

The Perception of the Sanctuary of Epidaurus

By Karen Englander

Student #1301851

2017

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name....Karen Englander.....

Date ...December 19, 2017.....

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Ancient History.....

Name...Karen Englander.....

Date ...December 19, 2017.....

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name...Karen Englander.....

Date: ...December 19, 2017.....

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter- library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository

Name...Karen Englander.....

Date.....December 19, 2017.....

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Signed: Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen, PhD.

Date: 19 December 2017

Contents

1. Introduction

2. Asclepius in Myths

- Ancient sources of known myths

3. The Geography and Architecture of Epidaurus

- The geographic significance of Epidaurus
- Archaeological excavations
- Early worship
- Buildings

4. The Healing Power of the Theatre

- The bond between theatre and medicine
- Aristophanes' *Plutus*
- The use of theatre and drama

5. The Perception of Epidaurus by Means of Ancient Authors

- Aelian
- Isyllus
- Pindar

6. Medicine and Religion

- Epidaurian iamata, the miracle inscriptions
- Aristophanes' *Plutus* and Hippocratic medicine
- Snakes and dogs

7. Conclusion

Abstract

Epidaurus was a location where religion and medicine crossed paths, and where people would go for the treatment of many illnesses, both mental and physical. The power of belief played a large role in the treatments of these illnesses, but in Epidaurus, they were also mixing that belief with medicinal practices. This paper examines the perception of the Sanctuary of Epidaurus and the place that it occupied in Ancient Greek society, by specifically focussing on exploring firstly the metamorphosis of the myth of Asclepius and how his ties to the Sanctuary of Epidaurus came to be. Here the focus will be on the extant ancient texts left to us from authors such as Pindar, Ovid, Pausanias, and Theodoret, just to name a few. The variations in the myths will be consulted. Secondly, the geography and architecture of the site will be discussed in order to understand how the Ancient Greek people used the site to their advantage. The geography of the site allowed the Epidaurian Sanctuary to remain relatively sheltered yet able to develop its own identity in terms of social, cultural, and medical practices. Thirdly, the healing power of the theatre is considered in order to help understand its presence at the site and how it was used within the practice of mental and physical healing provided to the suppliants. The concept of a bond between theatre and medicine was a concept constructed at sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius, and as such Aristophanes' *Plutus* will be examined within this section. Fourthly, the ties between medicine and religion are delved into to demonstrate how they cannot be treated as two individual entities at healing sanctuaries and that there was a place for both at once. This will include examples left behind demonstrating how Asclepius used both to his advantage.

Introduction

The Sanctuary of Epidauros was a long standing and highly important place of healing in ancient Greek antiquity. The sanctuary grew from a simple Bronze Age Mycenaean settlement where remains of a small buildings and human occupation artefacts have been found, to a large scale building project in the third century BCE with a grand theatre. The sanctuary remained in use until the third century CE, proving to be one of the most long lasting locations. The religion of the site began with a hero named Maleatas, with whom Apollo was slowly incorporated, and then Apollo's mortal son Asclepius eventually became the prominent deity of healing for this sanctuary and many others throughout the ancient world. The worship of Asclepius eventually spread throughout Greek antiquity, and there were many sites that set up healing sanctuaries to take advantage of this dispersal: which thereby resulted in the social reputation of the site growing. This led to the Epidauros location having become one of the most influential locations within Greek Antiquity for people to have gone and had their illnesses miraculously healed.

This paper examines the perception of the Sanctuary of Epidauros and the place that it occupied in Ancient Greek society, by specifically focussing on exploring firstly the metamorphosis of the myth of Asclepius and how his ties to the Sanctuary of Epidauros came to be. Secondly, the geography and architecture of the site will be discussed in order to understand how the Ancient Greek people used the site to their advantage. Thirdly, the healing power of the theatre is considered in order to help appreciate its presence at the site and how it was used within the mental and physical healing provided to the patients. Fourthly, the ties between medicine and religion are delved into to demonstrate how they

cannot be treated as two individual entities at the Sanctuary. Both the mental and physical sides of people must be treated in order for patients to truly be well and healed. Medicine and religion are two aspects of culture that are largely separate from each other in modern times, but for the people of Ancient Greece the two were not separate entities: there was a place for both to be utilized in the healing practices.

Asclepius in Myths

The first references made to Asclepius show him as a mortal hero, not yet a god, and these references are found within the epic tale of the *Iliad*, Book II, lines 729-733, Book IV, lines 194-219, and Book XI, lines 510-519. He was mentioned as the father of two sons Machaon and Podaleirios who led troops from the area of northern Greece, in Trikkala (modern Trikkala)¹ and were renowned for their healing abilities. They went around where the Greeks were fighting Troy to heal difficult battle wounds and they were revered for their work. Asclepius took a bit of a backseat role in these references as the information focused more on his sons. He was still mentioned as the one who passed on the crucial knowledge needed to heal the mortal wounds though, so instead of being the acting practitioner he was alternatively viewed as the source of the healing knowledge that had been passed to him from Apollo. What these references demonstrate is that Asclepius was already known from at least the second half of the eighth century BCE,² well before the beginning of activity can be seen at Epidaurus and its famed Sanctuary of Asclepius.

¹ Hartigan, 2009:19.

² Panagiotidou, 2016:3.

There are many ancient sources which have left us accounts of the birth of Asclepius, the Greek god of healing who in Greek antiquity was the son of the god Apollo and a mortal woman. Some of the known works are: Pindar in the fifth century BCE in his work *Pythian III*, in the first century CE was Ovid in his work *Metamorphoses II*, in the first or second century CE was the work *Bibliotheca III* which is attributed to Pseudo-Apollodorus (originally attributed to Apollodorus, but that is now commonly known as false hence the addition of pseudo to his name), Diodorus Siculus in the first century CE in his work *Bibliotheca Historica IV*, Cornutus in the first century CE in his work *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, Pausanias in the second century CE in his work *Descriptio Graeciae II*, Lactantius in the fourth century CE in his work *Divinae Institutiones*, Cyrillus in the fifth century CE in his work *Contra Julianum VI*, and Theodoret in the fifth century CE in his *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio VIII*. As one can see there was a large number of writers who passed on the birth myth of Asclepius over the centuries, and as can be expected when a tale gets passed down through that many generations, there were slight variations that occurred in the ‘basic facts’ of the story. While a few of the accounts said that Asclepius’ mother was Arsinoë, the daughter of the Messenian Leucippus, the majority of these accounts from sources such as Pindar’s *Pythian III* and the second book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, pronounced Coronis, the daughter of King Phlegyas, as the mortal woman.³ Apollodorus in the section of his work *Bibliotheca III.10.3* tackled the confusion in the very beginning lines with the following:

πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Ἀρσινόην ἐγέννησε. ταύτῃ μίγνυται Ἀπόλλων, ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν γεννᾷ. τινὲς δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν οὐκ ἐξ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου λέγουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

³ Tomlinson, 1983:13.

Besides them [Hilaira and Phoebe, daughters of Leucippus] Leucippus begat Arsinoë: with her Apollo had intercourse, and she bore Aesculapius. But some affirm that Aesculapius was not a son of Arsinoë, daughter of Leucippus, but that he was a son of Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas in Thessaly.

By the time Apollodorus' work was written in the first or second century CE, other versions of the birth myth had been circulating. Unfortunately he did not tell his readers who was affirming that Asclepius was the son of Arsinoë, but rather just stated that there were two tenets of belief: one believed that Asclepius was the son of Coronis, while the other tenet of belief was still of the opinion that Arsinoë was his mother. Apollodorus' work held sway for quite some time as Theodoret in the fifth century CE, which was three or four hundred years later, wrote about Apollodorus in his *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio VIII*. Here one can see the common practice of referencing older writers, the intertextuality, and the passing on of knowledge through a written source, because Theodoret wrote about Apollodorus who wrote about Asclepius having been the son of Arsinoë:

Καί τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος κατὰ μὲν τινὰς Ἀρσινόης εἶναι υἱόν, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους Κορωνίδος

And about Asclepius Apollodorus says that according to some authorities he was the son of Arsinoë, according to others, of Coronis⁴

Even by the fifth century CE whosoever had birthed Asclepius was still in some debate, albeit this may have been because the birth of Asclepius was becoming a much more distant aspect of the past. The further away writers got from the birth of a myth, the more unlikely it was to come across the resources required in order to verify it (if they even could), instead they would have had to rely on second hand accounts and hope that

⁴ Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio VIII*.

the information was as accurate as possible. One also has to keep in mind that it was not as simple as tracking one single story line, rather various regions would have adjusted the inception of the myth to suit and validate their religious and medical requirements. This permitted the myth of Asclepius to take on the geographical qualities that each region needed and to be somewhat flexible throughout various ancient healing sanctuaries. Pausanias in the second century CE, in his work *Descriptio Graeciae II*, briefly discussed versions of the myth that he was aware of and tried to clear the air a bit on why the Arsinoë myth was not to be believed:

ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν λόγων ἥκιστα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀληθὴς ἐστίν, Ἀρσινόης ποιήσασθαι τῆς Λευκίππου παῖδα Ἀσκληπιόν. Ἀπολλοφάνει γὰρ τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐλθόντι καὶ ἐρομένῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰ γένοιτο ἐξ Ἀρσινόης Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολίτης εἶη, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία: “ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστῶν Ἀσκληπιὲ πᾶσιν, ὃν Φλεγυῆς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνίς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ. ” οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσίοδον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ἔπη συνθέντα ἐστὴν Μεσσηνίων χάριν.⁵

The third account is, in my opinion, the farthest from the truth, making Asclepius to be the son of Arsinoë, the daughter of Leucippus. For when Apolophanes, the Arcadian, came to Delphi and asked the god if Asclepius was the son of Arsinoë and therefore a citizen of Messene, the Pythian priestess gave this response: “O Asclepius, born to bestow great joy upon all mortals, whom the daughter of Phlegyas, lovely Coronis, bore, united with me in love, in rugged land, Epidaurus.” This oracle makes it quite clear that Asclepius was not a son of Arsinoë, and that the story was a fiction invented by Hesiod, or by one of Hesiod’s interpolators, just to please the Messenians.⁶

Pausanias mentioned three accounts that he was aware of: the first being that Phlegyas came to the region supposedly to see the land, brought his daughter along who was pregnant by Apollo, she had her baby Asclepius in the Epidaurian region, then

⁵ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae II*.26.7.

⁶ Edelstein 1945:26.

exposed him on a mountain side called Nipple, the child was given milk by a goat on the mountain, he was later adopted by Aresthanas who saw lightening flash from the child and thinking that he was divine, he left him there, where he later grew up to heal the sick and raise the dead.⁷ Here one can see the custom of the birth of heroes whose mortal mothers were impregnated by a god, thereby making them half mortal and half immortal. The exposure of a child by a parent was also a common practice with many social and economic reasons for not being able or wanting to raise the child. Not all children died from this practice though, some were picked up by others to raise or use as slaves. In this version of the myth Phlegyas' daughter leaves Asclepius on a mountain side named Nipple where he was fed milk from a goat. The use of a mountain named Nipple makes one think that she was leaving him in a nourishing place rather than a barren one, as a mother's nipple was the food source for a child, therefore so too would the mountain have provided food, and he was still fed milk, it just so happened that it came from a goat instead of his mother. The use of the imagery of the lightning flashing from this child was an interesting choice that provided a divine link to his birth myth, and it also brings to mind the presence of Zeus, the King of the Gods, god of the sky, weather, destiny, and fate, and was usually depicted with a lightning bolt, along with a royal sceptre and an

⁷ Pausanias *Descriptio Graeciae* II.26.3-5. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μάλιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῷδε. Φλεγύαν Ἐπιδαύριοί φασιν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον πρόφασιν μὲν ἐπὶ θεᾷ τῆς χώρας, ἔργῳ δὲ κατάσκοπον πλήθους τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ εἰ τὸ πολὺ μάχιμονεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἦν γὰρ δὴ Φλεγύας πολεμικώτατος τῶν τότε καὶ ἐπιωνέκαστοτε ἐφ' οὓς τύχοι τοὺς καρποὺς ἔφερε καὶ ἤλαυνε τὴν λείαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεγένετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον, εἵπετο ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, λεληθυῖα ἔτιτὸν πατέρα ὅτι ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος εἶχεν ἐν γαστρί. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐπιδαυρίῳν ἔτεκεν, ἐκτίθησι τὸν παῖδα ἐς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ὃ δὴ Τίτθιον ὀνομάζουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τῆνικαὶ δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Μύρτιον· ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μὲν οἱ γάλα μιάτων περὶ τὸ ὄρος ποιμαίνοντων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός. Ἀρεσθάνας δὲ ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ ποιμένι τοῦτο ἦν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ εὗρισκεν ὁμολογοῦντα τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ ὁ κύων ἅμα ἀπεστάτει τῆς ποιμνῆς, οὕτω τὸν Ἀρεσθάναν ἐς πᾶν φασιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ζητήσεως, εὐρόντα δὲ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελέσθαι· καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἀστραπὴν ἰδεῖν ἐκλάμψασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, νομίσαντα δὲ εἶναι θεῖόν τι, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀποτραπέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν πᾶσαν ἡγγέλλετο τά τε ἄλλα ὅποσα βούλοιο εὐρίσκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάμνουσι καὶ ὅτι ἀνίστησι τεθνεῶτας.

eagle.⁸ Through the presence of the lightning bolt one can ascertain the presence of Zeus at the birth of Asclepius, and then he is later seen as the cause of the death of Asclepius when Asclepius brings someone back to from the dead and Zeus destroys him for it.

Pausanias' second account was when Coronis was pregnant with Asclepius she had intercourse with Ischys, son of Elatus, and was killed by Artemis as punishment for the insult she did to Apollo, but when her body was burning upon the pyre Hermes came and snatched the child from her womb. The gods seemed to have a tendency to get insulted by mortals often and then later on regret their hasty decision to have that mortal killed. Here one can see the regret of having her body burned while Asclepius was still in her womb, and so Hermes quickly removed the child before any lasting damage could be done to him. In this second account the child is saved as well, again just not by Apollo.

The third account was the one quoted previously and dealt with the introduction of Arsinoë. It did not include an epic tale of a birth rather it just included a response given by a priestess to a question that was asked of her. It is interesting to read of the various versions and how certain aspects were slightly changed so that Asclepius could be relevant and therefore have a tie to many different regions. The myths all helped tether the mortal Asclepius and the god Asclepius to the mortal world, thereby creating a sense of belonging and a bringing together of both the mortal and divine worlds.

Pindar in his work *Pythian III* gives us the oldest and best preserved written source of the myth of Asclepius.⁹ Asclepius was the son of his mortal mother Coronis and his

⁸ Theoi Project 'Zeus', 2017.

⁹ Panagiotidou, 2016:3.

immortal father Apollo. After Coronis had intercourse with Apollo and was pregnant with his child, she fell in love with a mortal man, Ischys, son of Elatus, and had intercourse with him. Apollo found out through a raven messenger, got angry, turned the bird from white to black, and sent Artemis to kill Coronis. After Coronis had been set on fire, Apollo could not bear to kill his son, so he plucked the baby from her womb and took it to the Magnesian centaur Chiron to raise and to be taught the healing arts. Chiron trained Asclepius well and Asclepius became the foremost physician who aided those in need. This training allowed him to become known as a physician that could work extreme miracles to the point that he was able to bring the dead back to life, but this was deemed a crime against the natural order of things so Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt.¹⁰ After the death of Asclepius he was turned into a constellation and came into his godhood through what the Ancient Greeks called *apotheosis*: heroes who were born mortal but were deified due to their contributions to humankind.¹¹ Cicero mentions this in his work *De natura deorum*:

Suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis ut beneficiis excellentis viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent. Hinc hercules hinc Castor et Pollux hinc Aesculapius [...] hinc etiam Romulus, quem quidem eundem esse Quirinum putant, quorum cum remanerent animi atque aeternitate fruerentur, rite di sunt habiti, cum et optimi essent et aeterni

Human experience moreover and general custom have made it practice to confer the deification of renown and gratitude upon distinguished benefactors. This is the origin of Hercules, of Castor and Pollux, of Aesculapius, [...] – and this is also the origin of Romulus, who is believed to be the same as Quirinus. And these benefactors were duly deemed divine, as being both supremely good and immortal, because their souls survived and enjoyed eternal life.¹²

¹⁰ Theoi Project 'Asklepios', 2017. Pindar, *Pythian III*

¹¹ Theoi Project 'Asklepios', 2017.

¹² Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 24.

The birth of Asclepius had an inherent sense of duality as he was born of a mortal mother and the son of immortal Apollo. Although he himself was mortal, he had the contrasting bloodlines of both parents, thereby allowing him to have ties with both sides of the human and divine divide. This duality of Asclepius was one of his strengths as it allowed mortals to identify with him since he was born human, but it also created a barrier between him and them because he was born of a god, thereby placing him on a pedestal above the regular mortals and this allowed him to do miraculous work healing people. Asclepius himself also had a double sense of duality: firstly he was born of mortal and immortal joining, and secondly he transcended the barrier between life and death when he left the mortal world to become an immortal which was written about by Ovid in his work *Metamorphoses*:

Eque deo corpus fiet exsanguis deusque, qui modo corpus eras, et bis tua
fata novabis.

So, from a god shalt thou become but a lifeless corpse; but from this
corpse shalt thou again become a god and twice renew thy fates.¹³

This sense of duality transfers directly to the sanctuary at Epidaurus which was a place where the god Asclepius came to the mortal world to perform healing on those who wished it. There is the contrast between mortal and immortal, life and death, sickness and health, and those waiting to be healed and those already healed. Yet how does the perception of Epidaurus fit into this myth? It seems as though the more prevalent Asclepius became in various healing centres, the more the myth was adjusted to fit each location. Pausanias gives us the tale of Phlegyas coming to the Peloponnesus accompanied by his daughter who was unknowingly to him, pregnant with Apollo's child Asclepius, and

¹³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses II*, 647-648.

in the country of the Epidaurians she gave birth to that child.¹⁴ Perception gave power and in the case of Epidaurus the perception that people had of it as the birth place of Asclepius gave it immense power and lent it a sense of authenticity.

The birth of Asclepius was even acclaimed in the seventh century BCE Homeric

Hymn 16:

ἰητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,
υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸν ἐγένετο δῖα Κορωνίς
Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ, κούρη Φλεγύου βασιλῆος,
χάρμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισι, κακῶν θελκτῆρ' ὀδυνάων.
καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ: λίτομαι δέ σ' αἰοιδῆ.

I begin to sing of Asclepius, son of Apollo and healer of sicknesses.
In the Dotian plain fair Coronis, daughter of King Phlegyas, bare
him, a great joy to men, a soother of cruel pangs.
And so hail to you, lord: in my song I make my prayer to thee!¹⁵

This hymn is very short and does not even touch upon the death of Coronis or the birth location of Asclepius so it may have been one of the earlier versions of the myth before each region slowly adapted it to suit their own locations. This does not mention Asclepius as a god because it comes from a period when Asclepius was still considered a mortal hero, yet the hymn speaks of making a prayer to him as though he were a god. Though he may have been considered a mortal at this point, it is clear to see that he was on his way to godhood simply through his actions and the fact that he was the healer of sicknesses, something which ancient doctors did not yet have a handle on so divine help in any form was welcome and relied upon.

¹⁴ Theoi Project 'Pausanias 2.15-28', 2017.

¹⁵ Homer, *Hymn 16 to Asclepius*.

Although details of these various versions differed somewhat, what remained the same was a lack of knowledge about Asclepius' life. There were many tales of his birth and death, but nothing of his life in between those two events other than the Homeric mention of his two sons. His skill and knowledge as a doctor, both when a mortal and when a god, also remained the same throughout the versions as unlike many other gods and goddesses in the Greek pantheon, Asclepius' focus was only on one area, the area of healing mortals.

The Geography and Architecture of Epidaurus

The geography of the region allowed the location of the Sanctuary of Epidaurus to remain relatively sheltered yet able to develop its own identity in terms of social, cultural, and medical practices. The Ancient Greek city of Epidaurus was established on the Argolid Peninsula at the Saronic Gulf in Greece. It was located on the northern side of the peninsula where it could easily be defended, while Athens was about fifty kilometres away, Corinth was at a distance of approximately thirty kilometres, and the area beyond the town was a sheltered valley with natural springs and towering mountains.¹⁶ The city had alliances to other areas such as Sparta and through that alliance to Corinth, which typically resulted in making invaders think otherwise about invading them: although they were invaded a few times, the geographically rough landscape helped to ensure that the area was never permanently taken over and therefore never lost its independence.¹⁷ Being surrounded on all sides by mountains meant that the fertile land in the area was of limited supply and as such would only sustain a finite number of people and a finite

¹⁶ Tomlinson, 1983:9.

¹⁷ Tomlinson, 1983:9.

amount of livestock. This kept the local population of the area down to those who would have been able to be supported by such a small parcel of land, although the amount of people flowing in and out of the region swelled over the centuries when patients were visiting the sanctuary for healing. Athens and Corinth were both fairly close and as such were the main social and political hubs of the area, as well as the focus for commercial trade. Epidauros was close enough to benefit from the influx and outflow of people to these two cities, but still far enough away to maintain its independence. Owing to the ebb and flow of people to and from the sanctuary many outside influences would have been assimilated into, and therefore transformed, the prevailing medical and religious practices that took hold at Epidauros. This can be viewed from the opposite direction as well: instead of those who visited Epidauros bringing change with them, the sanctuary may have decided to adjust closer to the ways of those outside its valley in order to stay relevant.

Archaeological excavations in the area have found evidence that there were two Bronze Age sites nearby before the city of Epidauros occupied one of them: Epidauros occupied the location by the sea and the other location was a small site in the plains of the valley by Mount Kynortion.¹⁸ Some of the evidence from the site by Mount Kynortion shows the existence of a Mycenaean settlement, such as the miniscule remainders of buildings contained within a terrace retaining wall on the slope.¹⁹ The artefacts found consist of: female, animal, horse, and furniture figurines, a sheet-bronze animal face, bronze miniature double axes, bronze swords, a stone pommel, a fragment of a relief

¹⁸ Tomlinson, 1983:9.

¹⁹ Wright, 1994:65, 68.

vessel displaying warriors in a boat, and there were also pottery shards found with shapes such as Vapheio cups and kylikes.²⁰ Most of the evidence attests to the establishment of an early Mycenaean ritual area which continued throughout the Mycenaean era.²¹ The geography of this location must have been something special for it to have been occupied as early as 1600 – 1100 BCE in the Mycenaean era and to continue to grow into such a large and long lasting healing centre for the Ancient Greek people.

The inland site had a tradition as a place of sanctity with a cult for a hero instead of a god such as Apollo or Asclepius, and here that hero was named Maleatas.²² The god Apollo was later brought to the area and worshipped and this led to the two worshipped figures being amalgamated into one being referred to as Apollo Maleatas. Apollo was responsible for death from disease, disease, and healing,²³ which although contradictory, they are also very much intertwined. Homer in the *Iliad* wrote that the god responded to prayers to heal those who honoured him well, but at the same time he would spend his wrath upon those who did not.²⁴ This left a need for a god focused solely on healing, and Asclepius was the god whose worship expanded to fill that hole.²⁵

At the time of Apollo Maleatas the area was still fairly remote and had not been built up with the buildings and theatres that it later became known for. It would have held simple worship areas such as a sacred spot, an altar most likely for sacrifice, and a shrine.²⁶ It was in the later centuries, as the location became more popular, that one could

²⁰ Wright, 1994:68.

²¹ Wright, 1994:68.

²² Tomlinson, 1983:9.

²³ Hartigan, 2009:20.

²⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, Book 1.33-100.

²⁵ Hartigan, 2009:20.

²⁶ Tomlinson, 1983:12.

see the start of growth in the architectural aspects of the area, beginning very slowly around the fifth century BCE.

The relatively remote geographical location also allowed for much better sanitary conditions than were typically found in cities from the sixth century BCE to the third century CE, not to mention for a much longer period of history than just these six centuries. With the growth of cities illnesses became more of a problem and thus became an issue of civilization and society not just an individual worry.²⁷ Problems as large as the lack of sanitation and severe overcrowding found within cities like Athens were not major difficulties at Epidaurus, even though they still would have posed somewhat of a problem since sanitation for medical procedures was not a common practice and could have led to deaths on site and after the patients had returned home. Albeit if the patients returned home and died there, then their death would not necessarily have been attributed to the visit to Epidaurus. The simple act of the patients leaving their home accommodations and travelling to a location that is less crowded and less polluted by humanity would have improved their health immensely. Fresh air and clean water, both found at Epidaurus, would have made a world of difference with helping clear up infections, illnesses, wounds, and some perceived ancient mental health mysteries as well. The effort put forth to reach a sacred place was also believed by worshippers to have led them to a greater reward,²⁸ therefore the remote location of the sanctuary and trekking through the mountains was necessary to preserve the sacredness of Epidaurus and to preserve its abilities to continue to heal those that sought out cures. Sometimes the problems of the cities spilled over into

²⁷ Mitchell-Boyask, 2008:116.

²⁸ Mitchell-Boyask, 2008:115.

Epidaurus though. The Great Plague struck the city of Athens in the early 420s BCE and Thucydides wrote that the Athenians tried to take Epidaurus by military force without success, but were laying waste to the Athenians at home and those attacking Epidaurus,²⁹ thereby bringing the plague to Epidaurus. It is conceivable that they were trying to obtain the location of the god Asclepius for their own use in beating down this plague, or maybe they wished to take Epidaurus due to the wealth of offerings it was receiving and its growing power as a healing centre.

For those coming to the sanctuary it was reached by two routes, Argos or the city state of Epidaurus, and the patient would first have seen the Maleatas temple on the mountain slope.³⁰ Although there are very few remains of the buildings left, the main buildings were the Temple of Asclepius which was a peripteral Doric temple built around 390-380 BCE and the abaton that was located near it.³¹ Close to these buildings, but outside of the sacred area, were buildings used for the patients to stay at when they visited the sanctuary for healing. It is likely that the Ancient Greek people adopted the practice of sleeping in a temple from the ancient Egyptians where it had been practiced since the time of the New Kingdom.³² Here people could die or give birth, both things which were forbidden within the sacred areas.³³ A gymnasium, palaistra, stadium, and theatre were also present. One of the most important aspects of the sanctuary was fresh water and at the Sanctuary of Epidaurus there were a number of wells and springs: there

²⁹ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

³⁰ Solin, 2013:10.

³¹ Solin, 2013:11.

³² Ferngren, 2014:52.

³³ Solin, 2013:11.

was also an underground 172 metre long water pipe that was found.³⁴ The uses for the fresh water were numerous: patients had to wash themselves before entering the abaton for their healing sleep, the doctors, who were also priests, needed access to fresh water for the cleansing of patients during the healing processes, the water was used in medicines, and also simply for drinking by those who journeyed to Epidaurus, as having access to clean water would have been a big boost to their immune system thereby helping them heal faster. Porphyry wrote in the third century CE:

Δεῖ τοίνυν καθηραμένους τὸ ἦθος ἰέναι θύσοντας, τοῖς θεοῖς θεοφιλεῖς
τὰς θυσίας προσάγοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολυτελεῖς. νῦν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μὲν
λαμπρὰν περὶ σῶμα μὴ καθαρὸν ἀμφιεσαμένοις οὐκ ἀρκεῖν νομίζουσιν
πρὸς τὸ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀγνόν· ὅταν δὲ τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτός τινες
λαμπρυνάμενοι μὴ καθαρὰν κακῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες ἴωσιν πρὸς τὰς
θυσίας, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐ τῷ θειοτάτῳ γε τῶν ἐν
ἡμῖν χαίροντα μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν διακειμένῳ καθαρῶς, ἅτε συγγενεῖ
πεφυκότι. ἐν γοῦν Ἐπιδαύρῳ προεγέγραπτο·
ἀγνὸν χρὴ ναοῖο θυώδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντα
ἔμμεναι· ἀγνεία δ' ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὅσια.

It is seemly then that those who want to sacrifice go purified in their moral character, bringing sacrifices that are dear to the gods, not such that are lavish. Nowadays they believe that it does not suffice for the holiness of the sacrifice to throw a glittering garment around an unclean body. But if some have a shiny body along with a shiny garment, yet proceed to sacrifice with their souls not cleansed of evil, they think it makes no difference, as though the god did not delight most of all if what is most godlike within ourselves is clean, since it is homogeneous with him. In Epidaurus, at any rate, there was the inscription: “Pure must be he who enters the fragrant temple; purity means to think nothing but holy thoughts.”³⁵

Cleanliness through purification, in regards to both bathing with water and the purification of the moral character, was such a large part of the sanctuary that it was even

³⁴ Solin, 2013:11.

³⁵ Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, II.19.

inscribed upon the temple. The water from the wells was also used for purification of the patients before any festivals and before entering the temple.

Today, the remains of the buildings that are visible at the Sanctuary of Asclepius were built during the fourth century BCE, and Pausanias having written in the second century CE reported:

τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ περιέχουσιν ὄροι πανταχόθεν: οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες σφισιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ θυόμενα, ἣν τέ τις Ἐπιδαυρίων αὐτῶν ἦν τε ξένος ὁ θύων ἢ, καταναλίσκουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν ὄρων:

The sacred grove of Asclepius is surrounded on all sides by boundary marks. No death or birth takes place within the enclosure the same custom prevails also in the island of Delos. All the offerings, whether the offerer be one of the Epidaurians themselves or a stranger, are entirely consumed within the bounds.³⁶

The sacred area was surrounded by boundary stones and the patients about to give birth or to die were not to enter into these boundaries, instead they were to stay in a building built specifically for them.³⁷ Many of the buildings were built during a period of expansion at the site in 370-250 BCE.³⁸ The Temple of Asclepius itself can be dated to around 370 BCE based on economic and stylistic grounds, and so too can the white marble tholos,³⁹ which was a circular building used for worship activities. Pausanias in his travels wrote about the tholos:

οἶκημα δὲ περιφερὲς λίθου λευκοῦ καλούμενον Θόλος ὠκοδόμηται πλησίον, θέας ἄξιον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Πausίου γράψαντος βέλη μὲν καὶ τόξον ἐστὶν ἀφεικῶς Ἔρωσ, λύραν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀράμενος φέρει. γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μέθη, Πausίου καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης

³⁶ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.1.

³⁷ Tomlinson, 1969:106.

³⁸ Burford, 1969:53.

³⁹ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.3.

φιάλης πίνουσα: ἴδοις δὲ κἄν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὑάλου καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον. στήλαι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλέονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἕξ λοιπαί: ταύταις ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνόματα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ νόσημα ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη.

Near has been built a circular building of white marble, called Tholos (Round House), which is worth seeing. In it is a picture by Pausias representing Love, who has cast aside his bow and arrows, and is carrying instead of them a lyre that he has taken up. Here there is also another work of Pausias, Drunkenness drinking out of a crystal cup. You can see even in the painting a crystal cup and a woman's face through it. Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.⁴⁰

This is one of the best extant descriptions of what a patient could expect to see when visiting the tholos, and it sounds like a wonderfully decorated building that was also used as propaganda in regards to the inscribed names that were left behind. These two buildings made up the first main wave of the buildings constructed during this time.⁴¹ Today only the foundations remain, but this temple and its altar most likely replaced an older building nearby. This site is unusual in that the original foundations were left alone and the new building was built right beside it, possibly as a result of members of the family of the original builders still being present in the area and prominent in society.⁴² This period of building would have been a great economic and morale boost for the region's workers as it utilized materials and craftsmen that were both local and semi-local. The materials were not just chosen for their locality, but were also chosen for their colour and texture:

⁴⁰ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.3.

⁴¹ Burford, 1969:54.

⁴² Burford, 1969:55.

Coarse local limestone (provided by an Epidaurian) was used for the foundation cores of the peristasis and cella; poros limestone from Corinth (mostly supplied by Corinthians) for the steps, colonnade, and cella walls; black and white limestones (the black from somewhere in Argos) for the pavements; Pentelic marble for the pediment sculptures and akroteria; silver fir for the ceiling and roof timbers; and for the coffered ceiling and the doors, cypress, boxwood, elm and nettle-tree wood, ivory, and gold.⁴³

The abaton was built close to the temple and adjacent to a seventeen metre deep well⁴⁴ which provided a supply of fresh water directly to where Asclepius visited the ill patients and where the healing sleep took place. The abaton is a portico that is open at the south end facing the temple, 38.07 metres long and 9.42 metres wide, has foundations that are 4.85 metres deep on the side where the ground slopes away, a façade that contains sixteen Ionic columns, and a central row of columns.⁴⁵ A building program such as the one just beginning here at the sanctuary would have provided work for the people for many years to come, and would have boosted the reputation and status of the site in the minds of those seeking treatment. The grand buildings such as the temple and abaton demonstrated the wealth of the sanctuary, and since this wealth was from offerings left in thanks to Asclepius, it also helped to boost his reputation: if he had been able to perform that strongly for so many previous patients, then the natural assumption would be that any new visitors would be healed as well, and that this was a reputable healing site.

The most celebrated building for those who visit the site today is the theatre. The theatre was built out of stone and is beautifully symmetrical. It has a circular stage, thirty-

⁴³ Burford, 1969:57.

⁴⁴ Tomlinson, 1983:67.

⁴⁵ Tomlinson, 1983:67-68.

four tiers of seats in the lower segment and twenty-one tiers in the upper segment.⁴⁶

Pausanias wrote that this theatre was a place to stop and see and that it was Polycleitus the Younger who built the theatre and the tholos,⁴⁷ which if this was the case then the building work would have begun around the year 360 BCE.⁴⁸ There is scholarly debate about whether or not Polycleitus was actually the architect on the tholos as Pausanias stated,⁴⁹ but there does not yet appear to be a clear answer and there may never be one.

The Healing Power of the Theatre

The theatre at Epidaurus still stands today and remains one of the best preserved in Greece with performances still occurring every year within its walls. Contrary to the random modern performances, in ancient times they were put on for those who were at Epidaurus to seek healing, and with a seating capacity of 13,000 to 14,000⁵⁰ there was plenty of room for those seeking cures. How did the theatre influence the perception that people had of Epidaurus? Could it have been there strictly as entertainment or amusement for those seeking healing, thereby adding a sense of lightness and relaxation to those visiting? It seems unlikely based on the importance that was settled upon the theatres through their placement and the importance placed upon making sure that they were built with the geographical confines of locations such as Epidaurus, Athens, Peiraeus, Oropos north of Athens, Messene in the western Peloponnese, Dion in northern Greece, or Pergamon in northwest Turkey.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Robinson, 1978:534.

⁴⁷ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.5.

⁴⁸ Burford, 1969:75.

⁴⁹ Tomlinson, 1983:87.

⁵⁰ Tomlinson, 1983:90.

⁵¹ Hartigan, 2009:viii.

The concept of a bond between modes of art, such as ritualistic dance or theatre, and medicine is not a modern day concept, rather the “roots of this concept lay with the Ancient Greeks and the theatres they constructed at the sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius.”⁵² The Asclepion at Epidaurus was established in the later part of the sixth century BCE but the theatre was built in the later part of the fourth century by Polycleitos of Argos.⁵³ The theatre was not there as a venue of entertainment, rather it was used in preparing those seeking healing for the restorative sleep that was to come as part of their healing process. The following quote draws the reader in and captivates the imagination through a visualization of the healing sleep:

The flames leaped as oil was poured on the sacrificial cakes. Then the lights were put out and the patients lay down in the darkened abaton, each quietly praying to Asklepios to send a healing dream. As the sick and ailing drifted off to sleep, the god’s priests and attendants came to the bedsides, laying their hands on the patients and administering healing ointments or whispering healing words. The actions of the bedside visitors echoed those of the actors playing the roles of Asklepios and his daughters which the patients had watched in the adjoining theatre just before retiring. In the morning, the patients awoke and excitedly reported their dreams: they had seen the god standing beside their bed and had felt his hands upon them. The patients were cheered and, apparently, healed, or had instructions to guide them to health. Drama and dream had brought about a cure.⁵⁴

Aristophanes also writes of a scene similar to this in his play *Plutus* describing Asclepius healing patients while they slept in the abaton.⁵⁵ He was a comedic playwright who mixed humour into scenes of everyday life, ones in which people would have found recognition either through personal experience, through the experiences of family

⁵² Hartigarn, 2009:ix.

⁵³ Hartigan, 2009:46.

⁵⁴ Hartigan, 2009:1-2.

⁵⁵ Aristophanes, *Plutus* 710-746.

members or friends, or through tales they had heard, so the healing arrangement at Epidaurus would have been familiar to his audience. The use of humour was good medicine in and of itself, and so utilizing it in the theatre would have left people feeling lighter, at least for a time while they were not thinking about their problems, and it would have reduced stress about a situation that many may have felt nervous about. Going into the abaton to sleep and not really knowing what the god might do could make patients nervous. It is safe to say that many of the patients would have been in pain, and laughter has been found to reduce pain as a result of the endorphins produced in response to it: it strengthens the immune system by increasing the production of T-cells and immune system proteins, and it decreases stress by lowering cortisol levels which allows the body to relax.⁵⁶ Obviously the Ancient Greek doctors had not figured out these specifics yet, but they knew that it helped in some way and so made sure to include a theatre in the sanctuary. Take this part of Aristophanes' *Plutus* play as an example of how humour was used to entertain and prepare the patients who came seeking healing:

Wife

ἦσαν δέ τινες κάλλοι δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ;
Had any other folk come to beseech the deity?

Cario

εἷς μὲν γε Νεοκλείδης, ὃς ἐστὶ μὲν τυφλός, κλέπτων δὲ τοὺς βλέποντας
ὕπερηκόντικεν: ἕτεροί τε πολλοὶ παντοδαπὰ νοσήματα ἔχοντες: ὥς δὲ
τοὺς λύχνους ἀποσβέσας ἡμῖν παρήγγειλεν καθεύδειν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ
πρόπολος, εἰπὼν, ἦν τις αἰσθηταὶ ψόφου σιγᾶν, ἅπαντες κοσμίως
κατεκείμεθα. κάγῳ καθεύδειν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην, ἀλλὰ με ἀθάρης χύτρα τις
ἐξέπληττε κειμένα ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ γραδίου, ἐφ' ἣν
ἐπεθύμουν δαιμονίως ἐφερπύσαι. ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας ὁρῶ τὸν ἱερέα
τοὺς φθοῖς ἀφαρπάζοντα καὶ τὰς ἰσχάδας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς:
μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ περιῆλθε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ, εἴ που
πόπανον εἶη τι καταλελειμμένον: ἔπειτα ταῦθ' ἤγιζεν ἐς σάκταν τινά.

⁵⁶ Purcell, 2016.

κἀγὼ νομίσας πολλὴν ὀσίαν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπὶ τὴν χύτραν τῆς ἀθάρης ἀνίσταμαι.

Yes. Firstly, Neocles, who is blind, but steals much better than those who see clearly; then many others attacked by complaints of all kinds. The lights were put out and the priest enjoined us to sleep, especially recommending us to keep silent should we hear any noise. There we were all lying down quite quietly. I could not sleep; I was thinking of a certain stew-pan full of pap placed close to an old woman and just behind her head. I had a furious longing to slip towards that side. But just as I was lifting my head, I noticed the priest, who was sweeping off both the cakes and the figs on the sacred table; then he made the round of the altars and sanctified the cakes that remained, by stowing them away in a bag. I therefore resolved to follow such a pious example and made straight for the pap.

Wife

ταλάντατ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐδεδοίκεις τὸν θεόν;
You rogue! and had you no fear of the god?

Cario

νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε μὴ φθάσειέ με ἐπὶ τὴν χύτραν ἐλθὼν ἔχων τὰ στέμματα: ὁ γὰρ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ με προὔιδιδάξατο. τὸ γράδιον δ' ὡς ἦσθετο δὴ μου τὸν ψόφον, ἄρα σ' ὑφίρει: κᾶτα συρίζας ἐγὼ ὁδὰξ ἐλαβόμην ὡς παρείας ὦν ὄφιν. ἡ δ' εὐθέως τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν ἀνέσπασεν, κατέκειτο δ' αὐτὴν ἐντυλίξασ' ἡσυχῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους βδέουσα δριμύτερον γαλῆς. κἀγὼ τότε ἤδη τῆς ἀθάρης πολλὴν ἔφλων: ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μεστὸς ἦν, ἀνεπαλλόμην.

Aye, indeed! I feared that the god with his crown on his head might have been near the stew-pan before me. I said to myself, "Like priest, like god." On hearing the noise I made, the old woman put out her hand, but I hissed and bit it, just as a sacred serpent might have done. Quick she drew back her hand, slipped down into the bed with her head beneath the coverlets and never moved again; only she let flee a fart in her fear which stank worse than a weasel. As for myself, I swallowed a goodly portion of the pap and, having made a good feed, went back to bed.

Wife

ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὑμῖν οὐ προσήειν;
And did not the god come?

Cario

οὐδέπω. μετὰ τοῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ γέλοιον δῆτά τι ἐποίησα. προσιόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ μέγα πάνυ ἀπέπαρδον: ἡ γαστήρ γὰρ ἐπεφύσητό μου.
He did not tarry; and when he was near us, oh! dear! such a good joke happened. My belly was quite blown up, and I let a thunderous fart!⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 664-699.

Aristophanes has taken what could be a somber and painful experience and lightened it up for those watching it in the evening before they retired to the abaton. This play was written around 388 BCE and so occurred a couple of hundred years into the existence of the sanctuary of Epidaurus. In this play Cario the slave takes his master to the Asclepion to cure his blindness, stays with him, and then comes home and tells the master's wife what happened while they were there. Although this was a comedic play it is the only literary account that still exists today regarding the actions taken while in the sanctuary of an Asclepion.⁵⁸ It is an important example of what happens when a patient has to go sleep in the abaton, or what a patient thinks happens when they go to sleep there,⁵⁹ and how they do not need to worry overly much because if he can fart near the god, then anything they may have done could not have been as bad. The humorous aspect of farts is not anything new to modern day viewers as even over the millennia things have not changed: humans are still humans no matter the era and still seem to find bodily expulsions of gas amusing.

Although this is a comedy, one can gain quite a bit of detail from such a short section. Here it can be seen that many people slept in the abaton together and that it was not an individual process. The lights were snuffed out to ensure darkness and the priest joined them with the reminder to keep trying to sleep no matter what noises were heard while the priests took the offerings. The indication was that the priests knowingly portrayed themselves as Asclepius as they made their rounds. It is common knowledge that priests and attendants regularly collected the offerings left for Asclepius and once a

⁵⁸ Hartigan, 2009:30.

⁵⁹ Hartigan, 2009:30.

year they removed the gold and silver offerings to be melted down,⁶⁰ as that was how the sanctuary funded itself, so Cario's mention of the priest furtively sweeping the cakes off the table into his bag, sheds a bit of humour onto an otherwise ordinary occurrence. What was not normal was for Cario to take the priest filching the cakes and figs as permission to eat the soup offering from a lady lying next to him. The mention of him biting like the sacred serpent also reminded the patients that they would see or feel a snake during their healing sleep, and that it was natural rather than something to be feared. Snakes and dogs were a common aspect of healing at Epidaurus as inscriptions found there have confirmed. Asclepius was represented by snakes because the Ancient Greeks believed that they had extraordinary powers since they could vanish under the earth (to the underworld) and then return and they could shed their skins to rejuvenate themselves.⁶¹ Asclepius himself was a mortal who crossed over to the underworld and then was brought back to 'life' as a god, and he constantly rejuvenated people back to good health, so the snake was an appropriate symbolic representation of him.

The idea of the play may seem simple, but preparing for the healing process was an important part of the experience at the sanctuary and the play was a "ritual enactment"⁶² in the theatre of the processes that were to occur in the abaton. When watching a play such as this, one could relax and enjoy the entertainment and preparation for their night, but these plays were not the lengthy plays that were performed for Dionysus each year, rather they were mini plays since the patients were weak, in pain, and

⁶⁰ Hartigan, 2009:31.

⁶¹ MacLachlan, 2017:169.

⁶² Hartigan, 2009:29.

not necessarily able to sit for long while awaiting the chance to obtain their cures.⁶³ The Asclepion plays were created to be short, informative, and entertaining for the patients. The existence of the theatre and performance of plays while patients were at Epidaurus to seek medical help was a notable way of preparing people for what was to come. Those that had not been to seek healing before would now know what to expect, and those that had been to Epidaurus in the past would get a reminder. The stimulation of the mind was just as important as the stimulation of the body: when both are in harmony then each of them can be healed. Mental and emotional healing could be of great help to a person's physical wellbeing. Sometimes all people needed was a bit of hope, hope that there was some relief on the way, hope that there would be compassion given to their predicament, hope that their healing process could begin, or even hope that there was a cure. The plays presented at the theatre represented this and so too did Epidaurus itself. The patients needed to believe that they would be cured, whether in the immediate or slightly distant future in order for the healing to be successful, as the mental state of the person had the power to plunge them back into their current illness, or even a new one.

The works attributed to Hippocrates were written around the late fifth century B.C.E., and in *De morbo sacro* he wrote: "As long as the brain is at rest, the man enjoys his reason", because he is "of the opinion that the brain exercises the greatest power in the man", and "the eyes, the ears, the tongue and the feet, administer such things as the brain cogitates [and] it is the brain which is the messenger to the understanding."⁶⁴ Both mind and body were needed to work together in order to heal the person. One could not

⁶³ Hartigan, 2009:30.

⁶⁴ Hippocrates, *De morbo sacro*, I.

separate the two, but rather needed to ensure that both mind and body were on the same pathway in order for the healing to have been beneficial. If the mind was predisposed to Asclepius visiting while they were dreaming and were expecting to be healed upon waking, then it was a case of mind over matter. This predisposition would have been solidified by having attended a play dramatized by actors at the theatre, or even strictly because of the feeling that they were in a place that was considered a place of healing. Either way, the person expected to feel better upon waking and by having had that positive thought they would have felt better at least in some regard. An example of this would have been observed by viewing any number of those who visited the sanctuary: some of the people who came to seek healing would have found it through the decrease of stress or anxiety that existed in their everyday lives. The more stress one was under, the more liable they were to feel ill or to contract an illness and the same holds true today. Having given their bodies a chance to relax and sleep in a place dedicated to healing would automatically have predisposed them to be in the correct frame of mind for subliminal suggestions of healing: it is an ancient example of mind over matter.

THE PERCEPTION of EPIDAUROS by MEANS of ANCIENT AUTHORS

Ancient authors of all walks of life whether through short inscriptions or lengthy accounts played an essential role in perpetuating the image of Epidaurus as a significant site for those seeking healing. Ancient authors play an incredibly important role in helping to fill in our knowledge of religious medical practices and the way in which Asclepius was perceived in regards to Epidaurus. The extant evidence that is available through the writings of authors such as *Aelian*, *Isyllus*, *Pythian*, and in the *Homeric Hymn to Asklepios*,

demonstrates fascinating and miraculous qualities that in many cases would be hard to believe due to their improbability in regards to the human body. In some cases it was not always about being practical or exact in their writings, but rather perpetuating the mystical and doctoral qualities of the god and the location.

The following section that *Aelian* stated occurred at the sanctuary of Epidaurus demonstrates this quite well, as it attests to the complete power that Asclepius was believed to have held in regards to healing mortals.

ὁ δὲ λέγει ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ὀρηγῖνος, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. γυνὴ εἶχεν ἔλμινθα, καὶ ἰάσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον οἰτῶν ἰατρῶν δεινοί. οὐκοῦν ἐς Ἐπίδauρο ν ἦλθε, καὶ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξάντης γενέσθαι τοῦ συνοίκου πάθους. οὐ παρῆν ὁ θεός· οἱ μέντοι ζάκοροι κατακλίνουσι τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἔνθα ἰᾶσθαι ὁ θεὸς εἰώθει τοὺς δεομένους. καὶ ἡμὲν ἄνθρωπος ἡσύχαζε προσαχθεῖσα, οἷ γε μὴν ὑποδρῶντες τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἰᾶσιν αὐτῆς ἐποίουν, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δέρης ἀφαιροῦσι, καθίησι δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ὁ ἕτερος, καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ τὴν ἔλμινθα, θηρίου μέγα τι χρῆμα. συναρμόσαι δὲ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρμονίαν οὐκ ἐδύναντο οὐκέτι. ὁ τοίνυν θεὸς ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχάλεπηνεν ὅτι ἄρα ἐπέθεντο ὁ ἔργω δυνατωτέρῳ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σοφίας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμάχῳ τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ δυνάμει ἀπέδωκε τῷ σκῆνι τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὴν ξένην ἀνέστησε.⁶⁵

The account given by the historian of Rhegium is as follows. A woman had a worm and the cleverest of the physicians despaired of curing her. So she went to Epidaurus and begged the god to free her from the parasite. The god was not there, but the attendants made her lie down where the god was in the habit of healing the suppliants and she lay quiet as she was enjoined. But the servants of the god began to treat her and removed her head from her neck. Then one of them inserted his hand and drew out the worm, a great brute of a beast. But they were no longer able to fit the head in place and restore it to its usual fitting. Then the god arrived and was angry with them for undertaking a task beyond their wisdom and he himself with the irresistible power of a god restores the head to the body and raised up the suppliant.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* IX.33.1.

⁶⁶ Longrigg, 2001: I.23

The above section demonstrated the fallibility of mortals within medicine as even the best mortal physicians could not cure her of her worm dilemma. *Aelian* stated that even the “cleverest doctors” could not help her, so what did she do? She went to Epidaurus. The perception was that Epidaurus was a place that could help even the most desperate of people: it was a place of hope. As a modern day reader the removal of the head from a patient seems like an extreme healing option to resort to in order to remove a worm. This is assuming that the worm is a physical being and is causing the host distress, but perhaps the worm was a mental illness instead. If the patient was suffering from a mental illness then the idea of removing the head to get to the ‘mental worm’ makes an odd kind of sense. The Ancient Greeks believed that the heart not the head controlled the body, so taking off the head of a patient when narrating a cure that had been performed could have been seen as a logical choice.

Rather than just taking this inscription literally, one could instead read it as a demonstration of the dichotomies between life and death, and between gods and mortals. There was a fine line between life and death for mortals and that line was crossed by the removal of her head, but for the gods and goddesses the outcome of death was not something that they needed to worry about: instead the gods were the ones who had the ability to return life to mortals. In this example from *Aelian* Asclepius was angry that the attendants had taken it upon themselves to play the role of a god by attempting to bring life back to the headless body. Asclepius’ show of power by brining the patient back to life when the physicians could not, helped to solidify the impression obtained by those reading the inscription that Asclepius was an all-powerful healer and that anything

and anyone was able to be healed. It reinforced the belief and perception of Epidaurus as a powerful place, both medically and religiously.

There was a duality between the infallibility of the gods and the fallibility of mortals in regards to healing. The gods could fix that which humans could not, but whether they gave the gift of healing to mortals was at their discretion. Luckily Asclepius was deemed a helpful and benevolent god of healing and medicine who focussed on the healing of mortals instead of their deaths. The mention of having the patient lie down “where the god was in the habit of healing the suppliants”⁶⁷ sent a subliminal message to those reading it: it reinforced that Asclepius was a frequent visitor who performed healing miracles for those who sought them, and therefore others could trust and believe in his presence at Epidaurus. The constant reiteration of his power and deeds, versus those of the limited mortal physicians, was a good propaganda tool and for keeping the perception of miraculous healing at Epidaurus alive and well. Epidaurus was a location of duality. It was a place where life and death, and gods and mortals intersected, as well as the miracles of medicine and the miracles of religion, a sure indication that either half of each pair could not be separated from Epidaurus.

Taking a look at an author who did not just write about Epidaurus, but who actually lived and inscribed his work there gives another indication of how the site and its healing was perceived. This poem was inscribed upon a wall at the temple in the sanctuary, was either written or composed by Isyllus, an author of whom little is known, and was a blend of religious hymn and political views.⁶⁸ He dedicated his work to Apollo

⁶⁷ Longrigg, 2001: I.23.

⁶⁸ Isyllus, *Paeon to Asclepius*.

Maleatas and Asclepius, but with more mentions of Asclepius, “in the days when Philip, wishing to destroy the royal authority, led his army against Sparta.”⁶⁹ Here he most likely refers to the Macedonian king Philip II in the years 317/16 BCE or Philip V in 218 BCE,⁷⁰ thereby giving those who read the inscription a fairly accurate window of time within which it was inscribed. It tells us who was in power at that time and followed the usual theme that was associated to deified mortals: the mortal who was deified almost always was a descendent of a god or goddess. Asclepius was a descendent of Zeus through his mother Aegle’s (also known as Coronis’) lineage and that Apollo was his father: “[...] and her name was Aegle; this was her name, but because of her beauty she was also called Coronis. Then Phoebus of the golden bow, beholding her in the palace of Malus, ended her maidenhood.”⁷¹ Here one could see Isyllus’ belief that Asclepius was born of a god and had ties to Zeus, which were good ties to have when trying to build up the perception of a sanctuary. Also, tying Asclepius to Zeus who was the king of the gods went a long way in legitimizing his healing powers and the powers that those who were helping to heal the patients at Epidaurus wielded.

This poem of Isyllus’ created a sense of wonder and awe through his choice of words and portrayal of Asclepius, because Asclepius was described in such a way as to be reminiscent of Apollo. Above was a quote that described Apollo as Phoebus, the owner of a golden bow, and below Asclepius is described as wearing golden armour:

τουτάκι δ’ ἦλθε, ὅχ’ ὁ παῖς ἐκ Βουσπόρου †ἦλθεν κάμνων. τῷ τύγα
 ποστεῖχοντι συνάντησας σὺν ὀπλοισιν λαμπόμενος χρυσεόισ’,
 Ἀσκληπιέ. παῖς δ’ ἐσιδὼν σε λίσσετο χεῖρ’ ὀρέγων, ἱκέτηι μύθῳ σε

⁶⁹ Isyllus, *Paeon to Asclepius*.

⁷⁰ Fantuzzi, 2010:183.

⁷¹ Isyllus, *Paeon to Asclepius*.

προσαντῶν· "ἄμμορός εἰμι τεῶν δώρων, Ἀσκληπιέ Παιάν, ἀλλὰ μ' ἐποίκειρον." τὸ δέ μοι τάδε ἔλεξας ἐναργῆ· "θάρσει· καιρῷ γάρ σοι ἀφίξομαι — ἀλλὰ μέν' αὐτεῖ — τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χαλεπὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύξας [.]

He came at the time when the sick boy came from Bosphorus. Shining in your golden armour, you met him as he approached [,] Asclepius; and when the boy beheld you, he drew near to you, stretching forth his hand and entreated you in suppliant words: "I have no share in your gifts, Asclepius Paeon ; have pity on me." Then you addressed these words to me clearly: "Take heart, for I shall come to you in due time - just wait here - after I have rescued the Lacedaemonians from grievous doom [.]⁷²

Reading the above section of the inscription gives the reader the sense of wonder that Isyllus conveyed just by the use of his language and the images that are invoked. Even with something as simple as the use of the shining gold colour one can gain insight into how Asclepius and his actions at Epidauros were portrayed. Gold was the domain of the gods, in fact Pindar (518-438 BCE)⁷³ wrote the following in the fifth century BCE:

Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός· κεῖνον οὐ σῆς οὐδὲ κίς δάπτει, βροτεῶν φρένα κράτιστον φρενῶν⁷⁴

Chrysos (Gold) is a child of Zeus, neither moth nor rust devours it, but the mind of man is devoured by this supreme possession.⁷⁵

Chrysos, whose name translates from Ancient Greek to mean gold, was the child of Zeus and was the personification of gold. Asclepius was depicted wearing golden armour, thereby giving the reader a reminder that he had become a god and had the godly powers necessary to cure those who came to Epidauros with their medical problems. The importance and worth of golden armour appears in Book VI, line 235, of the *Iliad* when

⁷² Isyllus, *Paeon to Asclepius*.

⁷³ Livius.org, 2017.

⁷⁴ Pindar, *Fragment 222*.

⁷⁵ Theoi Project 'Khrysos', 2017.

Glaukos trades his golden armour worth one hundred head of cattle to Diomedes who has bronze armour worth only nine head of cattle. Within that same Book VI, line 205, Artemis is also mentioned as having golden reins, yet another association of a god and gold. Gold was highly prized and associated with the gods, and so too was Asclepius and his healing at Epidaurus.

Pindar's *Pythian III* quoted below, also mentioned Asclepius and began his poem with the wish that Chiron, the centaur that raised Asclepius, were alive again to produce another healer like Asclepius to cure all types of diseases:

ἦθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν, εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας
κοινὸν εὖξασθαι ἔπος, ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον, Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέ
δοντα Κρόνου, βάσσαισί τ' ἄρχειν Παλίου Φῆρ' ἀγρότερον, νοῦν ἔχοντ' ἄ
νδρῶν φίλον: οἷος ἐὼν θρέψεν ποτὲ τέκτονα νωδυνίας ἄμερον γυιαρκέο
ς Ἀσκληπίον, ἥρωα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων.

If it were proper for this commonplace prayer to be made by my tongue,
I would want Cheiron the son of Philyra to be alive again, he who has
departed, the wide-ruling son of Cronus son of Uranus; and I would want
him to reign again in the glens of Pelion, the beast of the wilds whose
mind was friendly to men; just as he was when once he reared Asclepius,
that gentle craftsman who drove pain from the limbs that he healed,
that hero who cured all types of diseases.

Again the reader came across the mythical and god-like qualities of Asclepius as a normal mortal would not have been raised by a centaur, but here he was referred to as a hero, taking one back to his origins in the Epidaurian region, before he was deified and became a champion of all people who visited the sanctuary for healing. Lines nine and ten of *Pythian III* also mentioned that the golden arrows of Artemis hit his mother, again drawing in the colour of gold tied to a goddess and due to the circumstances they were tied to Asclepius as well.

MEDICINE and RELIGION

Medicine and religion are two aspects of culture that are largely separate from each other in modern times, but for the visitors to the Ancient Greece sanctuaries the two were not separate entities and could never be separated from each other: there was always a place for both medicine and religion to be utilized in the healing practices. Asclepius as the god of healing was a very visible amalgamation of medicine and religion, and the practice of Epidaurus having been used as a sanctuary to send the sick to for both medical and divine healing also shared that duality. Some patients chose to go to the sanctuary as it offered them the best hope when doctors had failed to cure their illness, while others went to the sanctuary because the cost of a doctor may have been prohibitive. Whatever their reasons or circumstances, their common belief in Asclepius and the medicinal skill of the temple priests drew them together.

Epidaurus is well known for the approximately seventy miraculous healing inscriptions, or iamata, that have been found there.⁷⁶ The inscriptions were found on four large grey limestone stelae⁷⁷ and they immortalized a collection of instances from visitors to the sanctuary that were entitled “The Cures of Apollo and Asclepius” which someone, likely a priest, had set up at the sanctuary before end of the fourth century BCE.⁷⁸ Although Apollo was not mentioned within the inscriptions the inclusion of his name in the title was an open reminder to the incoming visitors that Asclepius was born of a god and had become a god in his own right. During the fourth century BCE building program that was discussed earlier, the existing inscriptions at the sanctuary were gathered

⁷⁶ LiDonnici, 1995:1.

⁷⁷ The stelae were published in R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion*. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931.

⁷⁸ Percy, 2013:102.

together by priests and re-inscribed upon these stelae, which Pausanias wrote about having seen in his *Descriptio Graeciae*:

στῆλαι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ πλείονες, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἕξ λοιπαί: ταύταις ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὀνόματα ἀκεσθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ νόσημα ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐνόσησε καὶ ὅπως ἰάθη.

Within the enclosure stood slabs; in my time six remained, but of old there were more. On them are inscribed the names of both the men and the women who have been healed by Asclepius, the disease also from which each suffered, and the means of cure. The dialect is Doric.⁷⁹

Sadly there are only four stelae left for us to read today, which means that two have been lost in the centuries since Pausanias visited the site. Pausanias mentioned that each inscription began with a name, which is true for the most part, but there were some that were anonymous and others have only fragments that remain. These inscriptions all required the patient to spend the night in the abaton and tell of personal issues, but they also reflected public ideology.⁸⁰ The majority of the inscriptions relating to women had to do with childbirth or illnesses that could affect their chances of childbirth, while the inscriptions dealing with men seem to follow a pattern of battle wounds, acts of stupidity, or just general ailments regarding all parts of the body.

In order to be healed, the patients would come to the abaton to sleep overnight where Asclepius visited them and healed them by direct intervention (the laying on of hands, applying medicine or poultices, or performing surgery) or indirect intervention by sending treatment instructions in a dream.⁸¹ The instructions sent through the dream were reminiscent of Hippocratic medicine, with suggestions such as bloodletting, baths,

⁷⁹ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.3.

⁸⁰ LiDonnici, 1995:1.

⁸¹ Oberhelman, 2013:9.

diet, exercise, drugs, poultices, emetics, and many more.⁸² The Hippocratic writers utilized the gods and prayer in their healing as just another tool in their medical tool box:

ist nicht zu übersehen, dass die Entwicklung der professionellen Medizin, wie sie sich in den ältesten Teilen des hippokratischen Corpus widerspiegelt, in deutlichem Zusammenhang steht mit dem Aufschwung des Asklepios-Kultes, was kein Zufall sein kann.⁸³

It cannot be overlooked that the development of professional medicine, as reflected in the oldest parts of the Hippocratic Corpus, is clearly related to the rise of the Asclepius cult, which cannot be a coincidence.

Many of these inscriptions are similar in style and subject to the Hippocratic Epidemics, with close parallels between Epidemics V and VII in regards to style,⁸⁴ and in some of the inscriptions Asclepius was shown as having utilized drugs during his treatments, having recommended diets, administered an emetic that caused vomiting, and even having appeared in dreams as a surgeon who executed miraculous cures.⁸⁵ Some of these Hippocratic similarities can also be seen in Aristophanes' comedic drama *Plutus*:

Καρίων

πρῶτον δὲ πάντων τῷ Νεοκλείδῃ φάρμακον καταπλαστὸν ἐνεχείρησε τρίβειν, ἐμβαλὼν σκορόδων κεφαλὰς τρεῖς Τηνίων. ἔπειτ' ἔφλα ἐν τῇ θυεῖᾳ συμπαραμινύων ὁπὸν καὶ σχῖνον: εἴτ' ὅξει διέμενος Σφηττίῳ κατέπλασεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βλέφαρ' ἐκστρέψας, ἵνα ὀδυνῶτο μᾶλλον. ὁ δὲ κεκραγὼς καὶ βοῶν ἔφευγ' ἀνάξας: ὁ δὲ θεὸς γελάσας ἔφη: 'ἐνταῦθα νῦν κάθησο καταπεπλασμένος, ἵν' ὑπομνύμενον παύσω σε τὰς ἐκκλησίας.'

Cario

He [Asclepius] first prepared an ointment for Neoclides; he threw three heads of Tenian garlic into the mortar, pounded them with an admixture of fig-tree sap and lentisk, moistened the whole with Sphettian vinegar,

⁸² Oberhelman, 2013:9.

⁸³ Solin, 2013:12.

⁸⁴ Percy, 2013:103.

⁸⁵ Longrigg, 1993:24.

and, turning back the patient's eyelids, applied his salve to the interior of the eyes, so that the pain might be more excruciating. Neoclides shrieked, howled, sprang towards the foot of his bed and wanted to bolt, but the god laughed and said to him, "Keep where you are with your salve; by doing this you will not go and perjure yourself before the Assembly."⁸⁶

Here one can read of Asclepius using the technique of mixing an ointment together which would be much more suited to the practice of a mortal doctor: as a god he would have been able to heal with divine powers and without the preparation of a physical ointment. Asclepius was different from most of the Greek pantheon in this way as he was a god that was reported to have incorporated many more 'human' ways of healing sicknesses. The example above depicted an ingredient list, the preparation method, and the outcome for the patient. In this case the 'cure' was a blessing in disguise, because although it caused Neoclides pain, it prevented him from committing perjury before the Assembly which was something that would have caused him a lot more trouble than just the pain from an ointment. This play was a comedy so Aristophanes took some liberties for the sake of humour, but Asclepius did make the choice as to whether or not to heal the patients. In one case he solved a widowed wife's money problem by helping her find her late husband's buried treasure, and in another he rejected the attempt of a bribe from a man.⁸⁷ To get an idea as to what some of the other inscriptions consisted of a couple have been listed below:

[A1] Κλεῶ πένθ' ἔτη ἐκύησε. Αὐτὰ πέντ' ἔνιαυτοὺς ἤδη κυοῦσα ποῖ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτις ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐνεκάθειυδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτῳ· ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐξῆλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐγένετο, κόρον ἔτεκε, ὃς εὐθὺς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας ἐλοῦτο καὶ ἅμα τᾷ ματρὶ περιῆρπε. τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· 'οὐ μέγεθος πίνακος

⁸⁶ Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 715-726.

⁸⁷ LiDonnici, 1995:2 [C3 and A7].

θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύησε ἐγ γαστρὶ Κλεῶ βάρος,
ἔστε ἐγκατεκοιμάθη καί μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῇ.

Kleo was pregnant for five years. After the fifth year of pregnancy, she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the Abaton. As soon as she had left it and was outside the sacred area, she gave birth to a son who, as soon as he was born, washed himself at the fountain and walked about with his mother. After this success, she inscribed upon an offering: *"The wonder is not the size of the plaque, but the act of the god: Kleo bore a burden in her stomach for five years, until she slept here, and he made her well."*

[A 11] Ἀισχίνας ἐγκεκοινισμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱκετᾶν ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἀμβὰς ὑπερέκυπτε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον. καταπετῶν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρεος περὶ σκόλοπας τινὰς τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ἀμφέπαισε· κακῶς δὲ διακείμενος καὶ τυφλὸς γεγεννημένος καθικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἐνεκάθευδε καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο.

Aischines, when the suppliants were already sleeping, went up a tree and peered over into the Abaton. Then he fell out of the tree and impaled his eyes on some fencing. In a dreadful state, having been blinded, he earnestly prayed to the god, slept here, and became well.⁸⁸

These are just two examples of the inscriptions which show some of the problems that the patients went to Asclepius for help with. The first inscription draws attention to the importance that the Ancient Greek people placed on the ability of a woman to have children, while the second depicted an act of stupidity that ended badly, but Asclepius was still kind enough to heal him. These inscriptions provide invaluable information on the different kinds of patients who sought out cures and on the types of illnesses that were treated.

Some of the recorded cases where the healing was too farfetched to be believed could have been used as examples of patients conforming to the expectations of society, as well as expectations that had been set for the miracles that were to be accomplished at

⁸⁸ LiDonnici, 1995:98-99 [A19].

Epidaurus. These were recorded to demonstrate the power of Asclepius, the god who judged Epidaurus as a worthy location to brandish his healing power. Some of the reports of miracle healing would have been exaggerated for the sake of narrative and propaganda in order to support the positive perception of Epidaurus, and the actual healing time could have been shown as much shorter in duration than in actuality for fear of social or cultural repercussions, or merely for the sake of a good story. If there were to have been any repercussions, they would have come from their social peers as there was the belief that those who had not done enough for the god would not have earned their healing: they must have worked for and believed in the cure, or they would not be deemed worthy of Asclepius. Even the most unbelievable inscriptions remain supported by public ideology of the class divides, ideals, and family wishes: the wish for children, the cure of an illness, the healing of a wound, the removal of pain, and the growth of hair.

One of the common themes found in regards to Asclepius and his ability to heal was his use of two sacred animals: the snake and the dog. The circular tholos found within the sanctuary may have housed sacred serpents for the use in healing.⁸⁹ The tholos was situated close by the temple where the patients spent the night in their healing sleep, thereby providing easy access to the serpents. The foundation is comprised of six concentric rings, with the inner three rings having been the supporting walls, and the outer three rings supported the colonnades and the cella wall, and what is interesting is that the inner three rings formed a maze that surrounded a pit at the centre.⁹⁰ Here is

⁸⁹ Tomlinson, 1983:66.

⁹⁰ Tomlinson, 1983: 61.

where the serpents would have been housed, but unfortunately today only the rings of the foundation still remain.

Asclepius was portrayed in art, both sculpture and paintings, with a snake either in his hands, or twined around his staff, and in 291 BCE when the Romans suffered a plague, they sent for a snake from Epidaurus before consulting a doctor.⁹¹ Pausanias also recorded the presence of snakes when he wrote down a description of a statue of Asclepius that existed at Epidaurus: it was made out of gold and ivory, showed him sitting on a seat while holding a staff in one hand, in his other hand he was holding a snake above his head, and a dog was lying down by his side.⁹² There have been a number of coins found from Epidaurus that depict this image as well and they are believed to have been representations of this statue.⁹³ The snake and the dog were extensions of Asclepius' healing power and he used these as tools to help administer cures. A number of the inscriptions focus on the use of the snake and its almost anthropomorphic quality of having been able to heal wounds. The following are two examples found inscribed upon the stelae:

[B13] [Θ]ερσανδρος Ἄλικὸς φθίσιν. οὗτος, ὡς ἐγκαθεύδων [οὐ]δεμίαν ὄψιν [ε']ώρη, ἐφ' ἀμάξας [ἄ]μπαλ' ἦν ἀπεκομίζετο εἰς Ἀλιεῖς, δράκων δέ τις [τῶν] ἱαρῶν ἐπὶ τ[ᾱ]ς ἀμ[α]ξας Καθιδρυμένος ἦς, τὸ πο[λ]ὺ τᾶς ὁδοῦ περιη- [λι]γμε' νος περὶ τ[ὸν] ἄξονα διετέλεσε. μολόντων δ' [α]ὐ[τῶν] εἰς Ἀλιεῖς [καί] τοῦ Θερσ[ά]νδρου κατακλιθεντος οἵ[κο]ι, ὁ δράκων ἀπὸ τᾶς ἀμά- [ξας] καταβά[ς] τ[ὸν] Θέρσανδρον ἰάσατο Δ [τᾶς] δ[έ] πόλιος τῶν Ἀλικῶν [ἀγγε]λ[λ]οί[σ]οις τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ διαπορευμένας] περὶ τοῦ ὄφι- [ος,] πόλ[ι]τερον εἰς Ἐπίδauρον ἀποκομίζωντι [ἢ] αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ χώραν ἐὼν- [τι,] εἶδοξε τᾷ πόλ[ι] εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι ἡ χρησομεῖνους, πότερα [τηοιῶν] τν ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησε τὸν ὄφιν ε' ἣν αὐ[τεῖ] καὶ ἰδρυσαμε' νου[ς]

⁹¹ Hartigan, 2009:31.

⁹² Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II.27.2.

⁹³ Fowler, 1887:32-33.

Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ποτὶ Ἡγεμῖνον ἀνθέμεν [εἰς]
τὸ ἱαρόν· ἄγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ χρηιήμοῦ ἅ πόλις ἅ τῶν Ἀλικῶν
ιδρύσατο εἰατὸ τέμενος Ἀσκληπιοῦ [αὐτεῖ. καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ] θεοῦ
μαντ[ευ]-
σθέντα ἐπετέλεσε.

Thersandros of Halieis, consumption. This man, since he didn't see any vision while sleeping here, was carried on a wagon back to Halieis. But one of the snakes from the sanctuary had settled down in the wagon and rode for most of the way twined around the axle. When they arrived in Halieis and Thersandros was lying in bed in his house, the snake came down from the wagon and cured Thersandros. The city of Halieis reported what had happened, and the people didn't know what to do about the snake, whether they should carry it back to Epidaurus or keep it in their own country. It seemed good to the polis to send to Delphi asking which thing they should do. The god proclaimed that the serpent should be right there and that they should dedicate a temenos of Asklepios, and make an image of him and dedicate it in the sanctuary. When the oracle was announced, the polis of Halieis dedicated a temenos of Asklepios there, and carried out the things divined by the god.⁹⁴

Within this inscription one can see the importance placed upon the serpent and the anthropomorphic quality of the snake having done the healing in place, or on behalf of, Asclepius. This was also a description of how the cult of Asclepius could travel and spread throughout the ancient world. This dissemination was portrayed as the choice of Asclepius, through the snake though, because the snake made the choice to settle down in the wagon for the ride to Halieis. The commotion that was raised regarding whether or not to return the snake also shows the importance that people put upon this sacred animal, in fact it even warranted a trip to Delphi for an oracle. This trip by the snake was a symbolic representation of an explanation as to how the cult was disseminated between

⁹⁴ LiDonnici, 1995:110-111 [B13].

locations, but snakes also were tasked with healing conditions or illnesses within the abaton.

[A17] ἀνὴρ δάκτυλον ἰάθη ὑπὸ ὄψιος, οὗτος τὸν τοῦ ποδὸς δάκτυλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγρίου ἔλκεος δεινῶς διακείμενος μεθάμερα ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐξενειχθεὶς ἐπὶ ἐδράματὸς τινοῦ καθίζε· ὕπνου δέ νιν λαβόντος ἐν τούτῳ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθὼν τὸν δάκτυλον ἰάσατο τῇ γλῶσσῃ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἄβατον ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν. ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἦς ὑγιής, ἔφα ὅψιν ἰδεῖν, δοκεῖν νεανίσκον εὐπρεπῆ τὰμ μορφὰν εἶπε τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιτίην Φάρμακον.

A man's toe was healed by a snake. He was in a terrible condition from a malignant ulceration on his toe. During the day he was carried out of the Abaton by the servants and was sitting on a seat. He fell asleep there, and then a snake came out of the Abaton and healed the toe with its tongue; and when it had done this it went back into the Abaton again. When the man woke up, he was well and he said he had seen a vision: it seemed to him that a good-looking young man had sprinkled a drug over his toe.⁹⁵

This inscription was more typical in terms of the healing sleep that the patients experienced while they stayed at the sanctuary. The patient would come to Asclepius with an illness, spend the night in the abaton, and be treated by the priests with an appropriate medication. In this case the snake was a figment of his healing sleep and the cure was then described as a drug that had been sprinkled upon him. This sprinkling of a drug was a typical medicinal cure and appeared in many medical texts from the Homeric authors as mentioned previously. The importance of the snake in Asclepius' healing was so great that the sacred animal even had a place of importance in Aristophanes' comedic play *Plutus*:

Καρίων

τούτῳ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν φοινικίδ' ὑποδύνθ' ἡσυχῇ τὰ βλέφαρα περιέλειχον, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· καὶ πρὶν σε κοτύλας ἐκπιεῖν οἴνου δέκα, ὁ Πλοῦτος ὦ δέσποιν' ἀνειστήκει βλέπων· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ χεῖρ' ἀνεκρότησ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τὸν δεσπότην τ' ἡγειρον. ὁ θεὸς δ' εὐθέως ἠφάνισεν αὐτὸν οἷ τ' ὄφεις ἐς τὸν νεών. οἱ δ' ἐγκατακείμενοι παρ' αὐτῷ πῶς δοκεῖς τὸν Πλοῦτον

⁹⁵ LiDonnici, 1995:96-97 [A17].

ἡσπάζοντο καὶ τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην ἐγρηγόρεσαν, ἕως διέλαμψεν ἡμέρα. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ νουν τὸν θεὸν πάνυ σφόδρα, ὅτι βλέπειν ἐποίησε τὸν Πλοῦτον ταχύ, τὸν δὲ Νεοκλείδην μᾶλλον ἐποίησεν τυφλόν.

Cario

They slipped gently beneath the purple cloth and, as far as I could judge, licked the patient's eyelids; for, in less time than even you need, mistress, to drain down ten beakers of wine, Plutus rose up; he could see. I clapped my hands with joy and awoke my master, and the god immediately disappeared with the serpents into the sanctuary. As for those who were lying near Plutus, you can imagine that they embraced him tenderly. Dawn broke and not one of them had closed an eye. As for myself, I did not cease thanking the god who had so quickly restored to Plutus his sight and had made Neoclides blinder than ever.⁹⁶

Aristophanes, although he wrote comedic theatre, left behind quite a few details about what snakes were believed to have done in the name of Asclepius. Above one can see that the snakes were gentle as they came upon the patient, and this gentleness is at odds with the fear that could sometimes affect people in regards to them. Here they were not to be feared, but were to be allowed to lick the patient's eyelids, thereby symbolically administering the cure. In reality the priests may have been brushing their medicinal cure across the patient's eyelids, but through the expectations of the location and the preparatory work done by the plays at the theatre, the sleeping brain may have associated this gentle brushing as the tongue of a snake. The preconceived notion that as a patient you could be visited by the god in any of his forms meant that the expectations could easily become reality.

Asclepius' representation by a dog also shows up in a number of the inscriptions such as the one below:

⁹⁶ Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 735-747.

[B6] κύων ἰάσατο παῖδα Αἰ[γιν]άταν. οὗτος φῦμα ἐν τῷ τραχάλῳ εἶχε·
ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ποῖ τ[ὸν] θε[ὸν] κύων τῶν ἱαρῶν ὕ[τταρ τ1]αῖ
γλῶσσαι ἐθεράπευσε καὶ ὑγιῇ ἐπόη[σ]ε.

A dog cured a boy from Aigina. He had a growth on his neck. When he had come to the god, a dog from the sanctuary took care of him with its tongue while he was awake, and made him well.⁹⁷

Here the boy was healed with an ‘animal cure’ instead of a medicinal one, and what made this a bit different was that it described the dog curing the boy while he was awake instead of during the typical healing sleep. The occurrence of dogs licking people, specifically the child in this case, would have been a fairly common one and still is today, so having the cure passed on in this way would not have seemed abnormal. In fact having the dogs sneak into the abaton like the snakes did while the patients slept would have seemed strange. Snakes were known to slither around, disappear under the earth, shed their skin in a process of renewal, and were associated with the underworld, so having them slither out in the night to heal patients while they were sleeping made sense. Dogs on the other hand were present everywhere during the day, lived around humans, and typically slept at night, so the daytime healing was appropriate for them.

The belief that Asclepius could cure through his association with snakes and dogs was as important as the actual medicinal cure for the people of Greek antiquity. The power of belief and prayer could play an important role in healing for those who believed. While the praying may or may not have helped the person directly, the act of praying could, as the power of positive thought could have been a great form of medicine in and of itself when utilized in a healthy environment or in combination with the correct

⁹⁷ LiDonnici, 1995:104-105 [B26].

medication. Therefore, the people could affect their own health and healing simply by the reversal of their thought processes, from having been despondent about not being able to be healed, to optimistic and upbeat that a cure was available. This benefit of supplication to the god would have been similar to the benefit that one would have received from the use of humour as a healing tool in the theatre, and here too the use of religion was inseparable from the use of medicine.

Conclusion

The Sanctuary of Epidaurus flourished from the sixth century BCE until the third century CE and held a place of prominence in the world of Ancient Greek medicine. The great number of patients who visited the Sanctuary of Epidaurus contributed to its economic growth, and the economic growth of the surrounding regions, and increased the influence of the healers and Asclepius at this location. The numerous myths of the birth and deification of Asclepius were well known by the people in the Ancient Greek world, and were adjusted slightly throughout versions in order to build up the reputation of the healing sanctuaries. The myths began as early as the eighth century BCE within Homer's *Iliad*, and continued to be written about and debated until the second century CE. Even today it is difficult to tell which version of the myth appeared before others. As mentioned earlier, the myths presented Asclepius as a mortal doctor with two sons who healed the sick and raised the dead. As punishment for having resurrected the dead, Zeus killed him, after which he was elevated to the realm of the gods when he was made immortal, and as a deified mortal, now a god, he continued to heal the illnesses and fix the quandaries of his patients. Epidaurus was not alone in making sure that its ties to

Asclepius could be 'proven' and this was one of its greatest propaganda tools. Another of Epidaurus' great tools was the use of Asclepius himself since he straddled the border of both the mortal and divine worlds, which allowed the patients to feel as though they had a bit of a connection to this god and could therefore trust his motives more so than they would trust the motives of other sometimes fickle gods and goddesses.

The location of the site, having been surrounded by mountains, having had access to fresh water and the presence of fertile land, allowed the sanctuary to remain relatively sheltered yet able to develop its own identity in terms of its social, cultural, and medical practices. The amount of people visiting the region for healing would have allowed outside influences to be assimilated in ways that the Epidaurian people felt best for the area and the sanctuary itself. Due to its prominence and economic growth, the sanctuary was able to begin a building phase in the third century BCE and the remains of these buildings are what can be seen today. Many of the healing practices can be viewed through the inscriptions found on four large limestone stelae that hold the Epidaurian inscriptions.

As has been demonstrated, the healing power of the theatre was an important part of the healing process for the patients as it helped to relax the people and put them in the correct frame of mind to receive the necessary healing. Both the Sanctuary of Epidaurus and the plays at its theatre represented the hope to the people who went there seeking cures for whatever ailed them.

The link between medicine and religion was extremely strong at the Sanctuary of Epidaurus, and in other Ancient Greek sanctuaries. All too often the modern day viewer

looks at people of the past through a two-dimensional lens and do not look at them as 'real', but the Ancient Greeks were real people with thought processes just like us today, only the setting was different. No matter the setting, the state of a person's mental health can greatly affect the physical body's health and so tying medicine and religion together to provide 'cures' for illnesses was a practical and productive practice in Ancient Greece. In fact the work of Neuropharmacologist Candace Pert has today shown the "close association between the brain and the immune system, that emotions and health are interdependent."⁹⁸ It has taken us centuries, if not millennia, to scientifically arrive at the same conclusion that the healers at Epidaurus already knew: excluding the mental health of the patient leaves the healing journey incomplete.

⁹⁸ Hartigan, 2009:7.

Bibliography

- Burford, A. *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*. Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*. Pt I. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945.
- Fantuzzi, M. 'Sung Poetry: The Case of Inscribed Paeans', in Clauss, J.J. and Cuypers, M. (eds.). *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp.183-188.
- Ferngren, G.B. *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.
- Fowler, H.N. 'The Statue of Asklepios at Epidauros', *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2, June 1887, pp.32-37 Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/496375> [Accessed: 5th June 2017].
- Hartigan, K.V. *Performance and Cure: Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece and Contemporary America*. London: Duckworth, 2009.
- Henderson, J. and Withington, E.T. (eds.) *The Loeb Classical Library: Hippocrates Volume III*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.
- Herzog, R. *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion*. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931.
- LiDonnici, L.R. *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.
- Livius.org 'Pindar' 2017. <http://www.livius.org/articles/person/pindar/> [Accessed: 16th November 2017].
- Longrigg, J. 1993. *Greek Rational Medicine: Philosophy and Medicine from Alcmaeon to the Alexandrians*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Longrigg, J. 2001. *Greek Medicine from the Heroic to the Hellenistic Age*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.
- MacLachlan, B., 'Connecting to the Divine: Greek Cult and Ritual', in Glazebrook, A. and Vester, C. (eds.), *Themes in Greek Society and Culture*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2017, pp.151-172.
- Mitchell-Boyask, R. *Plague and the Athenian Imagination: Drama, History, and the Cult of Asclepius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Oberhelman, S.M. 'Introduction: Medical Pluralism, Healing, and Dreams in Greek Culture', in Oberhelman, S.M. (ed.), *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013, pp.1-30.

- Panagiotidou, O. 2016. Asclepius' Myths and Healing Narratives: Counter-Intuitive Concepts and Cultural Expectations. *Open Library of Humanities*. 2(1), p.e6. Available at: <http://doi.org/10.16995/olh.34> [Accessed: 17th November 2017].
- Pearcy, L.T. 'Writing the Medical Dream in the Hippocratic Corpus and at Epidaurus', in Oberhelman, S.M. (ed.), *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013, pp.93-108.
- Purcell, M. 2016. The Healing Power of Humor. *Psych Central*. Available at: <https://psychcentral.com/lib/the-healing-power-of-humor/> [Accessed: 16th December 2017].
- Robinson, A.M. 'The Cult of Asklepius and the Theatre', *Educational Theatre Journal*, Vol. 30, Nov. 4, Dec. 1978, pp.530-542 Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3206048> [Accessed: 12th October 2016].
- Solin, H. 'Inscriptliche Wunderheilungsberichte aus Epidauros', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, September 2013, 17(1), pp.7-50 Available at: http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/resolve/09499571/v17i0001/7_iwae.xml [Accessed: 11th October 2016].
- Theoi Project 'Asklepios' 2017. <http://www.theoi.com/Ouranios/Asklepios.html> [Accessed: 28th August 2017].
- Theoi Project 'Khrysos' 2017. <http://www.theoi.com/Daimon/Khrysos.html> [Accessed: 28th August 2017].
- Theoi Project 'Pausanias 2.15-28' 2017. <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias2B.html> [Accessed: 28th August 2017].
- Theoi Project 'Zeus' 2017. <http://www.theoi.com/Olympios/Zeus.html> [Accessed: 1st December 2017].
- Tomlinson, R.A. *Epidauros*. London: Granada, 1983.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 'Two Buildings in Sanctuaries of Asklepios', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 89, 1969, pp.106-117 Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/627471> [Accessed: 9th October 2016].
- Wright, J.C. 'The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion', in Alcock, S.E. and Osborne, R. (eds.). *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, pp.37-78.

Ancient Sources

- Aelian. *On the Characteristics of Animals*. A. F. Scholfield (trans.). 1958. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*. Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Pt.1. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1945.
- Aristophanes. *Plutus*. Perseus Digital Library.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0019.tlg011.perseus-grc1:696-747> and
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0019.tlg011.perseus-eng1:651-695> [Accessed: 7th August 2017].
- Cicero. *De Natura Deorum*. Rackham, H. (trans.). 1933. Internet Archive.
<https://archive.org/details/denaturadeorumac00ciceuoft> Accessed: [23rd August 2017].
- Hippocrates. *De Morbo Sacro*. Adams, C.D. (ed.). 1868. Perseus Digital Library.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0627.tlg027.perseus-eng1:1>
 Accessed: [21st August 2017].
- Homer. *Hymn 16 to Asclepius*. Perseus Digital Library. Evelyn-White, H.G. (ed.). 1914.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0013.tlg016.perseus-grc1:1>
 and <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0013.tlg016.perseus-eng1:16> [Accessed: 2nd July 2017].
- Homer. *Iliad*. Perseus Digital Library. Murray, A.T. (trans.). 1924.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-eng1:1.1-1.32> [Accessed: 30th October 2018].
- Isyllus. *Paeon to Asclepius*. Attalus. <http://www.attalus.org/poetry/paeans.html> Accessed: [28th September 2017].
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Pt.I. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1945.
- Pausanias. *Descriptio Graeciae*. Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Pt.I. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1945.
- Pausanias. *Descriptio Graeciae*. Perseus Digital Library, Jones, W.H.S, Litt. D, and Ormerod M.A. (trans.). 1918.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0525.tlg001.perseus-grc1:2.27.1> and
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0525.tlg001.perseus-eng1:2.27.1> [Accessed: 3rd December 2017].
- Pindar. *Pythian III*. Perseus Digital Library. Svarlien, D.A.
<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0033.tlg002.perseus-eng1:3>
 and <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0033.tlg002.perseus-grc1:3> [Accessed: 21st October 2017].

Pindar. *Fragments*. Loeb Classical Library. 1997.

https://www.loebclassics.com/view/pindar-fragments/1997/pb_LCL485.427.xml

[Accessed: 13th November 2017].

Porphyry. *De Abstinentia*. Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Pt.I. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1945.

Theodoret. *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*. Edelstein, E.J. and Edelstein, L. *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, Pt.1. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1945.

Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Perseus Digital Library. Hobbes, T. (ed.). 1843. <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0003.tlg001.perseus-eng1:2.57> Accessed: [1st December 2017].