from 177 AD) co-regent Commodus. In a letter addressed to the two following the Smyrna earthquake of 178 AD, which survives as *Or.* 19, Aristides carefully distinguishes between the gods to whom one prays, and the “most divine rulers” (θειότατοι ἄρχοντες) to whom one makes requests (*Or.* 19.5). [T.]
- 135 This seems to refer to Aristides’s encounter with the Imperial entourage in Smyrna in 176, when Aurelius was on his way back to Rome after suppressing the revolt of Avidius Cassius. The episode is recorded by Philostratus in his biography of Aris-

- tides, *VS* 2.9, 582–583. If this is right, the ‘empresses’ will be Marcus’s daughters, since his wife Faustina had died in 175 AD. [T.]
- 136 The reference is to a number of passages in Hom. *Od.* 6 and 7: first, Athena prompts Nausicaa to drive to the beach to wash clothes (and thus meet Odysseus; *Od.* 6.13–41); second, she instils courage into Nausicaa so that she does not flee when Odysseus suddenly appears (*Od.* 6.139–140); third, she makes Odysseus look more impressive and beautiful to win Nausicaa’s help (*Od.* 6.229–235); fourth, she hides Odysseus in a thick mist, so that he can go unnoticed to the Phaeacians’ city (*Od.* 7.14–17 and 140); fifth, she meets him herself, disguised as a young Phaeacian girl, accompanies him and gives him helpful instructions how to win the trust of the Phaeacian rulers (*Od.* 7.19–79). [N.]
- 137 The nature of this ‘sign’ is unclear; there is no mention of anything relevant in Philostratus’s version of the meeting at Smyrna (n. 135 above). Perhaps, as so often with Aristides, it was delivered in a dream; alternatively, it may have lain in some encouraging feature of the circumstances leading up to the encounter with the Emperor. [T.]
- 138 Or “seen to be skilled?” [R.]
- 139 Lacuna posited by KELL. Supplement, e. g., (δημοσία πρὸ πολλῶν οὔτε). [R.]
- 140 This speech probably celebrates the opening of a new aqueduct, bringing water into Pergamum: so C. P. JONES, “Aelius Aristides On the Water in Pergamum”, *Archäologisch-Logischer Anzeiger* (1991) 111–117, developing a suggestion made by H. HEPDING, “Ρουφίνιον Ἀλος”, *Philologus* 88 (1933) 90–103. [T.]
- 141 Aristides quotes Hom. *Il.* 4.455 and paraphrases 4.279. [R.]
- 142 As at the beginning of *Or.* 38 (and also in *Or.* 37.1 and 41.1), Aristides acknowledges a god-sent dream vision as part of the inspiration of his speech. Here, however, the dream provides a preliminary good omen and an anticipation of good news to come, not a direct anticipation of Aristides’s own performance. [T.]
- 143 “Philios”, “the Friendly One”, was Zeus’s cult-title as patron of friendship and sociability. Pergamum boasted a temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, apparently founded between 114 and 116 AD: B. BURRELL, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. University of Cincinnati classical studies 9 (Leiden 2004) 22–30. [T.]
- 144 Possibly one should read *περὶ ταῦτα* instead of *περὶ πάντα* here. [R.]
- 145 “Zeus of Good Tidings” is not attested elsewhere and may be an ad-hoc creation of Aristides; “Saviour” by contrast is Asclepius’s regular title in the cult at Pergamum. [P.]
- 146 “Kalliteknos” is also attested as a Pergamene title of Apollo at *Hieroi Logoi* 2.18. It should mean “with a fair child/fair children”, and would naturally refer to Apollo as father of Asclepius (OHLEMUTZ 1940, 12). But here τοῦ πατρὸς εἴνεκα, “because of his father”, seems to impose the rendering “who is a fine child”, as if Aristides was trying in this speech artificially to focus attention on Zeus (already mentioned twice), in this case as father of the fine child. Or is πατρὸς corrupt for παιδός, to give “because of his son”? [P.]
- 147 The Cabiri are a group of usually anonymous deities inextricably conflated in our sources on the one hand with the Corybantes who danced around the baby Zeus, on the other with the Great Gods of the mystery cult of Samothrace. An oracle received by Pergamum probably in Aristides’s lifetime speaks of them as witnesses to the birth of Zeus (cf. the Corybantes) on the heights of Pergamum (*SGO* 1, 06/02/01 lines 7–9); Aristides’s concluding reference to ‘unseasonable storms’ may point to the protection for mariners especially associated with the Great Gods. Their mysteries in Pergamum go back demonstrably to the 1st century BC (*OGI* 764.6); according to Pausanias the territory of Pergamum was sacred to them “from of old”. Cf. OHLEMUTZ 1940, 192–202. [P.]
- 148 This seems a possible supplement for this sentence which breaks off abruptly. [R.]

C. Essays

Religion in the Prose Hymns

Robert Parker

1. Oration as Offering

The so-called ‘prose hymns’¹ of Aristides present themselves, with one exception, as forms of religious action. Aristides sees himself as a religious specialist among orators:

“[I thought it] perhaps not even free from religious guilt that I, who constantly remember the divine and who have devoted virtually the greatest part of my literary activity to this, should seem to have neglected my contribution of words for this god [Poseidon] alone” (46.3).

His obligation to the gods might be seen as the reverse side of his claim that his own eminence as an orator was divinely-inspired, that he practised a kind of sacred oratory (e.g. 42.3 and 12–14; cf. Trapp in this volume, p. 15). But he also assigns more specific religious motivations to particular speeches. Four claim to be responses to instructions given in a dream (37; 38; 40; 41), and two (43; 45) fulfilment of vows undertaken in a moment of peril. The speech *Regarding the Aegean Sea* (44), though not addressed to a conventionally recognized god, ends with a prayer and a hint of benefits received: “let this have been sung for you by me in my own style of music, dear saviour Aegean, and may you take pleasure in it and protect me and my fellow-voyagers.” The *Address to Asclepius* (42) begins with an expression of gratitude to the god for allowing him once again to “address the common hearth of mankind” (Pergamum). The *Isthmian Oration: Regarding Poseidon* (46) is, as the title indicates, a ‘panegyric’ speech written to accompany an Isthmian celebration, but also presents itself as payment of a longstanding debt to Poseidon. The formal exception is the speech *On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius* (39), which does not represent its addressee as a deity (though it is a “sacred well”) and contains no prayer; but even here Aristides seizes the chance to “address the Saviour God whose work and creation it is” (39.3), and indeed to praise him lavishly. Thus the supposed motivation for the speeches is typically one which might elicit from

¹ In the usage of Aristides’s day, prose speeches in honour of gods are ‘hymns’; we can therefore accept that in literary terms speeches 37–46 of Aristides are broadly hymns, even if some glosses or sub-titles may be appropriate for particular speeches. See the most useful recent study of GOEKEN 2012, 26–31, 35–39; in brief TRAPP in this volume, p. 22–25.

a more ordinary individual a dedication or sacrifice (instructions from the god in a dream; discharge of a vow) or at the least a respectful greeting to the gods (return from a journey). Aristides brings out the parallelism when he writes: “to me, indeed the gratitude (χάρις) and honour displayed in sacrifice and incense-burning is of course a concern ... but it is the service of speech that seems most appropriate for me” (42.2).² The supposedly personally-motivated offering could also have a more public performance context: as we have seen, the speech for Poseidon was written for the Isthmian games, and that for Sarapis (45) might well have been delivered at the “annual festival” (πανηγυρις) for the god which it mentions. Since the gift that Aristides brought to the god was an oratorical performance, not just words on a papyrus, an audience was in fact required for all the speeches. But they did not have a set place within a festival programme, and were not necessarily performed at a festival at all.³ One should not then see the prose hymn as replacing the choral hymns of traditional religion, which were as enthusiastically performed in the second century AD as they had ever been.⁴ Product of a new rhetorical culture, the prose hymn finds new contexts for itself, and puts the orator – an individual addressing the gods in gratitude for gifts granted to himself, but before an audience – in a new position before the gods. He has a double audience, one human, one divine.⁵

2. The Prose Hymn

Aristides’s prose hymns are the first to survive in manuscript tradition (if we except the praises of Eros in Plato’s *Symposium*), and became the canonical representatives of the genre: one cannot use the recommendations found in Menander Rhetor to illustrate Aristides’s relation to a tradition, because Aristides himself was a prime model for Menander. But an epigraphic example is dated on good authority, if only on the basis of letter-forms, to the late second or early first c. BC. It was published under the title “A new Isis aretology from Maroneia”⁶ but might better be

² Cf. Libanius 5.2–3 (*Artemis*) for the comparison between gratitude through offerings and gratitude through eloquence. The notion of gratitude becomes more dynamic in Libanius’s speech, which ends with a graphic account of an intervention by Artemis (hinted at in the opening) which saved the life of Libanius and many of his pupils.

³ GOEKEN 2012, 46.

⁴ See e.g. M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion. Die hellenistische und römische Zeit*. HdAW V.2.2 (München 1961) 379.

⁵ So GOEKEN 2012, 93–97.

⁶ Y. GRANDJEAN, *Une nouvelle arétologie d’Isis à Maronée* (Leiden 1975); the character of the text as an encomium probably intended for a competition was identified (before formal publication) by L. ROBERT, “Rapport sur les travaux de l’École française d’Athènes pendant l’année 1970”, *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions* 115.3 (1971) [522–539]

classified as an “encomium⁷ to Isis with aretalogical elements”, much as Aristides’s speech to Sarapis is an encomium which incorporates features of the aretalogies characteristic of that cult. The author invites the goddess to come to hear her own praises just as earlier she came to heal his eyes. “I am very confident that you will come”, he goes on; “for if you came when summoned to save me, how would you not come for the sake of tribute paid to yourself?” – deliciously pre-Christian sentiment! – “So I move confidently to the rest of my speech, knowing that an encomium is composed by the mind of god even if by the hand of man. I shall turn first to your origin ...” As in Aristides, the voice of the grateful suppliant gives way to that of the trained and fluent rhetor. The speech was perhaps written for a competition or display.

In the light of this text, it is not surprising to find confirmation, in a brief passage in Quintilian (3.7.7–9) and in a fragment of the rhetorical theorist Alexander son of Numenius,⁸ that recommendations for writing in this manner pre-existed Aristides. Connections between these outlines and Aristides’s practice are not very close, but the fragment of Alexander is especially interesting because it shows how thoroughly the principle of *in utramque partem*, arguing a case from both sides, had already been applied to praise of the gods: if all peoples worship the god you are honouring, stress how rare is such consensus; if few, stress the special excellence of those peoples, and abuse those who disregard him; if he is worshipped by Greeks alone, he is a god of proper fastidiousness; if by barbarians too, “not even the barbarians neglect him”. Rhetorical ingenuity of this type is pervasive in Aristides, and leads as has often been noted⁹ to contradictions between speeches: Athena is unique in being the offspring of Zeus without a mother, but so is Dionysus (37.2, 41.3). Hence derives the opinion sometimes expressed that the prose hymns are “Paradestücke” devoid of religious feeling and relevance; a variant is that most are such, but three (Zeus,

532–535 (cf. GRANDJEAN, 106–110); cf. id. / J. ROBERT, “Bulletin épigraphique”, *REG* 90 (1977) [314–448] 364–366, no. 287, reporting GRANDJEAN’s dating to the late 2nd / early 1st c. BC and commenting “nous ne descendrions pas trop bas”. It also appears in TOTTI 1985, no. 19.

⁷ The word ἐγκώμιον appears five times.

⁸ Alexander, ΑΠΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΝ ΔΕΙ ΤΗΟΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ (4–6 SPENGLER 3), treats the subject of praising a god. This passage, under the name of Alexander, is generally attributed to the often cited Alexander son of Numenius; his father is taken to be the Numenius who wrote a “consolation for Hadrian for Antinous” (*Suda* N 518, 481 ADLER), which will make Alexander a rough contemporary of Aristides (see J. BRZOSKA, “Alexandros (96)”, in: *RE* I,2 [1894] 1456–1459). On him and Menander see A. GANGLOFF, “La constitution du mythe en genre rhétorique: Les hymnes chez Alexandre, fils de Nouménios, et chez Ménandre le Rhéteur”, in: F. TOULZE-MORISSET (ed.), *Formes de l’écriture, figures de la pensée dans la culture gréco-romaine* (Lille 2009) 19–31. On the history of the prose hymn see GOEKEN 2012, 82–86; on the passages of Quintilian and Alexander, TRAPP in this volume, p. 23–24.

⁹ As e.g. by AMANN 1931, 16–18; JÖHRENS 1981, 2–3; GOEKEN 2012, 280.

Asclepius, Sarapis) are documents of authentic religious experience or ideals. Aristides himself lends some support to such a distinction between a religion of tradition and of the heart when he writes of the Asclepiads that “other sacrifices and festivals are almost all set up by law; but those that come from you and your workshop, while they are more in number every day compared with all others, yet come purely from the heart and bring contentment from our private knowledge” (38.23). Presumably this means that we feel gratitude to the other gods because we are taught to do so, to the Asclepiads because of immediate experience of their healing presence. But this compliment to the Asclepiads should not be taken as the orator’s final word on the festival experience. All the speeches honoured gods whom Aristides worshipped and who, more important, were worshipped by Aristides’s audiences; we must approach them as acceptable, indeed highly-approved, ways of speaking about the gods in Aristides’s world. They are full not just of rhetorical virtuosity but also of traditional religious language: the language of prayers, and above all that untranslatable cluster of concepts conveyed by words from the *χαρι-* root which covers gifts by the gods to mortals and the counter-gifts by mortals to gods, designed to provoke further gifts and further responses in an unending cycle of reciprocity.¹⁰ And, as we shall see, Aristides is keen to show that his gods are still active in the world today.

3. Aristides and the Mythological Tradition

I turn to Aristides’s manner. In the *Isthmian Oration: Regarding Poseidon*, he summarises at some length the opinions of “those who relate the accounts of this god to the nature of the whole”; these are proto-scientific theories which emphasize the primal importance of water. He then dismisses them in favour of “what is common to everybody and well known

¹⁰ 37.1: σὺ δ', ὦ δέσποινα Αθηνᾶ, τήν τε ἄλλην δίδου τύχην καὶ χάριν καὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἔφασαι λόγου; 38.14: μὴ ποτε ἐπιλίπη τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπικουρία καὶ χάρις; 38.23: ἱεροποιοὶ τε καὶ ἐπιστάται κρατήρων καὶ χαρίτων ἀπασῶν; 39.3: τὰς ἔχουσας αὐτὸ Νύμφας ... ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ χαριζομένας τε καὶ συνυπηρετούσας; 42.2: ἢ διὰ τῶν θυμάτων τε καὶ θυμιαμάτων χάρις τε καὶ τιμὴ; 42.3: οὔτε τῷ θεῷ καλλιῶν χάρις, οἶμαι, τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων οὔτε ... ; 42.9: ἄρ' οὐ θεία τις χάρις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἰασησῶνης ἔχουσα; 42.15: φαῖν δ' ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ταύτην παρὰ σοῦ κεκομισθαι τὴν χάριν ...; 45.9: καὶ εἰ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐφ' ὅτου ποτ' ἂν εἴπης μᾶλλον κεχαρισμένον τοῖς θεοῖς, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων χαριζοίμεθα αὐτοῖς οὕτω τιμώντες ἢ κείνως; 45.34: τούτων τε δή σοι πολλὴ χάρις, ὦ πολυτίμητε, καὶ τὰ νῦν μὴ πρόη με, ἀλλ' ἀνάσῃσιν βεβαίως, τόν τε ὕμνον τόνδε ὡς ἐν τοιοῦτοις πεποιημένον προσοῦ φαειδῶς, χαριστήριον μὲν ἐκείνων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ... Note too 44.18: ταῦτά σοι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὦ φίλε σωτήρ Αἰγαίε, ἦσθω τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ μουσικῇ. σὺ δὲ ἦσθεις σώζε ἀεὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ σύμπλονος. On χάρις see R. PARKER, “Pleasing Thighs: Reciprocity in Greek Religion”, in: C. GILL / N. POSTLETHWAITE / R. SEAFORD (eds.), *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1998) 105–126.

and before the eyes of all”, and immediately cites (as a thing “agreed”, *ὁμολογούνται*) the story that the world was divided between the three sons of Rhea, Zeus, Poseidon and (unnamed, by traditional euphemism) Hades.¹¹ He goes on to claim that Poseidon exploited his portion in a way “more friendly to man” than his brothers, since the sea is open to all to use, whereas the heaven is barred from human use and the underworld we reach only after death (46.5–19). This little sequence is characteristic in several ways. It briefly opens a perspective which differs from that of traditional poetic mythology, and then rapidly closes it. Aristides turns from the proto-scientific accounts to a mythological tradition best known from Homer. He then gives that tradition a novel rhetorician’s twist, exalting Poseidon over his brothers with an ingenious ad hoc argument that is incompatible with the account he gives of Zeus in the speech he writes in that god’s honour. (But note that the value of “friendliness to man” in terms of which he gives Poseidon priority is a constant of Aristides’s theology, however inconsistently he may distribute credit for it.)¹² But what is typical above all is the grounding of his speech in “what is common to everybody and well known and before the eyes of all”, by which he means the inherited poetico-mythological tradition familiar to anybody well-trained in Greek *paideia*.

In the main, Aristides builds his arguments and weaves his ingenious variations on commonplace myths and stories recounted in much-read authors – Homer and Hesiod, Pindar, the tragedians, Herodotus. (In his *Artemis*, Libanius will still do the same two centuries later.) In the speech for Athena, he speaks at some length of her birth from the head of Zeus, already fully-armed, and of her role in the battle against the Giants (but of the battle against the Titans in Herodotean manner he “prefers not to speak”, 37.9). He mentions the olive, weaving, her aegis (a rare but banal excursion into iconography), her role as *πολιοῦχος* in presiding over cities, her relation to heroes such as Bellerophon and Erichthonius; as a proof of her “kindliness to man” there is her role in the trial of Orestes, origin of the “vote of Athena” that even now acquits the defendant if the votes are equal. The epithets that are mentioned are mostly commonplace: *Poliouchos*, *Nike*, *Ergane*; a little less widespread are *Hygieia* and *Pronoia* (37.20 and 26), but *Hygieia* is Athenian and *Pronoia* Delphic,¹³ so attested in places much illuminated by literature. A surprising exception is the claim that leads into Aristides’s peroration: “*προφῆται* and priests call her *Katharsios* and *Alexikakos*, overseer of the most perfect purifi-

¹¹ The juxtaposition of a Platonic or σοφώτερος λόγος about the divine with a κοινότερος λόγος is the first approach suggested by Alexander (4, SPENGLER 3). But the downplaying of the κοινότερος λόγος implied by Alexander is not found in Aristides.

¹² Cf. n. 25 below.

¹³ Plut. *Per.* 13.3 (and Aristides himself, 37.20); Paus. 10.8.7.

cations, rightly" (37.26): this leads directly into the conclusion in which Aristides "abandons myths" and identifies Athena with reason. Zeus is often Katharsios, both Heracles and Apollo are Alexikakoi, but neither title seems to be borne by Athena other than in this passage;¹⁴ as a generalization, "προφῆται and priests call her Katharsios and Alexikakos" is hard to defend. But it is quite possible that she was so described in a particular, probably quite recent, oracular response (note προφῆται). Aristides will have exploited it, with a characteristic generalizing vagueness, as a bridge leading to his solemn conclusion.

"What is common to everybody and well known and before the eyes of all" provides most of the material for most of the speeches: the art is to extract sometimes surprising conclusions from familiar data. The emphasis lies more on timeless mythological tradition (normally just alluded to, not as in earlier hymns fully narrated) than on facts of cult. There is almost nothing to be learnt from Aristides about the ritual practice of his day; even about the topography of his beloved Asclepieum of Pergamum he is extraordinarily imprecise, indeed misleading.¹⁵ But as a good encomiast he needs illustrations of the efficacy of a god, and by this route the contemporary can enter his text; in this emphasis on the demonstrated powers of the god Aristides is a man of his time (even if he avoids the up-to-date term ἀρεταί for the more traditional ἔργα or δυνάμεις).¹⁶ "Why should one speak of antiquity? The activity (κίνησις) of the god (Heracles) is still manifest today. At Gadeira, as we hear, he performs extraordinary miracles and is reckoned inferior to none of all the gods, and in Messene in Sicily he rescues from disease of every kind, while those who have escaped perils at sea credit the good deed to Poseidon and Heracles equally. And one could list many other sites and sanctuaries of the god and displays of manifest power (δυνάμεις ἐμφανείς)" (40.12). The powers of Asclepius are similarly listed at length, but without any reference to specific places or times; the Asclepiads too have been observed at work by many at Epidaurus and by many in other places (38.21). The range of places at which a god is worshipped is sometimes adduced as proof of his power (so especially 46.16–20).

The exceptions, where phenomena are precisely located, usually arise from the circumstances of performance of a particular speech. Celebrating Heracles in Smyrna, Aristides writes, in a passage that immediately

¹⁴ The closest that JÖHRENS 1981/1, 180, can come is the cult of Athena Apotropaia in Erythrai and elsewhere.

¹⁵ See MELFI in this volume, p. 89–113 and the notes to speech 39.

¹⁶ "One of the most obvious objectives of religious texts in the imperial period was to insinuate the tangible, continuous and effective presence of the gods in the world of the mortals" (CHANIOTIS 2010, 133–134). Avoidance of ἀρεταί: WEINREICH 1969, 422; *ibid.*, 310, he notes that for the same reason Aristides terms Asklepios δεσπότης, not κύριος (though note 42.13).

follows the one just quoted, "But why speak of what is far off? Our generals' headquarters seems to be a Heracleion. Often before now he has been seen playing there with certain 'Heracleian balls'. These are round stones of no small weight. Noise from them is heard, and he carries them from one place and puts them down in another. The other signs of his presence (ἐπιφάνεια) are remarkable too. The result is that, though the generals' headquarters is accessible to all, in the nicety of its treatment of Heracles¹⁷ it is the equivalent of a sanctuary (40.13)." This local miracle, otherwise unknown to us, will have been familiar and welcome hearing to his audience. Likewise, honouring Poseidon at the Isthmus on the occasion of the games, Aristides naturally speaks of the mysteries of "the beautiful mother and her son" (Leucothea and Palaemon) which, as excavation has shown, had acquired renewed prominence within the cult at the Isthmus at this date. The speech *On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius* at Pergamum (39) inevitably too had a local focus: Aristides tells of the cures that, like a human doctor's slave who shares in his master's skill, the well itself has helped Asclepius to perform (39.14–15). In the speech for Sarapis, Aristides mentions the banquets shared between the god and his worshippers that were a feature not of a particular cult but of the worship of Sarapis more generally; here the cult practice is brought in because it illustrates the especial closeness of this god to man (45.27).¹⁸ A less-known epithet of Dionysus, Briseus, appears in 41.5, but he bore that epithet in Smyrna where Aristides spent much time and it is plausible that the speech was addressed to a Smyrniot audience.¹⁹

Aristides's general approach is thus quite different from that, say, of Callimachus in the *Aetia* or of Pausanias, with their concern for the rare local detail. When he writes "The Coans, as I recall, honour Heracles as Alexis. And they have a statue of Heracles set up because of an oracle hold-

¹⁷ Ταῖς ἀκριβείαις ταῖς περὶ τὸν θεόν, a hard phrase: "for the god's manifestations", C. P. JONES, "Heracles at Smyrna", *American Journal of Numismatics* 2 (1990) [65–76] 73, which certainly is what the context most demands; GOEKEN 2012, 445 renders "en raison de ces particularités qui concernent le dieu". JONES illuminates the relation of generals to the cult of Heracles at Smyrna: coins show the god with the epithets πρόφυλαξ and ὄπλοφύλαξ ("guardian" and "weapon guardian"), and there are two dedications by a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων ("general in charge of weaponry") to Heracles ὄπλοφύλαξ. JONES suggests that the στρατήγιον ("generals' headquarters") may have contained a shrine; he also speculates whether the "balls" may have been baityls, and about the form of the miracle: was the god (supposedly) seen moving the balls, or were the balls seen moving spontaneously, or were they merely found (*pia fraus*) to have changed position overnight?

¹⁸ On Sarapis's banquets see P. VEYNE, "Inviter les Dieux, Sacrifier, Banqueter. Quelques Nuances de la Religiosité Gréco-Romaine", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 55.1 (2000) [3–42] 32–38; ΤΟΤΤΙ 1985, nos. 48–49.

¹⁹ See I. *Smyrna* 639.1–3 with the note ad loc.; for the many Dionysiac societies in Smyrna see JACOTTE 2003, II: nos. 115–127; for the performance at Smyrna of speeches 40 and 45 see nn. 17 and 55.

ing the sky on his shoulders, as if he has the power to bring the heavens too into order" (40.15), the specific detail about the Coans' title for Heracles is a rarity in his text; it is doubtless there as a bridge between what he has just been discussing (Heracles's title *Alexikakos*, which Alexis abbreviates), and the hyperbolic claim he goes on to make, via the Coan statue, about Heracles's authority over the heavens. Some otherwise unattested details (speech 38 on the Asclepiads is particularly rich in them) are likely not to have local origins but to be Aristides's own elaborations on received tradition for the greater glory of the god concerned.

Aristides's general reliance on the poetico-mythological tradition coexists in his text with repeated expressions of doubt or caution about poets and myths; he is a fine illustration of the 'yes and no' answer that Paul Veyne gave to his question "Did the Greeks believe in their myths?"²⁰ There is no limit to the licence granted to poets in their representations of gods, nothing is "unventured or impossible for them" (οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀτόλμητον οὐδ' ἄπορον) (45.2); faced by impossibilities, poets bring in Athena (37.23). Homer is said to have been "mad" (μανικός) when he depicted Zeus forbidding the gods to show concern for mankind (43.22). Aristides firmly rejects the belief of "Homer and most people" in "sufferings of the gods (θεῶν παθήματα), such as the binding of Ares in chains and servitude of Apollo and throwing of Hephaestus into the sea" (46.33). Having duly recounted all Corinth's ancient titles to fame, Aristides can pass to present glories with a "but all that is ancient and fabulous (παλαιὰ καὶ μυθώδη)" (46.30). The peroration of the speech for Athena is introduced with "for if one ought to have done with (καταλύσαι) the myths and bring into the open the character of the goddess" (37.27); there follows an interpretation of Athena as the embodiment of φρόνησις and σωφροσύνη. In 40.7–8 various stories "devised by poets" about Heracles (the freeing of Prometheus; holding up the heavens in place of Atlas; the theft of Cerberus; the rescue of Theseus from Hades; the wounding of Plouton and Hera) are taken as hyperbolic ways (δι' ὑπερβολῆς) of indicating the universal scope of his power. Poets, then, are deeply unreliable, and it may seem that any truth that myths may contain has to be extracted from them by some form of non-literal reading; Aristides would doubtless have looked for non-literal truth in the "definitive hymns and doctrines (λόγοι)" about Dionysus with which he credits Orpheus and Musaeus (41.2). (The Dionysus, perhaps revealingly for the god, contains two references to mythical "riddles", αἰνίγματα: 41.7 and 8) The only occasion in the *Hymns* where Aristides explicitly endorses a poetic story ("since we must believe Homer's account") is in order to sustain a particular, rather paradoxical and precarious, argument about Leucothea's authority over Poseidon (46.38).

²⁰ P. VEYNE, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante* (Paris 1983). Cf. SAÏD 2008; GOEKEN 2012, 272–283.

These many stated reservations are far from banishing the mythical from Aristides's text. Sometimes, following a long-established practice,²¹ he uses a formula that draws him back from full commitment to what he records. In 37.8 Aristides says that he will "use poets within reason" (ἄρχοι τοῦ μετρίου), and continues with a λέγεται γάρ ("for it is told") to an account of the battle of Gods and Giants in the Phlegraean fields; a little later he goes on "if one should not disregard myths ... let us add" olive oil and clothing to the list of Athena's gifts to mankind (37.11). The story of Zeus's three nights of copulation with Alcmena is accompanied by a ὡς φασιν (40.2), "as they say"; so too is the theory that Dionysus is both male and female because Zeus played the maternal as well as the paternal role in his conception and birth (41.4); Apollo's status as brother to Dionysus and father to Asclepius is qualified with a ὡς λόγος (41.1, "as the story goes"); a "story and myth" (λόγος καὶ μῦθος) associate cape Leucas with the castration of Kronos by his sons (46.17). But just as often he repeats what we would regard as mythical traditions without any distancing device: the snakes that attacked the baby Heracles or the trial of Orestes, to take two instances at random from many (40.3; 37.17). Greater or lesser caution in the formulation does not indicate a concern by Aristides to distinguish more or less reliable traditions: they all belong alike to his staple subject-matter, "what is common to everybody and well known". He follows earlier moralists in rejecting stories of violence among the gods, but feels no need to reject stories of sexual contact between gods and mortals (e.g. 40.2; 46.35), too deeply embedded in myth to be easily excisable.²² Of the battle of Gods and Titans he says in coy and non-committal Herodotean vein that he "prefers not to speak" (37.9). Even when he interprets the poets' myths about Heracles as hyperbolic expressions of a different truth, the truth that emerges is not a rationalized one: "Heracles investigated every land and every sea, went to every boundary and every far distant place, and neglected not even the realm beneath the earth nor the space reaching to heaven ..." (40.8).²³ Despite his cavils about particular poetic stories, Aristides can speak of Homer and Pindar as the poets "who one might say have most captured the goddess (τυχεῖν τῆς θεοῦ)" (Athena) in certain general traits (37.6).

²¹ RUSSELL 1990, 211 n. 52, refers back to Pl. *Menex.* 81a; *Grg.* 493a, as well as Ps. *Aristid.* 2.13.21 (549.32–550.1 SPENGLER 2): περὶ τῶν μυθωδῶν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι λέγεται γενέσθαι: "on mythical subjects, (one should say) not that they occurred, but that they are said to have done."

²² Already Herodotus, by contrast, avoids all such stories with a regularity that is certainly not coincidental, and rejects some instances explicitly: R. L. FOWLER, "Gods in Early Greek Historiography", in: J. N. BREMMER / A. ERSKINE (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh 2010) [318–334] 326–327.

²³ Cf. GOEKEN 2012, 280–283.

4. The Influence of Philosophical Religion

There are, none the less, several clear ways in which Aristides's treatment of the gods is 'post-Homeric'; the unresolved juxtaposition of contrasting perspectives is a characteristic of these texts. We have already noted the censorship, in the wake of Xenophanes and Plato, of stories of divine violence; again, though he is happy to allude to the stories of the snakes sent against baby Heracles and of the thigh-birth of Dionysus, he omits the malice of Hera against the by-blows of her philandering husband that traditionally motivated those incidents (40.3; 41.3). His gods are at peace with one another, and philanthropic towards men. We noted earlier his indignant rejection of the scene in which, according to Aristides's slightly tendentious reading, Homer described Zeus forbidding the gods to care for mortals.²⁴ "Kindness to men", φιλανθρωπία, for which Prometheus is punished by Zeus in the *Prometheus Vincetus* (11), is by contrast for Aristides, as for many of his contemporaries, almost the chief defining trait of Zeus and of divinity in general.²⁵ Another reformed character is Heracles: in Aristides's account, he has shed all those rumbustious and lawless characteristics which were still emphasised by Pindar; he has become the Stoic-Cynic Heracles, a universal benefactor of mankind, like a Roman emperor.²⁶ His sexual appetites have disappeared, and his taste for drink has become a virtue, making him "very valuable in life's enjoyments (εὐθυμίας) too" (40.18). Alongside partial censorship and cleaning up of the mythological tradition there are discrete touches of allegory. The dignified climax to the Athena in which Aristides 'abandons myths' (which he has, all the same, hitherto exploited at length) deploys a very widely-attested allegorical interpretation of the goddess as the rational faculty within each one of us; it also flirts with the notion that Athena is the δύναμις, "power", of Zeus (37.28). Another familiar allegory makes a brief appearance in 43.15, where the golden chain of *Iliad* 8.18–27 by which Zeus could pull up the whole world, gods included, becomes a symbol of the attachment of all things to Zeus, and of their dependence on him. But this occasional use of allegory does not lead to a more general demythologization: as we have seen, Aristides mentions but does not embrace a physical allegorical interpretation of Poseidon as water (46.5–7), and his Asclepius is very much a god, not a figurative representation of the idea of health.

²⁴ 42.22, on *Il.* 8.1–27; all Zeus in fact does is to ban divine intervention in the battle at Troy on either side.

²⁵ See in Aristides 37.17; 38.24; 39.5, 11; 41.10; 42.12; 45.26; 46.9; cf. e.g. Max. Tyr. 2.1a, 9.1a; for Plutarch D. BABUT, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris 1969) 474–475; for the general tendency in this period VEYNE 1991, 281–310. Divine friendliness to man is already taken for granted by the rhetorician Alexander (p. 69 above), 6, SPENGLER 3.

²⁶ Cf. SAÏD 2008, 64; GOEKEN 2012, 233–234, 433–435.

One of Aristides's attempts to censor previous tradition is more original, and deserves more comment. The cult of Palaemon associated with the Isthmian games had acquired or re-acquired considerable prominence by the time Aristides delivered the *Isthmian Oration: Regarding Poseidon*.²⁷ According to tradition, Palaemon had been born as a mortal, Melicertes, son of two mortals Ino and Athamas; driven mad by Hera because of his favour to Dionysus, Athamas pursued Ino, who leapt into the sea with Melicertes to escape him, and both were then transformed into gods of the sea, Leucothea and Palaemon.²⁸ Alternatively Ino too went mad and killed Melicertes, but with the same outcome, their eventual deification. Aristides will have none of this: "the grief and flight of Ino" is an impious story to be rejected just like other stories of "sufferings of gods" such as "the chains of Ares and servitude of Apollo and hurling of Hephaestus into the sea"; if Athamas and Ino existed at all, they had nothing to do with the gods worshipped at the Isthmus (46.33–34). Aristides extends his critique to "terrifying and impious pictures in some places" (note the vagueness) which presumably depicted the traditional myth: "I wonder how those who first saw them tolerated them and did not angrily attack their authors and perpetrators, or even now put up with them in the middle of their sanctuaries. But perhaps it is not my job to issue rebukes on such subjects (46.41)." No, Aristides insists, Leucothea had been a goddess from the beginning (and presumably therefore her son Palaemon a god): "this is shown by truth itself, and by the things still said and done in relation to them which treat them as gods" (δηλοῖ δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τό τε ἀληθές αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν λεγόμενά τε καὶ δρώμενα ὡς περὶ θεῶν: 46.36). Aristides presses home the point dialectically: "if she was an unfortunate mortal, tell me how she could have become a god. But if she was dear to the gods, she could never have suffered misfortune. And if she was not such [dear to the gods] from the start, she could not have become so subsequently." The argument recalls that supposedly used centuries before by Xenophanes to reject mourning rites in the cult of gods, in relation as it happens to the same figure Leucothea: "when the Eleans asked Xenophanes if they should sacrifice to Leucothea and lament her or not, he counselled that if they consider her a god they

²⁷ The contemporary importance of Palaemon is shown also by the acclamation of his greatness at Delphi, "possibly inscribed at the initiative of an athlete who had won both the Pythia and the Isthmia" (CHANIOU 2010, 127, on SEG 51.623). For the earlier cult see E. R. GEBHARD / M. W. DICKIE, "Melikertes-Palaemon: Hero of the Isthmian Games", in: R. HÄGG (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 21–23 April 1995* (Stockholm 1999) 159–165; I am most grateful to Professor GEBHARD for advice on Palaemon at the Isthmus.

²⁸ For the sources and variants see GEBHARD 2005, 168–169.

should not lament, and if a mortal not sacrifice.”²⁹ Aristides substitutes a new version of his own which would be more pleasing to the gods: Poseidon loved and took Leucothea as bride just like Tyro and Amymon and other beauties; and the goddess’ journey “from there to here” (i.e. from the traditional site of Ino’s leap into the sea to the Isthmus), “if we should accept that too”, was not a flight but a journey as to a bridal chamber; “and she brought the child, who must have been from a different marriage, not having snatched him up, but as a deposit and plaything and gift for Poseidon”.³⁰ The loose ends here are obvious: the supposed parallels for Leucothea as brides of Poseidon are mortal, not divine; we are left to wonder who Leucothea’s partner in this casually postulated ‘different marriage’ – presumably a god, if Palaemon too is to be one – may have been.

But what is particularly interesting is the relation between Aristides’s new myth and the actual rites for Palaemon. Palaemon was perhaps worshipped both as god and hero at the Isthmus,³¹ but the heroic rites are what received most emphasis in Aristides’s day. As revealed by archaeology, these represent as clear an example as any available to us of that elusive phenomenon, ‘chthonic’ rites for a hero. Three pits have been found in or near the sanctuary of Palaemon full of charred bones from all parts of young cattle: “the animal was evidently whole when it was placed on a pyre and consumed by fire.”³² Some such emplacement as these was evidently the ἐναγιστήριον, “place for chthonic sacrifice” (a word attested here only!), dedicated by P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus.³³ Numerous finds of lamps suggest that the ceremony was conducted by night.

²⁹ 21 A 13 DK ap. Aristotle, *Rh.* II 1400b6–8; but Plutarch (see DK ad loc.) transfers the story to the Egyptians and Osiris.

³⁰ 46.35: τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς τὰς δεῦρο ἐκείθην, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ταύτας παραδέξασθαί ἡμᾶς χρῆ, οὐ φυγῆ φευγούσης γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θάλαμον ἰούσης τὴν θάλατταν· οὐδὲ τὸν παῖδα, ὃς ἦν ἐξ ἑτέρου λέχους ἄρα, αὐτὴν φέρειν ἀρπάσασαν, ἀλλὰ παρακαταθήκην καὶ ἄθυρμα καὶ δῶρον Ποσειδῶνι.

³¹ GEBHARD 2005, 166–167 (cf. Paus. 2.2.1; 2.3.4); cf. E. R. GEBHARD, “Pausanias at the Isthmian Sanctuary. The principles governing his narrative”, in: K. KISSAS / W. D. NIEMEIER (eds.), *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese: Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity*. Athenia 4 (München 2013) 263–274.

³² GEBHARD 2005, 192–193; cf. E. R. GEBHARD / D. S. REESE, “Sacrifices for Poseidon and Melikertes-Palaemon at Isthmia”, in: R. HÄGG / B. ALROTH (eds.), *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25–27 April 1997* (Stockholm 2005) 125–154.

³³ IG IV 203.9; for further texts relating to this benefactor see D. J. GEAGAN, “The Isthmian Dossier of P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus”, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 349–360, who dates the dossier on the basis of letter-forms to ca. 170 AD. One might think from the wording of the inscription that the ἐναγιστήριον and the Palaemonium (spoken of as distinct in the inscription, but surely closely related) were established for the first time by Iuventianus, but the whole complex in fact goes back to ca. 50 AD (see GEBHARD 2005, 190, fig. 6.7a); he seems to be representing re-fashioning as creation.

“There is also something else, called an ἄδυτον, and an underground passage to it, where they say Palaemon is concealed”, says Pausanias; Pausanias’s adyton has been plausibly identified with a long-abandoned underground reservoir that served the classical stadium.³⁴ Literary references too speak of secret and perhaps sinister rites: a “nocturnal rite”, τελετή (Plut. *Thes.* 25.5); a “ritual lament”, θρηνηστικὸς τελεστικός (Philostr. *Heroicus* 53.4); “gloomy superstition”, *nigra superstitio* (Stat. *Theb.* 6.11). One established way of explaining the origin of each of the panhellenic games was as funerary rites for a dead hero,³⁵ and that apparently is the emphasis created by these nocturnal holocausts and laments for Melicertes / Palaemon. How these ritual practices were to be reconciled with his new account of the history of Leucothea and Palaemon Aristides does not say. He is not critical of the ritual; on the contrary, “it is fine to speak of Palaemon and name him and swear the oath and share in the rite and the celebrations for him (τῆς τελετῆς <τῆς> ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ὀργασμοῦ μετασχεῖν) – so great is the charm of the boy” (46.40). Nor is it clear that his critique of “terrifying and impious pictures in some places (ἐνῖαχοῦ)” (46.41) is directed against the sanctuary:³⁶ his vague ἐνῖαχοῦ leaves it unclear to us, though his hearers will have known, whether it was there that the offending pictures were to be found. He simply re-fashions the myth, a writer’s traditional privilege, leaves the ritual as it was (of course), and makes no attempt to bring the two into consonance.

Myths relating to Asclepius and to Pergamum also required careful handling. Aristides says nothing of the crime and fate of Asclepius’s mother Coronis, so memorably described by Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.24–46), one of his favourite authors. It was believed at Pergamum that Eurypylus, son of the Pergamene ancestor hero Telephus, slew Asclepius’s son Machaon: as a result Pausanias tells us that in the Asclepieum, though Telephus was honoured with hymns, it was taboo even to name Eurypylus (3.26.9–10).

³⁴ Paus. 2.2.1, with GEBHARD 2005, 197–200, and her fig. 6.12 which well shows Pausanias’s “underground passage”. Coins of Corinth from the time of Marcus Aurelius that show a temple (sometimes with a bull beside it) and the entrance to a passage below the podium are taken to refer to the Palaemonium: see J. NOLLÉ, “Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Münzkunde und Geschichte 6–9”, *Gephyra* 6 (2009) [7–99] 14.

³⁵ See e.g. Aristotle, fr. 637 ROSE.

³⁶ Still less that it is directed against hypothetical decorations introduced by the benefactor Iuventianus, as GOEKEN 2012, 594, tentatively suggests. Professor GEBHARD writes, however (personal communication), that “Paintings in the Antonine Palaimonion at Isthmia cannot be ruled out. Still preserved on the south wall is a heavy layer of plaster with a prepared surface of the type used for murals. All pigment has of course long disappeared but it seems very likely that the plaster carried paintings of some sort. Perhaps the terrifying pictures that Aristides objected to lie behind some of the images on Corinthian coins, e.g. Ino’s sea leap with baby in arms, though hardly gruesome.” She notes that the one attested painting (Philostr. *Imag.* 2.16) is explicitly described by Philostratus as not alarming.

Oration 38 honouring Podalirius and Machaon is predictably silent about Machaon's fate.

Aristides's most thorough re-writing of the Homeric tradition concerns Zeus (or to be more precise the Zeus of the speech in his honour; things can be different elsewhere). The amiable but unreliable ruler over a squabbling family of gods has been transformed into the Stoic supreme deity, eternal, limitless, all-powerful, perfectly benevolent to mankind. The same perfect benevolence to mankind is shared by all the other gods, whose powers are a kind of "outflow" (ἀπορροή) of those of Zeus (43.15). The myth of the birth of Zeus is set aside in an eloquent passage:

"[Zeus created everything and] First he himself created himself; he was not reared in the fragrant caves of Crete, nor was Kronos on the point of swallowing him, nor did he swallow a stone in his place, nor did Zeus come into danger nor will he ever come into danger, nor is anything older than Zeus, any more than sons could be older than fathers or things created than their makers, but this god is first and oldest and origin (ἀρχηγέτης) of all things, himself created from himself. When he came into being cannot be said: he existed from the beginning and will exist for ever, himself his own father and too great to have been born from another" (43.8–9).

One may note in passing that many of the cities of Asia Minor among which Aristides wandered claimed the birth of Zeus to have occurred on their own soil; but the tradition which Aristides selects, if only to reject it, is the mainline Hesiodic one which located the event in Crete. Having installed Zeus as creator of all things, Aristides must describe the creation; and there follows an account eclectically dependent on, above all, Plato's *Timaeus* and Stoicism.³⁷ Aristides touches glancingly on philosophical problems such as that of what pre-existed the first act of creation,³⁸ but his manner is never philosophical: it shifts from exaltation (as in the passage quoted) to the ease and clarity almost of a storyteller, as the different regions of the cosmos are created step by step; there is none of the difficulty or detail of the *Timaeus*. Unusually and crucially, the philosopher's demiurge has been identified with the named god Zeus of traditional religion.³⁹

³⁷ For details see AMANN 1931, 47–85.

³⁸ The denial in 9 that Chronos pre-existed Zeus picks up the Platonic theme that time came into being only when the world was created (cf. D. SEDLEY, *Creationism and its Critics in Antiquity* [Berkeley 2007] 99, 104, 140–144), though it also plays on an equivocation between Chronos and Kronos.

³⁹ Occasional identification of the philosophers' god and 'Zeus' certainly goes back a long way, at least to Eur. *Tro.* 884–888, and is famously embodied in Cleanthes's *Hymn to Zeus*. But in relation to creation (usually seen as the work of a power beyond naming, as in Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 2.10a; 11.9c–d), Aristides's synthesis of the mythical and the philosophical modes appears distinctive. A Hymn to Zeus inscribed at Pergamum in this period, perhaps in answer to an oracular enquiry about plague, interestingly treats Zeus as a creator-god, though without describing the process in detail: SGO 06/02/02, esp. line 10 [αἰθέρα καὶ πᾶντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μήτις.

The 'post-homeric' features of Aristides so far mentioned are reflections of the philosophical critique of traditional religion. Other changes derive from the changed religious environment in which Aristides lived. Very obviously, the speeches for Sarapis, Asclepius and the Asclepiads honour gods who did not exist, not at least as gods, in the Homeric age. Some details drawn from contemporary belief or cult practice in the speeches for Poseidon and Heracles were noted above: the speech for Poseidon in particular is quite heavily influenced by the contemporary emphasis on the hero cult for Melicertes. The speech for Dionysus makes heavy use of the idea of Dionysus as a god who bridges a series of binary oppositions: he is, untranslatably, δίδυμος πάντη αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, "in all respects his own double", "one among young men and among maidens, but again among males both beardless and Briseus (i.e. bearded), and both warlike and peaceful uniquely among gods" (41.5); "he oversees the limits of night and of day. ... oldest and youngest of the gods" (41.13). Such language was traditional in relation to Dionysus,⁴⁰ but its rich development here may owe something to the flourishing contemporary world of Dionysiac mysteries. The speech for Sarapis makes quite extensive reference to the banquets (δαιτεῖς) with a 'couch of Sarapis' that were a distinctive mark of his cult.⁴¹

5. Polytheism and Henotheism

It is time to try to grasp the shape or shapes of Aristides's religious world. (But in doing so we must remember that we possess only a selection of the prose hymns that he wrote, to say nothing of those in verse.)⁴² Despite the pre-eminence ascribed to Zeus, particularly in the *Zeus*, it is, very obviously, a world of many gods. In the *Zeus* itself, he gives a hyper-traditional account of the division of spheres of competence of the different gods, varied only by the insistence that they are not wholly independent agents but each in their own ways fulfilling the will of Zeus:

"Apollo prophesies to mortals 'the sure counsel of Zeus', and Asclepius heals those whom it pleases Zeus he should heal, and Athena Ergane holds this office by Zeus' design, and Hera of Marriage and Artemis of Childbirth and the Huntress bring benefit to men, preserving the design of the great benefactor of all" (43.25).

⁴⁰ See the passages, beginning with Eur. *Bacch.* 861, cited by R. G. M. NISBET / M. HUBBARD, *A Commentary on Horace. Odes, Book II* (Oxford 1978) 329 on Horace, *Odes* 2.19.27 (add Plut. *Ant.* 24.4–5); for the persistence of such characterisation in modern time see A. HENRICH, "Human and Divine in Dionysus", in: T. H. CARPENTER / C. A. FARAONE (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca 1993) 30 n. 44. Flourishing contemporary world: see JACCOTIET 2003.

⁴¹ See n. 18 above.

⁴² GOEKEN 2012, 61–69; TRAPP in this volume, p. 12. SGO 06/02/16 from Pergamum is widely held to be the remnants of an elegiac hymn to Asclepius by Aristides.

He runs through the separate functions of Pans (sic: plural) and Nymphs and Poseidon and the Dioscuri and the Muses in similar vein (43.25–26). This is a plain man's version of the Stoic compromise between the need for a central controlling intelligence and traditional polytheism: the familiar gods become subordinate officers to Zeus, the great general.⁴³ In the speeches in honour of individual gods, he regularly seeks to enhance their importance by showing how they have some share in the sphere of action of other gods: thus even Athena enjoys the "honours of one with fair children" (τῆς καλλιτέκνου γέγρα) because she guided Leto, mother of the fairest of children, to Delos; hunting, though the sport of Apollo and Artemis, is also, being a branch of warfare, partly hers; the altar of Athena Hygieia attests her "concord" (συμφωνία) with Asclepius; ship and bridle show her collaboration with Poseidon; the passage goes on to associate her variously with Hermes, the Muses, Apollo, Ares, Apollo again in a different aspect, Hephaestus, the Charites, the Dioscuri, Iacchus and the Eleusinian goddesses; the sequence ends with Poseidon's defeat at her hands (37.18–22). Dionysus and Poseidon receive similar if shorter passages associating them with other gods.⁴⁴ A less common trope is exaltation of the god being honoured by depreciation of another: the Heraclids are less unified and less useful to mankind than the Asclepiads (38.17–18); the sphere of action of Trophonius and Amphiaraus is locally restricted, of the Asclepiads universal (38.21); Poseidon has generously and philanthropically opened his portion of the world, the sea, to mortal use, whereas Zeus has denied access to the sky (46.9.13). In the last example, in particular, the immediate rhetorical need has overcome theological propriety: on his best behavior Aristides would allow no god to begrudge anything to mankind, least of all Zeus. There is no point in seeking complete consistency in these occasional speeches delivered before varying audiences: the point of praise is to praise, with only some holds barred.

How far does such praise go? The concept of henotheism is unavoidable here, however problematic of definition:⁴⁵ let us take it as the exaltation

⁴³ Cf. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 11.5a–b.

⁴⁴ 41.10–12; 46.14–15; cf. 44.11, the Aegean and the Letoids; 38.24, the Asclepiads and the Dioscuri. Libanius's approach in his *Artemis* is very similar. The most elegant explanation is that of VEYNE 1991, 300: "les dieux se confondent un peu, non par quelque tendance naturelle qu'aurait l'homme au monothéisme, mais parce que, en un gouvernement uni ... chaque ministre se confond un peu avec le gouvernement."

⁴⁵ The term was made familiar by Lecture VI, "On Henotheism, Polytheism, Monotheism, and Atheism" of F. MAX MÜLLER (apparently its inventor), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religions of India* (London 1878): see especially p. 271: "In the Veda, one god after another is invoked. For the time being, all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet, while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other gods. But in the same collection of hymns, sometimes even in the same hymn, other gods are mentioned, and they also are truly divine, truly independent, or, it may be, supreme"; cf. VERSNEL 2011, 244: "the privileged devotion to one god, who is regarded

of one god within a polytheism as being the most powerful conceivable and indeed omni-competent, even though other gods are acknowledged as existing and deserving worship. The acclamations εἰς Διόνυσος, εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπις, to be understood as “Dionysus is unique” (not “is the only god”), “Zeus Sarapis is unique”, are clear expressions of such henotheism; the ‘superlativism’ that becomes common in religious language in the imperial period leads to many henotheistic formulations, as for instance when the Ephesians in a public decree declare Artemis “greatest of all the gods there have ever been ([θεῶν πάντων]ων πῶποτε μεγίστ[η])”.⁴⁶ Lucius’s devotion to Isis as depicted in Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses* illustrates the possibility of lasting henotheism, as does Aristides’s to Asclepius, or no doubt the Ephesians’ to Artemis, but it can also be momentary. “A hymn to one god”, Versnel has said, “may be regarded as a henotheistic moment in a polytheistic context”,⁴⁷ and critics have often seen Aristides’s hymns as a succession of such moments, with each god feted as supreme in turn. Rhetoric on this account turns out as admirably suited to serve henotheistic needs and assumptions.⁴⁸

But perhaps one needs to distinguish the magnification of the god proper to a hymn from full-blown henotheism. Traditional Greek praise of a god seldom goes quite to the point of suggesting that the god, unless it be Zeus, is all powerful. The passage in praise of Hecate in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (411–452) magnifies the goddess’ capacities to an extraordinary degree, assigning her a role in numerous spheres of life with which no other source

as uniquely superior, while other gods are neither depreciated nor rejected and continue receiving due cultic observance whenever this is ritually required.” As MÜLLER noted, the concept though not the term was already found in his *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. So Far as it Illustrates the Primitive Religion of the Brahmans (London 1859) 532–534: see e.g. 533: “It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute.” In *Chips from a German Workshop* (London 1867) I:28, he had found a name: “if we must have a name for it, I would call it kathenotheism”; in that passage the following mention of “the consciousness that all deities are but different names of one and the same godhead” is not an alternative definition of kathenotheism, as L. P. VAN DEN BOSCH, *Friedrich Max Müller. A Life Devoted to the Humanities*. Studies in the History of Religions. Numen Book Series 94 (Leiden 2002) 349, takes it, but is distinguished from it.

⁴⁶ H. ENGELMANN, “Zum Kaiserkult in Ephesos”, *ZPE* 97 (1993) [279–289] 288 (*SEG* 41.756). On ‘superlativism’ see CHANIOTIS 2010, 129–130, with examples in 129 n. 71; he speaks also of “acclamatory hyperbole”. On (pagan) ‘one god’ acclamations see works cited *ibid.* 128 n. 62 and N. BELAYCHE, “Deus deum ... summorum maximus (Apuleius). Ritual Expressions of Distinction in the Divine World in the Imperial Period”, in: MITCHELL / VAN NUFFELEN 2010, [141–166] 162–165.

⁴⁷ VERSNEL 2011, 244, with references on pp. 243–244 on the historiography of the concept (which he re-introduced to classical scholarship), and the crucial observation that in this area “boundaries are fluid”. CHANIOTIS 2010, 112–113, argues that henotheism should be reserved for the conflation of several or all gods into one (not the term’s original sense), and for “affective monotheism” prefers the term “megatheism”.

⁴⁸ So GOEKEN 2012, 262–263.

associates her. Teiresias in Euripides's *Bacchae*, exalting Dionysus, gives him unexpected powers in divination and in warfare and insists on his close association with Apollo of Delphi (298–309). In such passages we perhaps detect the hyperbolic claims of 'emergent cults' fighting for a place in the light: the Hesiod passage would be a direct example of such rhetoric, whereas Teiresias's speech would reflect the situation within the play, where he is boosting the claims of what to him, though not to the audience, is a new god.

But, though these speeches push at the boundaries traditionally confining particular gods to particular spheres, even they stop short of the claim that the god in question is more powerful or greater than other gods. And these are limiting cases which stand out within surviving literature for their boldness. Nor does it seem that Aristides's hymns to the traditional Greek gods, for all their rhetorical stretches, ever quite tumble over into henotheism. He often, it is true, uses vocabulary which points in that direction and may indeed derive thence:⁴⁹ Athena *alone* of all gods and goddesses is homonymous with victory (37.26); Athena *alone* is called Ergane and Pronoia (*ibid.*); Athena *alone* is guide to the whole of wisdom (μόνη γὰρ ἀπάσης σοφίας ἡγεμὼν ἐστὶ) (37.13). But these unique capacities are confined to particular spheres, and it is over particular activities that total control is exercised. I noted above the regular concern to link the god being honoured with as many other gods as possible: the intention is to expand the particular god's role within the conventional polytheistic framework, but the relevance of that framework is thereby re-affirmed.

There are, it is true, brief moments where the foundations of conventional polytheism are shaken. "Before now I have heard from certain people a different account of these matters, that Dionysus was Zeus himself (ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶναι ὁ Διόνυσος)" (41.4). But Aristides merely turns the theologically challenging claim into a proof of Dionysus's importance, and then lets it drop: "what could you say greater than that?" (καὶ τί ἂν εἴποις ὑπὲρ τοῦτο). Of Sarapis he writes, "the citizens of the great city beside Egypt (Alexandria) invoke him as 'unique Zeus' (ἕνα τοῦτον ἀνακαλοῦσι Δία), because with his superior force he is never lacking, but penetrates through everything and fills everything" (45.21). But on the relation of Zeus to Sarapis, nothing more is said. The most extended and interesting passage comes in the *Address to Asclepius*.

"Many and great are the powers of Asclepius, or rather they are all-encompassing, beyond the scope of human life. It was not for nothing that the people have established the temple of Zeus Asclepius; but if my teacher spoke plainly (and he, above all, must surely have done so) – in what manner he taught this and how is explained in the *Sacred*

⁴⁹ But on the earlier history of μόνος in religious vocabulary see NORDEN 1913, 245 n. 1.

Tales –⁵⁰ it is he who guides and governs all, saviour of the universe and guardian of the immortals ... If we believe him to be the son of Apollo and third in descent from Zeus, and yet again join them in name, <we do not hold contradictory beliefs>, because men say that Zeus himself was once born and yet show him to be the father and creator of the world. However, as Plato says, ‘let these things be and be said as the gods themselves wish’. Let us go back to the point from which we digressed” (42.4).

Whereas in the other two cases the identification of Zeus with another god is merely mentioned, without disapproval, as a current opinion, Aristides here endorses the new entity Zeus Asclepius on the basis of his own experience as recounted in the *Sacred Tales*, which has taught him to regard Asclepius as indeed all-powerful. The problem arises of how a god can be identical with his own grandfather; Aristides tackles it by pointing out that, in relation to Zeus himself, the myth of his birth is incompatible with the general perception of him as father and creator of the world: myth, it seems, must give way to a differently derived understanding of the god’s nature. But this destabilization, in favour of Asclepius, of the whole mythical universe is not pursued further: “let these things be and be said as the gods themselves wish.” As always, Aristides veers away from what would be theologically complex.⁵¹ And needless to say he is not obliged to explain the relation of the three ‘Zeus pluses’ whom he mentions (Zeus Dionysus, Zeus Sarapis, Zeus Asclepius) to one another. Each of these Zeus pluses, it may be noted, would have been familiar to his audience. Aristides will not have shocked or surprised anyone by mentioning them.

These identifications of other gods with Zeus are indeed, in Versnel’s phrase, henotheistic moments: the god who is not Zeus is raised to the status of supreme god by identification with Zeus. Another such moment comes when Aristides declares that the water of the Asclepieum well is supreme among waters just as its patron is supreme among gods (39.18).

But the speech for Sarapis contains more than a henotheistic moment: it is a henotheistic whole. If one compares it with the speeches for the traditional Greek gods, one discovers the sense in which these latter are not (quite) henotheistic. The art in praising Athena and Dionysus and Poseidon is, we have seen, to exalt them by allowing them to flow over into the sphere of competence of other gods. But in the Sarapis other gods are mentioned only by way of casual allusion or in depreciation. There is no attempt to show Sarapis in co-operative activity with them; on the contrary, he is, in a striking phrase, a “self-sufficient god” (αὐτάρκης θεός, 45.20). Aristides tells him that “everything everywhere that we would most wish

⁵⁰ This cross-reference to the *Sacred Tales* and that at 42.10 are deleted as interpolations by RUSSELL in the present edition; but the interpolator, if such he was, was right to detect an allusion to that work.

⁵¹ So too Libanius in speech 5 (*Artemis*) combines a traditional use of traditional mythology with occasional unexplained identifications between gods: 27 Artemis is Eileithyia, 33 Artemis is Selene and Hecate.

to happen in our lives happens through you and because of you" (45.14); he is the "greatest of the gods" (45.16); "those goods by which human life is organized and preserved, these are gifts of Sarapis" (45.16): our life depends on the soul, the body, and external goods, and Sarapis cares for all three departments by providing wisdom, health and prosperity. Alone among gods, therefore, he is dear to all classes and conditions of men (45.17–21). After a mannered allusion to the Alexandrian cult of Zeus Sarapis (mannered, because that cult was far from restricted to the "citizens of the great city beside Egypt" as he quaintly puts it), he continues:

"The powers and honours of the other gods are divided, and mortals invoke different gods for different needs, but Sarapis like a chorus-leader holds the commencement and conclusion of all things. He alone is ready to accomplish whatever anyone may need. As a result, in other cases men follow different paths, and different people honour different gods, but this god alone all men honour like their own gods. Because he has the powers of all, some cultivate him in place of all the other gods, while others worship him as well as the other gods whom they worship in any particular need, as a unique god common to the whole world" (45.22–23).

Virtually here alone in the whole speech is it recognized that other gods exist and receive honour, and even here they serve only as a foil to the broader powers of Sarapis.

There is no such stress on the uniqueness and universality of the honoured god in any of the other hymns. Many scholars have seen the Sarapis as among the first and perhaps literally the first of Aristides's prose hymns. Aristides had been filled with enthusiasm for the god during his youthful visit to Egypt, it is argued, but had not yet contracted that passionate devotion to Asclepius which would have made it hard for him to praise Sarapis in quite such exclusive terms.⁵² But one needs to see the Sarapis in relation to the established rhetoric of the cults of the Egyptian gods. As seen in the so-called aretalogies, this was henotheistic in a way not known in the traditional Greek cults;⁵³ even the very concept of a 'rhetoric' of the traditional cults, which laid much less emphasis on praising the god, is unfamiliar. The rhetorical patterns of the aretalogies show through in Aristides's speech in passages with anaphora of οὔτος such as:

"He (οὔτος) brings the Nile in the summer season, he calls it back in winter, he preserves and adorns forty sanctuaries in Egypt and all the temples in the land" (45.32; cf. 29).⁵⁴

⁵² Such views are reported, and criticised, by GOEKEN 2012, 555 (who reinforces the case for performance at Smyrna, not Alexandria, 547–556).

⁵³ See TOTTI 1985, nos. 1–7; *ibid.* no. 19.20 (the Maroneia encomium, on Isis and Sarapis): μόνους γὰρ ὁ βίος ὑμᾶς θεοῦς οἶδεν. It scarcely matters that no aretalogy of quite this type concerning Sarapis is preserved: Aristides's speech in itself strongly suggests that such existed.

⁵⁴ Cf. especially *Corpus Hermeticum*, IV, fr. XXIII 65–68 (21–22 NOCK / FESTUGIÈRE) ap. Stobaeus 1.49.44 (406 WACHSMUTH = TOTTI 1985, no. 3), where the capacities of Isis and Osiris are listed with anaphora of οὔτοι; also the Maroneia encomium (TOTTI 1985, no.

Near the end of the speech he addresses the god as “you who possess that fairest of all the cities on which you look down [as sun], the city which conducts the annual festival (πανήγυρις) for you” (45.33): the allusion must be to Aristides’s native city Smyrna, widely granted the title of “fairest of cities”, and it is plausible that the speech was performed at the festival which he mentions.⁵⁵ If that is so, Aristides’s procedure is exactly the same *mutatis mutandis* as in the *Isthmikos* for Poseidon: at a festival of the god, Aristides is praising the god in the way appropriate to that god and to that festival. If one’s subject is Sarapis, one is sucked by tradition and propriety to the occasion into a henotheistic mode. He again follows a line of argument distinctive of these cults when he proclaims: “let us leave it to the priests and sages of Egypt to say who he is and what his nature; we can glorify him enough at the moment by recounting how many and how great are the benefits he can be seen to bring to mankind” (45.15). In the same way enthusiasts for Isis as reported by Diodorus (1.25.4) declare that as proof of her services to mankind they bring “not legends like the Greeks, but manifest deeds” (οὐ μυθολογίας ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἐναργεῖς).⁵⁶ No doubt Aristides feels enthusiasm for Sarapis; but the terms in which he expresses it are the terms prescribed for all worshippers of that god, regardless of their feelings about any other.

Sarapis extends the boundaries of Aristides’s religious world, but in other respects it is confined within long-established limits, an “affirmation of Greek religious tradition”.⁵⁷ The emperors are treated with respect, but kept apart from gods. He has no truck with the currently fashionable δαίμονες, figures intermediate between gods and men.⁵⁸ As for Jews and Christians, “the impious people in Palestine” (τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ δυσσεβέσι) as he calls them in his one allusion,⁵⁹ it is very unclear whether their rival claims have exerted any silent pressure on him; odd phrases might have been influenced here and there, but there is no trace of any extensive re-thinking to respond to what he probably did not perceive as a challenge.⁶⁰

19) 22–28; Tibullus 1.7 (TOTTI 1985, no. 7) 29–42. Aristides’s *Zeus* (43.29–30) ends with similar οὗτος anaphora, for which reason NORDEN 1913, 163–166, classes “der Er-Stil der Prädikation” as traditionally Greek; perhaps rather this stylistic feature has crossed over from the Egyptian aretologies.

⁵⁵ On both points see GOEKEN 2012, 549–555.

⁵⁶ Cf. WEINREICH 1969, 418 on Sarapis as a “mythenlose Gott”.

⁵⁷ So GOEKEN 2012, 216.

⁵⁸ GOEKEN 2012, 219–220 (emperors), 259 (*daimones*).

⁵⁹ Πρὸς Πλάτωνά ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, LENZ / BEHR 1978, 671; 46.309, 402 DINDORF.

⁶⁰ See in detail GOEKEN 2012, 318–334. On Maximus’s neglect of the Christian challenge see M. TRAPP, *Maximus of Tyre. The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford 1997) xlvii-li.

6. Conclusion

Aristides's *Hieroi Logoi* have always been seen as a document of a kind of personal religion virtually invisible in Greco-Roman antiquity until that point; they remain such a document despite recent re-evaluations which relate them more closely to the sophistic culture from which they emerge.⁶¹ But the search for the personal voice is not the best approach to the *Hymns*. Historically what is interesting is the diversity of perspectives, often unreconciled, that the most successful orator of his day could advance. The *Sarapis* is not a private meditation or profession of faith; it was delivered in a Greek city⁶² in which Sarapis was merely one god among many; we learn from it that such henotheistic enthusiasm and hyperbole was an acceptable form of speech before an audience not necessarily confined to enthusiasts for Sarapis. In reading the hymns we encounter an ambiguous relation to myth, a Homeric divine world censored and interpolated on the basis of the philosophical tradition, an oscillation between ancient myth and proofs of a god's present power, gods who are in principle distinct but undergo occasional brief conflation with one another from which the speaker rapidly backs off, a tone now enthusiastic, now solemn, now rhetorically sportive, a resolve to praise the gods in very concrete ways which none the less leave the questions "what is a god?" or "what gods are there?" hard to answer: what matters is not the single personal voice but the multiplicity of notes that are struck,⁶³ the testimony to a complicated and untidy but still perfectly habitable religious world.

⁶¹ See most recently N. McLYNN, "Aelius Aristides and the Priests", in: B. DIGNAS / R. PARKER / G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Priests and Prophets Among Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Leuven 2013) 52–79, and TRAPP in this volume, p. 14.

⁶² Smyrna: see n. 55 above.

⁶³ GOEKEN 2012, 334: "plusieurs niveaux de religiosité qui ne s'excluent pas et qui s'expriment chacun selon l'occasion."

The Archaeology of the Asclepieum of Pergamum

Milena Melfi

Aelius Aristides spent nearly two years as a patient at the Asclepieum of Pergamum. Whether this decision was the result of his deteriorating health after a momentous trip to Rome or of his decision to “reshape his oratorical profile”¹ through a period of retirement remains to be assessed. What is clear from the experiences recounted in his writings is that this stay created an extraordinary bond between literary product and archaeological site. Many of the rhetorical pieces composed during and after Aristides’s stay in the Asclepieum were directly inspired by specific features of the cult place, by the god Asclepius in his Pergamenian declension, and by miracles and rituals taking place in the sanctuary. Although Aristides’s experience at the Asclepieum, for its characteristic fluctuations of time and place and the continuous switching between dream and reality, cannot be directly tested on the ground, it reflects the overall atmosphere of the sanctuary in the 2nd century AD.² The archaeological remains of the Asclepieum of Pergamum, therefore, provide the ideal framework in which to place the religious experience of Aristides as a worshipper, and are key for understanding some of his sources of inspiration. The Asclepieum visited by Aristides was the result of the 2nd-century AD large-scale reconstruction of the Hellenistic sacred precinct, probably initiated by Hadrian. Since it would not be possible to understand the Roman developments of the site without taking into account the Hellenistic, namely Attalid, phases, this chapter will provide an overview of the entire history of the Asclepieum as a place of worship for Asclepius, before attempting to reconstruct the site in Aristides’s times.

¹ TRAPP in this volume, p. 15.

² For the most recent attempts at placing Aristides’s experiences in the Asclepieum see C. JONES, “Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion”, in: KOESTER 1998, 63–76; PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS 2010, 122–275.

1. The Early Foundation

The sanctuary of Asclepius is located outside of Pergamum, along a main road that led to the city from the southwest.³ A number of Attic-style funerary reliefs of the classical period have come to light along this road, attesting to the existence of a necropolis, and suggesting its role as an important extra-urban axis at least from the 4th century BC.⁴ Here, the cult of Asclepius was imported from Epidaurus, following a procedure known from other Asclepiea. It was supposedly a certain Archias, son of Aristaechnus, who, after having been injured while hunting on the Pindasos and eventually healed by the Epidaurian Asclepius, founded the cult at Pergamum as a sign of gratitude to the Peloponnesian god.⁵ The name Archias is variously attested in inscriptions and literary sources connected to the priesthoods of Asclepius in Pergamum and Epidaurus, adding to the credibility of Pausanias's tale.⁶ Kohl, citing a chronicle preserved in a 2nd-century AD inscription,⁷ and following Ohlemutz's suggestion, offered a plausible historical reconstruction. The Archias who imported the cult from Epidaurus might have been one of the most relevant political figures of 4th-century BC Pergamum: he first established and held the role of prytanis between 380 and 363/362 BC, a period of good relations between the Greeks of the region and the Persians, following the peace of Antalcidas.⁸ It is also not unlikely that negotiations with the mother-sanctuary had started already at the time of Agesilaus's campaigns in the East, in which the Epidaurians are known to have taken part as allies of the Spartans.

Although preserved only as foundations that are difficult to interpret, the earliest buildings on the site of the Asclepieum seem to have been clustered around a source of water and pre-date Archias's foundation.⁹ It is therefore generally believed that the cult of Asclepius was established on a site sacred to another deity at least from the end of the 5th century BC. This deity has been variously identified with either Apollo or Telephus, even though there is a complete absence of early votive and dedicatory evidence.¹⁰ Both Apollo and Telephus are, in fact, recipients of rituals and

³ F. PIRSON, "Stadtraum und Städtebau im hellenistischen Pergamon", in: GRÜSSINGER / KÄSTNER / SCHOLL 2011, 66–73.

⁴ HORN / BOEHRINGER 1966.

⁵ Paus. 2.26.8–9.

⁶ *IvP* I, nos. 190 and 251; *AvP* VIII.3, nos. 45–53; *IG* IV 928.

⁷ *IvP* I, no. 613.

⁸ KOHL 2008, 147–169, 152–153.

⁹ Phases 1–3 in *AvP* XI.1, 10–17, 96–100.

¹⁰ Apollo: G. DE LUCA, "Il culto di Asklepios in Asia Minore. L'esempio di Pergamo", in: E. DE MIRO / G. SFAMENI GASPARRO / V. CALÌ (eds.), *Il culto di Asclepio nell'area mediterranea* (Roma 2009) [97–112] 102–103; Telephus: DEUBNER 1984, 345–351.

offerings in the Asclepieum at a much later time,¹¹ and in particular, a mound burial at the entrance of the sanctuary has often been attributed to Telephus.¹² Whether Asclepius took over the healing role in the sanctuary and pre-existing deities were moved to different locations within the city — some have suggested that Apollo was relocated to the Gymnasium and Telephus to the citadel¹³ — it is impossible to say. While the presence of Apollo in ritual seems more likely due to the epigraphic evidence, the structures and the finds associated with the period of Archias's foundation are too inconspicuous and little preserved to shed any light on the nature and extent of the change. The sequence Apollo-Asclepius certainly would not be unusual and reflects a standard mechanism of filiation within the Epidaurian cult.

2. The Asclepieum and the Kings (Fig. 1)

In the third century BC, the Asclepieum experienced monumental changes and was finally given the buildings necessary for the cult's healing rituals. Probably under the patronage of Eumenes I, whose name may be preserved in one of the very few inscriptions from the site,¹⁴ the sanctuary area was remodelled and re-oriented, following a strict north-south and east-west alignment. At least two temples, more likely three, were built on a rocky outcrop of higher ground (the *Felsbarre*) west of the sacred area. Their presence in this phase is postulated on the basis of the presence of three altars and of architectural fragments in the Ionic order belonging to a temple entablature.¹⁵ The attribution of these temples is controversial. Following their much later mention in Aristides's text, the south temple with an Ionic frieze has been interpreted as dedicated to Asclepius, the middle one to Hygieia and Telesphorus, and the north one to Apollo.¹⁶ Architectural fragments of yet another temple, this time in the Doric order, the epistyle of which seems to have been inscribed with the names of Asclepius and Hygieia, have been tentatively associated with a set of

¹¹ Apollo: *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße* in *AvP* VIII.3, 167–190, ll. 32–33; Aristid. *Or.* 2.18: "He was at the same time Asclepius and Apollo, both the Clarian and he who is called Kallitekno in Pergamum and whose is the first of the three temples" (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945). Telephus: Paus. 3.26.10 and 5.13.3.

¹² DEUBNER 1984; *AvP* XI.2, 45–50.

¹³ The cult of Apollo would be located in the Doric temple re-used in the building of Temple R of the Gymnasium, see KOHL 2008, 160–161; SCHWANDER 1990. The cult of Telephus would be located in the *heroa* of the Attalids kings, see DEUBNER 1984.

¹⁴ Cf. fragmentary inscription on architectural piece in white marble: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 159.

¹⁵ A frieze with bucrania and garlands, similar to that of the temple of Demeter, dedicated by Phileteros and his brother Eumenes: *AvP* XI.1, 78–79.

¹⁶ Aristid. *Or.* 2.18; DE LUCA 1991, 333–340; id. 2009, 101.

foundations discovered at the south-east side of the sanctuary, and later incorporated in the Roman-period rotunda.¹⁷

Two of the *Felsbarre* temples had a special connection with water. A well, 3m deep and 1m wide, was dug into the cella of the south temple, while the north temple was built right next to a fissure in the rock from which a spring flowed. These features emphasise from the earliest stages the connection between the water and the god, later described by Aristides, according to whom “the water flows from the very steps on which the temple stands” and “arises from the temple and the feet of the Saviour”.¹⁸ Similar arrangements are not unusual in other sanctuaries of Asclepius, where the water for the healing rites was made to emanate directly from the temple or the statue of the god. In the first phase of the Asclepieum at Corinth, dated between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC, a channel conveyed the water from the feet of the cult statue inside the temple to a building southwest of the sanctuary, where incubation probably occurred.¹⁹ At Epidaurus, a piping system brought water inside a statue base placed along the front of the temple of Asclepius. From the feet of the statue, presumably of Asclepius, the water flowed into a small basin, and was ultimately channelled into the incubation stoa, the *abaton*.²⁰ A similar situation was also found in the temple of Asclepius at Lebena, where, in the Roman period, a channel sustained a small fountain inside the cella of the temple.²¹

East of the rocky outcrop, where the temples were located, was an area for sacrifice and incubation. The *enkoimeterion*, an incubation building in the form of a single rectangular room with benches along the walls, was the site where the worshippers could sleep on “straw beds” and await oracular consultation.²² It shared the same orientation as the temples and was strictly aligned with the altars, probably hinting at a confined and simple ritual where offerings, sacrifices, and sleep were closely connected — directly addressed to, and overseen by, the main god(s) presiding over the cult. This setting was dramatically enlarged a few years later, when a new wing was added to the *enkoimeterion*. By the mid-3rd century BC, the *enkoimeterion* occupied the whole area south of the temples, and a channel connected its north-west corner with the temple of Asclepius. This suggests that the sacred water from the temple was channelled into the build-

¹⁷ Only the name of Hygieia is preserved: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 158; J. W. RIETHMÜLLER, “Das Asclepieum von Pergamon”, in: GRÜSSINGER / KÄSTNER / SCHOLL 2011, [229–234] 232 prefers to identify this with the temple of Asclepius.

¹⁸ Aristid. *Or.* 39.2.

¹⁹ MELFI 2007, 290–193.

²⁰ MELFI 2007, 343.

²¹ M. MELFI, *Il Santuario di Asclepio a Lebena*. Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 19 (Athens 2007) 98–99.

²² *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße*: *AvP* VIII.3, 167–190, l. 15.

ing and was used in the incubation ritual, in an arrangement similar to that of the stoa, or *abaton*, at Epidaurus.

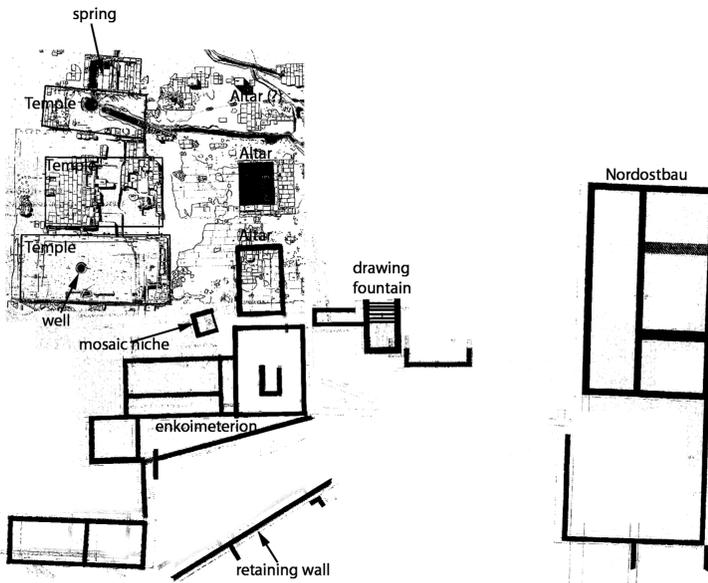


Figure 1: Pergamum, the Asclepieum by the second half of the 3rd century BC

At about the same time, new structures were placed in prominent locations in the sacred area: a new fountain in the form of a stepped drawing well was aligned with the altars at the west; a niche with a mosaic pavement, interpreted as a *thesauros* for monetary offerings (a hoard of early 3rd century BC coins was found within), occupied the space between the temple of Asclepius, its altar, and the incubation building. This development seems to reflect a further articulation of the cult, resulting in the separation and codification of various parts of the ritual. The position of the fountain at the entrance of the area where sacrifice and incubation occurred suggests that it was used for preliminary lustral and purificatory rites, while the presence of a treasury next to the altars implies the practice of depositing a monetary offering in order to access the ritual. Greek sacred laws often prescribed preliminary payments of exact sums of money to Asclepius (or to other healing gods) in *thesauroi* in order to be admitted to the healing rites. Numerous remains of offertory boxes have also been found in sanctuaries of Asclepius.²³ In Pergamum, in particular, the *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße* — one of the most complete documents ever describing a

²³ On this subject, see G. KAMINSKI, "Thesauros. Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 106 (1991) 63–181; E. GORRINI /

ritual for Asclepius — prescribes a fee of three obols to be paid into the *thesauros* before gaining access to the incubation rooms, and requires an even larger sum after successful healing.²⁴ A 4th century BC sacred law from the Asclepieum of Epidaurus interestingly prescribes a similar payment of three obols in the context of the *prothysia* — the preliminary sacrifices for Apollo and Asclepius — while a larger sum is offered to the god after the healing.²⁵ This ritual at Epidaurus is further clarified by the presence of a series of small block altars, dated from the end of the 4th century BC onwards, and placed along the sides of the main altar opposite Asclepius's temple. These altars are inscribed with the names of the deities to whom offerings and sacrifices were addressed in the context of the *prothysia*, including Zeus Apotropaeus, Zeus Meilichius, Artemis Prothyraia, Ge, Tyche and Mnemosyne, all of whom are similarly attested in the same Pergamenian *Lex Sacra* as the recipients of preliminary sacrifices.²⁶ The resemblance between the preliminary rites at Pergamum and the *prothysia* at Epidaurus suggests a similarity of rituals and seems to confirm further the Epidaurian heritage of the cult. It is possible that at Pergamum, as at Epidaurus, smaller block altars were placed next to the three main altars opposite the temples — two for Artemis and Demeter were found on site²⁷ — and on them bloodless offerings such as those described in the *Lex Sacra* were placed, while monetary offerings were deposited in the adjacent *thesauros*. Finally, at the eastern limits of the sacred area, the largest structure in the sanctuary (*Nordostbau*) was built. The building probably consisted of three adjacent rooms with a *pastas* or front portico. Although the superimposition of later phases prevents its complete reconstruction, the building seems to have dimensions identical to the Ionic Stoa (a *pastas* building in its previous phase) of the Asclepieum at Athens, and presents a similar arrangement of space, except for the number of rooms: three in Pergamum and four in Athens. The Ionic Stoa of the Athenian Asclepieum is generally understood as a *hestiatorion*, and I would propose a similar interpretation for the Pergamenian building.²⁸ Its relatively isolated position and sizable dimensions seem to support this hypothesis: also in Ep-

M. MELFI, "L'archéologie des cultes guérisseurs. Quelques observations", *Kernos* 15 (2002) [247–265] 255–260; I. A. PAFFORD, "The sacred life of coins: cult fees, sacred laws and numismatic evidence", in: N. HOLMES (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIVth international congress of numismatics, Glasgow, 2009* (Glasgow 2011) 1303–1309.

²⁴ *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße*: AvP VIII.3, 167–190, l. 8. On the context and interpretation of the *Lex Sacra* see *infra*.

²⁵ Three obols for the *prothysia* (LSCG suppl. 22) and one silver mina after the healing (IG IV² 1,124).

²⁶ Epidaurus: MELFI 2007, 37–38. Pergamum: *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße*: AvP VIII.3, 167–190, ll. 4–5.

²⁷ AvP VIII.3, no. 118 (Artemis) and no. 130 (Demeter).

²⁸ Although we lack important diagnostic elements, such as benches along the walls and off-axis entrances.

idaurus the largest building, the so-called *gymnasion*, was a monumental *hestiatorion*. In addition to this, the *Nordostbau* produced a large amount of dining-ware, amongst which were many black-glazed drinking cups and a fragment of a plate bearing the incised name of Asclepius — undoubtedly the earliest mention of the god on the site.²⁹

The general appearance of the site by the mid-3rd century BC must have been far different from that of Archias's private foundation, probably following the direct intervention by Eumenes I.³⁰ It was a large, well-planned sanctuary with at least three temples and their altars, two or even three sources of water, an *enkoimeterion* for incubation, and probably a *hestiatorion* for the consumption of meals. Asclepius and Hygieia are the only deities for which we have direct and contemporary evidence for worship.³¹ The little we do know about the nature of the cult can be inferred from topography and later documents (namely, the *Lex sacra*), which point toward a truly Epidaurian foundation. The following features can, in fact, be considered Epidaurian: the possible early presence of Apollo; the physical connection between the god, his water, and the healing process; the importance given to the preliminary rituals, and the coincidence of the deities involved in these.

3. Asclepius and the Making of Attalid Religious Policy (Fig. 2)

In 201 BC, Philip V of Macedon attacked Pergamum. He was unable to storm the citadel, but ravaged the sanctuaries around it. According to Polybius, "He threw down the temples and the altars, and even had their stones broken to pieces that none of the buildings he had destroyed might be rebuilt".³² There are reasons to believe that the Asclepieum was affected by these destructive events. Many of the buildings were destroyed and never rebuilt, or damaged and later restored in different forms. High quality 3rd-century BC sculptures were re-used as filling material in the reconstruction levels.³³ A hoard of silver coins, dating from the late 4th to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, was found buried in an oinochoe and has been linked to the imminent catastrophe. The hoard constitutes

²⁹ *AvP* XI.1, 107–109.

³⁰ This is inferred on the basis of an epistyle with bucrania identical to those of the sanctuary of Demeter (*AvP* XI.1, 78–79) and of a fragmentary inscription on architectural piece in white marble (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 159). See above, notes 14 and 15

³¹ Inscription on the Doric epistyle naming Asclepius and Hygieia: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 158. Inscriptions on black glaze shards naming Asclepius: *AvP* XI.1, Bauphase 5, cat. no. 36; Bauphase 7, cat. nos. 99–102. Head of Hygieia from a cult statue: DE LUCA 1991.

³² Polybius 16.1 (trans. SHUCKBURGH).

³³ The best examples are the two statues of Centaurs: *AvP* XI.1, 145.

for its German excavators a *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction of the sanctuary.

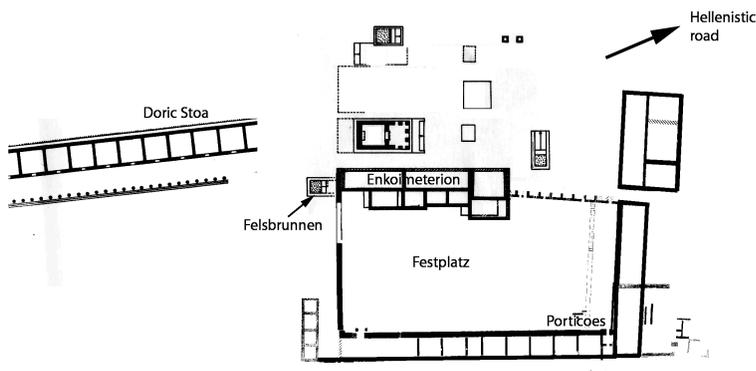


Figure 2: Pergamum, the Asclepieum in the 2nd century BC

From the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the sanctuary was rebuilt on a much larger scale.³⁴ The sacred area almost doubled in size and roughly reached the dimensions known for the later Roman imperial phases. Apart from the obvious chronological data deriving from the archaeological excavations, there are many reasons to believe that the reconstruction of the sanctuary occurred under the patronage of Eumenes II and was firmly inserted within the cultural and artistic policies of the kingdom. The temple of Asclepius was, in fact, rebuilt on its earlier foundations as a prostyle, tetrastyle Ionic building of modest dimensions (ca. 13.50 x 6.50m), but its architectural decoration was lavish and strongly recalled features of the Great Altar. Inside the temple, a short cella accommodated the sacred well from the previous phase and the base for the cult statue. This was likely to have been the famous Asclepius by the Athenian Phryomachus – completed by 155 BC, when it was carried away by Prusias II of Bithynia (Diod. 31, 35). The chronology and appearance of this statue remain controversial. The head is likely preserved by a colossal copy from Syracuse, characterized by a baroque and complex treatment of hair and beard, and closely resembling the obverse of late Hellenistic Pergamian bronze coins.³⁵ Whether the statue was seated or standing is also not clear, but the appearance of a standing Asclepius, leaning on his snake-entwined

³⁴ *AvP* XI.1, Bauphasen 9 and followings.

³⁵ *Status quaestionis* in ANDREAE 1990.

staff,³⁶ on coins of Eumenes II suggests that this might well have been the cult statue made by Phyromachus.³⁷ The fact that Asclepius was likely to have been represented standing, following the type of the Attic cult statue, rather than the more traditional, seated, Epidaurian one, has important consequences. Such a choice would be particularly fitting at the time of Eumenes II, when the king was consciously imitating Athenian culture by commissioning, for example, a copy of the Athena Parthenos for his own library at Pergamum, and was confirming his own commitment to Athens with the dedication of a new stoa at the foot of the Athenian Acropolis before the sanctuary of Asclepius. It must also not have been a coincidence that the sculptor commissioned with the cult statue of the newly restored temple was an Athenian. He was, therefore, able to combine the hieratic pose of Asclepius type Giustini – the Athenian cult statue – with the new sensibility of contemporary Hellenistic sculpture. Based on the measurements of the Syracusan head, Phyromachus's Asclepius would have been 3.1m high if seated, or 3.7m high if standing. These measurements have been considered too large for the dimensions of the cella of the Ionic temple on the *Felsbarre* (according to De Luca, 5.70 x 4.80m with a height of 5.40m).³⁸ Examples of contemporary Hellenistic temples, especially those dated to the 2nd century BC, nevertheless demonstrate the opposite.³⁹ In the late Hellenistic period, in fact, the relation between the temple and its cult statue changed completely and colossal cult statues were often encased in modest cult buildings, possibly in order to accentuate the theatrical and unexpected effect of the appearance of the god(s) as the ending point of a ritualized approach.⁴⁰ The temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, therefore, while being firmly inserted in the contemporary cultural policy of Eumenes II for its references to the Great Altar and to the Asclepieum of Athens, reflected the most recent trends in architecture and sculpture.

Eumenes II is also believed to be responsible for the foundation of the new joint festival of the *Heracleia* and (*Asclepieia*) *Sotereia* at least in 165

³⁶ ANDREAE 1990, 75–76; P. KRANZ, *Pergameus Deus. Archäologische und numismatische Studien zu den Darstellungen des Asklepios in Pergamum während Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit; mit einem Exkurs zur Überlieferung statuarischer Bildwerke in der Antike* (Berlin 2004) 25, plate 18.

³⁷ Of this opinion, A. STEWART, review of ANDREAE 1990a, *Gnomon* 65 (1993) [710–716] 714.

³⁸ According to ANDREAE 1990, the statue by Phyromachus was too large for this building and was destined for another temple, possibly in the Nikephorios; while SCHWANDER 1990 proposes that the temple which housed the Asclepius was the Doric one, whose blocks were recut and re-used for Temple R in the Upper Gymnasium.

³⁹ The cult statues of Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia, of Despoina, Demeter and Anytos in Lycosoura, the head of the so-called Zeus at Ageira, all belong to this category of over-size deities accommodated in reduced spaces.

⁴⁰ E. LA ROCCA, "La maestà degli dèi come apparizione teatrale", in: id. / C. PARISI PRESCICCE / A. LO MONACO (eds.), *I giorni di Roma: l'età della conquista* (Milano 2010).

BC.⁴¹ The festival was aimed at the celebration of Heracles as ancestor of the dynasty and of Asclepius Soter as the protector of the king's health. It included a *panegyris*, games and a procession.⁴² Its connection with the royal house must have been very strong if Athenaeus, the brother of Eumenes, held the role of *agonothetes* of the games,⁴³ and Attalus III had a colossal statue of himself dedicated in the temple of Asclepius.⁴⁴ This occurrence can explain the most relevant feature of the new design of the Asclepieum. The naturally uneven terrain traditionally occupied by the sanctuary was, in fact, made level through impressive earthworks and the creation of terraces supported by buttresses and cellar basements — similar to those that were being built in most parts of the citadel at the time of Eumenes II. The space was then enclosed by monumental porticoes in the Doric order on the east and south sides, while a *temenos* wall and the newly built incubation hall bordered the west and north sides. It therefore became a vast enclosed courtyard, fittingly defined by the German archaeologists as the *Festplatz*, the Festival Court. This space was clearly created for accommodating large, collective celebrations, such as those connected to the newly founded *Heracleia* and *Sotereia*. Its main entrance was from the east side, where the suburban Hellenistic road preceding the Roman porticoed *Hallenstraße* was at this time being lined by dedications and honorary monuments.⁴⁵ Processions were likely to have entered the sanctuary by this route. Opposite the entrance, and west of the sanctuary, probably outside of the *temenos* wall, another enormous building of collective use was built: a Doric stoa of 45 columns, with at least 20 rooms at the back. This has often been identified with the Gymnasium mentioned by Aristides, but its function is still obscure. The painted decoration of the rooms seems to suggest a function linked to the reception and accommodation of a large number of worshippers.

The performance of collective celebrations might explain why the area in front of the temple, previously occupied by a large altar and by the mosaic niche containing the *thesauros*, was completely de-cluttered, and

⁴¹ SEG 50.1211. WÖRRLE 2000 demonstrates that the festival could not be later than 165 BC, and was probably founded to celebrate the victory of Eumenes II over the Galatians in 168–166 BC; contra L. ROBERT, "Héraclès à Pergame et une épigramme de l'Anthologie XVI 91", *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 58 (1984) 7–18, according to whom the festival was founded after 182 BC as a counterpart to the enlarged Νικηφόρια; RIGSBY 1996 (362–363) proposes that the festival served to commemorate the victory of Prusias II in 155/154 BC.

⁴² On the festival, see *AvP* VIII.3, no. 36 (with commentary). On the connection with the royal household, see D. MUSTI, "Un bilancio sulla questione dei Nikephoria di Pergamo", in: id. (ed.), *Nike. Ideologia, iconografia e feste della vittoria in età antica*. Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 23 (Rome 2005) 93–147; WÖRRLE 2000.

⁴³ *AvP* VIII.3, no. 3.

⁴⁴ *IvP* I, 246, ll. 7–9.

⁴⁵ *AvP* XI.2, 44–53.

transformed into a larger open space. In close relation to this operation, the incubation building was moved south. Its enlargement and extension to the west allowed the incorporation of yet another source of water, the *Felsbrunnen* previously located outside the west border of the sanctuary. This bears testimony to the increased importance of healing rituals, beside the collective celebrations. A secondary entrance to the sacred precinct, through a flight of steps, at its south-west corner, was created in order to offer a more direct access to the *enkoimeterion*. Pottery sherds inscribed with the name of Asclepius and terracotta figurines, mostly representing female draped types, were found in large numbers in the late-Hellenistic incubation building.⁴⁶ Inscriptions on stone, dated to the 2nd century BC onwards, preserve for the first time dedications to Asclepius and Hygieia by private individuals with formulas such as “prayer” or “vow” (εὐχή) and “thank-offering” (χαριστήριον), which hint at occurrences of successful healing.⁴⁷

The substantial works carried out under Eumenes II in the Asclepieum of Pergamum left the north of the sanctuary, still dominated by the rocky outcrop where the temples were built (*Felsbarre*), to the cultic and sacrificial functions, while the south became a space for the conveyance of worshippers — whether they were to attend rituals of incubation or collective celebrations. Such clear division defined a two-tiered ritual space similar to that reconstructed for the contemporary Asclepieum at Cos. Also in Cos, the area devoted to the conveyance of the supplicants and to the celebration of the *panegyris* was confined to the large porticoed square of the lower terrace where votive dedications, fountains and functional structures were accommodated. Here pilgrims could carry out preliminary rites and wait to be admitted to the holiest part of the sanctuary. This was located higher up in the central terrace of the sanctuary and consisted of a large open space dominated by the monumental temple and altar for Asclepius. Although the sanctuary of Cos has often been called a competitor of the Pergamene Asclepieum, there is evidence for strong links between the two during the Hellenistic period. Honours bestowed on the kings of Pergamum at Cos in the form of processions (*pompai*) in honour of the deceased Attalus I and Eumenes II, and the overall architectural style of the upper terrace of the sanctuary have even suggested late Attalid patronage.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *AvP* XI.1, cat. nos. 99–102.

⁴⁷ For example, *AvP* VIII.3, nos. 65, 70, 97.

⁴⁸ On the Asclepieum of Cos, its architecture and the connection with the Hellenistic kings, see E. INTERDONATO, *L'Asklepieion di Kos: archeologia del culto* (Rome 2013).

4. Towards a Roman Sanctuary

The layout of the sanctuary remained substantially unchanged until the beginning of the Roman period. A few restorations took place under the Attalid kings on the east and south porticoes of the *Festplatz*, possibly following catastrophic events.⁴⁹ One such event is believed to correspond to the incursion of Prusias, during which the statue of Asclepius made by Phromachus was stolen (and probably soon retrieved). A period of stagnation and decline of the cult in the 1st century BC is generally agreed upon, because of the lack of archaeological evidence and the negative historical events associated with the sanctuary, such as the killing of the Roman refugees in 88 BC and the murder of C. Flavius Fimbria in 85 BC, culminating in the loss of asylum status, restored only in 44 BC by P. Servilius Isauricus.⁵⁰ Although these events might have strongly affected the reputation and ultimately the fate of the sanctuary, the major factor to shape the topography of the sanctuary in the 1st century BC was probably the end of the festival in the name of Asclepius. After Pergamum had honoured Attalus III with a statue in the temple of Asclepius in the 130s BC,⁵¹ and after the festival was re-instated because of the rescue of Pergamum by the intervention of Heracles,⁵² the *Heracleia* and *Sotereia* are not heard of any more, and were probably abolished after 88 BC.⁵³ The *Festplatz* for collective celebrations was at this point no longer needed and, probably for this reason, the first interventions of the Roman period freely affected various areas of this important open-air space. In the course of the 1st century AD, small new structures of uncertain function were built in the centre and along the north side of the *Festplatz*; the foundations of a new large temple (with altar) were laid in its southwest corner, and a wall was erected through its middle in order to enclose the incubation hall. The use of these new structures within the traditional cult is not clear, especially because most of them had a very short life, and a few years later, even before being completed, were covered over by the mid-Imperial-period project. Why was a new temple started and never completed? Were the original temples in ruins or was yet another deity added to the Pergamene pantheon? Why was the incubation hall enclosed by a wall? Was it considered appropriate to separate physically the space devoted to the healing ritual from the rest of the sanctuary? All we can say is that the inscriptions seem to confirm that healing rituals continued in the Asclepium,⁵⁴ and that the finds of

⁴⁹ *AvP* XI.1, 86–87, Bauphasen 10–12.

⁵⁰ HOFFMAN 1998, 42 (with references).

⁵¹ *IvP* I, no. 246.

⁵² *IGRom* IV 300.

⁵³ RIGSBY 1996, 380.

⁵⁴ *AvP* VIII.3, nos. 67–68, 77.

terracotta statuettes (representing mostly women and children) and small bronzes suggest that, at least from the Flavian period, the Asclepieum was popular again.⁵⁵ Its connection with Rome and the West must have been very strong already at this stage, since most of the dedications dated to the 1st century AD are offered by Romans,⁵⁶ including a lock of hair of Flavius Earinus, favourite *puer* of Emperor Domitian, which was delivered to the Pergamene Asclepius directly from Rome in a box made of gold.⁵⁷ This was consecrated to the god, following a rite of passage for young men, not uncommon in other Asclepiea.⁵⁸

5. The New Asclepieum (Fig. 3 and 4)

By the mid-2nd century AD, although the chronology of the Roman reconstruction remains controversial, all of the buildings of the sanctuary had been demolished, except for the temples and altars on the *Felsbarre*, the fountains and the incubation hall.⁵⁹ The area originally defined by Eumenes's porticoes was cleared up, re-designed, landscaped and extended south and north. The south side had to be supported by high vaulted substructures that formed the core of a *cryptoporticus*, while the whole north side of the complex was dug into the rock in order to create level ground. A *porticus triplex* in the Ionic order bordered the reclaimed space on the south, west and north sides, and framed a new monumental courtyard accessed by a broad colonnaded street, the *Hallenstraße*. On the east side, completely new buildings were added: a porticoed *propylon*, a large round temple, and — in a slightly later phase — a library and a rotunda. Behind the north portico a theatre for up to 3,000 spectators was added. There is a general consensus that Roman architects worked on the complex, as Roman designs and techniques were used for most of the new constructions in the sanctuary.⁶⁰ These trends from the West were combined with the taste for erudition and antiquarian reconstruction that were typical of the wealthy intellectual elites of the Greek East in the cultural

⁵⁵ *AvP* XI.1, cat nos. 410–421, 465.

⁵⁶ *AvP* VIII.3, nos. 67 (Nummius Primus), 68 (L. Sempronius), 77 (L. Elpidius Domitius).

⁵⁷ *Stat. Silv.* III; *Mart.* 9.16, 17, 36 and 5.48.

⁵⁸ Cf. the Asclepieum of Paros: M. MELFI, "Il complesso del Pythion-Asklepieion a Paro", *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 80 (2002) 327–359.

⁵⁹ According to the traditional chronology, the Roman reconstruction took place under Emperor Hadrian between AD 124 and 138 (HOFFMAN 1998 and *AvP* XI.5). More recently, STROCKA 2012 proposed that the reconstruction started under Domitian and was only completed by the mid-Antonine period.

⁶⁰ For the full description of these architectural developments, see HOFFMAN 1998; *AvP* XI.5.

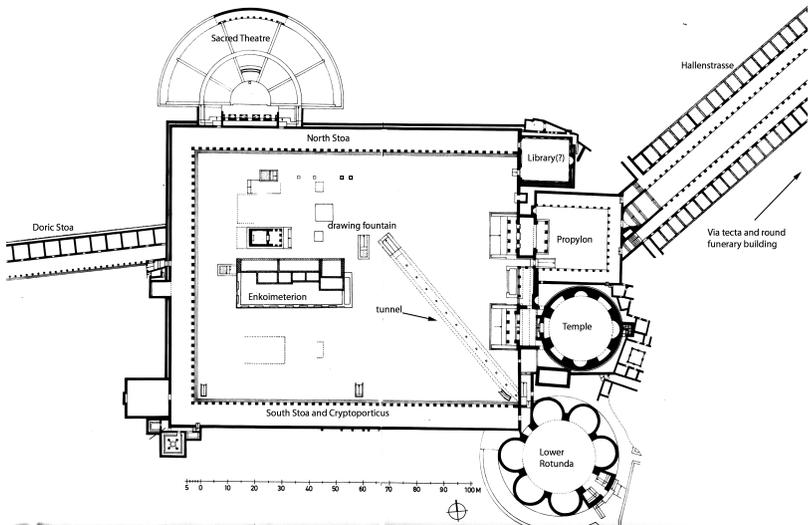


Figure 3: Pergamum, the Asclepieion in the Roman Imperial period



Figure 4: Model of the Asclepieion in the Roman Imperial period

environment of the Second Sophistic, ultimately producing an extremely original complex.⁶¹

6. Approaching the Sanctuary

Worshippers and visitors would have entered the sanctuary from the East, where the *Hallenstraße*, the porticoed road retracing the route of the Hellenistic street, led straight into the Roman *propylon*. This was accessed via a stretch of covered street with cross-vaulting and columns (*via tecta*), thought to have been constructed in the early Roman period. Coming from a covered, relatively narrow passage, into a broad colonnaded street, 130m long and adorned with monuments and dedications, the approach to the sanctuary must have looked impressive. The statuary displayed along the Ionic porticoes must have contributed to the enhancement of the visitors' expectations by the creation and juxtaposition of various landscapes of memory.⁶²

On the south side of the street, a round funerary building on a marble base, dated to the Augustan period, was purposefully incorporated in the colonnaded route.⁶³ This monument has been interpreted as the tomb of Telephus or of his mother Auge, because of its prominent position and the find of a votive relief nearby.⁶⁴ The relief, dated to the 1st century BC in the neo-Attic style, depicts a chariot driven by a charioteer, horses frightened by a snake, and a mantled figure raising his right hand. It bears a well-cut inscription at the bottom that gives the name of the dedicant, and a much rougher one at the top with the name of Telephus in the dative.⁶⁵ The relief was probably re-used at a later stage when the inscription for Telephus was cut. Although both the tomb and the relief cannot be taken as testimony for an ancestral hero cult, the votive inscription — in the dative form — undoubtedly implies the existence of a cult of Telephus at the time of the re-use of the relief. If this corresponded to the time when the round funerary building was re-qualified as a *heroon* for the cult of Telephus, the insertion of both the *heroon* and the relief in the main route to the Asclepieum would have constituted a reason for reflection on the past. The history of Pergamum and its mythical founder would have been part of a learning experience prior to accessing the Asclepieum. The tomb would

⁶¹ For this interpretation, see A. PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS, "The body in space: visual dynamics in Graeco-Roman healing pilgrimage", in: I. RUTHERFORD / J. ELSNER (eds.), *Seeing the Gods: Patterns of Pilgrimage in Antiquity* (Oxford 2005) [183–218] 189–198; ead. 2010.

⁶² The full catalogue of the sculptures is published by DE LUCA in *AvP* XI.4.

⁶³ *AvP* XI.2, 44–53.

⁶⁴ Reference to the tomb of Auge as a tumulus is found in Paus. 8.4.8–9. For this identification, see *AvP* XI.2, 45–50.

⁶⁵ HORN / BOEHRINGER 1966, 470. On the inscription and the relief, see also DIGNAS 2012, 138.

have possibly provided a tangible explanation for the ritual reported by Pausanias, according to which “at the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum (...) they begin their hymns with Telephus”.⁶⁶

The creation of a heroic cult place, suggested through the use of a pre-existent tomb and a re-used relief, might also help in understanding other features of the *Hallenstraße*. On the north side of the road, there was a large fountain where many fragments of sculptures and reliefs were found in a secondary use. It is generally believed that they were taken from a different part of the sanctuary and re-employed in the fountain for repairs during the Late Antique period. Interestingly, they are almost exclusively Hellenistic, and in a few instances late Classical, votive reliefs representing the Nymphs, Apollo and other deities.⁶⁷ Their concentration in the same find-spot and the presence of a source of water suggest that they might have been displayed together, in a museum-like display, evoking a cult place of an earlier period. Such an operation would not be much different from what, for example, Herodes Atticus created in his villas of Cynouria and Marathon, where reliefs and sculptures from the Asclepieum of Athens were arranged to create a sacred landscape.⁶⁸

Other Hellenistic sculptures found in the same area represent a variety of gods, some of which were worshipped in the Asclepieum — Athena, Artemis, Leto, Nemesis, Hecate, Cybele, and Zeus, amongst others — but most of the available space was occupied by Roman honorary statues, both ideal sculptures and portraits.⁶⁹ In particular, a group from the north side of the street consisted of the portraits of Socrates, Antisthenes, Xenophon and Euripides.⁷⁰ These intellectuals have been interpreted as closely connected with the rituals of oneiric revelation typical of the cult of Asclepius. A statue of Demosthenes, for example, was set up in the Asclepieum by the sophist Polemo after a dream (*kat' onar*), in accordance with the most traditional procedures of Asclepian ritual. Both Demosthenes and Antisthenes also appeared in dreams and visions to Aelius Aristides, just as Asclepius did.⁷¹ But equally, the group would have constituted a fitting background for most portraits of private individuals and an appropriate introduction to the intellectual environment of the Pergamenian Asclepieum. More specif-

⁶⁶ Paus. 3.26.10. On the connection between Telephus, the Asclepieum and the history of Pergamum as a whole, see DIGNAS 2012, 138–139.

⁶⁷ HORN / BOEHRINGER 1966; *AvP*, XI.4: Apollo (cat. S2–3); young Satyr (cat. S15); Nymphs (cat. S58–59); Zeus, Athena, Demeter and Asclepius (cat. S57).

⁶⁸ A. ΝΤΑΤΣΟΥΛΙ-ΣΤΑΥΡΙΔΙ, *Γλυπτά από την Θυρεατιδα Κυνούρια* (Athens 1993).

⁶⁹ *AvP* XI.4: Zeus (cat. S1); Athena (cat. S8); Artemis (cat. S9); Cybele (cat. S12); Hecate (cat. S14); portraits (99–124).

⁷⁰ HORN / BOEHRINGER 1966; *AvP* XI.4: Euripides (cat. S22); Socrates (cat. S23); Antisthenes (cat. S24); Xenophon (cat. S25).

⁷¹ *AvP* VIII.3, no. 33. On the dedication by Polemo and on the role of Demosthenes and Antisthenes in “Asclepian revelation”, see PETSALIS-DIOMEDIS 2010, 267–270.

ically, the choice to portray only Athenian intellectuals is, in itself, particularly revealing and would have offered yet another occasion for reflection on the past. Classical Athens represented one of the many landscapes of expectation offered by the *Hallenstraße*, a supreme source of inspiration and guidance for the visitors of 2nd-century Pergamum.

The colonnaded street entered the sanctuary through a new monumental *propylon* dedicated by Claudius Charax.⁷² It is of this large porticoed space, where worshippers and pilgrims gathered for ceremonial and ritual purposes, that Aristides speaks when he says “I thought that I stood within the *propylon* of the sanctuary and that many others had assembled, just as when purification takes place, and that they were clad in white.”⁷³ Its position, at an angle to the sanctuary, would have allowed the pilgrims to re-adjust their viewpoint and to identify the central east-west axis of the sacred area, at the end of which was the temple of Asclepius.

Either before entering the *propylon* or at its exit, the *Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße*, a long and detailed list of sacred regulations concerning the access to incubation and the sacrificial sequence for Asclepius and his fellow deities, was displayed. This was a 2nd-century AD copy of a Hellenistic document dedicated by a cult officer.⁷⁴ Since it lists a number of ancient rituals, cult statues, altars and sacred buildings, the text has been interpreted as a document of ancient pilgrimage and is critical for understanding the rituals for Asclepius at Pergamum.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there are a number of elements that make its interpretation as a working regulation unrealistic. More specifically, the sacred law prescribes payments both before and after the incubation in Greek currencies that were not in use after the Hellenistic period: three obols, before entering the incubation hall, and a Phokaian *hekte*, after the completion of the healing.⁷⁶ In addition, most of the deities presiding over the various phases of the offering ritual, the altars, and statues of which are meticulously listed, do not appear to be attested in the Asclepieum after the Hellenistic periods. The names of Artemis, Themis and Ge, in particular, appear on small Hellenistic altars that can be compared to those used for the *prothysia* or preliminary sacrifice also in Epidaurus (see *supra*).⁷⁷ Finally the reference to an equal payment for the cure (the Phokaian *hekte*), which was due to both Asclepius and Apollo, enforces the typical Epidaurian affiliation of the two deities and confirms the paral-

⁷² On the career Claudius Charax, historian and philosopher, and on the possible date of his intervention in the Asclepieum (whether at an earlier, Hadrianic, or later, Antonine, stage), see STROCKA 2012, 245.

⁷³ Aristid. *Or.* 48.27 (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

⁷⁴ *AvP* VIII.3, 167–190.

⁷⁵ PETSALIS-DIOMEDIS 2010, 222–238.

⁷⁶ These amounts are comparable with those prescribed in Epidaurus: three obols for the *prothysia* (*LSCG suppl.* 22) and one silver mina after the healing (*IG IV²* 1,124).

⁷⁷ *IvP* I, nos. 91 (Ge), 99 (Themis), 110 (Artemis).

lelism between the two cults. The *Lex Sacra* ultimately seems to convey an attempt at displaying an earlier phase of the ritual, therefore inviting the viewers to appreciate and revere the antiquity of the cult, possibly in its Epidaurian connections. This seems to be part of the same religious policy outlined above, based on a constant dialogue with the past and aimed at making the present the arrival point of a glorious history.

7. The Peristyle Court and the 'Old' Buildings

The sacred precinct of Roman times was not much larger than the Hellenistic one, but the new design was based on a completely different concept and added a new dimension to the appreciation of the space. The area was entirely planned in relation to the old Hellenistic buildings. These were enhanced and given greater visual impact by the vastness and emptiness of the open space around them, rather than being crowded by new constructions. The viewer entering the sanctuary through the monumental *propylon* would, in fact, leave behind the new buildings and direct his gaze straight in front of him, where the older, traditional buildings stood, slightly elevated on the *Felsbarre*. The incubation hall occupied a central position and the old temple/altar of Asclepius was made to correspond exactly to the axis of the new *propylon*.⁷⁸ The most central of all of the buildings was the old fountain for drawing water, the *Schöpfbrunnen*, most directly linked to the ritual around the temple and altar of Asclepius.⁷⁹ It was only after reaching the *Schöpfbrunnen* that the viewer could have finally turned around to see the new, larger buildings of the eastern part of the sanctuary. This very clear division between old and new, within the same monumental frame leaves many doubts about the actual use of the sacred space and how a connection between these two very different *foci* of cult was realised.

In contrast to the early imperial, probably Flavian, attempt to restore the sanctuary at Pergamum and its workings,⁸⁰ the 2nd-century AD project, by singling out the temples on the *Felsbarre*, the incubation hall and the fountains, seems to have targeted a precise phase in the history of the sanctuary, almost as if to create an open-air museum. Attalid developments of the sanctuary — including festivals and collective celebrations, as well as functional structures for the dedication of offerings, accommodation of worshippers and possibly for running games — were simply neglected.

⁷⁸ HOFFMAN 1998; *AvP* XI.5.

⁷⁹ See *supra*.

⁸⁰ In the first century AD (Bauphasen 15 and 16) the construction of a new temple in the south-west corner of the sacred area had started and the Hellenistic incubation hall had been enclosed by a wall (*AvP* XI.1, 88–89). This project was aimed at reviving the cult-place after a period of neglect and at updating the main ritual focuses of the sanctuary, temple and incubation hall.

Only the original ritual core — the temple, its sacred waters, and incubatory practice — was enhanced and brought to focus by its strategic placement in the centre of the courtyard. This would have evoked the time of Archias's foundation of the cult and the kinship of the Pergamene cult with that of the religious motherland, Epidauros, where the connection between sacrifice, sleep, water and cure was key for all ritual developments. The desire to link the 2nd-century AD Asclepieum with the 4th-century BC Epidaurian foundation in an uninterrupted history is also confirmed by the transcription of the *Lex Sacra* mentioned above, where the oldest ritual of Epidaurian origin was resuscitated, at least in writing. Such phenomena find parallels in the contemporary evocation of the Epidaurian origins of the cults by both Pausanias and Aelius Aristides, and confirm that the rewriting of the history of the Asclepieum of Pergamum at the time of its reconstruction was considered a priority.⁸¹

In order to understand better the religious and cultural climate at the Asclepieum of Pergamum, I would like to recall contemporary developments at Epidauros. Here, Pausanias writes that the sanctuary was entirely restored by the Roman senator Sextus Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, a wealthy notable from Nysa on the Meander in Asia Minor.⁸² More specifically, he built in the sanctuary of Asclepius a bath, a portico, and new temples for Egyptian Hygieia, Asclepius and Apollo. The senator was also credited with the restoration of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, which had been abandoned for at least 200 years. The new buildings interestingly ignored the previous phases and aimed at reconstructing the sacred landscape following the indications of a 3rd-century BC inscription, which explained the mythical birth of Asclepius in the sacred precinct of his father, Apollo Maleatas.⁸³ Antoninus's interventions were part of a well-concerted reconstruction plan, aimed at presenting the history of the cult as uninterrupted, and the god Asclepius as ancestrally connected with the land of the Epidaurians.⁸⁴ These developments were paralleled by the interest of contemporary intellectuals, such as Pausanias, in the Epidaurian landscape and in the mythical birth of Epidaurian Asclepius.⁸⁵

A similar scenario can also be hypothesised for the Asclepieum of Pergamum. Apart from the temple of Asclepius that Aelius Aristides mentions in his description of the well whose water "flows from the very steps

⁸¹ Paus. 2.26.8–9; Aristid. *Or.* 39.6.

⁸² Paus. 2.27.6–7; F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, "Antoninus?", *Hermes* 64 (1929) 63–68.

⁸³ *IG* IV² 1,128.

⁸⁴ In general, on Antoninus's reconstruction and the interpretation of the building program presented above, see M. MELFI, "Rebuilding the myth of Asklepios in 2nd century Epidauros", in: A. RIZAKIS / C. LEPENIOTI (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III. Studies on political, economic and socio-cultural history* (Athens 2010) [329–339] 334–337.

⁸⁵ Paus. 2.27.7.

on which the temple stands",⁸⁶ there are good reasons to believe that the other two Hellenistic temples were in ruins. In the second half of the 1st century AD, an entirely new temple with altar was built south of the incubation hall, and the north fountain for ablutions (the *Badebrunnen*) was monumentalised by taking over a whole side of the northern temple, perhaps confirming this hypothesis.⁸⁷ We cannot assess whether the incubation hall was actually functioning at the time of the Roman reconstruction, but the lack of archaeological finds later than the end of the 1st century AD, as well as the difference between the Roman outlook of the building and the description given by the Hellenistic *Lex Sacra*, suggest a similar scenario.⁸⁸ The ritual enforced by the *Lex Sacra* implies the existence of two separate incubation halls (*enkoimeteria*), one smaller than the other, for both of which there is no evidence in the Roman complex. This all suggests that, whether the temples and the incubation hall were restored into use or preserved in a museum-like status and partially included in the ritual, it is clear that they were given central position in the new complex in order to act as a strong reminder of the sanctuary's past. Their visual presence was, in itself, a testimony of the old and glorious religious tradition at Pergamum and guaranteed the constant association of the god and his cult place in front of the historical disruptions. It legitimated the contemporary cult and preserved its continuity from foundation to present. This was particularly relevant at sites such as Pergamum, where periods of discontinuity had occurred, and was completely in line with the requirements of contemporary culture.

8. The 'New' Buildings

Although innovative in design and construction, the new buildings of the sanctuary did not affect the full visual appreciation of the older structures and did not compete with them. They were set aside from the ancient cultic focus and offered a completely different architectural perspective, but responded perfectly to the idea of erudite reconstruction of the religious past and alternative landscapes that had inspired the planning of the colonnaded street and the sacred precinct.⁸⁹ The temple of Zeus Asclepius *Soter* was a "declaration of deliberate contrariety to its Hellenistic counterpart" being a miniature copy of the Pantheon in Rome,⁹⁰ but, at the same time, served as a reproduction of yet another sacred landscape.

⁸⁶ Aristid. *Or.* 39.6. The well should be identified with the fountain for drawing water in the centre of the complex, the *Schöpfbrunnen* (see *infra*).

⁸⁷ Early Roman temple: *AvP* XI.1, 88–89 (Bauphasen 15). *Badebrunnen*: *AvP* XI.2, 54–55.

⁸⁸ Last intervention on the incubation hall: *Nischenmauer* (Bauphasen 16): *AvP* XI.1, 89.

⁸⁹ For the description and interpretation of the buildings, see HOFFMAN 1998; 2011.

⁹⁰ HOFFMAN 1998, 49.

It would have appeared to visitors as a house for multiple gods and an embodiment of the architectural styles and religious trends of the capital city.⁹¹ It was, therefore, the ideal place to accommodate the cult of Zeus Asclepius, as described by Aristides in relation to the building: “It was not for nothing that the people have established the temple of Zeus Asclepius (...) it is he who guides and governs all, saviour of the universe and guardian of the immortals.”⁹² Similarly, the library, inspired by Hadrian’s Library at Athens both as a piece of architecture and as a venue for intellectual activity, was “faithfully modelled on Hadrian’s person and politics”, and while connecting with contemporary trends, undoubtedly also contributed to preserving local memory in the form of texts and possibly medical treatises.⁹³

In this perspective, the theatre, according to Strocka, the first building to be completed in the new Asclepieum already at the time of Trajan, must have played a fundamental role as the place where this memory, itself, was staged and religious history was publically re-enacted.⁹⁴ That the need for a theatre was perceived already at an early stage is confirmed by the existence of early Roman foundations for a theatrical building under the *propylon*.⁹⁵ Carefully disguised behind the north portico of the newly built complex, the theatre had an impressive three-storey *scaenae frons* with Corinthian columns and statues displayed in aedicules.⁹⁶ It could host poetic and musical performances, both as dedications offered by individual worshippers to the god and as forms of collective celebration within the ritual. Both cases are well documented in the prose of Aelius Aristides, who believed that “there is no fairer thank-offering to the god than that which comes from oratory, nor is there any better use to which I could put my oratorical powers”.⁹⁷ He tells how he several times dedicated poetic compositions to the Pergamene god: “I happened to pass over a certain one of the songs because it was composed entirely on the spur of the mo-

⁹¹ On the cult of Zeus Asclepius as an intellectually inspired, all-encompassing divinity, see *AvP* VIII.3, 11–14; for the round temple as cult place for Asclepius and the family, see STROCKA 2012, 246–248.

⁹² Aristid. *Or.* 42.4.

⁹³ Most scholars identify the library known from the epigraphic evidence with the building added at the north-east corner of the precinct (HOFFMAN 1998, 54), following the original reading of DEUBNER 1984. STROCKA 2012 (240–242) has more recently questioned this interpretation in favour of a place for imperial cult. On the libraries in sanctuaries of Asclepius and the possibility that mainly medical texts were kept in them, see L. PERILLI, “Il dio ha evidentemente studiato medicina”. Libri di medicina nelle biblioteche antiche: il caso dei santuari di Asclepio”, in: A. NASO (ed.), *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci* (Florence 2005) 472–510.

⁹⁴ STROCKA 2012, 219–226.

⁹⁵ *AvP* XI.1, 89 (Bauphasen 17).

⁹⁶ For the current reconstruction, see *AvP* XI.5.

⁹⁷ Aristid. *Or.* 42.3.

ment and most casually and for myself, as it were; then the dream came, demanding it too, and I offered it."⁹⁸ He also organised their performance in the sanctuary: "I also gave choral performances, ten in total, some of men, some of boys."⁹⁹ These took place in the theatre of the Asclepieum and called the worshippers to a collective participation: "In the sacred theatre there was a crowd of people clad in white, gathering in honour of the god; and standing among them I made a speech and sang the praises of the god."¹⁰⁰

It is most likely that both the individual and collective performances in the "sacred theatre" related to the myth of Asclepius and the Asclepiads, and to the history of the sanctuary, as did most of Aristides's speeches, songs and paeans.¹⁰¹ This phenomenon is paralleled in several Asclepieia by the construction of theatres from the 2nd century AD onwards, when poetic and theatrical performances, dramatizations, ritual enactments and collective celebrations are widely attested by the sources.¹⁰² In Epidaurus, a small covered theatre, an *odeion*, was built between 160 and 180 AD, and religious hymns were later transcribed on the walls of the portico surrounding it. Similarly, in the Asclepieum at Messene, an original *ekklesiasterion* was turned into an *odeion* in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. Musical and poetic performances in the cult of Asclepius were believed to have a therapeutic function,¹⁰³ but also aimed at the reconstruction of the earliest histories of the sanctuaries and their cult.

The new buildings of the sanctuary ultimately contributed to preserving the local past, while providing a sophisticated intellectual background to contemporary reconstruction projects. This intellectual pursuit appears even clearer when considering that the dedicants of most of the new buildings were members either of the intellectual elite or of families of long Pergamene history: Claudius Charax, who paid for the *propylon*, was

⁹⁸ Aristid. *Or.* 50.44 (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

⁹⁹ Aristid. *Or.* 50.43 (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

¹⁰⁰ Aristid. *Or.* 48.30 (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

¹⁰¹ Aristid. *Or.* 47.73: "to compose songs, the marriage of Coronis and the birth of Asclepius, and to prolong the strophe to the greatest possible length"; 50.42: "for he seemed to sing my paean in which there was this address: Hail Paean Heracles Asclepius" (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

¹⁰² For this phenomenon and the following examples, see M. MELFI, "Ritual spaces and performances in the Asclepieia of Roman Greece", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 105 (2010) 317–338.

¹⁰³ Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 1.8.19–21: "and not a few men, however many years they were ill through the disposition of their souls, we have made healthy by correcting the disproportion of their emotions. No slight witness of the statement is also our ancestral god Asclepius, who ordered not a few to have odes written as well as to compose comical mimes and certain songs — for the motions of their passions having become more vehement, have made the mixture of the body warmer than it should be" (trans. EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945).

an antiquarian and historian;¹⁰⁴ L. Pactumeius Rufinus, the dedicant of the temple of Zeus Asclepius, was a friend of Aristides, consul in AD 142, and probably dedicatee of a book by Phrynichus;¹⁰⁵ Flavia Melitine, who financed the construction of the library, came from a family of Pergamean notables, holding important positions in public life.¹⁰⁶ The need to integrate the sanctuary into contemporary intellectual networks, such as those of the Second Sophistic, and the desire of self-promotion of the local elites must have, therefore, played an important role in the reshaping of the sanctuary.

9. Some Conclusions

The new construction project in the Asclepieum of Pergamum mostly consisted of buildings for large gatherings, such as the *propylon* and the theatre, as well as the temple of Zeus Asclepius.¹⁰⁷ No new facilities seem to have been provided for worshippers wishing to be healed. Unusually for sanctuaries of Asclepius, the sacred precinct does not seem to incorporate any space for the visitors of the sanctuary (incubation halls, hostels, dining rooms), or for the cult officers involved in the running of the cult (residential structures). The *porticus triplex* was not equipped with benches or back rooms. In addition to this, open spaces were left empty and the most basic indicators of sacred or processional routes, such as dedications, *exedrai* and altars, cannot be found. The many healing and honorary inscriptions of the Roman period came to light in secondary usages, or their provenance was not recorded. It is, therefore, difficult to reconstruct how they were distributed on the ground and whether they affected the movement of the worshippers within the sacred space.

Since it is known from Aelius Aristides that large crowds of worshippers participated in the rituals and received care at the sanctuary during the Roman Imperial period, it is worth investigating where they might have been accommodated during healing and other rituals. In order to answer this question, I would begin with the only aspect of the ritual that is preserved in the archaeology of the Roman Imperial phase: the healing waters. Evidence for its centrality in ritual is given by the focal position of the Hellenistic fountain for drawing water — the *Schöpfbrunnen* — in the sacred precinct. It is placed on the same visual axis as the new *propylon* and the Hellenistic temple, and it appears to be the first thing that the worshippers encountered when entering the sanctuary. The emphasis given

¹⁰⁴ *AvP* VIII.3, no. 141.

¹⁰⁵ Aristid. *Or.* 48.28; 50.16; *AvP* VIII.3, 47; JONES 2008, 260.

¹⁰⁶ *AvP* VIII.3, no. 38.

¹⁰⁷ Whose cultic function is difficult to pinpoint since there only two dedications to the god exist in the sanctuary.

to the fountain is evident also from the words of Aristides who describes it as placed “in the fairest part of that area of the sanctuary which is open to the sky and open to access: for it is set in the centre of the centre (...) it flows from the very steps on which the temple stands, so that in everyone’s mind is thought and belief that it comes from a place which is healthy and a giver of health, since it arises from the temple and the feet of the Saviour. No water could flow out of healthier or purer places than this does from these.”¹⁰⁸ The description could not be more fitting; it conveys the centrality of the fountain in the open-air precinct and stresses its connection with the nearby temple of the god, since it springs from the same ground where the foundations of the building were set. Needless to say, the fact that inside the temple a deep well of the same water was still preserved would have confirmed for worshippers the intimate connection between the water, Asclepius and his cult building.

Aristides recounts that this water was drawn for both drinking and bathing and that it had miraculous effects: “Many have regained their sight by bathing in it; many by drinking it have been cured from chest disease and recovered the breath we need for life (...) for some indeed, the mere act of drawing the water has been a mean of salvation.”¹⁰⁹ This raises the question of where the multitudes of people who used the water and were seen “standing round the lip of the well in the summer like a swarm of bees or flies around a milk pail” could have undergone the next phase of the ritual, incubation and dream interpretation, both very present in the tales of Aristides.¹¹⁰ In this perspective, the recent interpretation by Hoffman of the *cryptoporticus* under the south stoa as an incubation chamber makes perfect sense. The building has a low stone bench running along the walls and is covered by cross vaulting on re-used Hellenistic capitals and columns. While the stone benches “directly repeat a feature of the oldest incubation building”, the re-use of the capitals echoes a concern for the preservation of the sanctuary’s past expressed in other parts of the complex.¹¹¹ In addition to this, the underground structure was easily accessible from the courtyard via three staircases that might have facilitated the conveyance of the worshippers to the next phase of the ritual.

If the *cryptoporticus* under the south stoa is the most likely venue for incubation, a similar ritual function should be postulated for the other large new building most easily accessed from under the ground, the lower rotunda. This interesting and complex building, long interpreted as a space for healing and cures, has been recently explained by Strocka, after a thorough investigation of the architectural remains, as a banqueting house

¹⁰⁸ Aristid. Or. 39.6.

¹⁰⁹ Aristid. Or. 39.15.

¹¹⁰ Aristid. Or. 39.12.

¹¹¹ HOFFMAN 1998, 54–55.

or monumental *hestiatorion*. The arrangement of the channels, floors and pillars suggested to the scholar that the horse-shoe-shaped niches of the ground floor were *stibadia* (semi-circular couches) for communal dining, while the lower ground floor was most likely used for the preparation of food.¹¹² This interpretation would also account for the function of the curious tunnel or *cryptoporticus* that led from the centre of the courtyard, next to the altar for Asclepius and the *Schöpfbrunnen*, to the lower ground floor of rotunda. After the sacrifices took place on the altar of Asclepius, the sacrificial meat could have been transported by the priests directly to the lower floor rotunda, sorted and prepared for consumption. Many other possible interpretations are, of course, possible, but they all involve separate and privileged access for individuals or groups from the most sacred focus of the cult to the lower rotunda.

The use of water and incubation, as well as the practice of communal dining were all fundamental aspects of the ritual for Asclepius.¹¹³ Apart from the use of water, these aspects seem to have been confined underground or at the margins of the sacred area. The structures for the longer-term accommodation of the sick and for the cult officers, and the additional buildings mentioned by Aristides such as the *museion* and the *gymnasion*, are also likely to have been located outside of the sacred precinct. This would have contributed to the isolation and pre-eminence of the older Hellenistic buildings at the centre of the courtyard. Except for the fountain in front of the temple, that, like in all sanctuaries of Asclepius, provided the most fundamental medium of contact between the god and his worshippers, the Hellenistic buildings would have remained untouched by the workings of the ritual. They were frozen in a museum-like display of what contemporaries believed to be a faithful reconstruction of the original Asclepieum, as founded by Archias from Epidaurus. Once the sick were conveyed underground for healing and divination, the theatre was crowded with worshippers singing hymns for Asclepius and the dining hall gathered the participants for sacred banquets, those who, dressed in white, patiently waited at the *propylon* to be admitted to the sanctuary would have seen in front of them the “the fairest part of the inhabited world”, the very place with which “the god, when he came from Epidaurus itself, fell in love”.¹¹⁴

¹¹² STROCKA 2012, 259–269.

¹¹³ MELFI 2007, 526–527.

¹¹⁴ Aristid. *Or.* 39.5–6.

A God and Two Humans on Matters of Medicine: Asclepius, Galen and Aelius Aristides¹

Christian Brockmann

The renowned physician Galen of Pergamum considered himself the true successor and most competent interpreter of Hippocrates, the famous member of the Asclepiadae of Cos, a family which traced back their origin to Asclepius and which handed down and augmented their inherited healing-tradition from generation to generation. Much like his early medical precursor in the Classical period of Greece, Galen displays a particular affinity to Asclepius, referring to him as his paternal deity: ὁ πάτριος ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἀσκληπιός.² The cult of Asclepius was indeed firmly rooted in Galen's town of origin, and by the second century CE his Pergamene temple had become one of the Roman empire's most important centres of both Asclepian medicine and the worship of its deity.³

In this chapter, we will look at Galen's own statements on his relation to Asclepius.⁴ We shall contrast this with his contemporary Aelius Aristides, the orator who spent several years in the sanctuary of Asclepius in Pergamum due to illness. In his later years, Aristides turned his healing dreams during incubation and his personal relations to the god of healing into an exceptional and almost excentric literary work, the *Sacred Tales*. While these narrations are the most extensive surviving testimony on the ancient cult of Asclepius, their interpretation remains difficult and controversial.

But let us start with Galen. The complete Greek text of his late treatise *On My Own Opinions* has only been available to us since 2005. Up until then, only parts of the Greek text were known, and the complete work existed only in a version twice removed, i.e. in a Medieval Latin translation of an Arabic version.⁵ Luckily, Antoine Pietrobelli rediscovered the full

¹ This paper is a slightly modified version of C. BROCKMANN, "Galen und Asklepios", *ZAC* 17 (2013) 51–67. I would like to thank Daniel Deckers for his help with the translation.

² *De sanitate tuenda* 1.8.20 (20.13–14 KOCH); cf. *Libr. Propr.* 3.5 (142.16–17 BOUDON-MILLOT = 99.9 MÜLLER).

³ Cf. *AvP* VIII.3, 6; J. W. RIETHMÜLLER, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*. Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 2, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 2005) vol. 1, 334.

⁴ Cf. in partic. KUDLIEN 1981; SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003, 223–235; VON STADEN 2003, 20–28; BOUDON-MILLOT 2012, 81–84.

⁵ V. NUTTON, *Galen. On My Own Opinions*. *CMG* V 3,2 (Berlin 1999).

Greek work in a manuscript of the early fifteenth century in Thessalonica and soon after published it together with Véronique Boudon-Millot.⁶

In the second chapter of this work, Galen clearly and somewhat tersely states that the Pergamene deity he admires, i.e. Asclepius, once performed a healing on him. He cites this personal experience as an instance for the mighty influence of gods on the life of humans. As a further example, he uses the Dioscuri that are said to appear as saviors from mortal peril at sea. Galen uses the whole of this brief chapter to develop his basic assumptions on the divine. While he claims no knowledge on whether the demiurge, i.e. the creator of the world, is corporeal or not, or even on the substance of the gods, he does posit that they exist based on their deeds and achievements, for he sees evidence of divine creation in the living organism he thoroughly studies, as in those portents and dreams used by the gods to send foreknowledge.⁷ This last observation will be of particular note when it comes to Asclepius.

Galen did not merely provide his readers with a summary of his most important propositions, he even created an autobiographical and bibliographical overview on his books and the order in which they are best to be studied. In *On My Own Books*, he names the illness of which he claims to have been healed at the hands of Asclepius. He describes his conversation with emperor Marcus Aurelius, who was insistent on Galen's accompanying him on his wars against the Germans. The only way for Galen to convince the emperor otherwise is to cite the authority of Asclepius, his paternal deity as he calls him. This precept from Asclepius, which we may assume to have been received in a dream, saves Galen once more. He adds a comment on his close and proven relation to the god of healing: he considers himself a follower or admirer of Asclepius, i.e. a θεραπευτής, ever since the deity freed him from a potentially lethal ulcer.⁸

⁶ BOUDON-MILLOT / PIETROBELLI 2005.

⁷ *De propriis placitis* 2 (BOUDON-MILLOT / PIETROBELLI 2005, 172–173). Cf. KUDLIEN 1981, 118.

⁸ *Libr. Propr.* 3.4–5 (142.13–19 BOUDON-MILLOT = 99.6–11 MÜLLER): ... καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἐπι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς στρατείας εἶχετο περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενος ἀπάγειν με, πεισθεὶς δ' ἀφείναι λέγοντος ἀκούσας τάναντία κελεύειν τὸν πάτριον θεὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, οὐ καὶ θεραπευτὴν ἀπέφαινον ἑμαυτὸν, ἐξ ὅτου με θανατικὴν διάθεσιν ἀποστήματος ἔχοντα διέσωσε ... ("And later, when he held the war against the Germans to be most important, he thought to take me with him on this campaign, but he was persuaded to let go of me when he heard me tell that my paternal deity Asclepius was giving me contradictory orders, whose follower I declared myself ever since he saved me when I was suffering from a fatal bodily condition due to an ulcer"). Cf. *AvP* VIII.3, 15–16, 114 (on no. 79) and M. WÖRRLE in: *AvP* VIII.3, 183; KUDLIEN 1981; V. BOUDON, "Galien et le sacré", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (1988) [327–337] 332; SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003, 78–79, 225–226; VON STADEN 2003, 26; BOUDON-MILLOT 2012, 83–84. From this passage, HABICHT concluded that Galen was part of a cultic group that honored Asclepius (*AvP* VIII.3, 114), and that he used his concomitant duties as an excuse to Marcus Aurelius (*AvP* VIII.3, 16). KUDLIEN, on the other

Current research considers three further passages in the works of Galen to provide details on this same ulcer and its cure. The term ἀπόστημα used for this ulcer suggests a connection to a passage in *On Good and Bad Humours*. This further traces back to his extensive *On the Preservation of Health* (τὰ ὑγιεινά, *De sanitate tuenda*), and there is another link to his treatise *On Curing by Phlebotomy*. Surprisingly, at least at first glance, his cure is only associated with dreams and with Asclepius in the latter work, whereas the other two passages make no reference to the god of healing.

In his treatise *On Good and Bad Humours*, Galen mentions an ulcer (or abscess) he believes he sustained at age 27 from a chronic illness during summer. He claims it was located at the place where the liver and the diaphragm are joined.⁹ This location suggests Galen is referring to the same affliction in his treatise *On Curing by Phlebotomy*, where he describes being freed from chronic pain through an unusual form of bloodletting. He claims that this affliction was mostly felt at the exact location where liver and diaphragm join, and adds that this happened during his youth.¹⁰ Now we already know this refers to the crisis during his 28th year of life.

This time in Galen's life brings us to his *On the Preservation of Health*, where he dates a personal decision representing a turning point in his life to exactly this period: "By the end of my 28th year of life, I became convinced that the science of health was valid, and decided to follow its tenets for the rest of my life, and as a result I suffered no further illness beyond the very occasional fever lasting but a single day."¹¹

But let us return to the other two passages. In *On Good and Bad Humours*, Galen mentions the ulcer merely as a side effect of an illness visited upon him during the summer for many years, which he finally overcame thanks to changes in his nutrition and lifestyle. His report begins by commending his father, whose character he depicts as exemplary, besides praising his knowledge of mathematics, architecture and astronomy. Galen claims his father's nutritional recommendations spared him illness during his childhood, however when his father moved to the countryside to follow a desire to become a farmer, Galen himself, at age 17, together with his peers,

hand, rightly interprets θεραπευτής simply as a follower or admirer of Asclepius and denies that this would automatically imply Galen holding a particular office in the healing cult. BOUDON and SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN are of the same opinion.

⁹ *De bonis malisque sucis* 1.19 (393.16–17 HELMREICH): κινδυνεύσας ἀπόστημα σχεῖν καθ' ὃ μέρος συνάπτει τὸ ἥπαρ τῷ διαφράγματι. Cf. BOUDON-MILLOT 2012, 82, 226–227.

¹⁰ *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 23 (315.4–7 KÜHN 11): παρασχῆμα δ' ἐπαύσατο χρόνιον ἄλγημα κατ' ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα τὸ μέρος ἐρείδον, ἐνθα συμβάλλει τῷ διαφράγματι τὸ ἥπαρ. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο συνέβη νέω τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι.

¹¹ *De sanitate tuenda* 5.1.17 (136.29–32 KOCH): ἀλλὰ μετὰ γε τὸ εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον ἔτος ἀπὸ γενετῆς ἐμαυτὸν πείσας, ὡς ἔστι τις ὑγιεινὴ τέχνη, τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτῆς ἠκολούθησα παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐξῆς βίον, ὡς μηκέτι νοσησαὶ νόσημα μηδὲν, ὅτι μὴ σπάνιον που πωρετὸν ἐφήμερον. Cf. 6.8.1 (182.31–33 KOCH). Cf. BOUDON-MILLOT 2012, 227–228.

commits a grave nutritional mistake, enjoying an abundance of all kinds of fresh summer fruit. This causes an acute illness he cures by means of phlebotomy, i.e. bloodletting of the veins. He is reprimanded by his father, who reminds him of the nutritional precepts he taught him and asks him to refrain from immoderation. While Galen manages this in the next summer, thanks to his father's vigilance, the subsequent death of the latter removes this check, and Galen once more succumbs to the bad habits of his friends. As before, an abundance of fresh fruit results in sickness and bloodletting, and due to a lack of restraint, these summer visitations occur almost every year until his 28th, when he finally turns things around in the aftermath of treatment for the ulcer that developed as a side effect that summer. The measures he takes seem minor and irrelevant due to his brief and summary description. Firstly, he decides to abstain from any fresh seasonal fruit, with the exception of very ripe figs and grapes. Furthermore, he takes care to exercise and to eat in a way that does not provoke any kind of indigestion. He claims these tenets helped keep him and numerous of his friends in good health for many long years.¹²

At first glance, these moderate amendments to his habits might not seem to constitute a major change in Galen's life. However, considering his extensive knowledge related to nutrition, health and physical fitness as evident in his comprehensive and rich treatises *On the Powers of Foodstuffs* and *On the Preservation of Health*, putting seemingly simple tenets like "exercise regularly", "keep a regulated diet" and "never provoke indigestion" into practice in fact requires a high degree of discipline in daily life as well as the study of the science of health. In the passage already quoted, Galen sets this out clearly: "I became convinced that there is indeed a science of health", i.e. he realised that the results of studying health can indeed be effectively applied, and he thus chose to use this discipline as a kind of higher authority to direct his life in questions of personal health.

Conspicuously, Galen does not mention the contribution of Asclepius in either of these passages, even though he claimed to have been cured by the god's hand, at least for the most part.¹³ The reason lies in the fifth passage relevant to this case, from his treatise *On Curing by Phlebotomy*, already briefly discussed. Having discussed the application of the method and numerous practical aspects of its use, almost as if in an appendix (chapters 22–23), he proceeds to the more dangerous arteriotomy, which he cautions should be used only in exceptional cases and limited to select areas of the body. In this context, it is no coincidence that Galen sees the need to explain to the reader how he discovered the method of bloodlet-

¹² *De bonis malisque sucis* 1.15–20 (392.21–393.28 HELMREICH).

¹³ Cf. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, *Galien Œuvres. Tome I, Introduction générale, Sur l'ordre de ses propres livres, Sur ses propres livres, Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe*. Collection des Universités de France (Paris 2007), 197.

ting from an artery. In keeping with his own tenet (noted elsewhere)¹⁴ never to recommend a newly discovered curative procedure without having first personally tested it, except when expressly indicating that one has invented this procedure but never yet actually tried it, he describes successful self-experimentation to justify its use. Having received the idea in two descriptive dreams,¹⁵ he used this method to rid himself of the permanent pain originating between liver and diaphragm we discussed before. His dreams, he claims, instructed him to open the artery between thumb and index finger on his right hand and to permit an unimpeded flow of blood until it should cease spontaneously.¹⁶

It is evident from the context that Galen considers these dreams to have been sent by Asclepius, for he adds a second example for credibility. He describes how another disciple of the Pergamene god received instructions on opening an interdigital artery and successfully overcame long-standing chronic pain by this means.¹⁷

¹⁴ *De sanitate tuenda* 6.14–17 (196.10–14 Koch): ἐπενόησα δὲ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις χρήσιμον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἐμαρτυρήθην. ταύτην γὰρ αἰεὶ κριτήριον ἔχειν τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων χρηρῆ καὶ μὴδὲν γράφειν ὡς χρήσιμον, οὐ τις αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπειράθη, πλὴν εἰ προσγράφοιτο τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐννοεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτό, πεπειρασθαι δὲ μὴδέπω (“I also invented another means helpful to those suffering from this condition, which I confirmed by trial. For this should always be the standard in judging discoveries, and nothing should be written of as useful if it has not been tried by the reporter himself, unless he add that though he invented it, he nevertheless did not yet try it”).

¹⁵ Cf. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003, 226; VON STADEN 2003, 21. On the role of dreams in medicine cf. OBERHELMAN 1981; id., “Galen, On Diagnosis from Dreams”, *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 38 (1983) 36–47; id., “Dreams in Graeco-Roman Medicine”, in: ANRW II.37.1 (Berlin / New York 1993) 121–156; id., “The Diagnostic Dream in Ancient Medical Theory and Practice”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987) 47–60; P. COX MILLER, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton 1994) 106–123; B. MANUWALD, “Traum und Traumdeutung in der griechischen Antike”, in: R. HIESTAND (ed.), *Traum und Träumen. Inhalt, Darstellung und Funktionen einer Lebenserfahrung in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Düsseldorf 1994) [15–42] 32–38; C. WALDE, *Antike Traumdeutung und moderne Traumforschung* (Düsseldorf / Zürich 2001) espec. 106–126.

¹⁶ *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 23 (314.16–315.4 KÜHN 11): ἔγωγ’ οὖν ὄθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ διαυρεῖν ἀρτηρίας ἤκον ἤδη σοι φράσω. προτραπείς ὑπὸ τινων ὄνειράτων δυοῖν ἐναργῶς μοι γενομένων ἤκον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ μεταξύ λιχανοῦ τε καὶ μεγάλου δακτύλου τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀρτηρίαν, ἐπέτρεψά τε εἶναι ἄχρως ἂν αὐτομάτως παύσῃται τὸ αἶμα, κελεύσαντος οὕτω τοῦ ὄνειράτος. ἐρῶν μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὅλη λίτρα, “I shall now tell you how I got the inspiration to have recourse to arteriotomy. Urged on by certain dreams I had, two of which were particularly vivid, I went for the artery in the space between the index finger and thumb of the right hand, and allowed the blood to flow until it stopped of its own accord, as the dream commanded. Not quite a pound escaped” (transl. BRAIN).

¹⁷ *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 23 (315.7–10 KÜHN 11): θεοραπυτής δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ χρονίου πλευράς ἀλγήματος ἀπηλλάγη δι’ ἀρτηριοτομίας ἐν ἄκρῳ τῆ χειρὶ γενομένης, ἐξ ὄνειράτος ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὼν καὶ αὐτός, “And a worshipper of the god in Pergamum was relieved of a chronic pain in the side by an arteriotomy performed

Divine revelation in a dream is Galen's justification for his unusual curative experiments. Though the precepts from these dreams lead him beyond usual medical practice, they do not actually cause him to step outside his medical framework, i.e. they are not considered fantastical, paradoxical, or reminiscent of magical methods.¹⁸ In this vein, the healing dreams described by Galen match what Artemidorus, his contemporary, says in his book on dreams. According to the latter, reports of fantastical dreams requiring elaborate medical interpretation are pure inventions of professional interpreters of dreams, whereas "the instructions provided by the gods are simple in nature and have no mysterious elements ... Examining any therapy you encounter, whether you discover it through your own interpretation or through that of another who attests to its proven viability, you will find it to be excellent according to medical reasoning and not to be contrary to the principles of the art of healing."¹⁹ For this reason, Artemidorus strongly recommends his son, to whom books 4 and 5 are dedicated, to study the medical writers: "For this reason, take care, as I have often urged you, to acquire medical treatises."²⁰

Returning to why Galen silently passes over the helpful instructions from Asclepius in the context of his medical texts, the previously cited passage on bloodletting may suggest an explanation. In his conversation with the emperor Marcus Aurelius, Galen, not without diplomatic astuteness, can refer to the instructions of a higher power, a claim the emperor immediately accepts. In a written scientific discussion of the proper way of life to maintain health and avoid disease, however, Galen passes over the divinity, as he appears convinced that a properly thought out and researched method requires no recourse to the metaphysical plane. At the same time, science itself is transformed into a kind of higher instance providing instructions (*προστάγματα*, *De sanitate tuenda* 5.1.17) that he follows to protect his own and his patients' health.

Though Galen may claim a close relation to Asclepius, while he incessantly highlights his own medical and scientific prowess, he never bolsters his self-image by recurring to the god's special favour towards him. He only ever mentions it in choice contexts, for instance when citing the divine inspiration and origin of a cure whose chances he could not properly justify as a doctor. In such cases, the higher instance must provide the rational element of a course of treatment. As Heinrich von Staden has shown, Galen uses a similar trope when crediting a *daimon* for spurring him to excep-

at the extremity of the hand; he also came upon this as the result of a dream" (transl. BRAIN). Vgl. VON STADEN 2003, 21.

¹⁸ Cf. KUDLIEN 1981, 123.

¹⁹ Artem. *Oneirokritika* 4.22 (257.2–13 PACK). Cf. OBERHELMAN 1981; LUCHNER 2004, 271.

²⁰ Artem. *Oneirokritika* 4.22 (257.16–18 PACK): ὅθεν ἔστω σοι κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐπιμελές, ὡς πολλάκις σοι παρήνουν, ἰατρικῶν ἔχθεσθαι λόγων.

tional scientific achievement.²¹ “In short, among philosophers who gave reason or intellect a central epistemological role, Galen was far from alone in his belief that reason is, for each of us, an internal divine *daimon* ... For Galen, as for Plato and the Stoics, heeding the *daimon* meant identifying one’s self with the reason and intelligence that human beings share with divinities — the same reason and intelligence without which, in Galen’s view, scientific medicine would be impossible.”²² To Galen, according to von Staden, heeding this *daimon* was not in the least contrary to reason, but in fact a course of action ultimately rooted in rational principles.²³ In the same way, he must have seen his compliance with the instructions received in dreams, which he attributes to Asclepius, as ultimately quite rational.²⁴

As a Pergamene and an admirer, θεραπευτής, of Asclepius, Galen is well-versed in temple medicine, and he admires the unlimited faith that makes patients recurring to their venerated healing deity willingly submit to and endure any recommended method of treatment, however harsh and strenuous. Essentially, he would prefer the same commitment from his own patients. In his commentaries on Hippocrates’s *Epidemics*, he posits that a doctor should be humanitarian, moderate and sympathetic, but at the same time maintain authority. His dignity must be evident in his gaze, in his voice and in his posture if he is to convince his patient to heed his prescriptions. “For unless the patient admires his doctor as a god, he will not follow his treatment willingly.”²⁵

A patient’s cooperation is essential. Galen reports that many patients of Asclepius in Pergamum were willing to abstain from any drink for 15 days at the order of the god. And these were people unwilling to listen to doctors, thus the decisive factor was the firm belief of the sufferers that they would benefit greatly.²⁶

²¹ VON STADEN 2003, 28–43.

²² VON STADEN 2003, 37–38.

²³ VON STADEN 2003, 38.

²⁴ Cf. KUDLIEN 1981, 122–123.

²⁵ *In Hipp. Epid. VI comm.* 4.10 (204 WENKEBACH) (quote from ll. 6–7). Cf. KUDLIEN 1981, 125; SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003, 230–231.

²⁶ *In Hipp. Epid. VI comm.* 4.8 (199.4–9 WENKEBACH): οὕτω γέ τοι καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ τοὺς θεραπευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειθομένους ὀρώμεν αὐτῷ πεντεκαίδεκα πολλάκις ἡμέραις προστάξαντι μὴδ’ ὄλωσ πειεῖν, οἳ τῶν ἰατρῶν μὴδενὶ προστάττοντι πειθόνται. μεγάλην γὰρ ἔχει ῥοπήν εἰς τὸ πάντα ποιῆσαι τὰ προσταττόμενα τὸ πεπεισθαι τὸν κάμνοντα βεβαίως ἀκολουθήσειν ὠφέλειαν ἀξιόλογον αὐτῷ. (“Thus, in our Pergamum we also see those who are being treated by the god convinced as he prescribes not to drink anything for fifteen days in many cases, even those who are not convinced by any prescribing physician. For to ascertain the compliance with all prescriptions, it is of great importance that the patient be convinced that noteworthy benefit to him will certainly follow”). Cf. KUDLIEN 1981, 124–125; H. MÜLLER, “Ein Heilungsbericht aus dem Asklepieion von Pergamon”, *Chiron* 17 (1987) [193–233] 221–223; SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003, 229–230; STEGER 2004, 164.

Therefore, any doctor must prove that he is worthy of the same measure of trust. For this he needs success, for instance by providing a clear and accurate prognosis. Elsewhere, Galen illustrates this with the example of a patient with a high fever and associated symptoms such as sleeplessness, nausea and temporary delusions that make all the patient's relatives despair, where voicing the accurate and scientifically based prognosis that chills and sweating will follow and the illness subside soon after, will leave the impression of the doctor's being Asclepius himself.²⁷

While Galen, though he may consider himself the best of physicians, obviously does not quite identify with Asclepius, he nevertheless proclaims his intent to come as close to Asclepius as possible. He expresses this in one of his many arguments against his favorite opponent Thessalos, who was one of the main exponents of the Methodist school of medicine that was widely acclaimed some decades before Galen, during the reign of Nero.²⁸ Galen was vehemently opposed to the radical simplification of medical theory by these Methodists and their recognition of only three classes of illness they called "communities", and upheld his principle of choosing a therapy based on the specific physis of the individual, on the grounds that he was not treating man in general, but specific people. He found the Thessaleans' belief that there was one therapy for all to be incompatible with the individual *κρᾶσις*, i.e. the mix of humors, specific to each person. "If I were able to precisely recognise each individual physis, I would be equal to how I imagine Asclepius. But since that is impossible, I decided to practise coming the closest possible to this, and I encourage others to do the same."²⁹

Whereas in all previous examples Galen explicitly refers to Asclepius, let us consider two passages with covert references to the deity. In both cases, Galen describes his success as a physician. Closer analysis reveals that his presentation uses *topoi* that are a conventional element in describing miracles of healing.

In his *On Prognosis*, without any trace of modesty, Galen describes his rapid ascent in Rome that soon found him favour with the upper classes and made him supplant several of his previously esteemed colleagues. "And in the height of summer, my prognoses and cures among the first

²⁷ *In Hipp. Epid. VI comm.* 1.16 (38.27–39.2 WENKEBACH): ἐν σφοδροτάτῳ γὰρ ἐνόητε πυρετῷ μετ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀσης καὶ δίψους καὶ δυσφορίας, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ παραφροσύνης, ἀπάντων ταραττομένων καὶ κλαιόντων τῶν οἰκειῶν τοῦ κάμνοντος, ἔνεστιν <τόν> ἐπιστημονικῶς προειπόντα ῥίγος τε καὶ ἰδρώα καὶ λύσιν τοῦ νοσήματος Ἀσκληπιῶν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

²⁸ *On Thessalos* cf. H. DILLER, "Thessalos 6", *RE VI A 1* (1936) 168–182; TECUSAN 2004.

²⁹ *Methodus medendi* 3.7 (207.1–5 KÜHN 10): ἐγὼ δ' εἰ καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν ἀκριβῶς ἠπιστάμην ἐξευρίσκειν, οἷον ἐπινοῶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, αὐτὸς ἂν ἦν τοιοῦτος· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον τοῦτο, τὸ γοῦν ἐγγυτάτῳ προσιέναι καθόσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν αὐτὸς τε ἀσκεῖν ἔγνωκα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύομαι. Cf. TECUSAN 2004, 456.

of Rome justly won me great praise, and as you know I was held in high esteem by all, and great was the name of Galen.”³⁰ With the formula “great was the name of Galen” (μέγα τοῦνομα Γαληνοῦ), he egotistically evokes the miracles of Asclepius and the acclamation of the deity’s disciples used when witnessing a miracle of healing. For the completion of such a miracle worked on a patient by the deity was ritualistically followed by all present exclaiming “great is Asclepius!” — μέγας ὁ Ἀσκληπιός.³¹

A well-known example is the report of the orator Aelius Aristides, who considered Asclepius his personal saviour and adjusted his life to the teachings of the deity following grave illness. In one of the dreams he describes in the *Sacred Tales*, he fancies a situation similar to the one Galen experienced, when confronting the emperor Marcus Aurelius with his intention not to accompany him on his military campaign and hinting at the god Asclepius as the origin and authority behind his decision. Standing before Antoninus Pius Aristides declines to greet him with a kiss. When he indicates that he is the θεραπευτής of Asclepius and gives an instruction of the god as the reason, the emperor immediately understands and is satisfied.³² Aristides considered himself chosen by Asclepius and even identifies with the latter in his dreams. In contrast to Galen, he exploits his closeness to the deity to foster his literary productivity and puts it in the centre of his self-presentation.³³

Aristides’s report in the *Sacred Tales* runs as follows.³⁴ While in Smyrna in the middle of an icy winter, when he was sick and far from being hardy, the god of medicine ordered him to bathe in the river — a radical prescription generously ignoring the meticulous rules of ancient medicine for the preparation and gradual adaptation to bathing in cold water.³⁵

³⁰ On *Prognosis* 5.4–5 (94.12–15 NUTTON): καὶ τοῦ θέρους ἐπιστάντος ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ προορήσεις τε καὶ θεραπείας ἐποιήσασθαι ἀξίας ἐπαίνου μέγαλου καὶ πολλῆ δόξα παρὰ πάνσιν ἦν, ὡς οἴσθα, καὶ μέγα τοῦνομα Γαληνοῦ.

³¹ Cf. Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 2 (*Oratio* 48) 7 and 21 (396.12–13 and 399.23 KEIL); EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945/1, 335, T 602 and II, 193; *AvP* VIII.3, 129, no. 114. Cf. C. BROCKMANN, “Groß war der Name Galens’ — Die Selbstdarstellung eines Arztes in seinen wissenschaftlichen Werken”, *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 44 (2009) 109–129.

³² Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 1 (*Oratio* 47) 23 (382.10–21 KEIL).

³³ On the *Hieroi Logoi* of Aelius Aristides cf. especially BEHR 1968; HORSTMANSHOFF 2004; LUCHNER 2004, 260–307; STEGER 2004, 141–154; M. KORENJAK, “Unbelievable Confusion. Weshalb sind die ‘Hieroi Logoi’ des Aelius Aristides so wirt?” *Hermes* 133 (2005) 215–234; HOLMES 2008; J. DOWNIE, “Proper Pleasures: Bathing and Oratory in Aelius Aristides’ *Hieros Logos I* and *Oration 33*”, in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 115–150; PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS 2010; ISRAELOWICH 2012; T. A. SCHMITZ, “Aelius Aristides: Der Sophist und sein Gott”, in: U. BAUMANN / K. A. NEUHAUSEN (eds.), *Autobiographie. Eine interdisziplinäre Gattung zwischen klassischer Tradition und (post-) moderner Variation* (Göttingen 2013) 95–106.

³⁴ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 2 (*Oratio* 48) 18–21 (398.21–399.23 KEIL). Cf. LUCHNER 2004, 242; STEGER 2004, 147–148.

³⁵ Cf. Galen’s thoughts on bathing in cold water in general: *De sanitate tuenda* 3.4.11–30 and 13.7 (82.3–83.35 and 101.12–14 KOCH) as well as V. BOUDON, “Le rôle de l’eau dans

News of his healing dream spread and a vast crowd followed Aristides to the river, including physicians who were either worrying he would get worse or simply wanted to scientifically observe the procedure. Having reached the river, Aristides, by his own description “still filled with the heat from having seen the god”, shed his clothes and jumped straight into the water without first requesting a massage. He stayed in the water for a long time and felt comfortable as if in a warm swimming bath. When he emerged from the river, “his entire skin was in bloom”. A reddish, “blooming” skin is considered a sign of good bodily health according to Galen as well, though the latter recommends achieving it through a massage before bathing rather than by an icy bath.³⁶ To return to Aristides, when he had left the river with his healthy skin, his body felt entirely light, and, as the report concludes, from many of the bystanders the often sung exclamation arose: “great is Asclepius.”³⁷

Another common element in reports of such miracles is the great surprise of friends and observers when confronted with a spontaneous and unexpected healing, especially if they can no longer find bodily traces of an illness that had seemed severe just before. As an example, Aristides reports on a large ulcer that was disfiguring his groin. Whereas all doctors recommended a surgical intervention or the use of acid, he claims to have followed the god Asclepius, who ordered him to wait and not attempt any

les prescriptions médicales d'Asclépios chez Galien et Ælius Aristide”, in: R. GINOUVÈS / A.-M. GUIMIER-SORBETS / J. JOUANNA / L. VILLARD (eds.), *L'eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec*. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Suppl. XXVIII (Paris 1994) [157–168] 165–168, where the parallels between Galen's therapeutical application of baths and the instructions of Asclepius to Aristides are elaborated.

³⁶ Cf. *De sanitate tuenda* 6.8.6 (183.14–20 KOCH). On the change of skin color due to a massage after bathing cf. *De sanitate tuenda* 3.4.29 (83.28–31 KOCH). A red bloom of the skin is generally considered a sign of the proper effect of a massage even outside the context of baths: *De sanitate tuenda* 2.2.26 (42.3–4 KOCH): καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φανεῖται σοι τούτων γινομένων ἔρευθος εὐανθὲς ἐπιτρέχον ἅπαντι τῷ δέρματι.

³⁷ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 2 (*Oratio* 48) 21 (399.15–23 KEIL): ὡς δὲ ἐγενόμεθα ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὐδὲν ἔδει τοῦ παρακελευσομένου, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς θέρμης τῆς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ μεστός ὢν ἀπορρίψας τὰ ἱμάτια οὐδ' ἀνατρίψασθαι δεηθείς, ἵεμαι οὐ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βαθύτατον ἦν. ἐπειθ' ὥσπερ ἐν κολυμβήθρα καὶ μάλα ἡπίου καὶ κεκραμένου ὕδατος ἐχρώμην διατριβῆ, ἐννέων τε καὶ ἀνακλύζων ἐμαυτὸν πάντη. ὡς δ' ἐξέβην, ὁ τε δὴ χρώς πᾶς ἦνθει καὶ τὸ σῶμα πάντη κούφον ἦν καὶ βοή πολλή τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ ἐπιόντων τὸ πολυύμνητον δὴ τοῦτο βοώντων 'μέγας ὁ Ἀσκληπιός', “When we reached the river, there was no need for anyone to encourage us. But being still full of warmth from the vision of the god, I cast off my clothes, and not wanting a massage, flung myself where the river was deepest. Then as in a pool of very gentle and tempered water, I passed my time swimming all about and splashing myself all over. When I came out, all my skin had a rosy hue and there was a lightness throughout my body. There was also much shouting from those present and those coming up, shouting that celebrated phrase, ‘Great is Asclepius!’” (transl. BEHR).

treatment.³⁸ Eventually, the deity prescribed an ointment, which caused the ulcer to rapidly disappear once applied. Aelius Aristides's friends, upon joining him at sunrise, were both glad and incredulous, and the doctors finally recognised the miraculous care of his deity. Yet, a change in the skin remained,³⁹ and the physicians saw a new opportunity for surgical intervention, arguing that the instructions of the god had already been carried out. But Asclepius does not suffer this and performs a second miracle. The application of an egg effects a complete restoration of the skin, and nobody was able to tell anymore where exactly the ulcer had been.⁴⁰

Galen has his friends react in a similar way in his report of a case of self-therapy resulting in complete recovery. He had dislocated his collarbone during sports, and, so he claims, managed to restore the bone to its original position with a painful and hardly bearable pressure bandage. His success was evident in the looks of disbelief from his friends: "... all those who only now saw the spot doubt whether the bone was ever dislocated, while those who witnessed the previous displacement by a width of three fingers consider the case with the utmost wonder."⁴¹

³⁸ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 1 (*Oratio* 47) 61–68 (390.25–392.16 KEIL). Cf. HORSTMANSHOFF 2004, 327–330; HOLMES 2008, 104–105; ISRAELOWICH 2012, 119–120.

³⁹ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 1 (*Oratio* 47) 66–67 (392.2–7 KEIL): ὡς δὲ ἐπεπάσαμεν, ἔρρει δὴ ταχὺ τοῦ ὄγκου τὸ πλείστον, καὶ ἅμα ἔω παρήσαν οἱ ἐπιτήδευοι χαίροντες μετὰ ἀπιστίας. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἰατροὶ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὑπερφυῶς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, καὶ ὡς ἕτερόν τι ἄρα ἦν μείζον, ὃ λάθρα ἴατο, τὸ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τίνα ἂν τρόπον κατασταίη διεσκοποῦντο, "When we applied this, most of the growth quickly disappeared, and at dawn my friends were present, happy and incredulous. From here on, the doctors stopped their criticism, expressed extraordinary admiration for the providence of the god in each particular, and said that it was some other greater disease, which he secretly cured. But they considered how the loose skin might be restored to normal" (transl. BEHR).

⁴⁰ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 1 (*Oratio* 47) 67–68 (392.7–16 KEIL): καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς νῦν γε δὴ πάντως δεῖν τομῆς, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλως εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καταστῆναι· κάμει τοῦτό γε ἕξιον συγχωρῆσαι, πάντως δὲ ἤδη πεπραχθαι τὰ γε τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνοις παρήκεν, ἀλλ' οὔσης τῆς ἀποστάσεως θαυμαστῆς ὄσης καὶ δοκοῦντος ἅπαντος ἀπηλλοτριῶσθαι τοῦ δέρματος, ὧν κελύεας ἐπιχρίειν οὕτως ἴασατο καὶ συνήγαγεν πάντα εἰς ταῦτόν, ὥστε ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν παρελθουσῶν οὐδεὶς οἶός τ' ἦν εὐρεῖν ἐν ὀποτέρῳ μηρῷ τὸ φῦμα ἐκείνο ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἦσθη ἀμφοτέρῳ καθαρῷ τοῖς ἅπασιν, "Now it seemed to them that there was full need of surgery, for it would not otherwise be restored to its original state. And they thought that I should grant this, for what concerned the god had been wholly accomplished. He did not even allow them this. But there was a remarkably great lesion and all my skin seemed to change. And he commanded me to smear on an egg and so cured me. And he brought everything back together, so that after a few days had passed, no one was able to find on which thigh the tumor had been, but they were both unscarred in every respect" (transl. BEHR).

⁴¹ In *Hipp. De artic. comm.* 1.61 (401.5–8 KÜHN 18/1). Cf. C. BROCKMANN, "Philologische Annäherungen an Chirurgie und Anatomie. Beobachtungen an Galens Kommentar zu Hippokrates, De articulis", in: C. W. MÜLLER / C. BROCKMANN / C. W. BRUNSCHÖN (eds.), *Ärzte und ihre Interpreten. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 238 (München / Leipzig 2006)

These elements suggest that Galen indeed considers his own medical achievements to be as worthy of admiration as the healings of temple medicine. At the same time, he recognises limits even to the power of Asclepius. In his *On the Preservation of Health*, he claims that anyone suffering from a weak bodily constitution would be unable to attain an age of 60 years even if Asclepius was put by his side.⁴² Thus we may conclude that Galen considers Asclepius bound to the state of nature and unable to outgo its laws.

Aristides would seem to hold a conflicting view in his *Hieroi Logoi* judging by the following example. He depicts himself as a man with a frail body bearing the marks of multiple diseases, yet Asclepius straightens and re-designs him. In a dream, Asclepius describes to one of Aristides's 'foster-parents' how he needs to have his bones removed and new sinews fitted to him, due to the failure of his current ones, yet immediately assures the agonized recipient of this vision that it is not to be taken literally. None the less, there has to be a change in his present circumstances, since a setting to rights (ἐπανόρθωσις) of hitherto unknown dimensions is required.⁴³

Aristides feels renewed in all areas of his life at the hands of Asclepius. He is even re-instructed in rhetoric, his main profession, by the deity. His illness is thus seen almost as a stimulus for his success as an orator, or more accurately as a divine intervention that leads to close contact with the deity and thus enables progress.⁴⁴ Aristides actively seeks the extremes offered

[61–80] 73–78 (quoted text: 77); BOUDON-MILLOT 2012, 229–231. Cf. a further case described in another treatise: *De cur. rat. per ven. sect.* 17 (301 KÜHN 11).

⁴² *De sanitate tuenda* 1.12.15 (29.28–30 KOCH): ἔνια γὰρ οὕτως εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεσκεύασται κακῶς, ὡς μὴδ' εἰς ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ἀφικέσθαι δύνασθαι, κὰν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσης αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀσκληπιῶν. Cf. VON STADEN 2003, 27.

⁴³ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 3 (*Oratio* 49) 15 (417.3–12 KEIL): ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Νηριῶν τῶν τροφῶν ἐνὶ τῶν ἐμῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χρόνον θαυμαστὰ οἷα ἐνεδείξατο. οἶμαι γὰρ δόξαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ λέγειν ἅμα τῷ Τελεσφόρῳ γενόμενον, βλέποντα εἰς ἐμέ, ὡς ἄρα τούτου τὰ τε ὀστᾶ δέοι ἐξελεῖν καὶ νεῦρα ἐνθεῖναι, τὰ γὰρ ὄντα ἀπειρηκέναι ἑαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἐν παντὶ εἶναι καὶ ἀγωνιᾶν, ταῦτα ἀκούοντα περὶ ἐμοῦ, τὸν δὲ θεὸν φάναι παραμυθούμενον καὶ διδάσκοντα ὡς ἄρα οὐκ ἀντικρυς ἐκκόψαι τὰ ὀστᾶ οὐδὲ τὰ νεῦρα τὰ ὄντα ἐκτεμῖν, ἀλλὰ δεῖν οἷον ἀλλοιώσιν τινα τῶν ὄντων γίγνεσθαι· οὕτω πολλῆς καὶ ἀτόπου δεῖν τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως, “He also revealed, approximately at the same time, very wonderful things in the person of Neritus, one of my foster fathers. For I believe that he dreamed that the god, together with Telesphorus, said to him, in regard to me, that it was necessary to remove my bones and put in tendons, for the existing ones had failed. Then he was in great fear and anguish, when he heard these things about me, but the god said, in consolation and instruction, that it was not necessary to knock the bones out directly and cut out the existing tendons, but that there needed to be, as it were, a certain change of those existing. Thus there was need of a great and strange correction” (transl. BEHR). Cf. HOLMES 2008, 108.

⁴⁴ Aelius Aristides, *Hieroi Logoi* 4 (*Oratio* 50) 27 (432.20–24 KEIL): καὶ δὴ Παρθαλαῶς ποτε ἐκείνους, ὃν ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἄκρον τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἑλλήνων γενέσθαι γνῶναι λόγους, ἐτόλμισεν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ δισχυρίσασθαι, ἡ μὴν νομίζειν τύχη τιθί θείᾳ συμβῆναι μοι τὴν νόσον, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ συγγενόμενος ἐπιδοίην ταύτην τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, “And once

both by the unusual therapies and by his public appearances. He wants to succeed in both these areas that enrich his life.⁴⁵

The relation of illness, Asclepian medicine and oratory in the works of Aelius Aristides has received much attention recently. Let me conclude with the observation that the relation of Aristides's *Hieroi Logoi* to Galen's *On the Preservation of Health* might also be worthy of closer scrutiny. There is undoubtedly more to be found.

that famous Pardalas, who, I would say, was the greatest expert of the Greeks of our time in the science of oratory, dared to say and affirm to me that he believed that I had become ill through some divine good fortune, so that by my association with the god, I might make this improvement" (transl. BEHR). Further cf. *Oratio* 23.16 (35.32–36.8 KEIL). Cf. LUCHNER 2004, 284; HOLMES 2008, 93–94, 107; PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS 2010, 142.

⁴⁵ Cf. LUCHNER 2004, 283.

Aristides, Patient of Asclepius in Pergamum¹

Florian Steger

1. Asclepius Medicine: Patients of Asclepius — Available Sources

Medical services in the Roman Empire add up to a colourful picture. They comprise magical approaches and cults of healing, as well as what we would now recognize as medical practice.² The name Asclepius stands for a type of medicine that was shaped equally by religious and medical cults of healing.³ Asclepius's patients left few written records, most of them are short and hardly self-reflective. Among the more telling ones are, for instance, accounts of dreams that occurred during incubation, which have been preserved together with expressions of the dreamer's gratitude.⁴ Whereas many such sacrificial offerings are available for Pergamum, Epidaurus, and Athens, with regard to Corinth we have only indirect clues.⁵ The same holds true for many of the smaller and less important Asclepieia including those on islands.⁶ A number of these sacrificial offerings reflect on healing miracles that are reminiscent of Christian reports of miracles.⁷ In addition to them, there is a Roman inscription from the second century

¹ Translated from German by Anja Werner. – I am deeply grateful for comments and criticism to Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath and Michael Trapp.

² V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine* (London 2004); K.-H. LEVEN (ed.), *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon* (München 2005); Ch. BROCKMANN / W. BRUNSCHÖN / O. OVERWIEN (eds.), *Antike Medizin im Schnittpunkt von Geistes- und Naturwissenschaft* (Berlin 2009).

³ STEGER 2004; id. 2005. This article is based mainly on my monograph, above all p. 126–165. Cf. also my new book *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult* (Stuttgart 2016).

⁴ H. AVALOS, *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East. The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 54 (Atlanta 1995) 65–70; F. T. VAN STRATEN, "Gifts for the God", in: H. S. VERSNEL (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2 (Leiden 1981) 65–151; RÜTTIMANN 1987, 36–178.

⁵ KRUG 1993, 142f.

⁶ RÜTTIMANN 1987, 40–41; KRUG 1993, 156.

⁷ H. SCHADEWALDT, "Asklepios und Christus", *Medizinische Welt* 31 (1967) 1755–1761, here 1756; O. WEINREICH, *Antike Heilungswunder. Untersuchungen zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer*. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 8 (Gießen 1909). Examples of Christian healing miracles include: healing the blind (Mark 8.23–25; John 9.1–12); healing a lame man (John 5.5–9); the apostles Peter and John (Acts 3.1–9) as well as Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14.8–13) are also said to have had powers of healing.

AD (*IG XIV 966*),⁸ which tells, incredibly, of four miracles that were performed on four men whom no one else was able to help — Asclepius healed them all.

Besides such miracles, numerous dream instructions survive.⁹ They convey information about the therapeutic methods that were applied to provide relief during a treatment.¹⁰ The god consequently did not simply soothe with his presence,¹¹ he actually offered therapeutic measures, comparable to what might go on during a stay at a health resort. The methods that were used in such contexts are less spectacular than one might think. The instructions include specifications about baths, gymnastics, and drugs (especially plant-based medicines) that suggest a closeness to contemporary medical ideas as reflected in medical treatises of the time.¹² The Emperor Marcus Aurelius himself gives proof of the extent to which such instructions were accepted. He adhered to the regimen that he had received during a dream, as did his teacher Fronto and his friend Aelius Aristides.¹³ Another illustration is provided by M. Julius Apellas's Epidaurian inscription (2nd c. AD). Apellas of Mylasa was a member of an important family at Caria in Asia Minor (*IG IV² 1,126*). His dream instructions attest to a therapeutic medical procedure that was close to contemporary treatments but, in addition to that, incorporated additional components of its own such as sports and rest that are also typical of modern health spas. The health spa concept may indeed be stressed as a specific characteristic of Asclepius medicine. Another excellent example is Publius Aelius Theon of Rhodes,¹⁴ who visited Asclepius in Pergamum in the later second century AD. Cured of his affliction, he left a dedication out of gratitude and a sense of duty. Assistants at the cult site helped in implementing the instructions, regarding baths, gymnastics, offerings, and whatever else.

Gifts of gratitude on the part of patients are informative concerning the cult of Asclepius. They provide the patients' perspectives on how the regimen was perceived and reflected upon. In the perspective of a patient history,¹⁵ questions about implementation, dissemination, and acceptance of medical ideas may be asked. It is not the one who carries out the healing, but rather its beneficiary, whose perception is being analysed, who is the centre of attention. Behavioural patterns, revealing the patient's mind-

⁸ RÜTTIMANN 1987, 58–59.

⁹ EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945.

¹⁰ KRUG 1993, 135.

¹¹ KRUG 1993, 137, 145–146.

¹² KRUG 1993, 141.

¹³ M. AUR. 5.8; Artem. 4.22.

¹⁴ H. MÜLLER, "Ein Heilungsbericht aus dem Asklepieion von Pergamon", *Chiron* 17 (1987) 191–233.

¹⁵ R. PORTER, "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below", *Theory and Society* 14 (1985) 175–198.

set, are consequently of primary interest.¹⁶ In the process of investigating these patterns, the patient's ailment as well as the recommended therapeutic procedures cannot be grasped with modern terminology. Rather than attempting a retrospective diagnosis or interpretation, the illness needs to be construed appropriately from the point of view of medical history.¹⁷ Autobiographical texts (memoirs, journals) with a particularly strong self-reflective component are suited above all for the exploration of illness from the perspective of the patient. But especially with regard to antiquity, it is a challenge to maintain the required focus on the patient.¹⁸ The reason is that in most cases no records are available that may be regarded as patient information. Votive offerings and donations are limited in their self-reflective content. They tend to be short, as a result of which only a limited amount of conclusions may be drawn from them. In short, we lack extensive sources containing patients' perspectives. Individual records of significance are, however, available. A micro-historical case study might consequently make a suitable methodological approach, and this brings me to Aristides.

2. Aristides, Patient of Asclepius

Literary sources may, in fact, provide self-reflective information. If, however, the historian of medicine examines the prose hymns (Aristides, *Orationes* 38, 39, 42, 53 above all), the result is sobering. From this standpoint, the hymns offer little of value by way of an insider perspective on Asclepius medicine, i.e. the way in which this medicine was experienced in everyday life. What they provide instead is rich evidence of the religious activities surrounding Asclepius.

In the hymn *The Sons of Asclepius* (Aristides, *Oratio* 38), much information is conveyed about Asclepius's family (38.6f.). The dissemination of the cult of Asclepius is discussed as well (38.21). Interestingly, the hymn starts with a quotation from the *Iliad* (38.1), in which a dream is given as the source of the tale. The quotation thus introduces the idea of dreams, which are so central for the cult and medicine of Asclepius, as they present a rite of passage in the course of which the worshipper/patient established contact with Asclepius. The hymn *On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius* (*Oratio* 39) praises and even expresses love for the well of Asclepius ("no speech could express the beauty and delight of our subject," 39.1). But ide-

¹⁶ E. WOLFF, "Perspektiven der Patientengeschichtsschreibung", in: PAUL / SCHLICH 1998, [311–334] 324.

¹⁷ K.-H. LEVEN, "Krankheiten — historische Deutung versus retrospektive Diagnose", in: PAUL / SCHLICH 1998, 153–185.

¹⁸ F. STEGER, "Patientengeschichte — eine Perspektive für Quellen der Antiken Medizin?", *Sudhoffs Archiv* 91 (2007) 230–238.

alizing “the holy well” (39.1) to such an extent does not leave much room for gaining major insights into the healing arts. Then again, the focus on the well or spring emphasizes the importance of water (39.12f.) both for the ritual and for the healing aspects of the Asclepius cult and medicine (39.15–16). Aristides emphasizes his strong bond with Asclepius in the beginning of the hymn *Address to Asclepius* (*Oratio* 42), which reminds the reader of the style of the *Sacred Tales* (42.1), although on the whole the former does not match the *Sacred Tales’* possibilities as a source for Aristides’s inner life and experience. Still, this hymn is particularly revealing with regard to medical history, for instance in depicting the everyday health spa business at the Asclepieum (42.5) as well as specific dietary instructions that actually had therapeutic functions and that were close to contemporary curative ideas. The hymn provides a glimpse of how such instructions might have appealed to people back then (42.8) and certainly reflects the fact that Aristides himself knew from experience what he was talking about (42.10). Finally, the hymn *On the water in Pergamum* (*Oratio* 53), which has been preserved only in fragmentary form, stresses the significance of water in Pergamum alongside its central importance in the Asclepius cult and medicine (53.3).

The hymns’ value as a source may be likened, if such a comparison can be allowed, to Lucian of Samosata’s *Alexander or the False Prophet*. Lucian’s *Alexander* is useful for understanding imperial religious history, for which the cult of Asclepius in Abonoteichus is a key source. But only a few rudimentary statements concerning the medical practice of Asclepius in Abonoteichus can be derived from this text.¹⁹ While a historical analysis of the *Alexander* leads to a better understanding of the healing aspects of the worship of Asclepius, the precise relationship between religion and medicine in Abonoteichus — and thus the actual character of Asclepius medicine — remains unclear. Something similar may be observed with regard to Aristides’s prose hymns if one examines them for traces of medical knowledge. As a result, it is not particularly productive for a historian of medicine to analyse the prose hymns, for they do not offer a wealth of medical information with regard to the history of Asclepius medicine.

For this reason, and in order to trace the insider view of the patient Aristides for medical history, in what follows I will discuss Aristides’s *Hieroi Logoi* in more detail.²⁰ For an internal perspective may be found there. Although the analysis of a literary text poses problems of fictionality and fictitiousness on the one hand and subjective tendencies on the other, it also

¹⁹ STEGER 2005, 3–18.

²⁰ F. STEGER, “Medizinischer Alltag in der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Patientenperspektive: P. Aelius Aristides, ein Patient im Asklepieion von Pergamon”, *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte* 20 (2001) 45–71.

allows us to inquire into critical attitudes as well as to ask useful questions about forms of perception, interpretation, and imagination.

In this account of a sick orator fighting for his life,²¹ Aristides — motivated by deep gratitude to Asclepius — has left an extensive journal of his illness.²²

Aristides started writing these orations long after his regimen during the winters of 170/171 AD at the Laneion estate, referring to the diary he had written at Pergamum. From the beginning the god had instructed him to write down his dreams (2.2). He now resorted to these notes, which he had composed himself or — when physically unable to do so — had dictated to someone else. The *Hieroi Logoi* are therefore one of the most extensive self-reflections of a person's inner life and frame of mind from antiquity — Aristides took notes almost on a daily basis (1.3).

“For each of my days has its history, and the same holds true for my nights, if someone, who was there, wanted to document the incidents or describe the god's care, which he, either by appearing in person or by sending me dream images, bestowed upon me, to the extent to which I was able to find sleep. But that rarely occurred in my troubled physical state” (1.3).

Right at the beginning of the first book of the *Tales*, Aristides undertakes to give a detailed report of his physical state and the treatments he underwent over the course of a six week period (1.4–57). However, with this discourse in praise of the god of healing, he has simultaneously left us extensive materials about his inner life and experiences that contain — as he puts it himself (1.16) — “additional matter,” including his treatment at Pergamum between 143–147 AD. For instance, speaking about the baths that the god had prescribed (2.71–80), he depicts an incubation: “Following a dream vision, I lay down between the wing of a door and a grid by the temple, and the god predicted the following (...)” (2.71). He anointed himself in the courtyard within the enclosing walls and took a bath in the holy well. It is known that when engaging in incubation, the worshippers had to start by washing themselves so that they would be clean when entering the temple precincts. Archaeological excavations in Pergamum give proof of the fact that in front of the temple precincts a holy well existed from which the houses for spring water could be seen.²³ Cleaning oneself before entering the holy precincts was an important part of the incubation ritual. There followed offerings and prayers before the patients lay down in the temple to sleep.

²¹ SCHRÖDER 1986; BEHR 1968, 116–130.

²² He notes that Asclepius himself provided the title *Hieroi Logoi*: “(...) the god ... besides other remarks, I think, also mentioned that he approves of them by calling them ‘holy reports’ (‘hieroi logoi’)” (2.9). But the accuracy of this translation, and so also of the idea that Aristides thought that the title *Hieroi Logoi* had been bestowed by Asclepius himself, is open to question.

²³ KRUG 1993, 167.

These first observations might suggest that Aristides's self-reflections present just what is required in order to trace an "insider" perspective on his physical experiences as well as a view "from below" at the regimen of Asclepius in Pergamum. At a first glance, this is indeed possible. However, on closer examination, it becomes apparent that his account is not free from exaggeration and distortion, even fictitiousness. Some source criticism is therefore necessary.

A first example might be the dream recounted in 1.23 in which Aristides tells how he met his teacher Alexander of Cotiaem in Phrygia in the presence of Antoninus Pius and his entourage. The emperor was surprised that Aristides did not greet him with the customary kiss of friendship. Aristides explained that he had departed from custom because he worshipped Asclepius, who had ordered him not to conduct his friendships in that way (1.23). Antoninus Pius was understanding: he realized that the worship of Asclepius took precedence over all other codes and rules. This episode, which is normally considered to have taken place during Aristides's first stay at Rome in 144 AD, is probably a fiction. A number of arguments may be found to support this conclusion. For instance, besides the somewhat flowery description of the dream, it may be observed that — taking contemporary records into account — by 144 AD Aristides did not yet have a very close relationship with Asclepius. Moreover, it may be doubted that he had the self-confidence to present himself in this way to the emperor and actually prefer Asclepius to him.²⁴

The fact that Aristides asked Asclepius's support in preparing orations may be taken as yet another sign of exaggeration. "We call on him for assistance with this as well as with other undertakings. We certainly may call with regard to anything, just as we do with other gods" (2.4). Aristides asks Asclepius for advice (2.24) concerning the order of events, to please him, and to get ahead. The question to what extent his observations may be regarded a reflection of reality is open to critical reflection considering the inevitable need for inspiration that is reminiscent of epic and lyric traditions. In other instances Aristides's art of exaggeration is still more apparent, such as when he claims that the work on his manuscript brought him close to a breakdown (4.22). He was suddenly short of breath and only with great effort was he able to remain conscious. High expectations on the part of the worshippers are responsible for the meticulousness of the accounts they give,²⁵ especially with regard to the description of dreams, and this has led to doubts about the reliability of Aristides's observations.²⁶ The worshippers focused on the much longed for incubation, from which they expected relief, a fact that would explain the detailed documentation

²⁴ SCHRÖDER 1986, 26 n. 46.

²⁵ BEHR 1968, 116.

²⁶ SCHRÖDER 1986, 13.

of the dream healing. Aristides himself is a case in point, for as a worshipper and patient he came to focus his entire thinking on Asclepius after doctors in Rome and Smyrna had turned out to be unable to help him.

“For the first time, the saviour (‘soter’) now started with his revelations. And he ordered me to walk on bare feet. And thus I called out in my dream, as if I were wide awake, and after the completion of this dream: ‘Asclepius is great! His order has been implemented’” (2.7).

Accounts of his miraculous rescue from dangers (2.24–36) give further proof of his closeness to Asclepius, for he explains them with the god’s intervention (2.25).

Besides the strong emphasis on the event itself even on the part of the worshippers, the meticulousness of the description, which is often interpreted as an exaggeration, provides an explanation for the wide diffusion of knowledge about ways of healing and diet. In the process ideas about health-related matters are documented and become verifiable: Aristides describes ointments, drugs, and dietary regulations (3.21–37).²⁷ For instance, one of Asclepius’s remedies was balsam juice, which he calls the gift of Telesphorus (2.10). Aristides mentions (3.21) that Telesphorus had a temple of his own in Pergamum. Another remedy was the ‘king ointment’, which was to help with throat disease and with tenseness emanating from the ears. Asclepius recommended that ointment to Aristides, who was to receive it from a woman. At the sanctuary he received it at the feet of Hygieia, where Tyche had placed it. He anointed himself and soon thereafter the cramps eased (3.22). By the by the ointments’ components are listed: “(...) It is to be a mixture of three components: The juice [of the balsam tree], with which we anoint ourselves, the spikenard and another precious ointment, which, I believe, was named after the leaf [from which it is made]” (3.23).²⁸ In this connection, Aristides describes a number of individual examples from his experience with the god and concludes that Asclepius prescribed medicine that he had made himself as well as those that could customarily be found on the market (3.30). Incidentally we thus learn more about various therapies that Asclepius recommended. Besides pharmaceutical means, the surgical approach also appeared to be a part of Asclepius medicine. “(...) There appeared to me the priest of Asclepius, the one in charge now and his grandfather, who during his term of office had witnessed the god perform his great operations (...)” (4.64). The grandfather of the priest of Asclepius was Flavius Asclepius, who had been Asclepius’s priest in Pergamum during the final decade of the first century

²⁷ BEHR 1968, 162–170.

²⁸ The exact mixture in the form of a soft pad may be found in Gal. *De simpl. medicament. temp.* 13, 184 KÜHN. The φάρμακον βασιλικόν (= τετραφάρμακον) with its four components (*cera, resina, pix, adeps*) is mentioned in Gal. *De elem. sec. Hipp.* 1, 452 KÜHN; *De simpl. medicament. temp.* 12, 328 KÜHN. See SCHRÖDER 1986, 69 n. 34.

AD. At that time — if one may trust Aristides's words — surgery was undertaken at the Pergamum Asclepieum.

A focus on the factual basis as well as on the wide diffusion of knowledge about health might explain the detailed descriptions; however, the fictitious aspects persist. Asclepius's implausible demands on Aristides provide an example: Aristides claims to have been instructed (2.47) to give about 120 "littren" of blood, which corresponds to nearly 33 litres. The exaggeration is apparent considering that a male adult on average has about 4.5 to 6 litres of blood.²⁹ Aristides himself refers to tales of miracles (2.74) when talking about events that relate to Asclepius: "And that is the first miracle" (2.74).

Hence, in the winter of 144 AD, he was able to take a bath in Smyrna on a rainy day simply because the rain stopped for a brief period of time — which Aristides declared to be one of Asclepius's miracles (2.50). Something similarly wonderful happened when he tried to take a bath at Pergamum and Asclepius miraculously provided enough water for three baths (2.51–53). Finally, in Elaia, a port town in Pergamum, Aristides was able to take a bath only thanks to a miracle (2.54–56).

At a first glance, Aristides's narrative appears to be a rich source for inquiring into the perspective of a patient's inner life and experience, his social environment, and the health spa business at Pergamum: one can truly delve into this wealth of details. However, the objections outlined above illustrate that Aristides — especially because of his intimate relationship with Asclepius — presents us with an at least partially distorted image of events that also displays fictitious traits. A historiography written from the perspective of the patient could be a way to grasp the inner life and experience, the interaction with healers, doctors, and, in this case, Asclepius the god of healing, as well as controversies, conflicts, mutual appreciation, and rejection. A few details pertaining to social history might be traced as well. An analysis of Aristides's tales consequently appears to be worthwhile.

In the winter of 144 AD Aristides travelled to Rome. He hoped for access to the emperor there. But while on the road his health deteriorated, he suffered from a fever and respiratory distress. Looking back he later writes that on the way to Rome he caught various diseases. His choking fits were the most dangerous ones.

"When I was taken home from Italy (by boat), I had contracted various physical afflictions because of the incessant pains from illness and tempests, which I had had to endure on my way (to Rome) via Thracia and Macedonia. After all, I had already been ill when leaving home ... The most unfortunate and critical of all were my choking fits, during which, in great hopelessness, I was able to force a breath every once in a while only by making immense efforts. They were accompanied by persistent convulsions of

²⁹ SCHRÖDER 1986, here 54 n. 89.

the throat, and I also kept breaking into shivers so that I was in need of more blankets than I could bear. On top of all that I was suffering from unspeakable discomforts" (2.5–6).

While in Allianoï at a later point, Aristides lamented in a similar manner whether he would ever live to see the day when he would be free of these considerable ailments. Thanks to his biographer Philostratus we know that Aristides was generally a sickly person (Philostr. *VS* 2.9) – though of course, Philostratus' anecdotal account must be taken with a good portion of care.

According to Aristides, dreams and the reports of dreams were central to the treatment at Pergamum (2.8). He mentions more than one hundred dreams, which help him to recover both physically and psychologically.

"But if someone would like to know how the god acted upon me, it is time to search for the parchments and the dream reports themselves. In them, he will find remedies of all kinds and a few confidential talks and lengthy orations and various phenomena and prophecies and oracles of all kinds on diverse subjects, partly in prose, partly in meter, all of them devoted in binding and indescribable gratitude to the god" (2.8).

These dreams allow us to find out more about the treatment at the Asclepieum. Besides remedies, confidential talks, and orations they contain oracles and prophecies. It is also known what physicians thought about dreams: they greatly respected them. For instance, once a doctor came to see Aristides (1.57) in order to help him. He reconsidered once Aristides told him about his dreams. The doctor explained his attitude by declaring that as a sagacious man he would leave it to the god. Aristides concluded that only Asclepius could be 'his' physician. He alone had the means to relieve him from his suffering. On another occasion the doctor Theodotus offered Aristides a treatment taking the dream images of Asclepius as a basis (4.38). Listening to the doctor's advice, Aristides had a boy sing to him, and the pains indeed disappeared.

Aristides describes a number of symptoms and illnesses, from which he suffered during his travels (2.60–62).³⁰ When in the midst of winter – already ailing – he left for Rome, he suffered from terrible ear pain, and, in addition to that, was already in a deplorable state. He was afflicted with a cough, and the strain of travelling was such that his illness broke out.

"First of all my teeth got into serious trouble so that I held my hands under my mouth always ready to catch them. I could not eat at all, with the one exception of milk. Back then I first noticed a shortness of breath in my chest, I had violent fits of fever, and ineffably more" (2.62).

Only by making great efforts did he manage to reach Rome after one hundred days. In Rome he complained about his swollen inner organs, his nerves, which had stiffened from the cold, and his respiratory troubles.

³⁰ BEHR 1968, 165–168.

He was unable to recover even though he submitted to a long and — according to himself — painful treatment (2.63–64). The doctors gave him highly concentrated laxatives that led to haemorrhagic diarrhoea. To make matters worse, his temperature rose to a point that took away his hopes for improvement. His physicians apparently made incisions on his chest and down to his bladder, and eventually they applied cupping glasses. A shortness of breath set in and paralyzing pains tortured him. “Everything was smeared with blood, and they gave me more than my share of laxatives. I had the feeling that my intestines were cold and hung (loosely), and my shortness of breath increased” (2.63). No one was able to help him anymore.

These few examples illustrate that Aristides’s account allows the historian of medicine to trace general aspects of patient history. It is possible to study Aristides’s attitudes toward illness and health as well as toward getting well, while simultaneously examining his relationships with those who provide what we might call medical services. It becomes apparent in his dismissive views about doctors in Rome³¹ and Smyrna (2.5). In Smyrna, not just the physicians turned out to be unable to help him; even the baths and hot springs as well as his begging Sarapis for help showed no effect. That was when Aristides decided to seek out Asclepius in Pergamum, where — this much may be revealed already — he finally was treated successfully. The dream report insinuates that Aristides’s relationship with Asclepius was particularly close: Asclepius is ‘his’ god (4.50), Asclepius is ‘his’ doctor (1.57). Aristides consequently trusts only those physicians who accept the god as the ‘true doctor’ without the slightest objections.

Already the first regimens that Asclepius prescribes (2.11–23) lead to an improvement. In Smyrna, Asclepius instructs Aristides to take a bath in the river outside the city gates (2.18). He enjoyed that bath in the river as if it were a swimming pool with the perfect water temperature (2.21). When he re-emerged, his entire body felt light, and he thanked Asclepius: “When I left the water, my skin was of a pale pink, my body felt light, and those who were present kept chanting: ‘Asclepius is great!’” (2.21).

The sense of well-being persisted until he went to bed, and the warmth he had received filled each vein of his body. He felt inexpressibly cheerful and balanced. Hence, by following Asclepius’s advice to take a bath in Smyrna, Aristides had experienced both a physical as well as a psychological respective spiritual improvement. It may furthermore be observed that, motivated by a feeling of gratitude toward Asclepius, Aristides accepted the name of Theodorus. Asclepius had managed to relieve him at least for a period of time from his seemingly interminable suffering (4.53;

³¹ BEHR 1968, 162–170.

4.70) so that, as the name Theodorus suggests, he felt as a recipient of the god's blessings.

"Moreover, I was given the name Theodorus in the following manner. It seemed to me that in Smyrna someone who congratulated me in a heartfelt manner addressed me by saying: 'Hail thee Theodorus!' — I think that 'Asiarches' was added as well — and I understood this salutation to mean that everything that I am and have is a gift from the god" (4.53).

Only little information may be gleaned about the treatment. Apparently, Aristides had not taken a bath in more than five years (1.59), and only after Asclepius had instructed him he did begin again, mostly in winter, to swim in the sea, a river, or a well. Moreover, for two years and two months he had endured laxative cures of the upper digestive tract in combination with the application of enemas and bleeding. In this connection, he complains about the extent of all that besides the miserable meals with which he had to put up. Yet despite his criticisms, Aristides was too desperate to question the treatment. Rather than critically reflecting upon the divine provisions, he willingly accepted them.

The specific problems that resulted from such an attitude are mentioned in Aristides's tale "Hernia and Dropsy" (1.61–68). He had a lump that kept growing and eventually came to bother him considerably (1.63). His friends knew about it and admired his stamina. Others, in turn, who watched him suffer like that, argued fiercely with him not to rely so much on dreams. Yet others accused him of being afraid of drugs and the knife. Aristides's illness had progressed to such an extent that he was even forced to give his orations from the sickbed. Asclepius had apparently requested that he keeps up with his orations. While still at Pergamum he therefore started again. Although it was hard in the beginning (4.22), it soon seemed to have a therapeutic effect (4.14–19). While during his early attempts at oratory Aristides complained about feebleness, strenuousness, and shortness of breath, in the course of this exercise he starts getting better. Practicing oratory strengthened his health and helped him to regain his vigour (4.24). It helped even in case of toothache (4.30). In this desperate situation Asclepius appeared to recommend remedies (1.66). Quickly his health improved; this marvellous divine providence astounded even the doctors (1.67).

"In the end the saviour ('soter') during the very same night revealed to me and my teacher — Zosimus was then still alive — the same, so that I sent him a messenger to tell him what the god had said, and he himself met him to tell me what he had heard from the god. It was a remedy whose individual components I do not remember except that it contained salt. After we had sprinkled it onto the lump, most of it came off, and by daylight friends arrived, equally happy and incredulous" (1.66).

After Aristides's miraculous recovery thanks to Asclepius, the doctors discussed how the hole, where the lump had been, could be closed. They ad-

vised Aristides to opt for a surgical procedure without which the wound would not close. But Asclepius recommended instead the application of an egg to the hole. Again Asclepius proved to be right, again the doctors' counsel turned out to be inferior. The incident does not simply give us an idea of different forms of treatment, but also illustrates how unlike they actually were.

Aristides did not only have to deal with opinions on the part of his doctors that were at odds with the guidance that the true doctor, Asclepius, the god of healing, provided. In other regards too Asclepius's requests caused tension. An example may be found in Aristides's description of how while at Smyrna in the spring of 149 AD he was turned away from beef (3.37). An oracle had told his servant Zosimus that he would live as long as the cow grazed in the fields. The oracle thereby advised Zosimus to prolong his life by abstaining from beef. Apparently, Zosimus had been inconsistent in living up to that counsel, for when he died (1.69–77; 3.47–50) his death was also explained by the fact that he had touched beef despite all. This was an episode that subsequently caused Aristides qualms over an offering (3.39). When after a major earthquake in Asia Minor Mytilene on the island of Lesbos lay in ruins and much was destroyed in Smyrna and Ephesus, it was a cow that Asclepius ordered him to sacrifice. Remembering Zosimus's oracle and what became of him afterwards, Aristides was in a quandary. He solved the problem by sacrificing a steer rather than the forbidden cow. Asclepius apparently liked that.

The doctors were quite interested in the fact that the god had repeatedly appeared to Aristides. They followed Aristides partly because they feared for the worst and partly out of scientific curiosity (2.20). Aristides mentioned a doctor named Heracleon, who, caring for him as a friend, became afraid after an apparition in Smyrna that he might contract something bad such as *opisthotonus* (stiffness of the neck). Yet this case as well turned out all right: Asclepius was able once again to cure Aristides from one of his afflictions. The *opisthotonus*, about which his friend Heracleon had worried came back to Aristides (3.15–20), at a later point while he was down with a fever. In addition to that, he was by then stricken with hardly describable or imaginable convulsions. His body felt as if torn in all directions at once, his knee jerked towards his head, and he kept thrusting his hands against his neck and face. His chest seemed to leap forward while his back pushed in the opposite direction. To describe his back, he resorted to the image of a sail filled with wind. In other places as well (2.57; 3.1) Aristides readily shares his inner life and experience.

After a lengthy stay at Pergamum, his condition improved notably. Even though after 147 AD the worst was over for him, he continued to remain true to Asclepius. He regularly returns to Pergamum for regimens and makes sacrificial offerings there. As a result of that — so he claims —

he is spared (2.39–40) during the rampant pestilence of 165 AD (2.37–45).³² This epidemic disease affected entire neighbourhoods. First his servants came down with it, then he himself was hit (2.39). Again it is Asclepius who cures him from this disease in a dream: “The time until then had been a present from the gods and afterwards I awoke to new life thanks to the help of the gods, and in a way it was a surrogate sacrifice” (2.44).

With a look back to the first part of his account, Aristides once again thanks his protector:

“For all this time He [i.e., Asclepius] kept me alive and gave me one day after the next, and even today it is Him and only Him who sustains me. All of us know, all of us with even the smallest idea of my circumstances” (2.37).

As an orator, Aristides was a well-regarded man whose goal and hope was to live on beyond the grave. He was devoted to his work, as can be seen from the determination, which he formulated in *Hieroi Logoi*, to write up the record of his dreams in no less than three thousand lines (2.3), as well as from his enormous diligence in doing so (1.60).³³ Aristides categorically declined public offices. In fact, he strove to achieve freedom from office and from all the kinds of tasks that Antoninus Pius’³⁴ edict detailed with regard to orators. The prerequisite for exemption was not to neglect one’s calling. But Aristides did not meet this particular requirement. The contemporary governor of Asia, C. Julius Severus (proconsul in 152/153 AD), got to the heart of the issue: “It is one thing to be the primus of the Greeks and to master the art of oration to perfection [...] it is quite another to make a living of it and to have students” (4.87).

Aristides was offered a number of public offices, which he fiercely resisted. Severus wanted to appoint him a Guardian of the Peace (4.72). He was also nominated to be elected a Prytanis (4.88). When Pollio was vice-regent in Asia, Aristides was elected a tax collector (4.95). The people of Smyrna had him in mind for the office of *archiereus* (4.101). As the high priest, the *archiereus* was in charge of the ceremonial acts surrounding the imperial cult. Besides the *archiereus*, there also existed the office of the Asiarchy. The Asiarch was the chairman of a general assembly (*koinon*) of the province. In scholarship, the exact distinction between *archiereus* and *asiarch* is intensely debated. Be that as it may, in connection with all these public offices, Aristides literally fought to be exempted from any official

³² It is debated whether an inscription in Trier (CIL XIII 3636) might not have been dedicated because of that plague (L. SCHWINDEN, “Die Weihinschrift für Asclepius CIL XII 3636 aus Trier”, *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Trier Nachbargebiete* 57 [1994] 133–145). Concerning the pestilence that ravaged the empire during the reign of emperor Marcus Aurelius and his co-emperor Lucius Verus (Amm. Marc. 23.6.24), see J. F. GILLIAM, “The Plague under Marcus Aurelius”, *AJP* 82 (1961) 225–261.

³³ SCHRÖDER 1986, 376.

³⁴ *Dig.* 27.1.6.2f.

position, a fight which he won thanks to his friend C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (proconsul in 153/154 AD). When the latter became vice-regent of Asia, he accorded Aristides the privilege of immunity (*ateleia*).

After the years of his regimen at Pergamum, Aristides had a high reputation as an orator and was a respected and famous figure (4.71–108).³⁵ Even Asclepius — if one wants to believe Aristides's account — underlines his singularity as an orator, as for instance when Aristides addresses him with a ritual formula at the temple in Pergamum:³⁶ “[You the] One,’ he therefore addressed the god. And he replied: ‘You are [the One]’” (4.50).

Aristides expresses his gratitude for this appreciation with a eulogy devoted to Asclepius.

“These words, oh Lord, are more valuable than the entire human life. Against such words, all sickness disappears and all kinds of kindness pale. It gives me strength and the will to live. Having said all that, may the honour that the god bestowed on us never be diminished” (4.51).

The physicians as well admired Aristides as an orator. The doctor Porphyryus apparently urged the people of Cyzicus to attend Aristides's orations (5.12). His public performances met with great enthusiasm. On the way to Ephesus, where Asclepius sent him to lecture in 170 AD, people took great interest in both his baths and his orations (2.91). He was highly respected thanks to Asclepius (4.13). In the fall of 170 AD, in referring to his general condition, Aristides observed that since the onset of his illness he had never felt so much at ease and elated (5.48). While at Cyzicus, he was at the height of his power for six consecutive months. He felt intimately connected with Asclepius: “Most of the time the god led me by showing me what I should do, and I obeyed as ever a human being complied with a god” (6.1).

An analysis of the *Hieroi Logoi* illustrates how such sources may serve to trace general aspects of patient history: Aristides reflects upon himself as well as his body and in doing so describes what he feels and experiences. He left extensive and detailed descriptions of his illnesses that are revealing with regard to his state of health and his thoughts about it. They furthermore describe different attempts at treatment as well as their effects on both his body and his mind. As a patient of Asclepius at Pergamum, he provides insights into what kinds of regimen they offered him, and how they appealed to him. He reveals his attitude to medical care by time and again pointing out the ineffectiveness of physicians, while reserving for Asclepius the role of his divine saviour.

³⁵ BEHR 1968, 4f.

³⁶ SCHRÖDER 1986, 100 n. 129.

D. Appendices

Bibliography

1. Abbreviations

AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AoP VIII.3	C. HABICHT, <i>Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> . Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.3 (Berlin 1969)
AoP XI.1	O. ZIEGENAUS / G. DE LUCA, <i>Das Asklepieion</i> . Der südliche Temenosbezirk in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit. Altertümer von Pergamon XI.1 (Berlin 1968)
AoP XI.2	O. ZIEGENAUS / G. DE LUCA, <i>Das Asklepieion</i> . Der nördliche Temenosbezirk und angrenzende Anlagen in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit. Altertümer von Pergamon XI.2 (Berlin 1975)
AoP XI.4	O. ZIEGENAUS / G. DE LUCA, <i>Das Asklepieion</i> . Via tecta und Hallenstraße. Die Funde. Altertümer von Pergamon XI.4 (Berlin 1984)
AoP XI.5	O. ZIEGENAUS / G. DE LUCA, <i>Das Asklepieion</i> . Die Platzhallen und die zugehörigen Annexbauten in römischer Zeit. Altertümer von Pergamon XI.5 (Berlin 2011)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i>
DK	H. DIELS / W. KRANZ, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 3 vol., (Hildesheim 2004–2005, repr. of ⁶ 1951–1952)
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGRom	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
IM	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
I. Smyrna	G. PETZL, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> (Bonn 1982–1990)
IvP I	M. FRÄNKEL, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> . Bis zum Ende der Königszeit. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.1 (Berlin 1890)
LSCG	F. SOKOLOWSKI, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants (Paris 1969)
LSCG suppl.	F. SOKOLOWSKI, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Supplément. Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants (Paris 1962)
OGI	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>

SGO	R. MERKELBACH / J. STAUBER, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> (Stuttgart / München 1998–2004)
SH	<i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

2. Editions, Commentaries, Translations

Aelius Aristides

BEHR 1973	C. A. BEHR, <i>Aristides in Four Volumes, I: Panathenaic Oration and In Defence of Oratory</i> . Loeb classical library 458 (London / Cambridge, Mass 1973)
CANTER (1566)	W. W. CANTER, <i>Aelii Aristidis Adrianensis oratoris clarissimi orationum tomi tres</i> (Basileae 1566)
DINDORF (1829)	G. DINDORF, <i>Aristides</i> , 3 vols. (Lipsiae 1829)
JÖHRENS 1981	G. JÖHRENS, <i>Der Athenahymnus des Ailios Aristeides</i> . Habelts Dissertationsdrucke. Reihe klassische Philologie 32. 2 vols. (Bonn 1981)
KEIL (1898)	B. KEIL, <i>Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia</i> , vol. II: <i>Orr.</i> 17–53 (Berlin 1898)
LENZ / BEHR 1976–1980	F. W. LENZ / C. A. BEHR, <i>P. Aelii Aristidis Opera Quae Exstant Omnia</i> , vol. 1: <i>Orr.</i> 1–16 (Leiden, vol.1,1: 1976, vol. 1,2 / 1,3: 1978; vol. 1,4: 1980)
REISKE (1761)	J. J. REISKE, <i>Animadversionum ad graecos auctores volumen tertium, quo Thucydides, Herodotus et Aristides pertractantur</i> (Lipsiae 1761) 185–572
SCHRÖDER 1986	H. O. SCHRÖDER, <i>Publius Aelius Aristides. Heilige Berichte. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar</i> . Vorwort von H. HOMMEL. <i>Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern</i> (Heidelberg 1986)

3. Articles and Monographs (and Editions of other Texts)

AMANN 1931	J. AMANN, <i>Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides</i> . TBAW 12 (Tübingen 1931)
ANDREAE 1990	“Der Asklepios des Phytomachos”, in: ANDREAE 1990a, 45–100
ANDREAE 1990a	B. ANDREAE (ed.), <i>Phytomachos-Probleme: Mit einem Anhang zur Datierung des Grossen Altares von Pergamon</i> . MD.A.I.R. 31 (Mainz 1990)
BEHR 1968	C. A. BEHR, <i>Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales</i> (Amsterdam 1968)
BOUDON-MILLOT / PIETROBELLI 2005	V. BOUDON-MILLOT / A. PIETROBELLI, “Galien ressuscité: Édition princeps du texte grec du <i>De propriis placitis</i> ”, <i>REG</i> 118 (2005) 168–213
BOUDON-MILLOT 2012	V. BOUDON-MILLOT, <i>Galien de Pergame. Un médecin grec à Rome</i> (Paris 2012)
BOWERSOCK 1969	G. W. BOWERSOCK, <i>Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire</i> (Oxford 1969)

- CHANIOTIS 2010 A. CHANIOTIS, "Megatheism: the Search for the Almighty God and the Competition of Cults", in: MITCHELL / VAN NUFFELEN 2010, 112–140
- DE LUCA 1991 G. DE LUCA, "Zur Hygieia in Pergamon. Ein Beitrag", *IM* 41 (1991) 325–362
- DEUBNER 1984 O. DEUBNER, "Pergamena", *IM* 34 (1984) 345–354
- DIGNAS 2012 B. DIGNAS, "Rituals and the construction of identity in Attalid Pergamon", in: ead. / R. R. R. SMITH (eds.), *Historical and religious memory in the ancient world* (Oxford 2012) 119–144
- EDELSTEIN / EDELSTEIN 1945 E. J. EDELSTEIN / L. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius. A collection and interpretation of the testimonies*. 2 vols. History of Medicine (Baltimore 1945, repr. 1998)
- GEBHARD 2005 E. R. GEBHARD, "Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon in the Early Roman Corinthia", in: D. N. SCHOWALTER / S. J. FRIESEN (eds.), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge, Mass 2005) 165–203
- GOEKEN 2012 J. GOEKEN, *Aelius Aristide et la rhétorique de l'hymne en prose. Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses* 15 (Turnhout 2012)
- GRÜSSINGER / KÄSTNER / SCHOLL 2011 R. GRÜSSINGER / V. KÄSTNER / A. SCHOLL (eds.), *Pergamon: Panorama der antiken Metropole. Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung* (Berlin 2011)
- HARRIS / HOLMES 2008 W. V. HARRIS / B. HOLMES (eds.), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome and the Gods*. CSCT 33 (Leiden / Boston 2008)
- HOFFMAN 1998 A. HOFFMAN, "The Roman remodelling of the Asklepieion", in: KOESTER 1998, 41–61
- HOLMES 2008 B. HOLMES, "Aelius Aristides' Illegible Body", in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 81–113
- HORN / BOEHRINGER 1966 R. HORN / E. BOEHRINGER, "Die Ausgrabungsarbeiten zu Pergamon im Jahre 1965. Marmorplastiken des Asklepieions und der Hallenstraße", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1966) 459–475
- HORSTMANSHOFF 2004 H. F. J. HORSTMANSHOFF, "Did the God Learn Medicine? Asclepius and Temple Medicine in Aelius Aristides *Sacred Tales*", in: id. / M. STOL (eds.), *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 27 (Leiden / Boston 2004) 325–342
- ISRAELOWICH 2012 I. ISRAELOWICH, *Society, Medicine and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides*. Mn.S 341 (Leiden / Boston 2012)
- JACCOTTET 2003 A. F. JACCOTTET, *Choirir Dionysos* (Kilchberg [Zürich] 2003)
- JONES 2008 C. P. JONES, "Aristides' First Admirer", in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 253–262
- JONES 2013 C. P. JONES, "Elio Aristide e i primi anni di Antonino Pio", in: P. DESIDERI / F. FONTANELLA (eds.), *Elio Aristide e la legittimazione greca dell'impero di Roma* (Bologna 2013) 39–67
- KOHL 2008 M. KOHL, "La Pergame d'Apollon depuis les temps de l'Iliade homérique à l'époque hellénistique", in: id. (ed.), *Pergame: Histoire et archéologie d'un centre urbain depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'antiquité. Actes du colloque du 8-9 décembre 2000* (Lille 2008) 147–169
- KOESTER 1998 H. KOESTER (ed.), *Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological record, literary description, and religious development* (Harrisburg 1998)
- KRUG 1993 A. KRUG, *Heilkunst und Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike*. Beck's archäologische Bibliothek (München²1993)

- KUDLIEN 1981 F. KUDLIEN, "Galen's Religious Belief", in: V. NUTTON (ed.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects. A Collection of Papers submitted at the 1979 Cambridge Conference*. The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London 1981) 117–130
- LENZ 1959 F. W. LENZ, *The Aristides Prolegomena*. Mn.S 5 (Leiden 1959)
- LUCHNER 2004 K. LUCHNER, *Philiatroi. Studien zum Thema der Krankheit in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit*. Hyp. 156 (Göttingen 2004)
- MELFI 2007 M. MELFI, *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia. I*. *Studia archaeologica* 157 (Rome 2007)
- MITCHELL / VAN NUFFELEN 2010 S. MITCHELL / P. VAN NUFFELEN (eds.), *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2010)
- NORDEN 1913 E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte Religiöser Rede* (Leipzig 1913)
- OBERHELMAN 1981 S. M. OBERHELMAN, "The Interpretation of Prescriptive Dreams in Ancient Greek Medicine", *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 36 (1981) 416–424
- OHLEMUTZ 1940 E. OHLEMUTZ, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg 1940)
- OLIVER 1968 J. H. OLIVER, *The Civilizing Power. A study of the Panathenaic discourse of Aelius Aristides against the background of literature and cultural conflict*. TAPhS 58.1 (Philadelphia 1968) 1–223
- PATILLON 1997 M. PATILLON (ed.), *Aelius Thëon. Progymnasmata*. Collection des universités de France. Série grecque 364 (Paris 1997)
- PAUL / SCHLICH 1998 N. PAUL / Th. SCHLICH (eds.), *Medizingeschichte: Aufgaben, Probleme, Perspektiven* (Frankfurt/M. / New York 1998)
- PERNOT 1993 L. PERNOT, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*. 2 vols. Collection des études augustiniennes 137 / 138 (Paris 1993)
- PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS 2010 A. PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS, *Truly beyond wonders: Aelius Aristides and the cult of Asclepius*. Oxford studies in ancient culture and representation (Oxford 2010)
- RIGSBY 1996 K. RIGSBY, *Asylia: territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic world*. Hellenistic culture and society 22 (Berkeley / London 1996)
- ROSKAM / DE POURCQ / VAN DER STOCKT 2012 G. G. ROSKAM / M. DE POURCQ / L. VAN DER STOCKT (eds.), *The Lash of Ambition: Plutarch, Imperial Greek Literature and the Dynamics of Philotimia* (Louvain 2012)
- RUSSELL 1990 D. A. RUSSELL, "Aristides and the Prose Hymn", in: id. (ed.), *Antonine Literature* (Oxford 1990) 199–219
- RÜTTIMANN 1987 R. J. RÜTTIMANN, *Asclepius and Jesus. The Form, Character and Status of the Asclepius Cult in the Second-Century C.E. and its Significance in Early Christianity*. Diss. Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass 1987) 36–178
- SAÏD 2008 S. SAÏD, "Aristides' Uses of Myths", in: HARRIS / HOLMES 2008, 51–67
- SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN 2003 H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, *Die römische Gesellschaft bei Galen. Biographie und Sozialgeschichte*. UALG 65 (Berlin 2003)
- SCHWANDER 1990 E.-L. SCHWANDER, "Ein monumentaler dorischer Marmortempel in Pergamon", in: ANDREAE 1990a, 41–43
- VON STADEN 2003 H. VON STADEN, "Galen's daimon: reflections on 'irrational' and 'rational'", in: N. PALMIERI (ed.), *Rationnel et irrationnel dans la médecine ancienne et médiévale. Aspects historiques, scientifiques et culturels*. Centre Jean Palerne, Mémoires XXVI (Université de Saint-Etienne 2003)

- STEGER 2004 F. STEGER, *Asklepiosmedizin. Medizinischer Alltag in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin der Robert Bosch Stiftung, Beiheft 22 (Stuttgart 2004)
- STEGER 2005 F. STEGER, "Der Neue Asklepios Glykon", *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 40 (2005) 3–18
- STROCKA 2012 V. M. STROCKA, "Bauphasen des kaiserzeitlichen Asklepieions von Pergamon", *IM* 62 (2012) 199–287
- TECUSAN 2004 M. TECUSAN, *The Fragments of the Methodists. Methodism outside Soranus*, vol. 1: *Text and Translation*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 24,1 (Leiden 2004)
- TOTTI 1985 M. TOTTI, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion*. Subsidia epigraphica. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik 12 (Hildesheim 1985)
- VERSNEL 2011 H. S. VERSNEL, *Coping With the Gods. Wayward Readings in Greek Theology*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 173 (Leiden 2011)
- VEYNE 1991 P. VEYNE, *La Société romaine* (Paris 1991)
- WEINREICH 1969 O. WEINREICH, *Ausgewählte Schriften* 1, ed. by G. WILLE (Amsterdam 1969)
- WÖRRLE 2000 M. WÖRRLE, "Pergamon um 133 BC", *Chiron* 30 (2000) 543–574

4. List of Illustrations

- Figure 1 Schematic plan after *AvP* XI.1 and *AvP* XI.2
- Figure 2 Schematic plan after *AvP* XI.1
- Figure 3 After *AvP* XI.1 and *AvP* XI.2
- Figure 4 DAI Istanbul, Neg. PE-63-478_3315141

(The plans of the Asclepieum are intended as working sketches, for precise measurements and scale please refer to the *Altortümer von Pergamon* volumes.)

Source Index (selection)

Aelianus	2.5: 138	4.24: 139
<i>VH</i> 2: 60	2.5–6: 137	4.30: 139
Aeschines	2.7: 135	4.38: 137
<i>Or.</i> 2.147: 57	2.8: 137	4.50: 138, 142
Aeschylus	2.10: 135	4.51: 142
<i>Ag.</i> 1022–1024: 61	2.11–23: 138	4.53: 138f.
Alexander	2.18: 91, 138	4.64: 135
<i>Foundations of</i>	2.20: 140	4.70: 139
<i>Oratory</i>	2.21: 138	4.71–108: 142
4–6 Spengel 3:	2.24: 134	4.72: 141
23, 69	2.24–36: 135	4.87: 141
4 Spengel 3: 71	2.25: 135	4.88: 141
6 Spengel 3: 76	2.37: 141	4.95: 141
Ammianus Marcellinus	2.37–45: 141	4.101: 141
23.6.24: 141	2.39: 141	5.12: 142
Apollodorus	2.39–40: 141	5.48: 142
<i>Bibl.</i>	2.44: 141	6.1: 142
1.45: 62	2.47: 136	19.5: 62
2.167–177: 57	2.50: 136	23.16: 127
2.170: 56	2.51–53: 136	23.17: 60
<i>FGrHist</i> 244 F	2.54–56: 136	24.1: 6
354bis: 55	2.57: 140	24.3: 5f.
Aristides	2.60–62: 137	24.56: 4
<i>Or.</i>	2.62: 137	26.26: 4
1.2: 9	2.63: 138	26.95: 4
1.3: 133	2.63–64: 138	31.8: 58
1.4–5: 8	2.71: 133	32.39: 6
1.4–57: 133	2.71–80: 133	32.42: 6
1.10–13: 16	2.74: 136	33.19–21: 14, 62
1.16: 133	2.91: 142	33.27: 55
1.23: 134	2.429–437: 14, 62	33.27–29: 4
1.25: 8	2.462–466: 9	34.42–44: 14, 62
1.26: 8	3.1: 140	36.18: 4
1.30: 8	3.15–20: 140	36.34: 4
1.57: 137f.	3.21: 135	37.1: 63, 70
1.59: 139	3.21–37: 135	37.6: 75
1.60: 141	3.22: 135	37.8: 75
1.61–68: 139	3.23: 135	37.9: 71, 75
1.63: 139	3.30: 135	37.11: 75
1.66: 139	3.37: 140	37.13: 84
1.67: 139	3.39: 140	37.17: 75f.
1.69–77: 140	3.47–50: 140	37.18–22: 82
1.322–330: 9	3.481: 57	37.20: 71
2.2: 133	4.13: 142	37.23: 74
2.3: 141	4.14–19: 139	37.26: 71f., 84
2.4: 134	4.22: 134, 139	37.27: 74

37.28: 76	41.13: 81	46.36: 77
38.1: 25, 131	42.1: 132	46.38: 74
38.1–4: 25	42.1–3: 26	46.40: 79
38.4: 25	42.2: 68, 70	46.41: 77, 79
38.5–7: 25	42.3: 67, 70, 109	46.309: 87
38.6f.: 131	42.4: 26, 85, 109	47.23: 123
38.8–13: 25	42.5: 26, 132	47.59: 62
38.8–21: 25	42.5–11: 26	47.61–68: 62, 125
38.12–14: 25	42.6–11: 26	47.64: 12
38.14: 70	42.6–15: 16	47.66–67: 125
38.14–18: 25	42.8: 132	47.67–68: 125
38.17–18: 82	42.9: 70	47.73: 12, 110
38.19–21: 25	42.10: 85, 132	48.2: 6
38.21: 72, 82, 131	42.12: 76	48.7: 5, 123
38.22–24: 25	42.12–14: 26, 67	48.18: 61, 63
38.22–40: 25	42.12–15: 26	48.18–21: 123
38.23: 70	42.14–15: 26	48.19–22: 62
38.24: 76	42.15: 70	48.21: 123f.
39.1: 131f.	42.22: 76	48.27: 105
39.1–3: 26	43.8–9: 80	48.28: 111
39.2: 92	43.15: 76, 80	48.30: 110
39.3: 67, 70	43.22: 74	48.60–70: 5
39.4–6: 26	43.25: 81	48.70: 5
39.5: 76	43.25–26: 82	49.15: 126
39.5–6: 113	43.29–30: 87	49.44: 5
39.6: 107f., 112	44.18: 70	50.10–12: 62
39.7–11: 26	45.1: 73	50.14: 6
39.11: 76	45.1–4: 54	50.14–18: 12
39.12: 112	45.2: 74	50.14–20: 62
39.12–17: 26	45.9: 70	50.14–29: 6, 14
39.12f.: 132	45.14: 86	50.16: 111
39.14–15: 73	45.15: 87	50.16–18: 6
39.15: 112	45.16: 86	50.25: 12
39.15–16: 132	45.17–21: 86	50.25–31: 62
39.16–18: 26	45.20: 85	50.27: 126
39.18: 85	45.21: 84	50.30: 12
40.2: 75	45.22–23: 86	50.31: 12
40.3: 75f.	45.26: 76	50.38–42: 12
40.7–8: 74	45.27: 73	50.42: 110
40.8: 75	45.32: 86	50.43: 110
40.12: 72	45.33: 87	50.43–47: 12
40.13: 73	45.34: 70	50.44: 110
40.15: 73f.	46.3: 67	50.53–54: 3
40.18: 76	46.5–7: 76	50.58: 3
41.1: 63, 75	46.5–19: 71	50.70: 3
41.2: 74	46.9: 76, 82	50.78–79: 62
41.3: 76	46.14–15: 82	51.16: 62
41.4: 75, 84	46.16–20: 72	51.26–46: 6
41.5: 81	46.17: 75	51.29–41: 14, 62
41.7: 74	46.30: 74	51.56–66: 14
41.8: 74	46.33: 74	53.1–4: 26
41.10: 76	46.33–34: 77	53.3: 132
41.10–12: 82	46.35: 75, 78	53.5: 26

- Aristophanes
Nub. 1334: 61
- Aristotle
Ath. Pol. 55: 54
 fr. 637 Rose: 79
Rh. 1400b6–8: 78
- Arrian
Anab. 2.4.7: 60
- Artemidorus
 4.22: 120, 130
- Biblici Libri*
Novum Testamentum
 Mark
 8.23–25: 129
 John
 5.5–9: 129
 9.1–12: 129
 Acts
 3.1–9: 129
 14.8–13: 129
- Callimachus
Hymn to Delos
 28–45: 55
 160: 55
- Cleanthes
Hymn to Zeus
 4–5: 61
 34: 61
- Cornutus
Theol. 33.3: 57
- Corpus Hermeticum*
 IV, fr. XXIII 65–68
 Nock / Festugière:
 86
- Demosthenes
Or. 2.19: 59
- Digesta*
 27.1.6.2f.: 141
- Diodorus Siculus
 1.25.4: 87
 4.58.7: 56
 4.58.8: 56
 4.71: 61
- Euripides
Bacch.
 298–309: 84
 861: 81
Med. 9–11: 56
Tro. 884–888: 80
- Galen
De bonis mal. sucis
 1.15–20: 118
 1.19: 117
De cur. rat.
 17: 126
 23: 117, 119
De elem. sec. Hipp.
 1: 135
De praecogn.
 4.8: 123
De propr. plac.
 2: 116
De san. tuenda
 1.8.19–21: 110
 1.8.20: 115
 1.12.15: 126
 2.2.26: 124
 3.4.11–30: 123
 3.4.29: 124
 5.1.17: 117
 6.8.6: 124
 6.14–17: 119
 13.7: 123
De simpl. medicament. temp.
 12: 135
 13: 135
In Hipp. De artic. comm.
 1.61: 125
In Hipp. Epid. VI comm.
 1.16: 122
 4.8: 121
 4.10: 121
Libr. Propr.
 3.4–5: 116
Meth. med.
 1.1: 56
 3.7: 122
- Hermogenes
Prog. 6: 17
- Herodianus
On the declension of nouns 734.2–3 Lentz:
 54
Pros. cath. 35.11
 Lentz: 54
- Herodotus
 1.188: 60
 2.84: 56
- Hesiod
 3.1: 56
 3.129: 56
- Hesiod
Op. 336: 60
Theog. 411–452: 83
- Hippocrates
 [Ep.] 10: 57
- Homer
 II.
 2.56: 54
 2.87–90: 59
 2.653–657: 56
 2.729–732: 55
 2.751–754: 59
 2.755: 59
 4.200–202: 55
 4.279: 63
 4.455: 63
 5.629–659: 56
 8.1–27: 76
 8.18–27: 76
 9.223–642: 10
 9.359: 59
 11.504–507: 55
 16.641–663: 59
 18.373–377: 59
- Od.*
 2.227–232: 56
 4.561–568: 57
 6.13–41: 63
 6.139–140: 63
 6.229–235: 63
 7.14–17: 63
 7.19–79: 63
 7.91–94: 59
 7.140: 63
 9.83–104: 58
 19.547: 54
 20.90: 54
 23.233–238: 60
- Homeric Hymn to Apollo*
 1–125: 55
 42: 55
- Horace
Carm. 2.19.27: 81
- Iamblichus
Myst. 3.11: 60
- Inscriptions
CIL
 XIII 3636: 141
- IC
 I xvii 17–18: 62

- I xvii 24: 62
 IG
 II² 4514: 62
 IV² 1,121: 62
 IV² 1,124: 94,
 105
 IV² 1,126: 62,
 130
 IV² 1,128: 107
 IV 203.9: 78
 IV 928: 90
 XIV 966: 130
 IGRom
 IV 300: 100
 I. Smyrna
 639.1–3: 73
 LSCG suppl.
 22: 94, 105
 OGI
 709: 3
 764.6: 63
 SEG
 50.1211: 98
 SGO
 06/02/01: 63
 06/02/02: 80
 Isocrates
 Or. 10.34: 57
 Libanius
 Or.
 5.2–3: 68
 5.27: 85
 5.33: 85
 Lucian
 De domo
 1–4: 58
 18–19: 58
 Hermot. 60: 60
 Marcus Aurelius
 5.8: 130
 Martial
 5.48: 101
 9.16: 101
 9.17: 101
 9.36: 101
 Maximus of Tyre
 Diss.
 2.10a: 80
 11.5a–b: 82
 11.9c–d: 80
 Menander Rhetor
 Treatise
 I, 334.5–21
 Spengel 3: 24
 I, 344.1–4
 Spengel 3: 23
 I, 344.16–367.8
 Spengel 3: 25
 I, 349.10–11
 Spengel 3: 17
 I, 349.24–25
 Spengel 3: 17
 I, 350.9–10
 Spengel 3: 17
 II, 368.3–377.30
 Spengel 3: 25
 II, 437.6–27
 Spengel 3: 23
 Meropis
 SH 903A: 55
 Nicolaus
 Prog.
 6: 17
 8: 17
 Pausanias
 1.24.70: 60
 1.34.1–5: 57
 1.34.3: 57
 1.34.4: 60
 2.2.1: 78f.
 2.26.8–9: 58, 90, 107
 2.27.6–7: 107
 2.27.7: 107
 3.19.10: 56
 3.26.9–10: 55f.
 3.26.10: 56, 91, 104
 4.30.3: 56
 5.13.3: 91
 6.14.12: 55
 8.4.8–9: 103
 9.2.1: 60
 9.39.2–40.2: 57
 10.4.4: 62
 10.8.7: 71
 Philemon
 fr. 93 Kassel /
 Austin: 62
 Philostratus
 Her. 53.4: 79
 Imag. 2.16: 79
 VS
 1.25: 4
 2.9: 3, 7, 12f., 63,
 137
 Photius
 Bibl. codd. 246–248:
 17
 Pindar
 fr. 95–100 Snell /
 Maehler: 62
 Isthm. 6.31–32: 55
 Nem. 4.26: 55
 Ol.
 2.68–77: 57
 7.7: 59f.
 Pyth.
 3.24–46: 79
 3.26.9–10: 79
 3.54–58: 61
 Plato
 Grg.
 493a: 75
 518e–519a: 57
 Menex. 81a: 75
 Phdr.
 230b–c: 59
 237a: 24
 239b: 24
 246d: 61
 247c–e: 24
 257b: 54
 Plt. 272e: 61
 Resp.
 8.544c: 57
 514b: 59
 Soph. 235d: 59
 Symp.
 177d: 54
 178a–180b: 24
 180c–185c: 24
 194e–197e: 24
 214b: 58
 Ti.
 27c–92c: 24
 28c: 61
 41a: 61
 Pliny
 NH 2.232: 60
 Plutarch
 Ant. 24.4–5: 81
 Per. 13.3: 71
 Quaest. conv. 1.4: 58
 Thes. 25.5: 79
 Polybius
 16.1: 95

- Ps. Aristides
2.13.21: 75
- Quintilian
Inst. 3.7.7–9: 23, 69
- Schol. Pind. Ol.*
7.12a: 59
7.12e: 59
- Schol. Pind. Pyth.*
5.31: 54
9.16a: 54
- Statius
Silv. III: 101
Theb. 6.11: 79
- Suda*
N 518: 69
- Synesius
Dio 3C: 60
- Tacitus
Ann. 2.54: 60
- Theon
Prog.
2: 60
9: 25
- Theopompus
FGrHist
115 F 78: 60
- Tibullus
115 F 103: 56
- Tibullus
1.7: 87
- Tzetzes
Chil. 7.940–941: 56
- Virgil
Aen. 2.263: 55
- Xenophanes
21 A 13 DK: 77f.
- Zenobius
Paroem. 2.6: 59

General Index

- Abonoteichus: 132
Achilles: 10, 54f.
Aeacus: 54
Aegean Sea: 16, 22, 67
Aegospotami: 9
Aeschines: 17, 57
Aetolia: 57
Agathon: 24
Ageira: 97
Agesilaus: 90
Aigle: 57
Ajax: 10
Akeso: 57
Alcibiades: 58
Alcinous: 59
Alcmena: 75
Alexander of Cotiaeum: 4, 11, 16, 134
Alexander Peloplaton: 14
Alexander Rhetor: 23f., 26, 69, 71, 76
Alexander the Great: 60
Alexandria: 84, 86
allegory: 76
Allianoi: 137
Ambraciot gulf: 57
Amphiarauus: 57, 82
Amphilochian Argos: 57
Amphilochus: 57
Amymone: 78
Antalcidas: 90
Antinous: 69
Antisthenes: 104
Antoninus Pius: 3, 5, 16, 123, 134, 141
Antoninus Pythodorus: 107
Anytos: 97
Apellas: *see* Julius Apellas
Apollo: 12, 23, 54, 60, 63, 72, 74f., 77, 81f., 84f., 90f., 94f., 104f., 107
– Apollo Alexikakos: 72
– Apollo Maleatas: 107
apostrophe: 25f., 57
Archias: 58, 90f., 95, 107, 113
architecture: 97, 99, 109, 117
Ares: 74, 77, 82
Arethas: 18
Argonauts: 58
Aristaechmus: 58, 90
Aristides: 3–18, 20, 22–27, 54–63, 67–89, 91f., 98, 104f., 107, 109–113, 115, 123–127, 130–142
– Aristides’s illness: 6, 15, 115, 123, 126, 133, 136f., 139, 142
– Aristides’s religious experience: 13, 70, 89
– Aristides’s religious world: 81, 87
– Aristides’s theology: 71
– as orator: 4, 6, 11f., 67, 126, 141f.
– as sophist: 13f.
– lost works: 12f.
Aristocles: *see* Tiberius Claudius Aristocles
Arlenius, Arnoldus: 20
Artemis: 68, 81–83, 85, 94, 104f.
– Artemis Prothyraia: 94
Asclepiads: 56, 70, 72, 74, 81f., 110, 115
Asclepium: 5, 7, 12f., 55f., 58, 61, 72, 79, 85, 89–95, 97, 99–104, 107, 109–111, 113, 129, 132, 136f.
Asclepius: *see also* Zeus Asclepius, 3–6, 12, 14–16, 22, 26, 54, 56–63, 70, 72f., 75f., 79, 81–83, 85f., 89–101, 104–107, 109–113, 115–126, 129–142
– Asclepius Soter: 98, 108
– as healing god: 5, 116f., 133, 136, 140
– as saviour: 123, 142
– cult of: 55, 58, 61, 90, 104, 110, 115, 130–132
– myth of: 110
– sons of: 22, 57f.
Asia (Province of): 10, 141f.
Asia Minor: 3, 80, 107, 130, 140
astronomy: 117
Athamas: 77
Athena: 22, 63, 69, 71f., 74–76, 82, 84f., 104
– as power of Zeus: 76
– Athena Apotropaia: 72
– Athena Ergane: 71, 81, 84
– Athena Hygieia: 71, 82
– Athena Nike: 71
– Athena Parthenos: 97
– Athena Poliouchos: 71
– Athena Pronoia: 71, 84

- Athenaeus: 98
 Athens: 4, 8–10, 15f., 57, 94, 97, 104f.,
 109, 129
 Atlas: 74
 Attalus I: 99
 Attalus III: 98, 100
 Attica: 16, 55
 Auge: 103
 Augsburg: 20
 Avidius Cassius: 62

 banquets: 73, 81, 113
 Barnabas: 129
 Basel: 20
 Bassus: *see* Julius Quadratus Bassus
 Behr, Charles A.: 7, 18f., 21
 Bellerophon: 71
 Boeotia: 57, 60
 Bonino, Eufrosino: 20
 Bybassos: 56

 Cabiri: 63
 Caesarea: 18
 Callimachus: 15, 73
 Camirus: 56
 Canter, Willem: 20
 Caria: 56, 130
 Cecrops: 55
 Centaur: 54, 95
 Cerberus: 74
 Charites: 82
 Cheiron: 54
 Chios: 57
 Choaspes: 26, 60
 Christians: 87
 Chronos: 80
 Cilicia: 57, 60
 Cimon: 9
 Claros: 60
 Claudius Charax: 105, 110
 Cnidus: 4, 56
 Coans: 55, 73f.
 Colchis: 56, 58
 Commodus: 3, 62
 Corinth: 56, 74, 79, 92, 129
 Coronis: 12, 79, 110
 Corsica: 56
 Corybantes: 63
 Cos: 4, 55f., 99, 115
 Crete: 80
 cult: 63, 69, 72f., 77, 81, 84, 86f., 91–95,
 100, 106–108, 110f., 113, 130
 – cult place: 89, 104, 108f.
 – Epidaurian cult: 91
 – Greek cult: 86
 – healing cult: 56, 91, 117, 129
 – hero cult: 103
 – imperial cult: 109, 141
 – mystery cult: 63
 – oracular cult: 57
 – Pergamene cult: 107
 – religious cult: 24, 26
 – traditional cult: 86, 100
 Cybele: 104
 Cydnus: 60
 Cynegirus: 15
 Cynouria: 104
 Cyrene: 54
 Cyzicus: 6, 62, 142

daimon: 87, 120f.
 Danaids: 59
 declamation: 5, 8, 12f.
 – historical declamation: 8f., 12f.
 – mythological declamation: 8f.
 Delos: 60, 82
 Delphi: 60, 77, 84
 Demeter: 91, 94, 97, 104
 demiurge: 80, 116
 Demosthenes: 13, 17, 104
 Despoina: 97
 diet: 118, 132, 135
 Dindorf, Wilhelm: 20
 Dio Chrysostom: 7, 10, 14–16, 60
 Diomedes: 55
 Dionysus: 22, 69, 73–77, 81–84
 Diophantus of Sphettus: 62
 Dioscuri: 25, 58, 82, 116
 divination: 84, 113
 Domitian: 101
 dream: 14, 54, 61–63, 67f., 89, 104, 110,
 116f., 119–121, 123, 126, 129–131,
 133–135, 137–139, 141
 – dream interpretation: 112
 – healing dream: 6, 115, 120, 124, 135

 Egypt: 4f., 84, 86f.
 Egyptians: 78
 Eileithyia: 85
 Elaia: 136
 Eleusis: 10
 eloquence: 9, 68
 Elpidius Domitius: 101
 Elysian Fields: 57
 encomium: 11, 13, 16, 24–26, 58, 68f., 86
 Ephesians: 83

- Ephesus: 6, 10, 14, 140, 142
 Epidaurians: 90, 107
 Epidaurus: 58, 72, 90, 92–95, 105, 107,
 110, 113, 129
 Epione: 57
 Erichthonius: 71
 Eros: 68
 Erythrai: 72
 Eryximachus: 58
 Eteoneus: 11, 16
 Eudaemon: 3
 Eumenes I: 91, 95
 Eumenes II: 91, 96–99, 101
 Euripides: 104
 Eurymedon: 60
 Eurypylos: 55, 79
 Eurystheus: 57
- Faustina: 63
 Flavia Melitine: 111
 Flavius Asclepius: 135
 Flavius Earinus: 101
 Flavius Fimbria: 100
 Florence: 20
 Fronto: 130
- Gadeira: 72
 Galatians: 98
 Galen: 13, 115–127
 Ge: 94, 105
 Germans: 116
 Giants: 71, 75
 Giunta, Filippo: 20
 gods: 22f., 25, 57f., 61–63, 67–70, 72,
 74–78, 80–88, 104, 109, 116, 120, 134,
 141
 – Egyptian gods: 86
 – Greek gods: 84f.
 – healing gods: 93
 Gorgasus: 56
 Greece: 115
 Greeks: 54f., 69, 74, 87, 90, 127, 141
- Hades: 71, 74
 Hadrian: 3f., 69, 89, 101, 109
 Hadriani: 4
 Hadriania: 4
 Hadrian of Tyre: 13
 Hadrianutherai: 4
 healing cult: *see* cult
 healing dream: *see* dream
 healing ritual: *see* ritual
- health: 5, 14, 57, 60, 76, 86, 89, 98, 112,
 117f., 120, 124, 130, 132, 136, 138f.,
 142
 Hecate: 12, 83, 85, 104
 Hellenism: 8
 henotheism: *see also* monotheism, 81–88
 – kathenotheism: 83
 Hephaestus: 59, 74, 77, 82
 Hera: 55, 74, 76f., 81
 Heracleion: 73
 Heracleon: 140
 Heracles: 22, 55–57, 72–76, 81, 98, 100
 – Heracles Alexikakos: 72
 – Stoic-Cynic Heracles: 76
 Heraclids: 56f., 82
 Hermes: 82
 Herodes Atticus: 4, 14, 17, 104
 Herodotus: 56, 71, 75
 Hesiod: 60, 71, 84
 Hippocrates: 56, 115, 121
 Hippolochus: 56
 Homer: 10, 56, 59, 71, 74–76
 Hygieia: 57, 61, 91f., 95, 99, 107, 135
 hymn: 8, 16, 18, 21–26, 54, 58, 67, 72, 74,
 79, 82–84, 86, 88, 104, 113, 131f.
 – choral hymn: 68
 – elegiac hymn: 81
 – hymn to gods: 11
 – prose hymn: 4, 8, 11, 16, 22–24, 67–69,
 81, 86, 131f.
 – prose hymn as Paradestück: 69
 – prose hymn as religious action: 67
 – religious hymn: 110
 – verse hymn: 25, 57
- Iacchus: 82
 Ialysus: 56
 Iaso: 57
 illness: 116–118, 122, 124, 127, 131, 137f.
 incubation: 62, 92f., 95, 99, 105, 112f.,
 115, 129, 133f.
 – incubation building: 58, 92f., 99, 112
 – incubation hall: 94, 98, 100, 105f., 108,
 111f.
 Ino: 11, 77f.
 Iolcus: 56
 Isis: 68f., 83, 86f.
 Isocrates: 8, 17, 20, 24, 57
 Isthmus: 11, 73, 77f.
 Italy: 136
 Iuventianus: *see* Licinius Priscus
 Iuventianus

- Jason: 56
 Jebb, Samuel: 20
 Jews: 87
 John (apostle): 129
 John the Calligrapher: 18
 Julian: 61
 Julius Apellas (C.): 11
 Julius Apellas (M.): 62, 130
 Julius Quadratus Bassus: 142
 Julius Severus: 141
- Keil, Bruno: 7, 21
 Kronos: 75, 80
- language: 24, 57, 81
 – cult language: 24, 26
 – prayer language: 70
 – religious language: 70, 83
- Lebena: 92
 Lemnos: 55
 Lenz, Friedrich: 21
 Lesbos: 140
 Leto: 82, 104
 Letoids: 82
 Leucas: 75
 Leucothea: 73f., 77–79
 Leuctra: 10
 Libanius: 12, 17, 68, 71, 82, 85
 Libya: 54
 Licinius Priscus Iuventianus: 78
 Lindus: 56
 Lotophagi: 58
 Lucian of Samosata: 16, 132
 Lucius: 61, 83
 Lucius Verus: 3f., 141
 Lycomedes: 55
 Lycosoura: 97
- Macedonia: 136
 Machaon: 55–58, 79f.
 Magnesia: 97
 Mallus: 57
 Manutius, Aldus: 20
 Marathon: 104
 Marcus Antonius Polemo: *see* Polemo
 Marcus Aurelius: 3f., 62f., 79, 116, 120,
 123, 130, 141
 mathematics: 117
 Maximus of Tyre: 7, 87
 Medea: 56
 medicine: 23, 119, 123, 129–132, 135, 138
 – Asclepian medicine: 115, 127, 130–132,
 135
 – Egyptian medicine: 56
 – medical history: 13, 131f.
 – medical practice: 120, 129, 132
 – Methodist school of medicine: 122
 – scientific medicine: 121
 – temple medicine: 121, 126
 Melicertes: 11, 77, 79, 81
 Menander Rhetor: 17, 22f., 27, 68f.
 Menelaus: 57
 Merops: 55
 Merops: 55
 Mesopotamia: 60
 Messene: 72, 110
 Messenia: 56
 Methodists: 122
 Miltiades: 9
 miracle: 72f., 89, 123–125, 130, 136
 – Christian miracle: 129
 – healing miracle: 122f., 129
 Mnemosyne: 94
 monotheism: *see also* henotheism, 82f.
 Musaeus: 74
 Muses: 24, 54, 59, 82
 Mylasa: 62, 130
 Mysia: 3
 mysteries: 14, 63, 73
 – Dionysiac mysteries: 81
 myth: 55f., 71f., 74–80, 85, 88
 mythology: 61, 71, 85
 – mythological tradition: 71f., 74–76
 Mytilene: 140
- Nausicaa: 63
 Nemesis: 104
 Neritus: 126
 Nero: 122
 Nicias: 9
 Nicomachus: 56
 Nile: 11, 60, 86
 Numenius: 69
 Nummius Primus: 101
 Nymphs: 82, 104
 Nysa on the Meander: 107
- Odysseus: 10, 54f., 58–60, 63
 Oechalia: 55
 Oliver, James H.: 21
 Olympiodorus: 17
 Oporinus, Johannes: 20
 oracle: 55, 57, 63, 73, 137, 140
 oratory: 6, 8f., 11f., 14, 16f., 22, 24, 61f.,
 109, 127, 139
 – prose oratory: 22

- sacred oratory: 15f., 61, 67
- Orestes: 71, 75
- Orpheus: 74
- Osiris: 78, 86
- Oxford: 20

- Pactumeius Rufinus: 61, 111
- Padua: 20
- paideia*: 71
- Palaemon: 73, 77–79
- Palestine: 87
- Pamphylia: 60
- Pan: 12, 24
- Panacea: 57
- Panopeus: 62
- Pans: 82
- Pardalas: 127
- Paris: 20
- Paros: 101
- Paul (apostle): 129
- Pausanias: 24, 63, 73, 79, 90, 104, 107
- Peleus: 54
- Pelias: 56
- Peloponnese: 57
- Peloponnesian War: 9
- Penelope: 54, 60
- Peneus: 26, 59f.
- Pergamum: 3–7, 10, 55, 58, 60f., 63, 67, 72f., 79–81, 89–91, 93–95, 97, 99f., 102–108, 111, 115, 119, 121, 129f., 132–140, 142
- Pericles: 9, 17
- Persians: 60, 90
- Peter (apostle): 129
- Phaeacian: 63
- Phaedrus: 24
- philanthropia*: 23, 58, 76, 82
- Phileteros: 91
- Philip II of Macedon: 10
- Philip V of Macedon: 95
- Philoctetes: 55
- philosophy: 9, 88
- Philostratus: 7, 12–14, 17, 62f., 79, 137
- Phlegraean fields: 75
- Phoenix: 10
- Photius: 16f.
- Phrygia: 134
- Phrynichus: 16, 111
- Phyromachus: 96f., 100
- Pindar: 60, 71, 75f., 79
- Plato: 9, 23f., 26, 57f., 76, 85, 121
- Platonists: 17
- Plouton: 74

- Podalirius: 55–58, 80
- Poeas: 55
- poets: 74f.
- Polemo: 4, 13–15, 17, 104
- Pollio: 141
- Polybius: 95
- Polyphemus: 59
- polytheism: 81–84
- Porphyry: 142
- Porphyry: 17
- Poseidon: 11, 22, 67f., 71–74, 76, 78, 81f., 85, 87
- prayer: 24, 67, 99, 133
- Prometheus: 62, 74, 76
- prophecy: 137
- providence: 125, 139
- Prusias II of Bithynia: 96, 98, 100
- Publius Aelius Theon: 130
- Publius Granius Rufus: 62
- Pylos: 9
- Pythodorus: *see* Antoninus Pythodorus

- Quintilian: 23f., 26, 69

- Reiske, Johann Jakob: 20
- religion: 8, 132
 - Greek religion: 87
 - personal religion: 88
 - philosophical religion: 76
 - religious history: 109
 - religious tradition: 108
 - religious world: 88
 - traditional religion: 68, 70, 80f.
- revelation: 104, 120
- Rhea: 71
- rhetoric: 5, 60, 83f., 86, 126
 - rhetorical culture: 68
 - rhetorical education: 4
- Rhodes: 4, 10, 56, 130
- ritual: 79, 89–95, 99, 104–109, 111f.
 - Asclepian ritual: 94, 104f., 113
 - healing ritual: 91–93, 99f.
- Romans: 8, 101
- Rome: 5–8, 12, 15f., 62, 89, 101, 108, 122f., 134–138

- sacrifice: 60, 68, 70, 78, 92–94, 105, 107, 113, 141
- Samothrace: 63
- Sarapis: 4, 16, 22, 61, 68–70, 73, 81, 84–88, 138
- Sarpedon: 56
- science: 9, 120

- Scopelian: 13f.
 sculpture: 95, 97, 103f.
 Scyrus: 55
 Second Sophistic: 103, 111
 Selene: 85
 Sempronius: 101
 Servilius Isauricus: 100
 Severus: *see* Julius Severus
 Sicily: 9, 72
 Smyrna: 3–6, 10f., 14, 16, 62f., 72f.,
 86–88, 123, 135f., 138–141
 Socrates: 104
 Sopater: 17
 sophists: 14, 24
 Sparta: 9f.
 Spartans: 90
 Stephanus, Paulus: 20
 Stoics: 121
 Styx: 59
 Syracuse: 96
 Syrna/Syrnos: 56

 Tarsus: 60
 Teiresias: 84
 Telephus: 79, 90f., 103f.
 Telesphorus: 91, 126, 135
 Teuthrania: 55
 Thebes: 10
 Themis: 105
 Themistocles: 9, 17
 Theodore Metochites: 17
 Theodorus: 138f.
 Theodotus: 137
 Theon: *see* Publius Aelius Theon
 Theopompus: 56, 60
 Theseus: 74
 Thessalonica: 116
 Thessalos: 122
 Thessaly: 56, 60
 Thetis: 55
 Thracia: 136

 Thucydides: 9
 Tiberius Claudius Aristocles: 4
 Tigris: 60
 Titans: 71, 75
 Titaresius: 59
 Tlepolemus: 56
 Trajan: 63, 109
 Tricca: 54
 Trier: 141
 Triopas: 55
 Troad: 3
 Trojans: 55
 Trojan War: 54–56
 Trophonius: 57, 82
 Troy: 15, 55f., 58, 76
 Tyche: 94, 135
 Tyro: 78

 vision: 6, 104, 124, 126
 – dream vision: 5, 22, 25, 63, 133

 water: 26, 57–60, 63, 70, 76, 85, 90, 92, 95,
 99, 104, 106f., 111–113, 123f., 132f.,
 136, 138
 – healing water: 111
 – sacred water: 107

 Xenophanes: 76f.
 Xenophon: 104

 Zeus: 22, 54, 61, 63, 69, 71f., 74–76,
 80–83, 85, 97, 104
 – Zeus Apotropaeus: 94
 – Zeus Asclepius: 61, 84f., 108, 111
 – Zeus Dionysus: 85
 – Zeus Katharsios: 72
 – Zeus Meilichius: 94
 – Zeus Philios: 63
 – Zeus Sarapis: 83, 85f.
 – Zeus Sosipolis: 97
 Zosimus: 139f.

About the Authors of this Volume

Christian Brockmann is professor of Classical Philology (Greek Studies) at the University of Hamburg. His fields of research are Greek manuscripts, paleography, text-editions; Greek drama (Aristophanes); Plato; Aristotle; ancient medicine (Hippocrates, Galen).

Select publications: *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Platons Symposion* (Wiesbaden 1992); *Aristophanes und die Freiheit der Komödie. Untersuchungen zu den frühen Stücken unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Acharner* (München / Leipzig 2003); "Manuskriptanalyse und Edition II. Weitere Beispiele aus Galens Kommentar zu Hippokrates, De articulis", in: L. PERILLI / Ch. BROCKMANN / K.-D. FISCHER / A. ROSELLI (eds.), *Officina Hippocratica. Beiträge zu Ehren von A. Anastassiou und D. Irmer*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 289 (Berlin 2011) 329–343 (Abb. 1–4); "Scribal annotation as evidence of learning in manuscripts from the First Byzantine Humanism: the 'Philosophical Collection'", in: J. B. QUENZER / D. BONDAREV / J. U. SOBISCH (eds.), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1 (Berlin 2014) 11–33 (Fig. 1–10).

Milena Melfi is a Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology (New College) at the University of Oxford and a curator of casts of Greek and Roman sculptures at the Ashmolean Museum. She has been a fellow of the Center for Hellenic Studies (Harvard), of the British and Italian Archaeological Schools in Athens and of the American Academy in Rome. She worked on surveys and excavations in Greece, Sicily, and Albania and specializes in the archaeology of ancient religion.

Select publications: *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia. I* (Rome 2007); *Il Santuario di Asclepio a Lebena* (Athens 2007); "Rebuilding the myth of Asklepios in 2nd century Epidauros", in: A. RIZAKIS / C. LEPENIOTI (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III. Studies on political, economic and socio-cultural history* (Athens 2010) 329–339; "Religion and communication in the sanctuaries of Early-Roman Greece: Epidauros and Athens", in: M. GALLI (ed.), *Religion as communication system: networks and rituals in the traditional Greek sanctuaries of the Roman period* (Athens 2013) 143–158; "Religion and Society in Early Roman Corinth: a forgotten hoard from the Sanctuary of Asklepios", *Hesperia* 83.4 (2014) 747–776; (together with O. Bobou) *Hellenistic Sanctuaries Between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2016).

Heinz-Günther Nesselrath holds the chair of Classical Philology (Greek Studies) at Georg August University Göttingen. His main fields of research are Attic Comedy, the Second Sophistic (primarily Lucian) and Greek Literature of Late Antiquity.

Select publications (only monographs, commentaries and translations): *Lukians Paratendialog. Untersuchungen und Kommentar* (Berlin / New York 1985); *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin / New York 1990); *Platon und die Erfindung von Atlantis* (Leipzig / München 2002); *Platon. Kritias. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Göttingen 2006); *Libanios. Zeuge einer schwindenden Welt* (Stuttgart 2012); *Iulianus Augustus. Opera* (Berlin / Boston 2015).

Robert Parker was Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford from 1996 to 2016.

Select publications: *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983); *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford 1996); *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford 2005); *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca 2011).

Donald Andrew Russell was a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1948 to 1988, when he became an emeritus fellow. From 1952 to 1978, he served the University of Oxford as university lecturer in classical literature, becoming a reader (i.e. senior lecturer) in 1978 and a professor of classical literature in 1985. In 1971, he became a Fellow of the British Academy. He also was a visiting professor at the University of North Carolina in 1985 and a visiting professor at Stanford University, California, in 1989 and 1991.

Select publications (only monographs, commentaries and translations): *Longinus. On the Sublime* (Oxford 1964); *Plutarch* (London 1972); *Criticism in Antiquity* (Berkeley et al. 1981); *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983); *Anthology of Latin Prose* (Oxford 1990); *Anthology of Greek Prose* (Oxford 1991); *Dio Chrysostom. Orations 7, 12, 36* (Cambridge 1992); *Plutarch. Selected Essays and Dialogues* (Oxford 1993); *Libanius. Imaginary Speeches* (London 1996); *Quintilian. The orator's education*, 5 volumes (Cambridge, Mass 2001); (together with D. Konstan) *Heraclitus. Homeric Problems* (Atlanta 2005); (together with R. Hunter) *Plutarch. How to Study Poetry* (Cambridge 2011); (together with J. Dillon and S. Gertz) *Aeneas of Gaza. Theophrastus, with Zacharias of Mytilene. Ammonius* (London 2012).

Florian Steger holds the chair of History, Theory and Ethics of Medicine at Ulm University and is director of the same-named institute. From 2011 to 2016 he held the chair of History and Ethics of Medicine at the Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg. His main research fields are ancient medicine, the field of medicine and arts (esp. literature), injustice in medicine in totalitarian states and bioethics.

Select publications: *Asklepiosmedizin. Medizinischer Alltag in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2004); *Das Erbe des Hippokrates. Medizinethische Konflikte und ihre Wurzeln* (Göttingen 2008); (together with B. von Jagow) *Was treibt die Literatur zur Medizin? Ein kulturwissenschaftlicher Dialog* (Göttingen 2009); *Prägende Persönlichkeiten in Psychiatrie und Psychotherapie* (Berlin 2014); (together with M. Schochow) *Traumatisierung durch politisierte Medizin. Geschlossene Venerologische Stationen in der DDR* (Berlin 2015); *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult* (Stuttgart 2016).

Michael Trapp is Professor of Greek Literature and Thought at King's College London. His main fields of research are Greek prose writing of the Roman imperial period, the place of philosophy in the culture and society of the same era, the reception and use of the figure of Socrates from antiquity to the present day, and classical presences in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. He has just completed the first volume of a new Loeb Classical Library edition of the works of Aelius Aristides.

Select publications: *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes* (Stuttgart / Leipzig 1994); *Maximus of Tyre. The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford 1997); *Greek and Latin Letters. An Anthology* (Cambridge 2003); *Philosophy in the Roman Empire: Ethics, Politics and Society* (Aldershot 2007); *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot 2007, edited volume); *Socrates in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot 2007, edited volume).