Religion in the Roman Empire (RRE) is bold in the sense that it intends to further and document new and integrative perspectives on religion in the Ancient World combining multidisciplinary methodologies. Starting from the notion of 'lived religion' it will offer a space to take up recent, but still incipient research to modify and cross the disciplinary boundaries of 'History of Religion', 'Anthropology', 'Classics', 'Ancient History', 'Ancient Judaism', 'Early Christianity', 'New Testament', 'Patristic Studies', 'Coptic Studies', 'Gnostic and Manichaean Studies', 'Archaeology' and 'Oriental Languages'. It is the purpose of the journal to stimulate the development of an approach which can comprise the local and global trajectories of the multi-dimensional pluralistic religions of antiquity.

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Introduction: Lived Ancient Religion and the Body

Back in 1988, Arthur Kleinmann (The Illness Narratives. Suffering, Healing and the Human Condition) defined illness as ‘the lived experience of monitoring bodily processes’, thus bridging the gap between externally defined medical categories of illness and the more personal experience of illness for the individual patient. Within the methodological framework of Lived Ancient Religion (LAR), illness is thought of as a personal crisis which reveals hidden cracks in the socio-political nexus and offers a unique opportunity for the individual to make adjustments to pre-established political, healing and religious schemata and to create new ones. Thus, illness and its counterpart (healing, both religious and secular) offer a unique insight into the ‘lived religion’ of the Greco-Roman world.

This issue of Religion in the Roman Empire is an experiment focused on seeing whether we can replace, or at least modify, the prevalent Foucauldian view of second-century society’s extreme preoccupation with the body, its functions and the exercise of control over both, with a more ‘Lived Ancient Religion’-friendly perception of the body as being individually experienced and religiously expressed. In the dominant Foucauldian conceptual framework, the body is placed centre-stage in the literary and cultural production of the Second Sophistic because of the emergence of this very vague and often methodologically illusive concept of the ‘self’. The emergence of charismatic medical experts of the calibre of Galen, with his ostentatious medical demonstrations, his prolific clinical praxis and his writing career, is considered to be the most significant tell-tale sign of this era’s devotion to the care of the ‘self’ and the body. From this perspective, the pre-eminence of healing cults of Isis, Sarapis and Asclepius is the other side of the same coin. As Judith Perkins puts it: ‘Medicine is one of the most important institutional elaborations of the body in any society, and in the early Empire, the cult of Asclepius offered a parallel social institutionalization of the body.’

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1 E. g., Foucault 1986, 43.
2 E. g., Perkins 1995.
In effect, this issue is an attempt to take a step back and look afresh at the surge of interest in the body and its care in the Second Sophistic, not taking it as a new development but, rather, as a natural progression of embodying and further embellishing trusted and time-resistant religious ideas about the body as whole when healthy, fragmented when ill, and safe at critical moments in life only when it is in the vicinity of the gods.

There are many explanations for why it is so easy to forget about this parallel and extremely prevalent view of the body as an object in the hands of the gods. For instance, it is easy to focus on bodily knowledge as it was defined by Galen and his colleagues in the second century CE, and as it was delineated in the so-called ‘scientific’ treatises of the time. It is just as easy to forget that not everyone would have had a share in this kind of ‘scientific’ knowledge. Or that, even if they did, they might still opt to combine this knowledge with corporeal data accumulated in the course of important rites of passage and even in initiatory rituals. No matter how popularised medical knowledge was in the Second Sophistic – and that it was can be granted with some certainty – there is little doubt that only a limited number of people would have had access to it or would have relied upon it exclusively even if they did have such access. Most people’s knowledge of how their bodies worked would have been a unique and peculiar amalgam of personal experimentation, hearsay, family upbringing, experiences with health care providers of various degree of success and efficiency (magicians, astrologers, root cutters, herbalists, wandering healers, household or family members, doctors, etc.), and, most importantly, religious practices that marked important changes in their bodily status (e.g., rites of passage, initiatory rituals, etc.). Most significantly, even members of the intellectual elite, even doctors like Galen, who have had access to this kind of ‘scientific’ bodily knowledge, quite often opted to trust their bodies and their fates to a divine rather than an earthly physician. By contrast, LAR focuses more on the notion of

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4 Nutton 1995. By ‘non-scientific’ texts, I refer to the corpus of texts and material evidence that Nutton 1985 calls ‘non-medical evidence’, that is to works other than the Hippocratic authors, the works of Rufus, Soranus, Aretaeus, Galen, etc.

5 Popularised medical knowledge: Johnson 2010, 74–97; Paz de Hoz 2014; van Nuffelen 2014.


7 On Galen’s close relationship with Asclepius, for instance, see Pietrobelli 2013 and Pietrobelli’s chapter in this volume. This view, albeit in stark contradiction with traditional scholars who emphasise ‘the Greek miracle’ and overinvest in the notion of the scientific character of Greek medicine in the second century CE, as Pietrobelli argues in this volume, can be fully substantiated by an in-depth analysis of Galenic treatises like On the usefulness of the parts and On my own opinions.
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Thus employing both materiality and corporeal experience, two notions central to the contemporary anthropology of religion, to fathom the harmonious co-existence of the pluralism of the religious market-place and the singularity of individual religious choices in the Roman Empire.

This volume brings together a number of international experts with diverse backgrounds in classical studies, archaeology, material culture, history of medicine, theology, ancient history and history of religions to look afresh at the individual as a sufferer/patient in conjunction with his or her personal religious beliefs and practices. To what extent (if at all) do the patient’s religious ideas and practises impact on the course of their treatment and recovery? How did famous ancient physicians utilise these widespread religious ideas and attitudes in the process of negotiation with their patients? How fruitfully were religious ideas and practises embedded in the personal religious beliefs and attitudes of physicians and healers? What are the material traces of this continuous, and at times turbulent, interaction between religion and medicine? What are the media that can best throw light on the intersections of medicine and religion in Greco-Roman antiquity? These are some of the issues the special issue of RRE attempts to address. The prime chronological focus of this special issue is the Roman Imperial era but earlier (from the first century BCE) and later (from the third and fourth centuries CE) comparanda are also discussed.

In the first chapter, Patricia Baker (Viewing Health: Asclepia in Their Natural Settings) embarks on an interdisciplinary survey of what Greeks and Romans would identify as salubrious locations in terms of their views, access to fresh air and water, and their positions away from places that were malodorous or cacophonous. For Baker a thorough examination of these landscapes, or ‘healthscapes’, as she calls them, provides us with an understanding of the desired sensual experiences sanctuaries offered that helped in the formation of health.

The second chapter, by Jane Draycott (When Lived Ancient Religion and Lived Ancient Medicine Meet: The Household Gods, The Household Shrines and Regimen), shifts the focus from the community and the group to the individual and the household. Draycott combines religious and medical historical approaches and examines the role that Roman private religious belief and practice played in domestic medical practice in Italy during the Late Republic and the Principate. She also explores the cultivation and har-

8 Embodiment and religion in the Roman Empire: Morgan 2010; Raja and Rüpke 2015, 9–13.
vest of plants from the household garden and their subsequent use in Roman
domestic medical practice as ingredients for medicinal remedies.

Then, Jessica Hughes (‘Souvenirs of the Self’: Personal Belongings as Votive
Offerings in Ancient Religion), shifts the thematic agenda of the volume to the
very promising area of material evidence. Hughes looks at yet another of the
intersections of medicine and lived religion, a category of very special sanctu-
ary dedications which were not made explicitly to be votives but which
were ‘repurposed’ as offerings after having served a range of other func-
tions, such as personal adornment and tools for work. These objects, Hughes
argues, provide us with a unique opportunity to peek through the curtains
and discover aspects of the individual experiences of illness and healing.

The contributions of Matteo Martelli (Religion, Alchemy and Medi-
cine: Zosimus of Panoplis and the Egyptian Priests) and Antoine Pietrobelli
(Galen’s Religious Itineraries) ground the discussion even more firmly in the
realm of the individual. Martelli looks at the junctures of Egyptian religious
practise and medicine as portrayed in the alchemical writings of Zosimus
of Panopolis. Zosimus, as Martelli argues, criticised Egyptian religious
ideas and contrasted them with a ‘rational’ practice of alchemy and medi-
cine only to highlight some key aspects of his own syncretic methodologi-
cal framework.

Pietrobelli, on the other hand, examines the complexities that lay behind
extracts of Galen’s work which give us glimpses into his private religious
and philosophical realm. Scholars find it difficult to comprehend how the
multiple religious identities of a pagan worshipper (therapeutes) of Ascle-
pius, a believer in a monotheistic demiurge and an avowed agnostic could
all be combined in the same person. Pietrobelli argues that the conceptual
framework of Lived Ancient Religion proves extremely helpful in reconcil-
ing the singularity of Galen’s religious evolution with his unique philosophi-
cal profile.

The paper by the guest editor, Georgia Petridou, is entitled ‘What is Divine
about Medicine? Mysteric Imagery and Bodily Knowledge in Aelius Aristides
and Lucian’. This contribution recaps some of the key themes of the volume
and looks further into the intersections of medicine and religion in Impe-
rial literature. Petridou asks why religious imagery and terminology drawn
from mystery cults were employed to describe bodily knowledge in two of
the most emblematic narratives of the Second Sophistic: Aelius Aristides’
Hieroi Logoi and Lucian’s Alexander the Pseudo-Prophet. Her argument, in
a nutshell, is that those texts, and many others from the same period, dealt
with a new kind of physiology, a physiology that is religiously experienced
and religiously expressed.
Finally, the crossroads between medicine and lived religion as they manifest themselves in the early Christian literature are explored by Annette Weissenrieder (Disease and Healing in a Changing World: ‘Medical’ Vocabulary and the Woman with the ‘Issue of Blood’ in the Vetus Latina Mark 5:25–34 and Luke 8:40–48). Weissenrieder looks at the Vetus Latina, or ‘Old Latin Bible’, a diverse collection of Latin biblical texts used by Christian churches probably from the second century on. She focuses on the narratives of the healing of female patients, especially the bloodletting woman and Jairus’ daughter in VL Mark 5 and Luke 8. Weissenrieder’s paper revisits the key themes of embodiment and lived religion but enhances them further by digging deep into a complex matrix of textual transmission to showcase the cultural specificity of both bodily purity and bodily processes.

The common denominator of these contributions is that they all speak (of course, in their own individual ways) about a new preoccupation with the body, as a vibrant entity with increased agency which, in the first two or three centuries CE, becomes the focus of systematic observation and examination. However, as Petridou’s paper argues, this preoccupation is only new in the sense that it is now more regular and methodical. In every other sense, the human body never really stopped (nor will it, as modern socio-anthropological research shows) being experienced and expressed in religious terms. There is something extraordinary about bodily discovery and experience- or age-related corporeal revelations and, let us admit it, breakdowns too, which makes us want to reach out to the divine.

Bibliography


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9 See Petridou in this issue.


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Viewing Health: Asclepia in their Natural Settings

Abstract

In this paper, it is argued that there existed a Greco-Roman perception that the views of the surrounding landscapes from Greek healing sanctuaries contributed towards the health of the pilgrim who visited the sites. Although much has been written about the religious aspects of the healing event in Asclepia, the physical environment of the sanctuaries has yet to be examined. It is, nonetheless significant, allowing us a further understanding of the pilgrims’ experience in these places that extends beyond ritual practice. The Asclepia share similar views, facing the mountains, the sea or both. By comparing the orientation of healing sanctuaries with ancient medical and philosophical literature, it is demonstrated that part of the healing experience in a sanctuary involved the stimulation of the senses. For this study, the focus is on the sense of sight. Pleasant views had a calming effect on the mind, which in turn influenced the health of the viewer. Thus, the healing event was enhanced by the visitor’s interactive relationship with the surrounding environment.*

Keywords: Asclepia, Health, healthscapes, landscapes, mountains, phenomenology, pilgrims, seascapes, sensory perception, vision

Petsalis-Diomidis has recently argued in her study of Aelius Aristides’ descriptions of the Asclepion at Pergamum that his visual experience at the site, as well as at other sanctuaries, helped to facilitate the ritual facets of the healing process.1 The sense of sight allowed for a connection between the pilgrim and Asclepius to be made, which was achieved through viewing three sacred features: a sanctified area associated with the deity, such as his birthplace; the objects and votive offerings donated at the sites; and proces-

* I would like to thank Professor William V. Harris for the invitation to participate in the Popular Medicine in the Greco-Roman World conference at Columbia University, New York, where I presented the earliest version of this paper. I also wish to thank Dr. Georgia Petridou for inviting me to contribute to the Lived Ancient Religion and Medicine workshop at Erfurt and to contribute to this volume. The ensuing discussions from both events and the encouraging comments from the two reviewers helped me to refine my ideas in numerous ways. Needless to say, any mistakes are my own.

1 Petsalis-Diomidis 2005.

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sions and rituals enacted in the sanctuaries. Although there is no doubt that seeing and participating in these devotional activities played a significant role in the healing event, the natural landscape surrounding the sanctuaries was also visible to the pilgrims. Viewing it, I will argue, was vital for the restoration of body and mind, as the Roman writer Vitruvius indicates in his book *On Architecture*. When commenting on the construction of colonnades at theatres, he wrote, ‘the spaces between colonnades that are open to the sky should have green plots because they are healthy for the eyes.’ Moreover, throughout his text, Vitruvius wrote about the placement of structures and rooms that took into consideration light, temperature and winds to promote good health. He was not alone in expressing these ideas; many Greco-Roman medical and non-medical writers mention the importance of geographic location and water quality for the health of a population. Yet what is significant about Vitruvius’ statement is that he indicates that the sense of sight and the viewing of natural vistas and colours are important for the promotion of health, or at least that of the eyes, because the air from these sights is ‘subtle and rarefied’ and ‘when it flows through the body helps remove thick humours in the eyes, clearing vision.’ In this paper, it is maintained that the Greeks and Romans believed there existed a relationship between vision and the landscape that helped to restore the mind and the body, particularly in healing sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius.

A study of this nature adds a unique approach to our conception of events in Greco-Roman healing sanctuaries. Much scholarly attention has been devoted to the rites and practices of incubation that occurred in these ritual spaces and archaeological examinations have concentrated on the votive body parts and monumental structures found in the sites. In compari-

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2 Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, 188–189. These rituals were part of a process of a visual dialogue, described by Petridou 2013, Petsalis-Diomidis 2008 and Elsner 2007, that allowed a pilgrim to commune with the god through ritual participation.

3 *De Architectura* 5.9.5: ‘The open spaces which are between the colonnades under the open sky, are to be arranged with green plots; because walks in the open are very healthy, first for the eyes, because from the green plantations, the air being subtle and rarefied, flows into the body as it moves, clears the vision, and so by removing the thick humour from the eyes, leaves the glance defined and the image clearly marked’ (*Media vero spatia quae erunt subdiu inter porticus, adornanda viridibus videntur, quod hypaethroe ambulationes habent magnam salubritatem. Et primum oculorum, quod ex viridibus subtilis et extenuatus aer propter motionem corporis influens perlimat speciem et ita auferens ex oculis umorem crassum, aciem tenuem et acutam speciem reliquit*) (Transl. Granger).

4 E.g., *De Arch*. 1.10; 6.1.1–12; 6.4.1–2.

5 E.g., Hippocrates *Airs Waters Places*; Cato *De Agricultura*; Varro *De Res Rustica*.

6 *De Arch*. 5.9.5, see n. 3.

son, the natural environments surrounding the Asclepia and the pilgrims’ encounters with them have remained unnoticed. Yet, as Lo Presti argues, the Hippocratic writer of *Airs Waters Places* explained that humans are bound by both a similarity to and a relationship with the environment. In this relationship, humans have the power to adapt to and eventually control their natural surroundings. This raises the question of whether the supplicants who visited sanctuaries felt an inextricable link to their surrounding landscape when they travelled to the spaces to attain a cure for their ailment, as the Hippocratic writer believes. Considering the pilgrims’ encounter with views of the landscape presents us with an opportunity to develop a more rounded appreciation, extending beyond ritual activity, of what it was like to visit a sanctuary in the past. It also allows us to determine the relationship people had with the environment and how the sense of sight helped to enhance a person’s mental and physical well-being.

To ascertain the relationship between views and health in the ancient world, an interdisciplinary methodology involving the examination of literature and landscapes will be employed in this study. This paper begins with a discussion of ancient texts that mention health and the environment, followed by a description of the landscapes surrounding healing sanctuaries located in Greece, Asia Minor and Magna Graecia. The landscapes are assessed to determine what scenery was visible from the sites. Once the background information has been presented, a discussion follows about new approaches in archaeological theory that can assist with interpretations of the Greek and Roman understanding of the relationship between vision and landscape and how this relationship could offer health to the patient.

Before I explore these issues, I will explain what led me to consider the questions addressed in this paper. The archaeologists Vincent Scully and Roger Tomlinson wrote separately about their experiences visiting Greek healing sanctuaries and both described similar effects that the mountainous scenery had on their health. Viewing the landscape made them relax, which ultimately benefitted their health. Their experiences were shaped by their sense perceptions, with sight and sound, or rather lack of noise, being most prominent in their descriptions. In spite of the fact that these scholars report similar effects and views, it cannot be assumed that the Greco-Roman pilgrims would have had the same sensory experiences. Conceptions of how the senses function differ over time and between cultures. Scully’s and Tomlinson’s senses are informed by a modern and western cultural context.

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8 Lo Presti 2012, 176, 181–188.
9 Scully 1979, 206; Tomlinson 1976, 97.
10 For an overview, see Howes and Classen 2014, 38–61.
and they were likely to have been in a physically healthy state. A pilgrim, on the other hand, was probably ill and/or disabled, which would have affected their sensory stimulation and encounters with the landscape.

Although it would be beneficial to access information about other sensory stimuli – smells, sounds and textures – accessible in healing sanctuaries, the primary literature describing these sites is vague. The archaeological reports of these places, if available, lack information on the botanical and faunal remains, making it difficult to establish what plants and animals were present at the sites. Having this information alerts us to smells and sounds, such as birdsong, which may have been encountered. Yet, the mountains and bodies of water have changed little over time, so views of landscapes and seascapes can be ascertained, making it possible to determine what people would have seen from the sanctuaries.

1 Landscapes and health

Salubrious environments were described in medical texts from the fifth century BCE onwards, most notably in the Hippocratic work *Airs Waters Places*, which explained how specific settings, prevailing winds and water and air quality affected the humoral constitution of the inhabitants occupying the areas described. Although the information given in the medical texts was specific, general statements of what constituted a healthy environment, as briefly mentioned in the introduction, are found across a range of literary genres, suggesting the possibility of a cross-pollination of ideas between physicians and the public concerning the powers of landscapes. This is particularly common in the literature of the Roman era, from the mid-third century BCE onwards, the same period in which we see a growth in the construction and use of Greek Asclepia. It is, therefore, possible that what was being described in the texts correlates with the pilgrims’ encounters with the natural surroundings of ritual areas.

To provide some background information to how Greco-Roman authors understood the connection between the environment and health, I begin with a statement by Varro (c. 116–27 BCE), who, like the Hippocratic writer, maintained that unwholesome land and buildings could be made better in consideration of the setting.

‘For if the farm is unwholesome on account of the nature of the land or the water, from the miasma which is exhaled in some spots; or if, on account of the climate, the land is too hot or the wind is not salubrious, these faults can be alleviated by the science and the outlay of the owner. The situation of the buildings, their size, the exposure of the galler-
ies, the doors and the windows are matters of highest importance. Did not the famous physician Hippocrates, during a great pestilence save not one farm but many cities by his skill? But why do I speak of him? Did not our friend Varro, when the army and fleet were at Corcyra, and all the houses were crowded with the sick and the dead, by cutting new windows to admit the north wind, and shutting out the infected winds by changing the position of the doors and other precautions of the same kind, bring back his comrades and his servants in good health?'

Etenim si propter terram aut aquam odore, quem aliquo loco eructat, pestilentior est fundus, aut propter caeli regionem agrer calidior sit, aut ventus non bonus flet, haec vitia emendari solent domini scientia ac sumptu, quod permagni interest, ubi sint positae villae, quantae sint, quo spectent porticibus, ostiis ac fenestris. An non ille Hippocrates medicus in magna pestilentia non unum agrum, sed multa oppida scientia servavit? Sed quid ego illum voco ad testimonium? Non hic Varro noster, cum Corcyrae esset exercitus ac classis et omnes domus repletae essent aegrotis ac funeribus, immisso fenestris novis aquilone et obstructis pestilentibus ianuaque permutata ceteraque eius generis diligentia suos comites ac familiam incolones reduxit?11

Here we see that altering structures to face a new aspect and different winds improved the health of people suffering from an outbreak of disease. It corresponds to the advice given in medical texts, indicating that he likely had some knowledge of them or that the concepts were widespread. However, other writers gave less specific advice when they described environments that were conducive to a healthy state of being.

Some of the Roman authors’ discussions use the term healthy (salubris) but they provide little to no firm details about how this term was understood. Cato (234–149 BCE), for example, advised anyone looking to purchase a farm to ensure that it had a decent climate with fertile soil, necessary for producing crops. He also indicated that it should lie at the foot of a mountain, be south-facing and that the ‘location should be healthful (locus salubri).12 Varro also offered similar advice to famers about what they should consider when purchasing land. He advised the potential buyer to check that it would ‘yield a fair return for the investment in money and labour and whether the situation was healthful (utum saluber locus esset).13 The obvious concern for both writers was to ensure that the soil and climate were suitable for plant growth. Their latter statements about health, however, imply that there was something intrinsic about the landscape that was held to be salubrious. Since neither writer provides any details about what they meant,
it is likely that there existed a popular conception of the meaning of the term ‘healthy’ that was implied by anyone using the word.\textsuperscript{14}

Vitruvius was more specific when he explained the healthy placement of cities and fortified towns, advising that they should be located in high regions but, in terms of weather, should be neither misty nor frosty. A temperate climate without extremes in temperature was best and marshy waters were to be avoided.\textsuperscript{15} Other Roman writers expressed the same opinions: Varro said marshy areas caused disease\textsuperscript{16} and Pliny the Elder advised that houses should not be built near marshes or have rivers in front of them.\textsuperscript{17} Four centuries later, Vegetius, who wrote about the Roman army, recommended that fortifications should be built in areas away from marshes. He also warned about environmental extremes and suggested ways of adapting fortifications to these climates. He advised placing forts in shady areas if the location was too sunny and hot; in cold regions, he suggested that they should be placed in areas where there was ample sunlight and protection from the wind.\textsuperscript{18}

The same requirements – temperate climate, clean air and clear water – were also expected for healing sanctuaries. Plutarch (c. 45–120 CE) asked in his work on \textit{Roman Questions} why the Roman Asclepion was placed outside the city and gave three possible answers. The third claimed the sacred snake from Epidauros chose the location. The second possible reason was that the Romans imitated the placement of the sanctuary at Epidauros, which was located outside the city. The first, however, mentions the healthfulness of the location:

\begin{quote}{\textquoteleft}Διὰ τί τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστι;\end{quote}{\textquoteleft} Is it because they considered it more healthful (ὑγιεινότερας) to spend their time outside the city than within the city walls? In fact, the Greeks as might be expected have their shrines of Asclepius situated in places, which are clean and high.

\begin{quote}{\textquoteleft}Is atrem eautem erit excelsus et non nebulosus, non pruinosus regionsque caeli spectans neque aestivalis neque frigidas sed temperatas, deinde sic vitabitur palustres vicinitas.\end{quote} (Transl. Granger).

\begin{quote}{\textquoteleft}Sin cogare secundum flumen aedificare, curandum ne adversum eam ponas; hiemem enim fiet vehemens frigida et aestate non salubris. Advertendum etiam, siqua erunt loca palustres, et propter easdem causas, et quod crescent animalia quaedam minuta, quae non possunt oculi consequat, et per aera intus in corpus per os et nares perveniunt atque efficiunt difficilis morbos.\end{quote} (Transl. Hooper).

\begin{quote}{\textquoteleft}novissimus villam in Misenensi posuit C. Marius vii cos. sed peritia castra metandi, sic ut comparatos ei ceteros etiam Sulla Felix caecos fuisset dicere. convenit neque iuxta paludes ponendam esse neque adverso amne, quamquam Homerum omnino e flumine semper antelucanas auras insalubres verissime tradidit.\end{quote} (Transl. Rackham).
Vitruvius wrote similarly about Asclepia, saying that, although all (emphasis my own) sacred precincts were located in healthy neighbourhoods with suitable springs, this was especially the case for healing sanctuaries, because ‘when the diseased bodies are transformed from an unhealthy to healthy spot and treated with waters from health-giving springs, they will grow well quicker’ (Transl. Granger).20

Yet it is Strabo who points to a relationship between vision, landscapes and health. According to him, the Greeks chose sites because of their beauty and strength but the Romans added aspects the Greeks neglected: aqueducts and sewers, for instance. As an example of Roman ingenuity, he described the Campus Martius in Rome. It was good for exercising, so therefore healthy.21 Medical writers at the time promoted the importance of exercise in their texts on the subject of regimen.22

Strabo goes on to say that the Field of Mars was also notable for its constructed and natural beauty and he describes the views that could be seen from it: ‘it is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage painting – all this I say affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from’ (transl. Jones).23

Comments made by Pliny the Younger about his villas also reveal this relationship between vistas and health. He enjoyed visiting his Apennine Villa because, as he stated, ‘[e]verywhere there is peace and quiet which adds as much to the health of the place as the clear sky and pure air. Then I enjoy the best of health, both mental and physical’ (transl. Radice).24 It appears as if his mention of the clear sky is an admission of his viewing of the natural surroundings. Two other letters provide more specific details about the vistas that could be seen from his villas. That to Clusinus Gallus described his

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20 De Arch. 1.2.7: ‘Naturalis autem decor sic erit, si primum omnibus templis saluberrimae regiones aquarumque fontes in his locis idonei eligentur, in quibus fana constituantur, deinde maxime Aesculapio, Saluti, et eorum deorum quorum plurimi medicinis aegri curari videntur. Cum enim ex pestilenti in salubrem locum corpora aegra translatas fuerint et e fontibus salubribus aquarum usus subministrabantur, celerius convalescent’.
21 Geography 5.3.8.
22 Hipp. On Regimen and Galen De Sanitate Tuenda.
23 Geography 5.3.8: ‘καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποιάζον δι’ ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάνα τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ῥεῖθρος σκινογραφικῆς ὄψεως ἐπιδεικνύεισα δυσαπάλλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θέαν.
Laurentine Villa, which had views onto the garden and an encircling drive from his dining room.\(^{25}\) His letter to Cannius Rufus mentioned a house where it was always spring. It had shady plane trees and a stream with sparkling water that flowed into the lake below it.\(^{26}\) All the information Pliny provides concerns multiple sensory experiences: views, sounds and smells, again pointing to a link between sensory perception of the environment and the health of the mind and the body.

Spencer has noted in her study on Roman landscapes that Pliny, like other earlier writers – Cato, Varro, and Columella – linked verdant vistas with good health but her arguments tend to focus on the health of the land rather than of people.\(^{27}\) Moreover, the data used in her study concentrates on ancient literature, which, as she rightly admits, was written by the wealthy, who shared their advice and experiences with their friends. So, to access the encounters of those who did not record their feelings, I now turn to an examination of the landscapes of healing sanctuaries. First, because they were places intended for the restoration of health, making it likely that their environments were considered important; and secondly, because most people were welcome to visit these sites rather than just members of the select group of people who put their experiences down in writing. Therefore, unless the pilgrims had a visual impairment, they would have encountered similar vistas.

\section*{2 Archaeology and sanctuaries}

Archaeologists who study landscapes have, for a long time, sought to rethink ancient conceptions and experiences of particular places.\(^{28}\) They have devised various ways of studying them and one of these interpretative methods is concerned with the relationship between landscapes and the activities that took place therein, hence they are referred to as ‘taskscapes’.\(^{29}\) Since the term was coined, others have contributed to this discussion by contemplating different experiences people have within landscapes, such as being gendered, leading to the use of terms like ‘genderscapes’. The term

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^{25}\) Plin. \textit{ep.} 2.17.13.
  \item \(^{26}\) Plin. \textit{ep.} 1.3.
  \item \(^{27}\) Spencer 2010, 121.
  \item \(^{28}\) E. g., for an overview see Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Blake 2007; Johnson 2007; Osbourne 1992; Preucel and Meskell 2007.
  \item \(^{29}\) E. g., Ingold 1993.
\end{itemize}
'healthscapes' has recently been added to this category of study and it concerns human interaction and experiences within healthy environments.30

Thinking through someone's feelings of a particular space is ultimately phenomenological, which, from an archaeological perspective, means ascertaining how someone's senses shaped their impression of being within an area.31 Yet phenomenology, although concerned with sensory stimuli, is argued in recent theoretical archaeological studies to focus only on the subject's sensory experiences and their personal interpretations of the encounter. Archaeologists are now attempting to assess the effects the materials of objects, or in this case landscape features, had on those who used or observed them.32 To put this simply, the environment is not only experienced by the viewer through the stimulation of the senses but also itself offers encounters to the viewer that can change their conceptions of it. For example, a viewer looking at deciduous trees on a hillside will have a different experience of the trees depending on the season of the year. In the spring and summer the viewer sees various shades of green; in the autumn they see reds, yellows and browns; and in the winter, they see dark branches. The archaeologist would argue that it is the trees and their leaves offering an experience to the viewer, and the viewer will then interpret what the trees 'offer' or 'afford' to them. Ultimately, landscapes and objects are conceived of as 'meshworks' that bring together people, histories and experiences, for example, because of their ability to offer something and vice versa.33 Heft reminds us that landscapes are not simple 'two-dimensional, picture-like images' but are active and have properties that affect the viewer.34 This approach moves beyond the phenomenological analysis in archaeology that searches for a meaning held by the subject, seeking instead to locate the abilities of the environment to participate actively in the subject's encounters.35

To establish the relational process that occurred between the landscape and its user, archaeologists attempt to determine how an ancient landscape appeared and what lived, grew and was constructed within it. Although, as mentioned, there is little evidence for the ancient flora and fauna at the sanctuaries, it is still possible to gain a credible indication of what large-scale landscape features were visible from the sites, such as mountains, lakes and seas. This is ascertained by both the descriptions given by ancient visitors

30 Baker 2013, 133–134.
32 Jones and Alberti 2013, 16–18.
33 Pollard 2013, 184–185.
34 Heft 2010, 17.
35 Alberti 2013, 37–41.
to these sites and by an examination of modern maps of the surrounding landscapes. There is always the possibility that trees or structures might have existed that blocked some of the views of the landscape features. However, the size of the hills and mountains suggest that they were visible. Moreover, building orientations indicate that these features were intended to be viewed and were not obscured.

Archaeologically, building orientation and views from temples have been a long-standing issue for debate. This is particularly common for Greek temples, which are almost universally orientated towards the east, with a few rare exceptions. Arguments tend to state that the temples face a location significant for a deity, as Petsalis-Diomidis indicates. More recently it has been demonstrated that some Greek temples which were not directly east-facing were aligned towards specific seasonal constellations that marked festivals to the god(s) worshipped at the sites. Ritual activity may have been the primary reason for the location and/or orientation of a temple and sanctuary, as is likely to have been the case at Epidauros, where there is an association with an earlier sanctuary to Apollo on the mountain facing the temple to Asclepius. In addition to the sacred significance, however, simply being exposed to the natural environment contributed to a pilgrim’s experience. Hence, we now turn to the descriptions of the landscapes that surround Asclepia.

There existed many temples and sites dedicated to Asclepius but only eight are described below because the archaeological information about many other sites is minimal. We know about the existence of temples and sanctuaries dedicated to healing from ancient literature but the writers did not give many details about their surrounding landscapes. In some cases, no material remains have been located where the writers said a site existed. On the other hand, inscriptions identified some possible areas but some of these were found with few, if any, standing structures, making it unclear if there was a sanctuary where they were found or if they were simply a dedication to the god in the region. If a temple did exist, we have no knowledge of where it was placed and what the view from it might have been.

The descriptions I will now give focus on the location and views that can be seen from the sites. Epidauros was the main sanctuary dedicated to the god Asclepius (fig. 1). The archaeological remains of the sanctuary are

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36 Penrose 1893; Nissen 1906; Aveni and Romano 1994; Liritzis and Vassiliou 2006; Boutsikas 2009; Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011.
38 Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011.
located on the eastern side of the Peloponnesus, about 60 kilometres south of Corinth. Travel to the site would have been difficult, especially for someone who was ill because they would have had to navigate surrounding hills to reach the valley where it was situated. The main route into the sanctuary was reached from the Argolid and, when travelling along the road, two rounded ridges open up to frame a pyramidal peak just before the sanctuary is reached. To the south, the valley opens and a cleft and a semi-horned ridge enclose the site in full. The pyramidal peak lies ahead, above the temple. If one approaches the site from the north (which is from the sea and the old town of Epidaurus) the ancient way winds between barren and, what Scully refers to as, ‘vaguely menacing hills’. The road comes out into the open, climbs slightly and turns directly at the point where the northern propyleon to the site was built. Here, Scully says, ‘the tentative curves of the hills are made definite and sure in the curves of the theatre, and the whole visible universe of men and nature comes together in a single quiet order, healed’.

Once the site was entered it was located in a low-lying landscape. It had a spring near its main entrance. Inside the boundary the supplicant would have panoramic views up to the surrounding hills. The temple to the deity was oriented eastwards and faced mount Tithion. Pausanias described a grove existing at the site, so we can also assume that there was greenery vis-

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40 Scully 1979, 205.
41 Scully 1979, 206.
42 Tomlinson 1983, 18.
ible to the pilgrims, but we cannot say if the mountains were covered with trees at this point in time.43

The sanctuary to Asclepius in ancient Corinth was constructed at the edge of a plateau, below the theatre and just on the inside of the city walls. The plateau made the sanctuary higher than the city, allowing breezes from the Gulf to reach it. It is situated to the north of the city, away from its centre, by the spring of Lema. Although the temple is orientated towards the east, the view to the south faces Acro Corinth, a hill with sanctuaries constructed on top of it.44

The sanctuary on the island of Kos was placed on the slope of Mount Dikeos, 100 metres above sea level (fig. 2). Kos lies off the coast of western Turkey and across from the ancient city of Halicarnassus. The structures were built on three different levels, with the eastward facing temple placed at the top of the hill. The lower and upper platform levels were surrounded by retaining walls and stoae. The first level of the site has views of gently mounded foothills on the mainland of Turkey. It is also possible to see the mountain ridge behind these hills. When climbing to the second level the views become a little wider. Intriguingly, the climb up the steps from the second to the third level is not straight. The steps are curved slightly, possibly to accommodate the view. When the top level is reached, the platforms supporting the lower two levels of the site fall out of view. However, the vista

43 Paus. 2.27.1.
44 Lang 1977; Scully 1979, 207.
from the temple looks over the sea to the Cone of Halicarnassus, which comes into full sight.\textsuperscript{45}

The site at Pergamum in Turkey was, as mentioned, described by Aelius Aristides, who spent a number of years there and kept a record of his dreams and experiences, as well as giving some descriptions of the structures in the sanctuary, providing us with a unique insight into life at this place.\textsuperscript{46} Like the other sites described, the sanctuary at Pergamum was located outside the main city. It was constructed in a valley southwest of the Acropolis and it had hills to the east, north and, particularly, the west. From the sanctuary it is possible to see the Acropolis of Pergamum, which was placed on a hilltop above the city and contained a number of altars and smaller sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{47}

Some lesser-known sanctuaries to Asclepius have had some archaeological examinations undertaken on them. Even these share the same types of landscape views as the others described. That at Orchomenos was also located on the slope of a hill and had views towards Lake Copias and the Mountain of Ptoon, which had an association with Apollo.\textsuperscript{48} In Akragas, located in Sicily, the temple was placed in a valley outside of the town. The temple was surrounded by hills, visible from the site.\textsuperscript{49}

The smaller sanctuaries of Asclepius at Athens and Piraeus were both placed on the southern slope of a hill. That at Athens was located beneath the Acropolis and had views towards the hills and mountains surrounding the city.\textsuperscript{50} The sanctuary at Piraeus had views towards the cone of Mount Oros across the Saronic Gulf, and the Gulf itself.\textsuperscript{51}

The sanctuary to Amphiarraus at Oropos is located roughly 55 kilometres to the northeast of Athens. It was built in honour of the hero Amphiarraus and supplicants visited it for prophetic dreams. However, it is included in these descriptions because there is evidence from inscriptions and from Pausanias that pilgrims also went to the site for the rejuvenation of their health. According to Pausanias those healed in the spring would throw silver into it as an offering.\textsuperscript{52} A visitor who approached the site from Athens would have reached it by following the spring, which ran through winding hills and a

\textsuperscript{45} Scully 1979, 209.
\textsuperscript{46} Petsalis-Diomidis 2010; he does discuss surrounding views but, as Petsalis-Diomedes 2008 explains, it is mainly to do with travel and his body within it.
\textsuperscript{47} Behr 1968, 27; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010; Scully 1979, 206.
\textsuperscript{48} Scully 1979, 208.
\textsuperscript{49} Scully 1979, 206.
\textsuperscript{50} Scully 1979, 204.
\textsuperscript{51} Scully 1979, 208.
\textsuperscript{52} Paus. 1.34.4.
narrow gorge. The views exposed the pilgrim to both the sea in the Gulf of Euboea and the mountains that lay to its east and south.\textsuperscript{53}

Table One: Overview of Similar Landscape Qualities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Valley Location</th>
<th>Hill Top Location</th>
<th>Slope</th>
<th>Water Source</th>
<th>View to Mountain(s)</th>
<th>Sea View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akragas</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corinth</td>
<td>(Plateau)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kos</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchomenos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oropos</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pergamum</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piraeus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight sites are described above (table 1) and they share similar locations. They were either built in valleys or on low-lying slopes, and all were exposed to mountainous views. Four had views of water bodies. The fact that many of the sites are situated in a lower area could also indicate that the movement of the ill was taken into consideration when they were being constructed. To compensate for them being in low-lying areas, if higher areas were thought to be healthier as Vitruvius stated, the views up to the mountains and hills could have given the pilgrim the impression that they were located in a higher and, therefore, healthier region. Moreover, they were all placed in protected surroundings slightly away from the cities or city centres. This could have been done to separate the sick from the healthy, much like the placement of leper hospitals in Medieval Europe.\textsuperscript{54} It might also have been a means of keeping the sites quiet and allowing cleaner air to enter them, which would have contributed towards a sense of well-being.

Besides these functional answers for why the sanctuaries were located in similar areas, the corresponding views suggest that there was something fundamental to a pilgrim’s experience of the environments of these sanctuaries that was deemed necessary for healing. Cicero argued that views of the mountains and sea provided a pleasant experience.\textsuperscript{55} Since he described the same features found at the sanctuaries, it suggests that others, too, may have found the scenery pleasant.

\textsuperscript{53} Scully 1979, 208.
\textsuperscript{54} Metzler 2012.
It can be argued that most of Greece and the Mediterranean have this landscape and the experience was not related to healing sanctuaries alone, which I do not dispute. Many sanctuaries had landscapes comparable to the Asclepia, and a pilgrim visiting these was likely to have had a similar encounter that benefited their body and mind. Even Vitruvius noted that all sanctuaries were in healthy spots. However, the intention of a pilgrim attending an Asclepion was to be healed, as opposed to those visiting other sites who may have had differing intentions for their pilgrimage. Therefore, the interpretation or experience of the visual encounter may have held a greater significance for health at healing sanctuaries than at other sites. Support for this idea is found in ancient conceptions of how vision functioned.

### 3 Vision

The study of sensory experiences is a rapidly developing field of academic inquiry. The sense of sight receives the most attention in scholarship, mainly because it holds a primacy in the modern west. In particular relationship to landscape studies, vision is deemed essential because, as Feld has shown, it is deeply rooted in the European concept of landscape, ‘which has vision at its centre’. The Presocratic philosopher, Democritus, described sight as one of the most highly developed senses, as did Aristotle and Cicero. According to Aristotle, it was, along with hearing, one of the two higher senses while the senses of smell, taste and touch were categorised as the lower senses.

In spite of being considered one of the higher senses in the present and the past, anthropological and historical analyses have established that the act of viewing was different in the Greco-Roman world. Viewing, as Goldhill argues, is constructed in a socially and intellectually specific way. In the Greco-Roman world, vision was thought to be an interactive process, as Squire notes: ‘[t]o see was to expose oneself to external forces; forces which could impact on the body of the beholder’. This statement is key to the argument that the viewing of landscapes could have an impact on one’s

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56 Feld 2005, 182.
57 For a discussion see Rudolph 2015.
58 Rudolph 2015; Squire 2015, 12; Aristotle On the Soul 3.3, 429a.
59 Cicero On the Orator 2.357.
60 Goldhill 2000, 70 in Squire 2015, 4 n. 13.
61 Squire 2015, 25. Further information on theories of vision can be found in the following texts: Goldhill 1996; papers in Nelson 2000; Elsner 2007; papers in Blundell et al. 2013.
It directly links to the archaeological theory mentioned previously about the relationship of an object and a subject. Moreover, it ties in with how ancient philosophers described the process of vision.

Theories of vision varied in ancient philosophical thought, but they tend to share the idea that the objects being viewed had direct, and arguably, tangible, contact with the viewer. For example, the Presocratics believed that the eyes emitted fire, like the rays of the sun. The rays (or fire) mingled with the object viewed and were reflected in the pools of water surrounding the eyes. The atomist, Democritus, argued that all objects gave off effluences (thin replications of atoms) that moved from the object into the eyes. Plato maintained that the eyes let forth a light that mingled with daylight to form a beam. This beam would touch an object, and the eyes would grasp it and understand it. Although the theories for vision differ, they share the notion that there existed some form of direct visual contact that takes the object (or reflects it in the case of the Presocratics) into the eyes and body, exposing the viewer, as Squire says, to outside forces. Ultimately, the observer was an engaged participant in the processes of seeing as opposed to being a mere spectator. It also indicates a mutual relationship between the subject and the materials of the object being viewed, which, when taken into the body, could affect its health, as Vitruvius noted.

A story by Pausanias links views of a natural feature to both the deity and its health-giving power. He thus shows that seeing nature was another means of receiving help from and/or having communion with the gods.

Not far from Eileithyia is a precinct of Asclepius, with images of him and of Health. An iambic line on the pedestal says that the artist was Damophon the Messenian. In this sanctuary of Asclepius a man of Sidon entered upon an argument with me. He declared that the Phoenicians had better notions about the gods than the Greeks, giving as an instance that to Asclepius they assign Apollo as father, but no mortal woman as his mother. Asclepius, he went on, is air, bringing health to mankind and to all animals likewise; Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he named the father of Asclepius, because the sun, by adapting his course to the seasons, imparts to the air its healthfulness. I replied that I accepted his statements, but that the argument was as much Greek as Phoenician for at Titane in Sicyonia the same image is called Health and, thus clearly showing that it is the course of the sun that brings health to mankind.

62 Rudolph 2015.
63 Nightingale 2015, 55–56.
64 Nightingale 2015, 57.
Viewing the course of the sun and believing the sun to be the deity brings about here a visual communication between the viewer and the god that is particularly related to health and the natural world.

Some recent studies in environmental psychology demonstrate that visual stimuli in nature are conceived of as restorative, particularly in relation to mental fatigue and stress, something Pliny the Younger noted in his letters. The environment that soothed the senses, high mountains with clear air and seascapes, would have had a direct correlation with the condition of the body. Seeing these features meant that they were taken directly into the body and, given ancient perceptions of vision, this meant that what was being viewed directly contributed to the well-being of a pilgrim at a healing sanctuary, or any sanctuary for that matter.

Viewing landscapes also had the added advantage of allowing the viewer to take particular colours into their body. Greens were healthy to the eyes, and it is possible that blues represented clear air. Therefore, the vegetation on the mountains and clear blue water could have been absorbed into the body through the eyes, enhancing health.

4 Conclusion

How then were views of the landscapes surrounding healing sanctuaries beneficial to the pilgrim? A comparison of the literary descriptions and the landscapes surrounding the sites informs us that there existed an awareness of healthy situations that were not limited to good winds, clean air and clear water, as the Hippocratic text advises. Rather, the landscape itself provided the pilgrim with views of mountains and seascapes consisting of various colours and lighting effects, as well as the possibility of a deity being observed through nature. The haptic experience of viewing allowed for a tactile communication between the viewer and the environment. The landscape was

65 Paus. 7.23.7–8 (trans. Jones).
67 Baker 2011 discusses the colour green and the health of the eyes.
brought into the body through vision and alleviated the mind and body of ailments and stress, promoting a sense of well-being that added to the sacred experience of the sites. Thus, the landscapes actively alleviated ailments within the body and mind.

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When Lived Ancient Religion and Lived Ancient Medicine Meet
The Household Gods, the Household Shrine and Regimen

Abstract
This paper argues that there was a strong connection between Roman domestic religious belief and practice and Roman domestic medical practice through the association of the household gods with the household’s health and well-being. It examines six examples of household shrines from Pompeii and the surrounding area to explore how specific non-elite households utilised their personal private religious beliefs and practices in the service of maintaining the health and well-being of their members. These six household shrines take the form of paintings that depict the household gods in conjunction with specific types of foodstuffs, and these foodstuffs are ones which played an important role in Roman regimen.

Keywords: domestic religion, household shrine, domestic medicine, regimen, health, well-being, Pompeii

1 Introduction

Roman religion is considered to have had two fundamental features: first, that the Roman religious system was concerned primarily with the welfare of the Roman community; second, that it was a religion of place. Thus the welfare of the community – both settlement and inhabitants – was ensured by a series of rituals that were performed in both public and private contexts by designated individuals, in designated ways, at designated times, at designated places in order to gain the favour – and avert the disfavour – of the gods. Festus offers a means of distinguishing between sacra publica and sacra privata: the former were performed on behalf of the entire Roman people or large sections of the Roman people and the expenses were defrayed

1 Orlin 2007, 58. In fact, Stowers 2012, 11 describes domestic religion as 'the ultimate religion of place'.
while the latter were performed on behalf of the individual, family or *gens* and the expenses were not defrayed. This passage has long been used as a means of explaining and justifying the division of Roman religion into the so-called ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres or domains. However, at the turn of the twenty-first century, Andreas Bendlin argued persuasively against such a firm separation of certain types of religious belief and practice, and called for a reassessment: ‘We must try to reinvestigate the traces which individual private concerns, motivations and mental states have left in our sources, as they instrumentalised a wide range of religious options and made full use of the cultic infrastructure of the city of Rome.’ He emphasised the religious pluralism of late Republican Rome, utilising the same metaphor of the marketplace that has become a regular feature in scholarship on ancient medical theory and practice published over the last several decades. At first glance, the use of this same metaphor by scholars of ancient religion and scholars of ancient medicine may seem entirely coincidental, and, indeed, perhaps it was, but in that same paper Bendlin argued that there was a link between Roman concerns about their health and well-being, on the one hand, and Roman religious belief and practice, on the other. With this in mind, in this paper I will investigate one particular aspect of the so-called *sacra privata* – which are on the whole poorly understood, and have not been subjected to the same scholarly scrutiny as the so-called *sacra publica*. I will explore the extent to which it is possible to connect ancient Roman domestic religious belief and practice with ancient Roman domestic medical practice as a means of providing an insight into both lived ancient religion and lived ancient medicine. It is worth noting that ancient Roman domestic medical practice is equally poorly understood and it is only in the last few years that this particular aspect of ancient medicine has begun to receive sustained attention from scholars, as is also the case with other aspects that have been variously described as ‘lay’, ‘popular’ or ‘folk’ medicine.

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2 Gloss. Lat. 245; see also Livy 1.20, 10.7; Plut. Vit. Num. 9; Cic. Har. resp. 7.
3 Bendlin 2000, 131; for more in-depth scrutiny of the nature of individual belief and practice, see Rüpke 2016a and Rüpke 2016b; individuality is discussed in relation to domestic religious practice by Bodel 2012, 248–251.
4 Bendlin 2000, 135; for the ancient medical market place, see initially Nutton 1992.
5 Bendlin 2000, 130–131.
6 For this view and a targeted attempt to address it, see Dorcey 1990 and Dorcey 1992, case studies focusing on the private or ‘folk’ worship of one particular deity, Silvanus.
7 For the most comprehensive discussions on the subject of the so-called *sacra privata*, see Marquardt 1886; de Marchi 1896–1903; Samter 1901; more recently, see Orr 1978; Harmon 1978; most recently, see Bassani and Ghedini 2011; Maiuri 2013.
8 Nutton 2013, 254–78; Draycott 2016; Harris 2016.
2 The personal nature of Roman domestic religious belief and practice

Roman domestic religion was believed to be of great antiquity, a crucial way of maintaining contact with ancestors and ancestral values, and a means of ensuring not just the metaphysical welfare but also the physical welfare of the household and familia. There were important roles for individual ancestors, the cult of the ancestors, and the household gods. Just as the imagines were used as devices to recall the lives of specific ancestors and the desirable qualities that they had demonstrated during those lives to inspire their descendants and safeguard the family’s moral standing and reputation, so were the di manes and the di parentes, and the Lares familiares, the Penates, the Genius and the Juno a means of soliciting protection both at home and abroad. Consequently, domestic religion guaranteed that not only the past and the present but also the future of the household and the familia were ensured, to a degree eliding them.

It is the latter set, the ‘household gods’, that I am concerned with in this paper. Ancient literature indicates that they were associated with the family’s health and well-being in very particular ways. A number of these ways related to the acquisition, storage and preparation of food. Archaeological evidence from Campania, where the eruption of Vesuvius in CE 79 ensured the preservation of a variety of Roman residences around the Bay of Naples, supports this association: more household shrines have been found to have been located in kitchens and service areas than in any other type of room. Michael Lipka has stated that this is entirely practical, that the kitchen makes sense as a location for domestic religious practice because it contains a hearth, ventilation and a place for the preparation of the sacrificial meal. However, Pedar Foss has proposed that there is a connection between the fact that household shrines were frequently located in kitchens and the fact that the household gods were so closely associated with food. Moreover, since kitchens were the places where the household slaves prepared the household’s meals, he suggests that the slaves can be viewed almost as proxies for the household gods. Yet while he notes the role that the slaves play in

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9 On the imagines and their distinct difference from the cult of the ancestors and the household gods, see Flower 1996, 210.
10 Bodel 2012.
12 Lipka 2006, 329.
the maintenance of the household’s physical health and well-being through their provision of food and drink, and highlights the importance of nutrition, he goes no further than this. I, however, would like to build upon his proposal and argue that there is a stronger connection to be identified between ancient Roman domestic religious belief and practice and ancient Roman medical theory and practice. I will do so by focusing my attention on a discrete corpus of archaeological evidence from sites around the Bay of Naples. Household shrines have been designated as physical manifestations of religious ideology and even superstition.15 John Clarke details how insight into personal religious beliefs, attitudes and practices can be found in the art situated in domestic contexts, which can enable us to reconstruct the perspectives of non-elite worshipers and the strategies that were utilised by these individuals, who are otherwise under-represented in the historical sources.16

In the case of household shrine wall paintings found in the kitchens of five houses from Pompeii and one villa north of Pompeii, an association between the household gods, the family’s health and well-being, and food acquisition, storage and preparation is made explicit.17 Unlike the many other household shrines found in houses at sites around the Bay of Naples, the household shrine wall paintings from the House of Aufidius Primus (I.x.18), the House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.xiii.2), the House of Pansa (VI.vi.1), the House of Octavius Primus (VII.xv.12), the House of the Pork (IX.ix.3), and Villa 6 at Terzigno all include depictions of foodstuffs in prominent positions around the shrine. The fact that these household shrine paintings are so distinct from the rest while being so similar to each other is worth considering. Thus, I will study this sample of household shrine wall paintings with a view to assessing the significance of the foodstuffs depicted, and will explore the relationship between ancient Roman domestic religious belief and practice and ancient Roman medical practice, specifically the use of regimen for the attainment and maintenance of good physical and mental health and well-being.

3 The Roman household gods

The household gods – the Lares, the Penates, the Genius of the paterfamilias and the Juno of the materfamilias – were worshipped by the members of the

16 Clarke 2003, 75.
17 On the wall paintings associated with the household shrines in kitchens: Boyce 1937, 105–106; Orr 1973, 98–99; Foss 1997, 217. Household shrine paintings are generally considered to have been secondary to architectural household shrines, Bodel 2012, 265.
household and *familia* on a regular basis, and all seem to have been associated and concerned with the family’s health and well-being in very particular ways. This worship focused on the hearth, as the hearth was the heart of the home. The Latin word used to refer to it, *focus*, emphasises the fostering of the fire on the hearth and stresses the importance not only of starting, but also keeping alight the family fire.\(^{18}\) The Latin word used to refer to the kitchen, where the fire was generally located, *culina*, is thought to be derived from *colere*, ‘to cultivate’, ‘to foster’, ‘to watch over’, and also to ‘revere in a religious manner’.\(^{19}\) The presence of a fire in the hearth was used to symbolise the occupation of the house by a living family.\(^{20}\) The ability to control fire and by implication heat, light and the ability to cook food was considered a mark of civilisation.\(^{21}\)

The importance of the *Lares* to the household and *familia* is made clear by the frequent use of the term as a metonym for the household as a whole.\(^{22}\) There are numerous varieties, although they have in common the role of guarding and protecting their charges, usually in association with a particular physical area.\(^{23}\) Certainly after the third century BCE, one key role was that of the *Lar familiaris*, the guardian spirit and protector of the household. The earliest literary reference to this is found in the prologue to Plautus’ *Aulularia*, in which the *Lar familiaris* introduces itself and the other characters, as well as providing some background information:

> hanc domum iam multos annos est cum possideo et colo patri avoque iam huius qui nunc hic habet. sed mí avos huius obsecrans concredidit thensaurum aúri clam omnis: in medio foco defodit, venerans mé ut id servarem sibi. is quoniam moritur (ita avido ingenio fuit), numquam indicare id filio voluit suo, inopemque optavit potius eum relinquere, quam eum thensaurum commonstraret filio; agri reliquit ei non magnum modum, quo cum labore magnó et misere viveret. ubi is obiit mortem qui mihi id aurum credidit, coepi observare, ecqui maiorem filius mihi honorem haberet quam eius habuisset pater. atque ille vero minus minusque impendio curare minusque me impertire honoribus. item a me contra factum est, nam item obiit diem. is ex se húnc reliquit qui hic nunc habitat filium pariter moratum ut pater avosque huius fuit. huic filia una est. ea mihi cottidie aut ture aut vino aut aliqui semper supuplicat, dat mihi coronas.

For many years already I’ve been occupying this house and protecting it for the father and grandfather of the man who lives here now. Now this man’s grandfather entrusted


\(^{19}\) Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.134.

\(^{20}\) Tib. 1.1.5–6; Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.40–45; Ov. *Fast.* 2.563–566; during the Ferialia on 21\(^{st}\) February, part of the Parentalia festival, fires were forbidden as the living could not co-exist with the dead.


\(^{22}\) Catull. 31.9; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.56; Verg. *G* 3.44; Luc. 2.331, 2.729, 5.537, 7.346; Mart. 10.61.5.

\(^{23}\) Cic. *Tim.* 68.
me, on bended knee, behind everyone’s back, with a treasure of gold. He buried it in the
middle of the hearth, entreating me to guard it for him. When he died, he didn’t even
want to make this known to his own son – he was so greedy. He wished to leave him
penniless rather than show his treasure to his son. He did leave him a piece of land, not
a big one, though, so that he could live on it with great toil and miserably. When the
man who’d entrusted the gold to me died, I began to observe whether his son would
in any way hold me in greater honour than his father had. He took less and less trouble
over me and showed me less respect. I returned the favour: he also died poor. He left a
son behind, the one who lives here now, a man of the same character as his father and
grandfather. He has one daughter. She worships me every single day with incense or wine
or something else and gives me garlands.24

Thus, we see the Lar familiaris watching over four generations of the same
family and, since the daughter is pregnant, looking forward to the birth of
a fifth. It guards not only the household and the familia but also physical
objects.25 If propitiated, it offers assistance to the propitiator, but if not, it
does not. However, the Lar familiaris’ remit was not restricted to within
the house: Tibullus prays to his Lares to ensure either that he does not have
to go off to war, or, if he does, to protect him while he is away; when one
returned from war, one’s arms could be set down before them.26 In Aulu-
laria, the daughter of the house propitiates the Lar familiaris every day but
the Kalends, the Nones and the Ides of each month seem to have been espe-
cially recognised.27 Garlands would be hung on and around the household
shrine, incense would be burned, a variety of different types of food and
drink such as spelt, grain, fruit and wine would be offered, and on occasion
animals such as cows, sheep and pigs would be sacrificed. The Lar familiaris
also played a role in significant family occasions. When a boy became a man
he would dedicate his bulla and toga praetexta and his first beard shavings
to it, while when a girl was to be married and pass from the guardianship of
the Lares of her father to that of those of her husband, she took three coins
and gave one to her husband, one to his Lar familiaris and one to his Lar
compitalis, and the Lares received wedding offerings of frankincense and
floral wreaths.28 Upon the death of a member of the family, the Lares were
purified, while following the Parentalia, the festival of the dead held between
the 13th and 21st of February each year during which the family would com-
memorate their deceased ancestors, the Di Manes and Di Parentes, the family

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26 Tib. 1.10.15–32; see also Ov. Tr. 4.8.22.
27 Cato, Agr. 143.2.
28 Pers. 5.31; Petron. Sat. 29.8; Suet. Ner. 12; Varro, De vita Populi Romani 1, cited by Non.;
would celebrate the Caristia on 22nd February, which served as a reunion for the living members of the family.29

The origins of the Penates are, like those of the Lares, obscure.30 Cicero equates them in importance with the Lares, and describes them as the gods of the ancestors and the household.31 However, they seem to have been particularly associated with the *penus*, the storeroom, and were thought to protect the food supply, thereby ensuring the household’s means of subsistence continued.32

The *Genius* was the guiding numen of the family, the living spirit of the *pater familias* rather than a deity in its own right, and worshipped on his birthday.33 Consequently, it was a companion for life.34 The *Juno* was the female equivalent.35 Both of these were associated with generation and procreation, and these are likewise relevant for the health and well-being of the present and future members of the household, ensuring the continuity of the family line.

### 4 The Roman household shrine

While the household gods all seem to have been associated and concerned with the family’s health and well-being in very particular ways, it is notable that the acquisition, storage and preparation of food is a recurring theme.36 Let us take this further, and consider the connection between food and drink and health and well-being, and the concept and importance of regimen for both healthy and unhealthy individuals at all stages of their lives.37 A significant amount of an individual’s regimen was undertaken at home, particularly the food that he or she produced or purchased and then prepared or had prepared for him or herself.

The Roman agricultural treatises tell us exactly what was supposed to be produced on an agricultural estate and kept in the storeroom, as well as the purposes to which these items were supposed to be put by specific members of the household, such as the housekeeper, which included use

29 Cic. Leg. 2.22.55; Ov. Fast. 2.617–638.
30 Dubourdieu 1989.
31 Cic. Resp. 5.5; Har. resp. 37; Bodel 2012, 252–255.
33 Tib. 1.7.49–54, 2.2.1–10, 3.11.8–9; Censorinus, DN 2.2.
34 Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.187–189.
35 Tib. 4.6.1; Petron. *Sat.* 25; Plin. *HN* 2.16.
36 Foss 1997, 199.
37 See for example Craik 1995; Bartoś 2015.
in a range of medicaments. Additionally, there is a significant amount of archaeological evidence for storage and not just from agricultural estates. Thus it is not surprising that we should see clear connections being made between domestic religious practice, food and drink, and health and well-being within ancient Roman households.

In Pompeii and its near vicinity, six highly individualised and personalised household shrine paintings located in kitchens survive. In the House of Aufidius Primus (I.x.18), the painting depicts the Lar familiaris, the Genius, a serpent, and several foodstuffs: a hog’s head, a ham on a nail, and an eel on a skewer. In the House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.xiii.2), the painting covers both the north and east walls of the kitchen. The north wall contains the niche for the household shrine, and the shrine itself is surrounded by depictions of foodstuffs including a ham, cuts of meat on a skewer, an eel on a skewer, above a serpent approaching an altar with a pine cone. The east wall depicts an elaborate sacrificial scene containing the pater familias and mater familias, or perhaps their Genius and Juno, and their household flanked by the Lares familiares, and is unique among all the Pompeian paintings in the number of worshippers shown. In the register below the sacrificial scene are two pack-mules and a bull. It has been suggested that the sacrificial scene depicts the Caristia. In the House of Pansa (VI.vi.1), in a kitchen area in the northwest corner of the peristyle, a painting on the north wall depicts the pater familias, or his Genius, flanked by Lares, and in the register below two serpents approach an altar with a pine cone (see fig. 1). In the registers on either side of the scene are numerous foodstuffs: on the left, a rabbit, two selections of birds, a pig, and a plate of fruit or possibly bread; on the right, an eel on a skewer, a ham, a rack of ribs, and a hog’s head.

In the House of Octavius Primus (VII.xv.12), an altar in relief has a Lar familiaris painted on the left-hand side, and two hog’s heads and an eel on a skewer painted on the right-hand side. In the House of the Pork (IX.ix.3), the northwest corner of the kitchen, on the west wall is a depiction of the pater familias, or Genius, sacrificing at an altar, while on the north wall is a

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38 Curtis 2016.
39 Allison 2004; Cova 2013.
40 Not. Scavi 1934, 343–344, fig. 38; Boyce 1937, 29 n. 60; Fröhlich 1991, 257, l. 18 n. 26.3; Giacobello 2008, 150 n. 22.
43 Boyce 1937, 46–47 n. 156; Fröhlich 1991, 276, l. 61, n. 35.1; Giacobello 2008, 172–173 n. 50.
44 Boyce 1937, 72–73 n. 334; Fröhlich 1991, 290, l. 93; Giacobello 2008, 195 n. 82.
depiction of two *Lares familiares*, one on either side of an altar, and below them are two snakes, one on either side of an altar with a pine cone, while to the right is a range of foodstuffs: a selection of birds, sausages, a hog’s head, meat on a skewer and an eel on a skewer.\(^45\) In Villa 6 at Terzigno, an altar jutting out from the wall, surrounded by snakes, is incorporated into a large painting depicting the *pater familias*, or *Genius*, sacrificing with a *Lar* on either side, and a niche to the right is surrounded by an eel on a skewer, a boar’s head, meat on a skewer, and a ham.\(^46\)

A wide range of foodstuffs is depicted in these paintings. How to explain this surfeit of animal products? Considering that the paintings are thought to have served religious purposes, providing a place of worship for the slave members of the households in which they appear, it is possible that the rea-


\(^{46}\) Vanacore 2005.
son for including these particular products was likewise religious. Pigs were regularly utilised in Roman religious practice, particularly in cases of expiation and funerary rituals, and a number of paintings from elsewhere in Pompeii depict pigs being led to the altar.\textsuperscript{47} Pigs were also utilised for particular occasions in the context of Roman domestic religious belief and practice, and sacrificed to the \textit{Lares}\.\textsuperscript{48} It is also possible that families personalised their offerings to a degree, which could account for the eel.\textsuperscript{49} The process of sacrificing an animal involved it having its throat cut and its entrails examined in order to confirm that the deity in question approved of and accepted the offering of the \textit{exta}, the vital organs. Then the animal was divided up, with the deity’s share being roasted on a spit before it was sprinkled with \textit{mola salsa} and wine and deposited in the sacrificial fire which burned on the altar. If the deity was aquatic, the offerings were plunged into water, while if the deity was chthonic, the offerings were thrown on the ground and cooked on the earth or in a ditch until burned up completely, as the living could not share food with the dead.\textsuperscript{50} Since the deities worshipped in private contexts could be an eclectic mix, any and all of these different types of sacrifice could have taken place at the six household shrines in question.\textsuperscript{51} The breed of pig that seems to have been preferred for sacrificial offerings was large and fat to start with but was also probably kept in stalls and hand-reared, rather than left to range free and forage, so as to fatten it as quickly and effectively as possible.\textsuperscript{52} It is possible that larger specimens were preferred due to the religious and social implications of such an offering. Additionally, such an offering would produce a considerable amount of meat for both divine and human consumption.

Alternatively, we could interpret these paintings as having some sort of economic symbolism, as there are certainly examples of Pompeian household shrines referring to the business interests of the household and \textit{familia}, such as that in the House of the Sarno Lararium (I.xiv.7) which depicts

\textsuperscript{47} Scheid 2007, 264. For depictions of pigs being led towards altars in Pompeian art, see for example a fresco of a pig being offered to Priapus in the Villa of the Mysteries; see also Pompeii VIII, insula 2 or 3.
\textsuperscript{48} Hor. \textit{Sat.} 2.3.164–165, \textit{Carm.} 3.23.4; Tib. 1.10.26–27; Plaut. \textit{Rud.} 1208.
\textsuperscript{49} Scheid 2007, 264.
\textsuperscript{50} Scheid 2007, 266.
\textsuperscript{51} See Peterson 2012, 331 for the suggestion that after the earthquake in CE 62 households incorporated a multiplicity of gods into their shrines as a means of enlisting extra protection.
\textsuperscript{52} MacKinnon 2001, 665. For archaeological evidence of this type of pig husbandry, see Ricci 1985.
scenes of work taking place on the River Sarno.\(^{53}\) If we consider the contents of the paintings in this light it becomes appropriate to consider the position of these foodstuffs, particularly pork and fish, in the Roman diet, whether consumed during the course of a religious ritual, or otherwise. Pork was the most common sort of meat consumed in Roman Italy, eaten by the rich and the poor alike, and while fish is harder to pin down as far as levels of consumption are concerned, since Campania was a significant centre for the production of pigs and pork products, and Pompeii in particular was an important centre for the production of salt-fish products, it is likely that both foodstuffs were readily available to the residents of these five houses, whether fresh or processed and preserved.\(^{54}\) The manner in which pork and fish were processed is particularly worth examining, considering the variety of ways in which pig and fish products are depicted in the six household shrine paintings.

Pork is considered an ideal meat for processing, since not only is it relatively easy to process, but it can also be shipped long distances and subsequently stored for significant periods of time once it reaches its destination. It is nutritious, and it yields useful by-products such as lard.\(^{55}\) The process of slaughtering swine was similar whether the context was religious or alimentary: the animal was stunned and then ‘stuck’, and then suspended from its hindquarters in order to drain the blood as quickly as possible, so as to avoid tainting the meat.\(^{56}\) The butchery of the animal involves the removal of the hide, the guts, and the fat, and then the carcass is split in half and the head, shoulders, rump, and belly separated. The head of the pig was considered a particular delicacy.\(^{57}\) The hams and the flitches were the two cuts of meat most commonly dry-cured by the Romans.\(^{58}\) Additionally, the leftovers could be used up by being made into sausages and the addition of herbs and spices as flavourings had the additional benefit of aiding the preservation of the meat.\(^{59}\) All of these different cuts of meat are depicted in the household shrine paintings.

Fish can likewise be preserved, and was processed into three different products: salt-cured fish (\textit{salsamenta}), fish sauce (\textit{garum} and \textit{liquamen}), and fish paste (\textit{allec}). All three were manufactured together, and there is a

\(^{53}\) Clarke 2003, 78–81.
\(^{54}\) On pigs in Roman Italy, see King 1999; MacKinnon 2001. On fish, see Curtis 1991, 148–158.
\(^{56}\) Thurmond 2006, 211.
\(^{57}\) Dalby 2003, 174.
\(^{58}\) Thurmond 2006, 216.
significant amount of literary and archaeological evidence for this industry at Pompeii, although the installation itself has not yet been excavated. The processing of salt-fish is described by Manilius. Once processed, it was cut into cubes, squares, triangles, or irregular shapes, and such things are depicted in the household shrine paintings.

It is notable that fishing and pig slaughtering were seasonal activities and, perhaps as a result of this, considerable effort was expended to utilise basically all of the pig and the fish. While some pork and fish products could be consumed fresh, for the most part they were preserved and stored, ensuring provisions for the future. Thus these seem particularly suitable foodstuffs to depict in a household shrine painting.

5 Regimen

Although regimen is referred to by a variety of authors in the Classical period, it is in the treatises of the Hippocratic Corpus that the concept is explicated most fully. Ideas concerning the validity of regimen for the attainment and maintenance of health are found in a number of its treatises, notably *On Regimen*, *Airs Waters Places*, *On Regimen in Health*, *On the Nature of Man*, *On Regimen in Acute Diseases* and *On Ancient Medicine*. At its most basic, regimen refers to food and drink, food being solid and drink being liquid. However, there is also an intermediate stage for the sick, halfway between solid and liquid, that is created by adding liquid to solid in order to dilute the solid and produce gruel. Thus food, drink and gruel serve as the primary elements of regimen, but there are also other things, secondary elements, such as exercise, bathing, sleep and sexual activity. So regimen comprised a personal plan involving diet, physical and mental exercise, and personal hygiene. Such a plan was devised specifically for someone in order to balance their body. Followed diligently, it would ensure and preserve good health and prevent ill health but, in the event of illness, yet another specially devised plan would succeed in restoring the former state of good health, upon which the original plan would be reverted to. For success

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64 Hippoc. *VM* 5.
to be assured, a plan required that the patient be considered as an individual with a unique body, mind and spirit, as whatever was making them ill was a result of an imbalance causing disharmony and the aim of the treatment was to restore balance and ensure harmony.

The inhabitants of Pompeii were fortunate in that they lived in an area that was served by both the terrestrial resources of a fertile agricultural hinterland and the marine resources of the Bay of Naples, and in addition that they had access to the imports arriving into the port at Puteoli. The organic remains recovered from Pompeii and Herculaneum indicate that the inhabitants of both towns had access to a variety of foodstuffs and that their diet was better than the ancient literary evidence suggests it should have been. As discussed above, both pork and fish were readily accessible to the inhabitants of the Bay of Naples, and there is a considerable amount of archaeological evidence for their consumption. A total of 19 taxa of fish and shellfish have been identified in deposits recovered from Pompeii. A total of 43 taxa of fish and shellfish have been identified in deposits from the Cardo V sewer in Herculaneum, the largest range of fish species recovered from a single site in the Vesuvian area. The presence of otoliths in these deposits indicates that the majority of these fish were consumed fresh. Ancient medical and dietary treatises record the observations of physicians regarding the healthful properties of pork and fish, so it is reasonable to assume that at least one of the motivations for individuals choosing to consume them was their perceived healthfulness. Both were recognised as being nutritious. Pork in particular was considered to be beneficial to individuals at all stages of life. Salted pork and fish were considered to be drying and consequently promoted the appetite, aided digestion and stimulated the bowels. Thus they could be utilised as part of a preventative regimen for a healthy person, or a therapeutic regimen for a sick person. Certainly, there were a number of physicians practising medicine in Pompeii who could have prescribed such a regimen. Equally, individuals could have developed their regimen themselves.

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65 Rowan 2014a, 42.
68 Rowan 2014a, 19.
69 Gal. Alim. Fac. 3.
72 Draycott 2016.
6 Conclusion

It is clear that there is a direct link between Roman domestic religious practice and Roman domestic medical practice through the association of the household gods with the preservation of the health and well-being of each member of the household and familia. More specifically, the Lares, Penates, Genius and Juno each contributed to the health and well-being of the household and familia through the provision of foodstuffs.

If household shrines are to be considered as highly individualised and personalised objects, potentially extremely informative regarding elements of the religious beliefs and practices of non-elite Romans and preserving information that is otherwise lost to us, it is worth considering those household shrines that are particularly unusual for what information they can provide about that particular household and familia. The general connection between domestic religion and domestic medicine is emphasised and clarified in six household shrine paintings, located in kitchens near the hearth where meals and, potentially, medicaments were prepared, by the depiction of particular foodstuffs around those household shrines. These foodstuffs could be eaten fresh but could also be stored for long periods of time, thus ensuring access to nutritious food even when the household was experiencing straitened circumstances. Additionally, the foodstuffs depicted could be used for both food and medicine, ensuring that the household was equipped for both preventative and therapeutic regimen. If an additional function of the household shrine was ensuring that slaves felt not only included in the household’s devotions but also invested in the household itself, highlighting their role not only in the provision of food but also in the provision of medicine made perfect sense. Consequently, slaves not only had a stake in the short and long-term survival of the household and familia, but were the means of ensuring it both on a daily basis when everyone was in good health and on those rarer occasions when individuals were in poor health and so required more targeted attention.

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‘Souvenirs of the Self’

Personal Belongings as Votive Offerings in Ancient Religion

Abstract

Many of the votive offerings which survive from antiquity were purpose-made for dedication. These include things like anatomical votives, figurines, temple models, and sculpted reliefs bearing scenes of sacrifice or healing. Other types of votive offering were not purpose-made for dedication but had served other functions before being brought to the sanctuary, such as jewellery, tools, mirrors, cups, clothes and children’s toys. Such ‘recycled’ (or, perhaps more accurately, ‘non-purpose-made’) votives arguably give us our most direct glimpses of individual agency in a religious context, since they not only bypass the intermediary figure of the craftsman but also relate closely to the worshipper’s own body and biography. This article considers the archaeological and literary evidence for such ‘non-purpose-made’ offerings, particularly those related to illness or healing – the theme of this special issue. I consider how these boundary-crossing objects differed conceptually from purpose-made votives like the anatomicals, for instance by entangling the different spaces (the house, workshop, sanctuary) in which ancient religion was experienced. Ultimately, I argue that the appropriation and re-use of household objects or medical paraphernalia as votives enabled the individual to respond quickly and creatively to illness and other crises, creating deeply personal narratives of healing and transformation from the layered associations and memories that these objects embodied.

Keywords: votives, souvenirs, memory, illness, healing, Asclepius, Greek, Roman, ritual

1 Introduction

In classical antiquity, as in many parts of the world today, people often went to sanctuaries to give offerings to the gods in thanks or as a request for some divine favour or miracle. Millions of votive offerings survive from the Greco-Roman world and these objects provide us with some of our best evidence for individual experiences of ‘Lived Ancient Religion’. Even more than temple architecture or descriptions of religious practices given in lit-
erary texts, votive offerings can open a window onto how ancient people thought about and acted towards the gods who watched over them. By scrutinising the literary and archaeological evidence for votives, and by trying to reconstruct the choices made by dedicants in the purchase or selection of their gift, we can gain a deeper understanding of how material culture was used by ancient people to shape their relationship with the divine, as well as with other mortals and the broader religious frameworks within which they operated.

Many of the votives that survive from antiquity were purpose-made for dedication: these include things like anatomical votives, figurines, temple models, and sculpted reliefs bearing scenes of sacrifice or healing. Other types of votive offering were *not* purpose-made for dedication but had served other functions before being brought to the sanctuary, such as jewellery, tools, mirrors, cups, clothes and children’s toys.¹ Such ‘recycled’ (or, perhaps more accurately, ‘non-purpose-made’) votives arguably give us our most direct glimpses of individual agency in a religious context, insofar as they cut out the intermediary figure of the craftsman, and relate closely to the worshipper’s own body and biography. In this article, I look at the archaeological and literary evidence for such ‘non-purpose-made’ offerings, particularly those related to illness or healing. I consider how these ‘boundary-crossing’ objects differed conceptually from purpose-made votives like the anatomicals, for instance by entangling the different spaces (the house, workshop, sanctuary) in which ancient religion was experienced. Ultimately, I will argue that the appropriation and re-use of household objects or medical paraphernalia as votives enabled the individual to respond quickly and creatively to illness and other crises, creating deeply personal narratives of healing and transformation from the layered associations and memories that these objects embodied.

¹ Antony Snodgrass has dubbed these two types of votives the ‘raw’ (non-purpose-made) and the ‘converted’ (purpose-made). He explains how ‘converted’ offerings (which are so-called because they ‘convert’ the dedicant’s wealth into a brand new object) gained in popularity in the early Classical age, explaining this change by reference to an increasing subordination of the individual to the polis and the corresponding desire to move wealth into the shared space of the sanctuary. Snodgrass 1989–90.
2 Rings and things: the ‘recycling’ of personal belongings as votive offerings

The dedication of personal belongings is a very common phenomenon in modern Catholic sanctuaries, where non-purpose-made objects sit alongside purpose-made votives like painted *tavolette* and metal models of parts of the human body. At the sanctuary of the Madonna of the Blessed Rosary at Pompeii, for instance, we find degree certificates displayed alongside spectacles-cases and children’s baptism outfits (fig. 1), as well as ‘medals and
epaulets, helmets and swords, soldiers’ pistols and rifles, crutches and plaster casts of the sick, necklaces, rings, ladies’ brooches and ornaments, watches, paintings, Chinese vases, ceramic objects, small statues. Writing about ‘The Language of the Ex-Voto’ at Pompeii, Michele Rak argues that the popularity of such dedications reflects the progressive industrialisation of Italian society and the ready availability of new materials and forms to the subaltern classes, and he comments that ‘the ex voto of the last twenty years register the growing use of this object language and the growth of the devotee’s personal labour, a proof of the search for an individual and irrepeateable contact.’

A similarly wide range of personal artefacts were used as dedications in Greco-Roman antiquity. Loom-weights, clothes, hairpins, toys, tools, mirrors, weapons and fishing-nets are all attested in sanctuaries around the ancient world, and are often interpreted as objects of previous domestic or occupational use which have been re-purposed as votives. Figures 2 and 3 show two possible examples. Fig. 2 is a Hellenistic relief sculpture from Lamia depicting a scene within the sanctuary of Artemis. In the foreground a woman hands over her new-born baby to the goddess, while in the background hang clothes and shoes which we might presume were left by pre-

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2 Michele Rak in Caggiano, Rak and Turchini 1990, 79.
3 Rak in Caggiano, Rak and Turchini 1990, 79.
vious worshippers. The object in fig. 3 is more problematic: it is a broken silver finger-ring with a cast snake-head terminal, part of the Backworth Hoard which is thought to be have been a votive deposit made at the shrine of the Mother Goddesses near the eastern edge of Hadrian’s Wall. This ring embodies many of the ambiguities and difficulties involved with identifying personal offerings from the archaeological record. How can we be sure it was dedicated, rather than dropped, forgotten or deliberately discarded? And how can we know that this was in fact a personal belonging recycled as a votive rather than an object that was specially manufactured for the purposes of dedication? Further complexities involved in identifying non-purpose-made offerings have been discussed by scholars working on later historical periods, including Jennifer Lee, who has taken a fresh look at the pilgrim badges found in rivers in Northern Europe. These badges have conventionally been interpreted as thank-offerings made after pilgrims returned

Fig. 3: Silver snake finger-ring, possibly re-used as a votive offering. From the Backworth Hoard (Romano-British). British Museum, inv. no. 1850, 0601.11.

5 Cool 2000.
6 Cool 2000, 35 notes that ‘[t]he Backworth snake-headed finger-rings were deposited in a hoard containing explicitly religious items’. Elsewhere, finger rings found in sanctuaries are sometimes inscribed with the name of the deity (see Parker 2004, 297); such inscriptions could of course be added later, as we see in the case of Aelius Aristides discussed below (Sacred Tales, 48.26–28).
from their travels but Lee suggests that they might instead be taken as ‘tangible evidence of a development in image theory, specifically a de-veneration of images that first developed for this category of wearable images, which were more important as signs of a temporary social role (that of pilgrim) than as representations of the object of the pilgrim’s devotion’.7

Written texts about non-purpose-made votives put us on slightly safer ground, since some authors tell us explicitly that an object had a non-ritual life before its dedication in the sanctuary. So, when Herodotus records that Midas offered a throne at Delphi, he helpfully specifies that this was the throne that Midas used to sit on when he made judgements and he also notes that Croesus dedicated ‘his own wife’s necklaces and belts’.8 The first-century BCE temple inventory known as the Lindian Chronicle records fictional dedications made by famous figures from myth/history, amongst which were a pair of bracelets dedicated by Helen of Troy, and a caltrops and weapons from Pyrrhus which, the inscription tells us, ‘he himself used in dangerous situations’.9 In the Iphigenia in Tauris, Euripides has Athena say to Iphigenia that people dedicated to her ‘finely-woven robes which women who have died in childbirth leave in their homes’.10 And in Aristophanes’ Wealth we meet a man bringing his cloak as a thank-offering to the sanctuary of Asclepius – he confirms that ‘he shivered in it for thirteen years’.11 These literary descriptions of votives are obviously shaped by the ideology and aims of the individual author and, as such, cannot be taken as documentary representations of ‘real’ practice. Nevertheless, they can give us some useful insights into the plausible types of offerings made in ancient sanctuaries and have the added value of revealing parts of these objects’ pre-dedication biographies.

One particularly rich literary source for votives is the Greek Anthology, a collection of poems, mostly epigrams in the elegiac metre, which span the Classical and Hellenistic ages.12 More than three hundred of these epigrams describe votive offerings, although scholars are divided about how far these poems are reflections of real objects rather than entirely fictional creations. Interestingly for our purposes, the majority of the votives recorded within

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7 Lee 2014.
8 Herodotus Histories 1.14, 1.50. On these Herodotean dedications see Kosmetatou 2013.
9 The next offering on the list – weapons dedicated by Hieron – also says ‘which he himself used’. Other offerings, like the bracelets and the linen corselet dedicated by Amasis, may have been interpreted as personal belongings – however, again there is also the possibility that these were manufactured especially for dedication. On the Lindian Chronicle see Higbie 2003 and Shaya 2005.
11 Aristophanes Plut. 842–89.
the epigrams are personal belongings appropriated from other spheres of life. Many of the scenarios relate very clearly to rites of passage or ‘heightened experiences’ in which the act of relinquishing an object to the god mirrors or enacts the changed status of the individual to whom they once belonged. We might take the example of Lais, a famous Corinthian courtesan.

‘I, Lais, whose haughty beauty made mock of Greece, I who once had a swarm of young lovers at my doors, dedicate my mirror to Aphrodite, since I wish not to look on myself as I am, and cannot look on myself as I once was.’

For Lais, the dedication of her mirror and its movement from a domestic environment into a religious space marks the ‘before’ and ‘after’ of her working life. In this case, the transition is emphasised in the language of the poem and particularly, as Maria Ypsilanti has shown, by the contrasts between the verb tenses and the temporal adverbs. With her offering, Lais acknowledged the end of her life as a beautiful, desired courtesan; on exiting the sanctuary without her mirror, she would have been forced to confront her new identity as an older, de-sexualised woman. The non-purpose-made offering was the perfect symbol of such a change, for on entering the sanctuary the object also ended one phase of its life and embarked on another. Lais’ mirror ceased to be the instrument of a mortal woman’s beautification and became instead a ritual gift designed to honour a goddess. This change in function was paralleled in the physical re-location of the mirror from the courtesan’s private quarters to the public space of the sanctuary.

Many other epigrams describe older members of the community handing over the tools of their trade at the point when they are too old to carry on working. These ‘retirement offerings’ include tools dedicated by craftsmen to Athena, and nets dedicated by fishermen to Poseidon. Other epigrams describe the dedication of spoils of the hunt and tithes of the harvest, as well as weapons offered to a god after success in battle. And while we can never know whether the votives described in these poems were real or invented, the epigrams powerfully demonstrate how far the earlier life-history of such non-purpose-made offerings could add value and meaning to these dedications. Sometimes the earlier, pre-dedication stages of an object’s biography were physically ‘present’ in the object: votive weapons are described as ‘broken’ and ‘fragmented’, fishing-nets as ‘torn’, and pens as ‘blackened’

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13 Anth. Pal. VI. 1. This version of Lais’ story (which is retold at VI. 18–20 and 211) is attributed to Plato but may have been written by an anonymous author in the Hellenistic age. See Ypsilanti 2006, 193 n. 1.

14 Ypsilanti 2006, 194.
through their prior use. Such signs of wear-and-tear appear to have made these votives more valuable in the eyes of the god: this, at least, is the implicit message of the epigram in which the god Mars scorns a dedication of shiny weapons because they showed no signs of having been used in battle – a reversal of our usual expectations about the relative values of ‘whole’ and ‘broken’ objects.

3 Medical votives: the crutch at the spring

What about the evidence for the dedication of objects of a medical nature? Patricia Baker has suggested that some surgical tools and collyrium stamps may have been dedicated as votives after having been used for more conventional medical purposes. In her 2004 article on the possible ‘non-functional’ uses of medical instruments, she presents evidence from the Roman fortress of Vindonissa in Switzerland, where sixty-two such tools were found in a waterlogged deposit. Twenty-seven of these tools were in good condition, raising questions about why they had stopped being used, especially given the rarity of some of the types. Baker suggests (amongst other possibilities) that these objects may been used as votive offerings, pointing out that they had been deposited in a liminal or boundary area beyond the walls of the fortress. Other finds of medical tools have been made in rivers across the Western Empire, including six sets of tools encased within cylindrical cases made of copper (fig. 4). Further evidence for possible non-purpose-made dedications is found at other sanctuaries with a connection to healing, mingled together with purpose-made offerings like anatomical votives. The statue shown at fig. 5, for example, was found at the sanctuary of Dea Sequana in Burgundy, which was also home to hundreds of wooden, bronze and stone anatomical votives. It shows a man dressed in a traditional pilgrim costume holding an animal, perhaps a dog; other similar statues show men and woman holding bags of money, instruments, and small circular objects,

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15 Cf. epigrams 6.23, 6.24, 6.35, 6.64.
16 6.163: ‘What mortal hung here on the wall these spoils in which it were disgraceful for Ares to take delight? Here are set no jagged spears, no plumeless helmet, no shield stained with blood; but all are so polished, so undinted by the steel, as they were spoils of the dance and not of the battle.’ For further discussion of the positive value of fragmentation in votives, see Hughes forthcoming.
all of which may perhaps have been intended to represent offerings or sacrifices brought to the goddess.¹⁹

Scattered mentions in literary texts prove that non-purpose-made objects were often dedicated in healing sanctuaries. Lucian describes a statue to which coins and silver plate had been attached with wax as thank-offerings from those whom the statue had cured from fever.²⁰ And Pausanias records that the statue of Hygeia at Titane was covered with offerings of women’s hair and ‘strips of Babylonian raiment’ (bandages?).²¹ One particularly fascinating episode is recounted by Aelius Aristides in his second-century CE

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¹⁹ Deyts 1994.
²⁰ Lucian _Philopseudes_ 18.
²¹ Pausanias 9.19.5.
Sacred Tales. While Aristides is staying at the sanctuary of Asclepius in Pergamon, the god visits him in a dream, informing him that he is to die within three days, before revealing some ritual measures that Aristides might take to avoid this fate.

The god said that it was necessary to cut off part of the body itself on behalf of the safety of the whole. This however, would be too great a demand and from it he would exempt me. Instead, I should take off the ring that I was wearing and offer it to Telesphoros. For this would do the same as if I offered the finger itself. Furthermore, I should inscribe on the band of the ring ‘Son of Cronos’. After this there would be salvation.

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22 On Aristides and his Sacred Tales see Petsalis-Diomidis 2010; Petridou 2016.
23 Aelius Aristides Sacred Tales, 48.26–28.
This story serves as a useful warning for the archaeologist, for surely nobody who chanced upon this ring could ever correctly guess at the complex sequence of events that led up to its dedication in the sanctuary. Scholars have woven this passage into some equally complex theories about how votive offerings work, from Adalberto Pazzini’s argument about sacrificial substitution, to Walter Burkert’s proposal that votive offerings represent ‘a kind of ransom from the threat of death.’

These earlier discussions do not highlight the ring’s status as one of Aristides’ existing personal belongings but I would argue that this status is quite significant – especially given the prevalence of purpose-made offerings at the Pergamon Asklepieion (the archaeological finds from this site include numerous anatomical votives in stone and bronze, which in many cases appear to be expensive, high-status offerings). Why did Asclepius insist on Aristides giving his finger-ring, rather than, say, a gold model of a finger? Had the ring simply caught the god’s eye and taken his fancy while he was observing Aristides? Did the god know that this object was particularly precious to Aristides and that handing it over would involve more of a ‘sacrifice’ than paying for a brand-new gold model? Is this a technique used to distinguish Aristides from all the other pilgrims who dedicated purpose-made anatomicals? Does the ring simply make for a better story? We can never know the answers to these questions but if we imagine replacing the ring in Aristides’ story with a purpose-made body part then the effect becomes rather different. Thus we can start to individuate some of the specific qualities of such personal offerings – which in this case include the construction of an observant, interested deity, who notes and even covets his worshipper’s belongings.

A poem in the Greek Anthology gives another vivid example of the dedication of a personal belonging in connection with healing.

The old servant-woman, the one lame in the feet, at the good news of the healing waters came crawling one day with her oak stick, which propped her maimed body up. Compassion seized the nymphs who dwell on the foothills of Etna in the watery home of their whirlpool sire Symaethus. Etna’s hot spring made strong her two lame legs, and she left the Nymphs her stick; so they consented to escort her on her way unsupported, as they rejoiced in her gift.

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24 Pazzini 1935, 118; Burkert 1996, 35–38. Burkert draws parallels between this passage and an episode recorded in medieval versions of Homer’s Odyssey in which Odysseus is forced to bite off his own finger to rid himself of a deadly finger-ring given to him by the cyclops Polyphemus: he says ‘by the loss of a member I saved the whole body from imminent death.’


26 Palatine Anthology 6.203.
This story fits neatly alongside the story of Lais discussed earlier, insofar as it commemorates a transitional moment in life (here the transition between sickness and health, rather than work and retirement). While Lais’ mirror functioned as a symbol of her beauty, here the old woman’s walking-stick functions as a symbol of her infirmity. We are allowed to witness the moment when the dedicant walks away from the dedicated object – an action that showcases her newly-healed body but which also underlines the physical abandonment of illness and infirmity. In turn, the stick itself is transformed through the process of dedication: the nymphs are pleased by the woman’s gift and the stick is thus converted from a humble, ordinary, even degrading object, to a sacred article with the power to delight immortals.

The famous *iamata* inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Epidauros provide further examples of non-purpose-made objects being dedicated for healing. These stories of miraculous cures were inscribed on blocks of stones in the fourth century BCE and displayed within the sanctuary.27 We read of healing events that took place while, or shortly after, the worshippers slept in the sacred *abaton*; these cures are often effected by Asclepius himself, who is described as cutting out eyes, removing spearheads from jaws, and evicting worms and leeches from the patients’ bodies. Several votive offerings are mentioned in the tales and, of these, a number are non-purpose-made offerings.

Pandaros of Thessaly, with tattoos/marks (*stigmata*) on his forehead. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed that the god bound a fillet/bandage (*tainia*) around his tattoos and told him that when he was outside of the Abaton, to take off the fillet and dedicate it in the temple. When day came he rose and took off the fillet, and he saw his face clear of the tattoos. He dedicated the fillet, which had the letters from his forehead, in the Temple.28

Euphanes, a boy of Epidauros. Suffering from stone, he slept here. It seemed to him the god came to him and said, ‘What will you give me if I should make you well?’ The boy replied ‘Ten dice’. The god, laughing, said that he would make it stop. When day came he left well.29

In the first of the tales cited here, Pandaros comes to the temple with marks on his forehead, which may have been tattoos indicating his own earlier dedication in a temple as a slave or a soldier. His thank-offering was the bandage or fillet which Asclepius had used to remove the marks, or perhaps the marks themselves, since these had been left on the fillet. This offering is

27 LiDonnici 1995. For all the offerings mentioned in the *iamata* see LiDonnici 1995, 44, table 1.
28 LiDonnici 1995, 91 [A6].
29 LiDonnici 1995, 93 [A8].
different from those depicted in the *Greek Anthology*, since it is essentially a medical ‘tool’ rather than a treasured personal belonging. However, this offering did enjoy sustained physical contact with its dedicant (materialised in the marks on the bandage) and again we see the transformation of a humble or even abject item of material culture into a revered, miraculous relic. The case of Euphanes is again quite different, and provides an interesting contrast to the story of Pandaros. Here, the dedicated object is not connected to sickness but instead conjures up the image of a healthy boy at play, far from the sanctuary and ideas of illness. The boy’s active role in choosing the gift comes across very strongly here and contrasts sharply with the scenario of detailed instruction painted by Aristides in the passage cited earlier. At Epidauros, the god does ask for a gift but he fails to specify exactly what form this should take. The boy’s agency is underlined by the fact that the god responds with laughter – although the laughter itself is quite hard to interpret. Did Asclepius laugh in amusement, happiness, or surprise? Was his laughter connected in some way to the ludic nature of the gift itself, or even to the number of dice that were to be offered?

Other Epidaurian *iamata* present us with further non-purpose-made offerings, some of which have a clearly symbolic function. We hear of a cup which was dedicated to Asclepius after having been broken and then miraculously mended by the god while it was being brought to the sanctuary. This tale clearly serves as an analogy for the mending of the pilgrims’ bodies recorded in the same stele, for the pot in its reconstituted state is also described as *hygie* (healthy).30 Another example of a non-purpose-made votive (albeit not a ‘personal belonging’ as such) is the case of Hermodikos of Lampsacus, who was instructed to bring the biggest stone that he could find into the sanctuary as an offering.31 In this case, the choice of votive is presumably motivated by the fact that the illness in question was paralysis (*akrates tou somatos*). In other words, the lifting of a heavy stone was the perfect way to advertise the success of the treatment and the power of the healing miracle.

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30 For further discussion of this tale, see Hughes 2017, 57–58.
31 LiDonnici 1995, 97 [A15].
### 4 Purpose-made vs non-purpose-made – some reflections on conceptual differences

The small selection of examples discussed in this article shows that there is no single reason why people would choose a *non-* purpose-made type of votive offering rather than a purpose-made one. Sometimes that choice might reflect the specific request of a god (as with the ring of Aristides or the stone of Hermodikos), or a practical situation connected to the act of healing (like leaving a crutch), which in turn might coexist with a desire to emphasise the fact that the thing is no longer needed. Other possible motives for selecting a non-purpose-made votive could be practical: easier availability, lower cost, or simply that the dedicant felt too unwell to organise the purchase or commissioning of a purpose-made votive offering. However, despite this heterogeneity of motives and meanings, we might identify some very broad shared characteristics which distinguish these offerings of non-purpose-made votives from their purpose-made counterparts (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Purpose-made' votives</th>
<th>'Non-purpose-made' votives (e.g., personal belongings repurposed for dedication)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
<td>Anatomical votives, sculpted/inscribed reliefs, statues and statuettes, miniature models.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Characteristics</strong></td>
<td>Created as a sacred object; starts and ends its life cycle within the sphere of ritual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sometimes represents the dedicant visually (e.g., a portrait within a sculpted relief, or a body part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often mass-produced or generic, thereby homogenises experience, linking individual to wider social group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Object typically spends a short amount of time in the dedicant’s possession (i.e., from purchase to dedication).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### ‘Purpose-made’ votives

- Value of the object is defined independently of the dedicant (the object’s ‘price tag’).
- Potentially costly; requires a certain degree of organisation and forward-planning.
- Made by craftsman, who thus acts as intermediary between worshipper and deity.

### ‘Non-purpose-made’ votives (e.g., personal belongings repurposed for dedication)

- Value perceived primarily by the dedicant (and god), who knows the object’s life-history.
- No extra economic cost (other than the ‘sacrifice’ of the possession).
- Chosen directly by worshipper, enabling greater agency and a more direct relationship with the deity.

### Sickness and Healing

- Expresses individual experience of illness in a shared cultural language, which reflects externally-defined ways of representing and dividing the sick body.
- Allows for a more personal, individualised representation of sickness and healing. May also involve notions of discarding/relinquishing illness (e.g., leaving behind of crutches or bandages).

This division of votives into ‘purpose-made’ and ‘non-purpose-made’ is clearly imperfect in many ways. As with any classificatory system, these labels highlight and privilege certain aspects of an object while making it harder for us to see others; moreover, some votives will inevitably resist insertion into either category. For example, Emma-Jayne Graham has suggested that terracotta votive models of babies found in Hellenistic central Italy may sometimes have been wrapped with the fabric swaddling bands previously worn by a real infant.32 In these cases, the resulting votive would be a ‘multi-media’ hybrid of the categories of purpose-made and non-purpose-made (and we may even want to argue that the swaddling bands were also originally fabricated with an eventual function of dedication in mind).

Despite these caveats, I would still maintain that a temporary organisation of votives into the purpose-made and non-purpose-made can help us to recognise some subtle differences in how these objects functioned and, in particular, in how they related to the bodies and lives of the people who dedicated them. Here a useful parallel might be drawn with *souvenirs*, a genre of material culture which has also been separated by scholars into ‘purpose-made’ and ‘non-purpose-made’ objects.33 Purpose-made souvenirs

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include commercially-produced representations like postcards and fridge magnets; these objects are 'more or less universally recognised', and generally do not demand to be supplemented with additional explanatory narratives. Meanwhile, 'non-purpose-made' souvenirs include 'found' objects like shells, stones, or pieces of architectural material. This second type of souvenir has been termed 'piece of the rock' by Beverley Gordon, and 'sampled' by Susan Stewart – terms which draw attention to the metonymic nature of these objects and their capacity to subtract from the total physical landscape from which they are collected. Souvenirs of this second type 'would only be recognised by the people who save them'; they are 'inherently insignificant' in their original context but become 'sacralized' once they are moved into their new context (e.g., the living room), where they are 'imbued with all the power of the associations made with its original environment'.

It is not too difficult to see how many of the comments made about these two categories of souvenirs (and the way in which they relate to place) might also be applied to our two categories of votives (and the way in which these offerings relate to the people who dedicated them). For instance, as shown in table 1, purpose-made votives are often iconic, representational images, which physically replicate a (human) prototype in a familiar artistic genre. Purpose-made votives are not generally presumed to have been involved in the individual's previous life, nor to have enjoyed a prolonged physical relationship with the person. In fact, the purpose-made votive may have been designed and manufactured without any reference to the specific individual (as is the case with the mass-produced anatomicals, which most scholars believe were mould-made and fired before being displayed to potential purchasers). The non-purpose-made dedications are, on the other hand, objects that have, in many cases, spent a significant period of time with the person who owned them, often forming a defining element of that person's identity. Indeed, we might say that they formed an 'extension of the self', which was metaphorically 'sampled' or even 'amputated' before being left in the sanctuary. These metonymic votive objects would have had rich biographies involving different people, places and events, and the act of leaving these objects behind in the sanctuary may have been an emotionally-charged experience – an experience which created a permanent link between the worshipper and the sanctuary, and which left the person materially lacking.

34 Gordon 1986, 135.
35 Gordon 1986, 142.
36 I would add that the synergy between the two genres results in part from the fact that both souvenirs and votives are representations or even 'fragments' of larger entities – i.e., places (in the case of souvenirs) and persons (in the case of votives).
in some way, almost like a landscape or monument from which a piece of rock has been hewn away (fig. 6).

Further differences between ‘purpose-made’ and ‘non-purpose-made’ votives may have impinged specifically on the experience of sickness and healing. Purpose-made, mass-produced offerings like anatomicals allowed the individual to make a clear statement that they were experiencing sickness, using a widely-recognised image of the sick or healed body, somewhat akin to the modern hospital gown. The worshipper who offered an anatomical votive implicitly subscribed to (and perpetuated) broader cultural norms of representing and dividing the body, disavowing the uniqueness of their experience by moulding it to correspond with standard ways of perceiving the sick body. To put this a different way, although the purchase of an anatomical votive does involve some choice and agency on the part of the dedicant, it also necessitates some compromise: it is unlikely that any anatomical votive would have mapped perfectly onto the affected body area, so sufferers would simply have picked the representation that was the closest match. Such homogenisation of the illness experience does not just apply to mass-produced votives but also to those purpose-made votives that were customised or even commissioned from scratch. For instance, the so-called ‘confession stelae’ from Roman Lydia and Phrygia appear at first sight to be highly individualised objects adorned with unique narratives and images. Nevertheless, Richard Gordon has shown how far each stele exhibits a ‘tacit awareness’ of an overarching narrative structure, thereby echoing broader socio-religious expectations about the sequence of illness and cure.37

In contrast, the non-purpose-made votives arguably allowed the individual to respond to their illness in a more creative, spontaneous way, and to use their dedication to reflect and advertise the *irrepeatability* of their own experience of illness. Non-purpose-made healing votives like bandages or crutches – objects of extensive touch and physical manipulation – could also enact the physical relinquishing of illness and infirmity (and perhaps also pollution) through being left behind in the sanctuary. Moreover, the absence of any mediating third party in the form of a craftsman may have had particular resonance in the case of offerings connected to sickness. While the role of patient is often connected with a feeling of powerlessness and loss of agency, the dedicant’s involvement in selecting a votive to take to the sanctuary may have allowed them to momentarily regain some degree of autonomy in the face of illness.

In this way, I would suggest that non-purpose-made votives might be seen as particular valuable sources for Lived Ancient Religion, as well as for the intersections between religion and medicine that lie at the heart of this Special Issue. This is not only because these objects give unique insights into the lives of the ancient individuals who originally possessed them but also because they permanently entangled the different spheres in which religion was practiced – whether this was the home, the workplace, the battlefield, the ocean, the military camp, or the sanctuary. Any votive offering had the potential to draw the worshipper back to the sanctuary where it had been left – mentally or even physically, as in the case of Theophrastus’ description of “The man who is proud of trifles.” However, the non-purpose-made votives discussed in this article would have left a conspicuous void in the dedicant’s home or workplace – thereby creating an empty space in which that individual could reflect on their request for divine help, and perhaps also give thanks for a miracle.

5 Conclusion

This article has examined the evidence for ‘non-purpose-made’ votives in classical antiquity – that is, votives that were *not* produced especially for ritual dedication but which had already been used as functional objects in other stages of the dedicant’s life. As we have seen, such non-purpose-made votives are harder to trace in the archaeological record than their purpose-

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38 Theophrastus *Char.* 21.10. This man dedicates a ring to Asclepius, then returns daily to polish, garland and anoint it.
made counterparts; however, they appear with greater frequency in the literary texts (perhaps because of their greater ability to reflect, or to construct, a dedicant’s unique story and experience). It is true that ‘purpose-made’ objects like statues or relief sculptures might initially appear to be more expensive and impressive gifts than the ‘re-used’ personal belongings studied here. However, I hope to have demonstrated that these non-purpose-made personal offerings were valuable in a different way, insofar as they embodied an intense, permanent entanglement between gift and giver, and represented, through their physical movement from one space to another, the dynamic personal transition that was often being commemorated by the votive offering.

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Alchemy, Medicine and Religion: Zosimus of Panopolis and the Egyptian Priests*

Abstract

This paper explores the role played by Egyptian priests, daimons and medicine in Zosimus of Panopolis’ (third to fourth century CE) alchemical discourse. By translating and commenting on some relevant passages of his oeuvre, preserved either in Greek or in Syriac translation, I will discuss three key-aspects of the cultural and mythological framework in which Zosimus placed the alchemical practice: 1. the so-called ‘well-timed tinctures’ and their relations with astrology and daimonic agency; 2. the role of books in the practice of medicine and alchemy; 3. the acquaintance of late-antique Egyptian priests with specific ‘arts’, in particular alchemy, medicine and dyeing techniques (mostly related to the making of statues).

Keywords: alchemy, dyeing techniques, Egypt, statues, medicine, astrology, theurgy

1 Introduction

The belief that planets influenced human lives and activities through the action of daimons – which could be either beneficent or maleficent – was widespread in Late Antiquity far beyond astrological theories stricto sensu.¹ Scholars have long pointed out similarities between Neo-Platonic, Hermetic, and Gnostic writings dealing with human enslavement to Fate (εἱμαρμένη) and its daimonic ministers. Within this philosophical and religious discourse, the Greco-Egyptian alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (third to fourth century CE) framed his views on the relationship between alchemical tinctures and daimons: according to Zosimus, deceptive daimons prevented practitioners from grounding their alchemical work on a thorough study of

* I warmly thank Radcliffe G. Edmonds III, Sebastian Richter, Paul Scade and the anonymous reviewers for their precious comments and suggestions.

1 See, e. g., Greenbaum 2016; Denzey 2013; Fowden 1993, 91–94.
the earlier alchemical tradition and made them rely instead on propitious astrological moments (*kairoi*).²

Zosimus’ *On the Letter Omega*³ is highly polemical. In this work Zosimus directs a vitriolic attack against those alchemists who did not recognise the value of *On Furnaces*, an alchemical book ascribed to Maria the Jewess (first to second century CE). In particular, those who ‘acquired the favour from their personal daimon’ (ἐυμένειαν ἐσχηκότες παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου δαιμονίου), thus succeeding with the *kairikai katabaphai* (‘well-timed tinctures’),⁴ dismissed the teachings of *On Furnaces* as false or unnecessary, and brought ridicule upon the book. However, ‘the courses of their Fate’ (τοὺς χρόνους τῆς αὐτῶν εἰμαρμένης) could easily turn round: when a maleficent daimon takes them over and their success comes to end, they reluctantly confess that there was some truth in the book. Yet, ‘no sooner do the stars take a propitious position with the passage of the minutes’ (τῶν ἀστέρων σχηματισθέντων κατὰ τοὺς λεπτοὺς χρόνους) and a good daimon gives them some material advantage, then such fickle alchemists change their mind once again. They are – as Hermes says – escorts of the Fate in its procession.⁵

The final image of the procession recalls the long metaphor by which Galen opens his *Exhortation to Medicine* (II 1–4),⁶ in which he depicts those who neglect to learn an art (*technē*) as blind followers of the daimon *Tychē*: unable to develop professional skills in any particular art, they entrust the unpredictable Fate with their success. Likewise, the fickle alchemists rely on

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² On the relationship between Zosimus and Hermetism, Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism, see, e.g., Stolzenberg 1999; Fraser 2004 and Fraser 2007; Burns 2015.

³ This treatise opens Zosimus’ *Authentic Memoirs* (a section mainly devoted to alchemical equipment). Only excerpts and summarised versions of Zosimus’ alchemical writings (twenty-eight books according to *Suda* ζ 168 Adler) have been preserved in Byzantine manuscripts (Mertens 1995, xliii–lxx), which hand down several ‘chapters’ (κεφάλαια) organised in three sections of different length: 1) *Authentic Memoirs* (γνήσια ὑπομνήματα); 2) *Chapters to Eusebeia* (κεφάλαια πρὸς Εὐσέβειαν); 3) *Chapters to Theodorus* (πρὸς Θεόδωρον κεφάλαια). Some Byzantine MSS preserve two additional books: the *First Book of the Final Quittance* (τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον τῆς τελευταίας ἀποχῆς) and the *Genuine Book by Sophe the Egyptian* (βιβλίος ἀληθῆς Σοφὲ Αἰγύπτου). Only section 3) has been critically edited by Mertens 1995 (hereafter MA). The remaining texts are only available in the out-of-date edition by Berthelot, Ruelle 1887–88 (hereafter CAAG). For more reliable editions of the *Final Quittance*, see Festugière 1944, vol. 1, 363–368 and Tonelli 2004, 184–197.

⁴ For a discussion of this expression, see below, pp. 208. 210–211.

⁵ Transl. by Jackson 1978, 21 (slightly modified); Greek text in MA I 30–37 Mertens. The Hermetic text quoted by Zosimus clearly resembles the fourth treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (*CH* IV, usually referred to as *Krater*): see Fowden 1993, 123–124; Mertens 1995, 68 n. 23.

the caprices of daimons and do not base their techniques on a solid knowledge of the alchemical art. As we shall see, this attitude is particularly evident in Egyptian priests. On the one hand, their alleged skills in different arts (alchemy and medicine above all) are groundless. On the other, they take advantage of their prestige among lay people in order to boast about their false expertise and strengthen the power of those daimons, which fully control their practice.

2 Egyptian priests and Greek medical books

The question of how to perform a dyeing procedure, or, more generally, how to practise an art is further developed in the final section of On the Letter Omega. Here Zosimus returns to his initial point and discusses again the attitude of the alchemists who dismissed the instructions available in the book On Furnaces:

‘Those who succeed with the well-timed (tinctures) speak about nothing else but their art, mock the great book On Furnaces, and do not understand the words of the poet: “But in no wise do the gods give <all things>7 to men at one time” [Il. iv 320]. They neither consider in any way nor look at human behaviours. In a single art, indeed, men succeed in different ways and in different ways they perform a single art, since their different dispositions and the different astral conjunctions make the same art <different> and make...

7 I followed Letrouit’s correction (2002, 93) and restored the Homeric quotation by inserting the term πάντα, not preserved in Byzantine MSS.
one person a consummate\textsuperscript{8} craftsman, another person a craftsman tout court, another a less skilled craftsman, another a worse craftsman unable to make any progress. It is so for every art and one can see people performing the same art by using different instruments and different methods, and they differ in their intelligence and their success. Among all the arts, this is especially evident in medicine. Let’s say, when a bone is broken, if a ‘bone-setter’ priest is available, he will act according to his own superstitious practice and mend the (broken) bone, so that you can hear the bones creaking while being joined to one another. If no priest is available, nobody must be afraid of dying; on the contrary, physicians are brought (to the patient) bearing books illustrated with geometrical drawings (lit. lines) and hatched (drawings) – and the drawings are of many different sizes.\textsuperscript{9} According to the book, the man (i.e. patient) is bandaged by means of specific devices and he will have a long life after recovering his health; a man is by no means allowed to die because no ‘bone-setter’ priest has been found. But when these people (probably the alchemists mentioned at the beginning of the passage) fail, they starve to death, since they do not deem it wise either to understand the drawings (that represent) the skeleton (i.e., the structure) of furnaces\textsuperscript{10} or to reproduce them, in order to be happy and overcome poverty, the incurable disease.\textsuperscript{11}

Medicine is here presented as a paradigmatic example of an art that can be practiced in different ways. In particular, Zosimus takes into account two categories of experts in healing fractures: a specialised priest, called ‘bone-setter’ (ὀστοδέτης ἱερεύς), and professional physicians (ἰατροί). The term ostodetēs also occurs in an inscribed stele kept at the Coptic Museum in Cairo (inv. 4324), whose short text (introduced and closed by a crux ansata)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} The passage is difficult to understand despite the various attempts of scholars to interpret and amend the text preserved by the Byzantine tradition. The MSS have … τὸν μὲν ἄγων τεχνίτην, which does not make any good sense. Scott 1936, 109 (l. 27) proposed writing … τὸν μὲν ἄκρον <εἶναι> τεχνίτην, ‘(since) one person <is> an excellent craftsman’ (see also Tonelli 2004, 167). I have accepted ἄκρον but I imply the verb ποιεῖν in the sentence (it is thus possible to read τὸν μὲν as the direct object of ποιεῖν and ἄκρον τέχνιτην as its predicative). Festugière 1944, I, 272 restored the passage as τὸν μὲν ἄγειν τεχνίτην, ‘tel artisan prend la tête’; Mertens 1995, 9 proposed τὸν μὲν ἄγων τεχνίτην, ‘l’un est un artisan des concours’.
\item \textsuperscript{9} The passages seems to refer to different kinds of lines: see Mertens 1995, 115 n. 108 and below, p. 209.
\item \textsuperscript{10} The adj. ὀστοδετικός only occurs in this passage. I followed Festugière’s interpretation (1944, I, 273 n. 6): ‘le sens (de l’expression) est: le diagramme des fourneaux qui a même vertu (dans l’alchimie) que le diagramme médical pour recoller les os’. Writers on mechanics, such as Philo of Byzantium or Bito, did use anatomical terms (e.g. γαστήρ, ‘belly’; ῥάχις, ‘spine, backbone’) to refer to specific parts of the war machines they described: see Von Staden 1998, 162.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Zosimus closes this section by paraphrasing a passage from ps.-Democritus’ alchemical writings (first century CE). The alchemist Synesius (fourth century CE) cites Democritus’ text as well (Syn. Alch. § 5, 56–58 in Martelli 2014, 126 = CAAG II 59,6–8): ‘He (i.e., ps.-Democritus) spoke these words further on in the text: “if you are intelligent and will operate according to what has been written, you will be happy; for through this method you will overcome poverty, the incurable disease”.
\end{itemize}
reads: ἐν ἰρήνῃ. Πέτρος, ὡστοδέτης, ‘Peter, the bonesetter, (rest) in peace’. This inscription, dated to some time between the fourth and sixth century CE, has been recently interpreted as evidence for the persistence of traditional Egyptian medicine among Christianised Egyptians. The Coptic term markas (ⲡⲁⲣⲕⲁⲥ) refers to the same expertise in healing fractures as the Greek ostodetēs, literally meaning ‘binder [from mar/moyr (ⲡⲃⲣ /ⲧⲟⲩⲣ), ‘to tie, bind’ = Greek δέω] of bones’ [kas (ⲡⲁⲥ) ‘bone’ = Greek ὀστοῦν]. Zosimus seems to tie this expertise to an Egyptian temple context. In the passage quoted above, the term hiereus refers with all likelihood to Egyptian priests, who – as we shall see – represent a frequent target in Zosimus’ writings. We cannot exclude the possibility that Zosimus had in mind local priests working in the temples of his own native town. The city of Panopolis was, indeed, an important religious and cultural centre, where pagan cults and traditions remained alive until the early Byzantine period. According to the family archive of the fourth-century advocate (scholasticus) Aurelius Ammon, his father, Petearbeschinis, was head of a family of high-ranking hereditary priests who held important positions in local temples. An early fourth-century topographical register (P.Berl.Bork) mentions various small pagan shrines in Panopolis, which were dedicated to a wide range of deities, such as Aeus, Ammon, Chnoubis, Agathos Daimon, and Hermes.

The term ostodetēs seems to refer to a specific area of expertise, namely ‘surgery’, that in Antiquity included ‘physical manipulations, as in the reduc-

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12 See the recent edition of the inscription (with short commentary) in Nachtergael 1999, 152–153. The provenance of the stele is unknown: Kamel (1987, 54) tentatively attributed it to Oxyrhynchus. On the continuity between ancient Egyptian and Coptic medicine, see, e.g., Kolta 1994; on the other hand, Richter 2014 stresses the strong impact of Greek medicine on the earliest Coptic medical recipes.

13 See, e.g., Kolta 1984, 165 and 172: the term markas (ⲡⲁⲣⲕⲁⲥ) is sometimes paired with the term saein (ⲡⲈⲧⲏⲉ), ‘physician’, in Coptic sources; Crum 1939, 119b also quotes the late Coptic-Arabic lexicon preserved in MS BNF Scala copte 44, which translates markas (ⲡⲁⲣⲕⲁⲥ) as muǧabir (مجير), ‘bonesetter, orthopedist’.

14 See Mertens 1995, 115.

15 See, e.g., Geens 2014, 325: ‘[…] myth, ritual, wisdom literature, medicine, astrology and astronomy were important interest fields of the priests from the Akhmin [i.e. Panopolis] region’.

16 On Panopolis, see the collection of essays edited in Egberts, Muhs, van der Vliet 2002.

17 See, e.g., Andorlini 2010 (with further bibliography).

18 His two wives, Senpasis and Senpetechensis, were both priestesses; his son Horion was archiprophetēs and Horion II, son of Horion, was expected to succeed his father as prophetēs.

19 Borkowski 1975. The register also records the (fragmentary) names of three physicians (ιατροί) working in the city, yet provides no information about their activity.
ing of dislocations or realignment of bones. Since the Pharaonic period, Egyptian physicians were well trained in this field, as clearly emerges from the famous Edwin Smith Papyrus (mid-second millennium BCE), which contains several instructions on how to mend fractures. Regrettably, later Egyptian sources do not confirm the survival of this specialisation within a priestly milieu. Many Demotic medical texts certainly stem from temple libraries and prove the skills of Egyptian priests in healing procedures. These texts, however, mainly deal with recipes and pharmacology, and we find no reference to experts in healing broken bones in the material published so far. Therefore, Zosimus’ account is particularly relevant, despite its lack of details about the modus operandi of the ‘bonesetter’ priest. Apparently, he just used his hands to align the broken bones and join them together: similar procedures are already attested in the Smith Papyrus, such as in case 34, which describes the reduction of a dislocated jaw, or in case 36, which illustrates how to mend a broken upper arm. The priest did not resort to illustrated books (Greek books, as we shall discuss) or mechanical devices. Rather, he operated in accordance with his own ‘superstitious’ practice. The term deisidaimonia (δεισιδαιμονία, lit. ‘a feeling of dread/awe for daimones’) is particularly meaningful in this context, since it evokes the role played by daimons. The priests probably relied on the support of the same daimons that controlled those alchemists who mocked the book On Furnaces – as explained in the first part of On the Letter Omega. Regrettably, Zosimus does not specify whether the priest tried to gain the favour of daimons through specific rituals or practices. He might have used spells and charms, which already occur in ancient Egyptian treatises on medicine; although they are less frequent for the treatment of injuries and fractures, we do find a spell

20 Lang 2013, 193.

21 See, e.g., Nunn 1996, 57–58; Westendorf 1999, 16–21 and 711–748. The Smith Papyrus mentions no specific title referring to bonesetters, despite the high degree of specialisation of medicine in the Pharaonic period. Egyptian sources record many specialists, such as eye-doctors, enema-doctors, dentists (cf. Nunn 1996, 119; Westendorf 1999, 472–478). The Greek term ἰατροκλύστης might be the Greek translation of the Egyptian medical title for enema-doctors (‘shepherd of the rectum’). The Greek term is attested in two Greek papyri that do not stem from a temple context – a private letter (UPZ I 148) and the fragmentary accounts of P.Hib. II 268. For some Demotic texts dealing with dentistry, see Hoffmann and Quack 2010, 309–310.

22 ‘Shifting to the Roman Period, we find even more proof connecting Demotic narrative literature to the priestly milieu, for temple libraries (specifically at the sites of Tebtunis and Dime) represent the most secure provenances for Roman Period Demotic literature’ (Jay 2016, 64). The material from Tebtunis includes many medical papyri (both in Demotic and in Greek) that stem from the temple library (see Hanson 2005; Van Minnen 1998, 155–180); on Demotic medical texts, see Westendorf 1999, 53–59; Hoffmann 2012.

23 See Westendorf 1999, 420–430 (in gynaecological texts); 524–532.
evoking the help of Osiris in the *Smith Papyrus* (case 9). Magical texts, in particular, include incantations for curing illnesses and ailments: the *London-Leiden Demotic Papyrus* (first to second century CE) describes how to remove a bone stuck in the throat by manipulating the neck of the patient and, at the same time, casting a spell (*PDM XIV* 620–626). On the other hand, Zosimus might have had astrological medicine in mind, as the mention of *kairikoi baphai* seems to suggest. For instance, according to the astro-botanical treatise *On the Virtues of Plants* (I, proem. §§ 12–22 = pp. 49–53 Friedrich), a Theban priest performed a rite that allowed the Greek physician Thessalos to obtain from Imhotep-Asclepius knowledge about the astrological moments (*kairoi*) in which to harvest medicinal herbs. Thessalos needed this knowledge in order to properly prepare the drugs described in Nechepso’s medical book, some of which were used to treat bones as well (II 7.3 = p. 259 Friedrich).

Similar methods of healing could represent the target of Zosimus, who might have condemned them as examples of daimonic agency. More importantly, since Egyptian priests trusted daimons, they avoided studying those books that described the method of the *iatroi*, presumably physicians well trained in Greek medicine. Here, Zosimus’ account is in line with the picture provided by Greek medical sources: the *iatroi* had recourse to mechanical devices for reducing fractures. The physician Heliodorus (first century CE), for instance, describes three main methods for mending broken bones: 1) the way of wrestling-schools, according to which doctors only used their hands; 2) the methodic way, in which everyday tools were employed;
3) reductions by way of instruments (ὀργανικοὶ καταρτισμοί), which represented the most effective method and could heal any kind of fracture. Specialised doctors, called *organikoi* (ὀργανικοί), were expert in the third method, which Zosimus seems to presuppose in his account. Heliodorus points out that these physicians were aware of the most recent discoveries in mechanics and by applying these discoveries to medicine, the *organikoi* were able to develop new instruments for treating fractures. According to Galen, these medical devices were described in textbooks *On Instruments* (Περὶ ὀργάνων), which probably contained images and drawings. For instance, illustrations constituted an important part of Apollonius of Citium’s work *On Joints* (first century CE) and Byzantine manuscripts still include pictures that accompany the text: MS *Laurentianus* 74.7 (tenth century CE) hands down thirty illuminations illustrating how to position the body of the patient and depicting the instruments used to mend his dislocations and fractures. It seems likely that Zosimus had these kinds of textbooks in mind when he refers to the illustrated books. Geometrical lines (γραμμικά γραμμαί) could have been used to sketch the outlines of devices, while lines were probably hatched (σκιασταὶ γραμμαί) to create a shading effect (perhaps useful for better depicting anatomical details).

In the elliptical concluding remarks, Zosimus compares the illustrated medical textbooks with the alchemical ones (such as Maria’s book *On Furnaces*), which included drawings of alchemical ovens and other devices. Unlike in the opening section of *On the Letter Omega*, in this passage Zosi-

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30 Marganne 1998, 59–60; see also Von Staden 1998. Zosimus refers to two important ancient experts in mechanics (namely Hero of Alexandria and Archimedes) in *MA IV* 35–44 Mertens.
32 Zosimus’ section *On the Letter Omega* introduces several chapters on alchemical instruments, which were probably part of a section entitled Περὶ ὀργάνων. Moreover, Maria’s treatise *On Furnaces*, which Zosimus is here defending from the attack of his opponents, is sometimes referred to as a book περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ καμίνων.
34 The *Laurentianus* manuscripts also include images of different kinds of bandages, which illustrate Soranos’ work *On Bandages* for a detailed description of the illuminations in the *Laurentianus* MS (along with some notes on its descripti), see Marchetti 2010.
35 As noted by Mertens 1995, 115 n. 108, the adj. σκιαστός is a hapax. A similar expression is used by Apollonius of Citium (διαγραφικὴ σκιαγραφία, ‘bildliche Darstellung’, p. 14, 9 Kollesch-Kudlien-Nickel) to refer to the first illustration of his treatise: see Stückelberger 1994, 89; Marchetti 2010, 56 n. 10.
36 As it seems possible to infer from the images that Byzantine MSS preserve along with Zosimus’ writings; see Mertens 1995, cxiii–clxix.
mus devotes particular attention to the beliefs and fears of patients. The patients should not be afraid of dying if a priest was not available. Zosimus’ main point is not just to show that Egyptian priests might fail in healing fractures. Rather, he seems more concerned with the high reputation that Egyptian priests enjoyed among lay people, who did not want to trust other methods of healing. Zosimus denounces the wrong opinions and unfounded fears of sick persons, which represented powerful tools in the hands of the Egyptian priests. By exploiting and taking advantage of these false beliefs, priests could influence and rule over lay people, who wrongly trusted the priests as the only reputable experts. On the contrary, the healing methods described in the illustrated medical books, as well as the tinctures explained in the book *On Furnaces*, represented more reliable forms of technical knowledge which practitioners should learn in order to regain control of those techniques and procedures that were believed to be the exclusive domain of Egyptian priests.

3 Egyptian priests, alchemical tinctures and the making of statues

The expression *kairikai katabaphai* – variously translated as ‘tinctures to be effected at propitious times’, ‘propitious tinctures’, ‘opportune tinctures’, or ‘timely tinctures’ – plays a central role in Zosimus’ argument. The adjective *kairikai* seems to qualify the tinctures as depending upon specific *kairoi* and has often been interpreted as referring to astrologically conditioned dyeing processes. In particular, the astrological practice of *katarchai* (καταρχαί) has been evoked, according to which astrologers could predict the course of an enterprise by setting up an astrological chart depicting the disposition of heavenly bodies at its outset.

The corpus of Greek alchemical texts provides no further information about the use of astrological methods to calculate the propitious moments in which to set up the tincturing processes. On the other hand, in his *First Book of the Final Quittance*, Zosimus stresses the tight relationship between *kairikai katabaphai*, daimons, and Egyptian priests. This relationship is explained within the framework of a complex account of the origins of alchemy. Ancient Egyptians used hieroglyphic characters to inscribe the secrets of alchemical tinctures in the steles of their temples. This was Hermes’ way


38 See Stolzenberg 1999, 6; Fraser 2004, 140, identified Zosimus’ target with some rival alchemical schools that adopted ‘an exclusively astrological methodology’.
as well, in a remote past when the *kairikai katabaphai* were called ‘natural’ (φυσικαί), since they were authentic (γνησίαι) and self-acting (αὐτόμαται). At some point, however, daimons decided to assume absolute control over the dyeing techniques, and Egyptian priests supported their enterprise. ‘The (daimonic) guardians – Zosimus writes – long ago repelled by the great men of that time, resolved to lay claim to our natural (tinctures), so that they might no longer be driven away by men, but rather receive their prayers, and be invoked by them, and regularly nourished by their sacrifices.’ Then, he concludes: ‘They (i. e., the daimons) hid the natural (tincture) and introduced in its place their own unnatural (tincture), and they handed these processes over to their priests, and if the lay people neglected the sacrifices, they prevented them from succeeding in that unnatural tincture’.39

By introducing their unnatural *kairikai katabaphai*, daimons were able to force men to worship them through the assistance of their priests – i. e., Egyptian priests – who advocated these forms of devotion. Egypt was certainly the land where natural tinctures were originally taught and Egyptian temples do preserve the vestiges of this glorious past; however, in Zosimus’ time, the priests seem to have been strongly committed to supporting daimonic practices in terms both of religious rituals and of alchemical tinctures.

The Egyptian priest Neilos clearly exemplifies this attitude. In *On the Treatment of the Body of Magnēsia* (part of the *Chapters to Eusebeia*; CAAG II 188–191), Zosimus fiercely criticises Neilos and his entourage, whose teachings enticed Theosebeia. Zosimus’ pupil Theosebeia, in fact, listened to the virgin Taphnoutiē40 and other uneducated people (part of Neilos’ circle), who gave her foolish and vain instructions about alchemical tinctures. Even though these alchemists pretended to teach the truth, they were mindless, acting without reason (logos). Seeking after false methods for obtaining gold, they did not base their practice on a solid theoretical foundation and, for this reason, easily made fools of themselves. This becomes evident at the end of the passage, when Zosimus depicts the priest Neilos as a ridiculous novice:

39 *Final Quittance*, p. 366, ll. 18–26 Festugière (Greek text); transl. by Stolzenberg 1999, 11 (slightly modified); see also Fraser 2004, 141.

40 The name Ταφνουτίη seems the transcription of the Egyptian ta-p3-ntr, ‘she is God (belongs to God)’. Some Byzantine MSS report the variant Παφνουτία (accepted by Berthelot-Ruelle; see, e. g., CAAG II 190,11), which would correspond with the Egyptian pa-p3-ntr, ‘he is God’. See Letrouit 1995, 22 n. 49.
οὐδὲν γάρ στερρὸν. Εἴτα διατραπεῖς ἀνέστη καὶ ἔφυγεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ βάθει, καθὼς ἡ λεύκωσις τῆς μαγνησίας. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν διαφερόντων Ταφνουτίη, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ γέλωτος ἐκακώθη, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς κακοῦσθε ἀπὸ ἀνοίας. Ἄσπασαί μοι Νεῖλον τὸν κωβαθηκαύστην. (CAAG II 191,7–18)

For instance, once your priest Neilos provoked laughter, when he roasted molybdochalkos in a baking-oven: so that, if one adds some ‘bread’ (i.e. slabs of molybdochalkos / magnēsia), he ends up kindling (the fire) with kōbathia (arsenic ores) all day long. Blind in his bodily eyes, he did not understand the failure he was doomed to, but he even puffed up with conceit, and he collected and showed the ashes, after they cooled down. When he was asked “where is the whitening?”, he was at a loss and answered that it went deep into (the ashes). Then he added copper, dyed its dross: in fact, there was nothing solid (to be dyed). Then, he desisted and went away; and he fled deep into (those ashes), under which the same whitening of the magnēsia went. After hearing these facts from her opponents, Taphnoutiē was upset about Neilos’ ridiculous actions; likewise, you too are upset about his being mindless. Pass my greetings to Neilos, the ‘kōbathia-burner’.

Zosimus underlines that Neilos used a klibanos (lat. clibanus), a portable oven used to bake bread, to make magnēsia white. Even though the klibanos could probably serve different purposes – it is, indeed, mentioned in pharmacological and alchemical texts as a tool for roasting a variety of ingredients – it is difficult to escape the impression that Zosimus disapproved of

41 The adv. εἴτα is preserved in Vaticanus gr. 1174; Berthelot-Ruelle omitted it and wrote: 'Οὐδὲν γάρ στερρὸν διατραπεῖς, ἀνέστη καὶ ἔφυγεν αὐτὸς κτλ. The text is however difficult to understand and the proposed translation seems problematic (CAAG III 187): ‘car le cuivre n’était arrêté par aucun solide, passait outre et disparissait lui-même’. 
42 This reading is preserved in Marcianus gr. 299; Berthelot-Ruelle preferred Παφνουτία (see above, n. 40).
43 Here Zosimus seems to play with the term ἄρτος, which usually means ‘bread’, a meaning that seems consistent with the previous mention of a κλίβανος (i.e., an oven for baking bread; see below). On the other hand, in the section On the Body of Magnēsia and its Treatment, Zosimus specifies that the alchemist Maria the Jewess used to give the general name of ἄρτος to the ingredient called ‘the body of magnēsia’, which corresponds, in turn, with molybdochalkos (CAAG II 191,1–2 and 192,19–20). Therefore, we can infer that the term ἄρτος refers here to molybdochalkos, which is identical with the magnēsia mentioned at the end of the passage (l. 7. λεύκωσις μαγνησίας).
44 The verb καίω followed by the name of different ingredients in the dative case is often used by Zosimus to refer to the substances (fuel) used to kindle and feed the fire of a furnace (see, for instance, CAAG II 191,3–6; MA VII 33–35 Mertens).
45 The form ἐφυσιοῦτο (from φυσίοω ‘to puff up’, and, metaphorically, ‘swell with pride, fill with conceit’; LSJ 1964) is preserved in all the MSS. Berthelot-Ruelle proposed writing ἐφυσιᾶτο and translated: ‘mais il sufflait’ (CAAG III 187). However, Zosimus usually uses the verb ἐκφυσιάω to refer to the action of blowing air on fire (see, e.g., MA VIII 28 and 52–54 Mertens). I understand the verb in its metaphorical sense: Neilos did not foresee his failure, and he was even proud of his disastrous performance.
46 Curtis 2001, 368.
47 Dioscorides, for instance, mentions a κλίβανος to roast both plants (e.g., σκίλλα in Diosc. II.171) and minerals (e.g., ἄσβεστος in Diosc. V.115). In (probably late) alchemical recipes,
Neilos’ choice of this kind of oven for the roasting of magnēsia. The term klibanos is never mentioned in the two chapters by Zosimus on the treatment of magnēsia – namely On the Treatment of the Body of Magnēsia (CAAG II 188–191) and On the Body of Magnēsia and its Treatment (CAAG II 192–198). Here Zosimus often refers to general kaminoi (κάμινοι, ‘furnaces’) in accordance with the instructions given by earlier alchemists, such as Hermes and Maria the Jewess. Moreover, in the second chapter, Zosimus examines many passages taken from earlier writings, whose authors (especially Maria the Jewess and ps.-Democritus) spelled out the equivalence between molybdchalkos and ‘the body of magnēsia’ and explained how to treat this substance and make it white. On the contrary, Neilos’ experiment is described as the foolish attempt of a person, who did not have a deep knowledge of the ancient alchemical writings that Zosimus quotes and comments on in his two chapters on magnēsia. Neilos’ alchemical experiment is presented as an extemporaneous performance. His approach to alchemical practice was as shallow and superficial as that of the other alchemists (such as Taphnoutiē) criticised at the beginning of the passage. They were too self-confident and arrogant to listen to more skilled and experienced alchemists and, we can infer, to waste time in reading the writings of the ancients – such as the treatise On Furnaces that Zosimus discusses in On the Letter Omega. Being more interested in making gold than in theories (λόγοι), these alchemists dared to perform alchemical tinctures rashly and without reasoning.

The results of any dyeing technique performed in haste depend on the will of daimons. Egyptian priests relied on their favour, which they tried to gain by promoting daimonic practices. Here the ritual expertise of priests and their expertise in dyeing techniques somehow overlap, as emerges from Zosimus’ seventh book On the Letter Waw. This treatise, only preserved in Syriac translation, describes how to dye the copper that was used to cast statues. A central passage of the book relates these procedures to religious...
practices and explicitly mentions the priest Neilos, after listing the different images that could be produced and coloured by means of alchemical tinctures (MS Mm. 6.29, fol. 39v):

"These are the images, statues, or idols of snakes and female serpents, of the good Daimon, of the good Fortune, and also other (statues) of Aphrodite, of (the daimons?) of the earth, of Capricorn, or of Nilos – that is Gihon (i.e., a river flowing from the Eden) – or of fruits, ears of wheat, and of those things that lead upset people to mistakes and illusions. I condemn Neilos’ disciples, who are astonished and admire things that do not deserve admiration. Indeed, they are not expert (?); and he (Neilos) addressed them with the precept that says: “know thyself” (γνῶθι σεαυτόν)."

Then, Zosimus warns his pupil Theosebeia against the mistake made by Neilos’ disciples, whose wonder in front of the statues was due to their lack of experience in the tinctures (ṣūbō) that were used to treat and dye these images; finally, he concludes (MS Mm. 6.29, fol. 40r):

"I think that the ancients were envious and did not write down these (tinctures), yet they revealed them only to priests in secret. People were frightened at the sight of these images/statues. They thought that they were something animated and that nature provided their bodies with the same natural colours of our bodies; for this reason they did not dare to fully look at this (image/statue), since they were afraid of the nature of its limbs and of the figure of the produced (image). Only a very few people are going to

52 Perhaps we could read ܕܕܝܘ, ‘daimons’.
think that the images/statues have been produced by the medicine (ōsyūtō) and the work of human beings.'

Since priests decided to keep secret the knowledge revealed by the ancients, people lived with the false belief that statues are alive. If we read the Syriac passages in the light of the account provided in The Final Quittance, we can safely infer that Zosimus included the worship of statues among the acts of devotion towards daimons (along with sacrifices, explicitly condemned in the passage quoted above). Neilos promoted this practice among his disciples and lay people, who were misled by the alchemically coloured statues, thus identifying them with real deities.54

Zosimus’ account seems part of a wider debate over animated statues and related rituals for calling a soul into material receptacles. Zosimus’ argument – insisting on the artificial and material nature of statues – recalls the critique that early Christian writers addressed against pagan idolatry.55 On the other hand, rituals for animating statues (the so-called ‘telestic art’) were part of the theurgic rites promoted by Neoplatonic philosophers: statues were properly fashioned by mixing the right substances together and animated through symbols (symbola) and tokens (synthēmata).56 Sometimes, astrology was combined with theurgy in order to calculate the right kairos for consecrating the holy images and bringing divine powers into them.57

There were certainly variations within these rituals and rivalry among their experts. Iamblichus, for instance, blames the experts on the image-making art (ἡ εἰδωλοποιητικὴ τέχνη) for operating without theurgic skills: they were skilled in handling material substances and pretended to use astrology but they did not have any knowledge of astral revolutions and their powers (De mysteriis, III 28–30).58 Iamblichus compares the image-making art with medicine and gymnastics (De mysteriis, III 28, 169, 12–

53 The term usually means ‘medical art; a remedy, cure.’ The mention of medicine is interesting in this context: we can suppose that Zosimus is here referring to the natural substances used to produce both medicines and dyeing compounds.

54 On the link between polychromatic Egyptian statues and the dyeing techniques described in the alchemical corpus, see Giumlia-Mair’s studies of the so-called ‘black copper’ and other ancient patinated metals (e.g., Giumlia-Mair 2002).

55 See, e.g., Tertullian, De idolatria, chaps. 4–8 (against idol-makers and other related artisans); De spectaculis, II 9 (gold, copper, silver, and other materials used to make idols); Apologeticum, XII 1–2 (pagan gods are the materials, which their statues are made of); Minucius Felix, Octavius, chap. XXI 5; Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, chap. 4.

56 See, e.g., Johnston 2008. Similar rituals are also described in the Greek Magical Papyri. For a recent discussion of the relevant passages (which stresses some differences with respect to theurgic practices), see Haluszka 2008.


58 On this passage and the difficult identification of the makers of images, see, e.g., Addey
170,2), all being arts that work at the lowest level of the sublunary world, a
world full of (both good and evil) daimons executing their earthy functions.
While the theurgic philosophers can both properly mix the right ingredi-
ents (stones, plants, animals) and call the divine powers into the suitable
receptacle (*De mysteriis*, V 23), the makers of images only produce artificial
objects, establishing no links with gods. Likewise, the statues worshipped
by Neilos’ disciplines are artefacts that are not animated by any divine pres-
ence. On the contrary, Neilos and his entourage promoted daimonic reli-
gious practices, despite their (improper) use of the Socratic saying ‘Know
thyself’. If *The Final Quittance* and *On the Letter Omega* emphasise that the
success of *kairikai katabaphai* depended on the capricious will of daimons,
which demanded to be worshipped in return for their assistance in dyeing
procedures, the Syriac passage underlines a second, complementary aspect.
Priests used alchemically dyed statues to spread false beliefs and unfounded
fears among lay people, who thus continued to be dominated by the daimons
and their ministers.

4 Concluding remarks

The mention of medicine (‘ōsyūtō) at the end of the Syriac passage recalls
the final section of *On the Letter Omega* discussed above, in which Zosi-
mus denounces the feelings of those sick people who only trust the med-
cal expertise of the ‘bone-setter’ priests. Already Ps.-Democritus (first cen-
tury ce) had insisted on the methodological similarities between medical
and alchemical practice: alchemists had to follow the example of physicians,
who carefully test the properties of each ingredient before preparing and
administering a drug. Likewise, alchemists should not rashly set up their
alchemical experiments before becoming fully acquainted with the powers
of the dyeing ingredients.\(^5^9\) This acquaintance is evoked and recommended
by Zosimus as well: only the practitioners who are able to develop a similar
expertise can uncover the frauds and stratagems of the priests, who want to
maintain the control of daimons over alchemical (and presumably medical)
practices and be recognised as the only experts in the field.

The quest for technical expertise is discussed by Zosimus within the
framework of a complex religious discourse, in which traditional elements
(such as the worship of statues or temple medicine) are scrutinised in the

\(^{59}\) See Ps.-Democritus, *Physika kai mystika*, § 15 Martelli = CAAG II 46–47.
light of personal and peculiar ‘mythological’ beliefs. Further research is cer-
tainly necessary in order to fully appreciate Zosimus’ standpoint: his com-
plex daimonology should be more fully investigated, as should his pos-
sible relationship with contemporary philosophers who discussed similar
issues.60 Despite these elements of uncertainty, we can safely observe that
in the passages discussed above Zosimus wants to promote a rigorous pro-
grame for recovering the tinctures described in the writings of ancient
alchemists (e. g. ps.-Democritus and Maria the Jewess) as part of his battle
against false priests and daimonic control. This attitude provides us with a
provisional exegetical tool to better investigate the wide range of alchemical
recipes and procedures that Zosimus describes and comments on in most
of his writings.

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60 On Zosimus, Porphyry and Iamblichus, see, e. g., Fowden 1993, 116–155.


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Galen’s Religious Itineraries*

Abstract

This paper intends to show the multifaceted and evolutive attitude of Galen towards religion, by exploring three new hypotheses. My first point is to deepen his personal relationship with Asclepius and to question the meaning of the word ‘therapeutes’ used by Galen to describe his personal connection with the god. Secondly, I try to explain Galen’s shift over time: how could he praise an all-mighty and provident demiurge at the beginning of his career to become a confessed agnostic at the end of his life? My third suggestion is to read some parts of the Galenic corpus as acts of devotion to the gods and to interpret the writing of the whole corpus as a religious strategy for immortality.

Keywords: Galen, religion, Asclepius, therapeutes, demiurge, agnosticism, Galenic corpus, devotion

1 Introduction

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the positivist-reductionist dichotomy between rational and irrational medicine seems to have subsided. For instance, although Jacques Jouanna¹ claimed in his seminal Hippocrates (1992) that Hippocratic medicine did not originate from the temples, such a picture has rightly been challenged by more recent studies. To start with, Lorenzo Perilli has published several papers that closely link temple and Hippocratic medicine, noting, for example, that they both relied on the same libraries and they influenced each other.² Cécile Nissen, on the other hand,  

* Many thanks to Nicole Belayche for her very helpful advice and bibliographical references. I am very grateful to Georgia Petridou for sending me her as yet unpublished paper on ‘Contesting medical and religious expertise in the Hieroi Logoi: Aristides as therapeutēs and the therapeutics of Asclepius at Pergamum’ and for correcting my English. Thanks also to Paul Scade for his linguistic corrections and to all the participants of the Erfurt conference for their helpful comments.

has devoted a whole book to establishing connexions between the healing cults of Asclepius in Caria and the Hippocratic corpus. Rather than invoking the Greek rational miracle, historians of ancient medicine are nowadays more prone to measure the emergence of Greek science against its Egyptian or Mesopotamian antecedents.

As far as Galen is concerned, it is more difficult to place him exclusively on the side of the rationalists, especially since, alongside his praise of logic and demonstration and his rejection of magic, every study of Galen’s religion has emphasised undeniable traces of belief in astrology, dream-communication with the gods, and even the acceptance of divination. These two aspects, the rationalistic and the religious, were thought by modern scholars to be contradictory and incompatible until Heinrich von Staden proved the relativity and inadequacy of such a dichotomy. In a paper entitled ‘Galen’s daimon’, von Staden showed that Galen believed he was in direct communication with a personal god or daimon and that he considered this daimon to be ‘the divine guardian and conscience of reason – of rational thought and rational action’.

For modern students of ancient medicine, religious belief may seem like the opposite of reason, and believing in the divine the opposite of rational thought, but for Galen, like Plato before him, there was no apparent contradiction between the two. Moreover, applying our modern categories to Galen makes it difficult to reconcile in one person the images of the polytheist pagan devotee to Asclepius, the defender and eulogist of a demiurgic god, and the confessed agnostic. There have been some attempts to reunite these prima facie disconnected aspects of Galen. In this paper, I would like to re-examine the available evidence by juxtaposing chronological developments and dynamics in the Galenic corpus with their concomitant evolutions in Galen’s religious life. Most of the time, the Galenic corpus is read as a monolithic block, ancient and modern scholars pinpointing the contradictions and inconsistencies of Galen’s thought without distinguishing between earlier and later works. Instead of criticising Galen for a lack of consistency, his changing attitudes and opinions can be mapped onto his meandering religious itineraries. The Galenic corpus is the product of a huge endeavour which occupied its author for more than 60 years. As the brain-

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3 Nissen 2009.
4 Asper 2015.
6 On Galen and divination, see Van Nuffelen 2014.
7 Von Staden 2008, 38.
8 Strohmaier 1965 has characterised Galen’s religion as a Gebildetenreligion. Alternatively, Frede 2010, suggested that we must recognise in Galen’s creed a kind of pagan monotheism focused on Asclepius. See also Garofalo 2014.
child of a highly educated and uniquely complex individual, it bears testi-
mony to the change, adjustment, and even doubts that affect every person 
who interacts with his cultural environment. Alexander of Tralles points out 
such a Galenic intellectual U-turn in a famous passage:

Even the most divine Galen, who had deemed magical incantations to be nothing, after 
much time and long testing discovered that they have great power. Listen to him speak-
ing in what he set forth in his treatise On Medicine in Homer: "Some think incantations 
resemble old wives' tales, just as I thought a long time. But in time I became persuaded 
by things which appear clearly that there is a power in incantations".9

In this study, I will initially focus on Galen's personal relationship with 
Asclepius. I will then try to bring to light the antithesis between his opti-
mistic belief in the demiurge in the first books written in Rome and the 
expression of agnosticism in his last works. Finally, I would like to paint a 
picture of the writing of the Galenic corpus, or at least some part of it, as a 
religious act, and as such an expression of 'lived religion'.

2 Galen and Asclepius

Asclepius is the most important god in Galen’s pantheon. Twice he calls him 
ὁ πάτριος ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἀσκληπιός, ‘our ancestral god Asclepius’.10 By the 
adjective patrios Galen seems to be referring both to his ancestors (father, 
grandfather and great-grandfather) and also to his homeland of Pergamum. 
In Pergamum, Asclepius was a kind of poliadic divinity.11 His sanctuary 
attracted pilgrims from all over the Empire. After Hadrian’s visit to Perga-
mum in 123 ce, the remodelling of the cult complex according to a more 
spacious and luxurious design was undertaken under imperial patronage.12 
Hadrian wanted the new temple dedicated to Zeus-Asclepius to be a small 
replica of the rebuilt Pantheon in Rome.13 The renovation and resizing 
of the Pergamene sanctuary to the imperial specifications were part of Galen’s 
lived experience. In his On Anatomical Procedures, Galen explains how he 
was able to follow the teaching of Satyrus:

10 De sanitate tua 1.8.20 (Koch 10.13); De libris propriis 3.5 (Boudon-Millot 142.19–20).
11 See De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos 10.4 (13.272.1K): Asclepius is the 
poliadic god of Pergamum, as Artemis for Ephesus and Apollo for Delphi.
12 On this Hadrianic renovation, see Le Glay 1976; Hoffmann 1998; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 
151–220; and Mattern 2013, 25.
13 Lucian, Icaromenippus 24: Zeus deplores the decrease of his cult in rivalry with Asclepius 
of Pergamum.
I was still living in my homeland at that time, studying under Satyrus; he was then spending his fourth year in Pergamum with Costinius Rufinus, who was constructing the new temple of Zeus Asclepius for us.\textsuperscript{14}

In all likelihood, Galen followed Satyrus’ teaching in 145, when he was sixteen years old. Rufinus, who was commissioned by the Roman Senate to conduct the construction of the temple of Zeus-Asclepius, appointed Satyrus, a disciple of Quintus, his personal physician. It is highly likely that Rufinus engaged Nicon, the renowned local architect who also happened to be Galen’s father, in his building enterprise. For Galen, Asclepius is a patrios theos, whether ancestral or patriotic, because the god was as attached to the city as Galen’s name and family were.\textsuperscript{15}

But Asclepius can also be seen as a professional god for Galen, since he was the patron god of the physicians.\textsuperscript{16} Galen mentions how important Asclepius’ mediation was for decisive choices he had to make throughout his career. It started with a dream sent by Asclepius to Nicon, Galen’s father, convincing him to direct the path of his son’s education into the study of medicine.\textsuperscript{17} Galen’s father was, thus, visited by Asclepius, just like Galen was later in his career. Through a dream, Asclepius intervened in Galen’s life to make him one of his practitioners.

In 169, in particular, Galen saw Asclepius in dreams warning him against travelling on a military campaign in Germany led by Marcus Aurelius. To understand fully how the Emperor could possibly have condoned Galen’s disobedience, one must recall that Hadrian had declared himself to be the ‘New Asclepius’ and that the god was associated with the imperial dynastic cult.\textsuperscript{18}

There are many other analogous contemporary examples in which oneiric epiphanies and divine manifestations guide and influence the careers of writers. Cassius Dio, for instance, who had predicted in a book about dreams that Septimius Severus would obtain imperial power, explains that he began writing history and composing his Roman History after having a dream.

\textsuperscript{14} De anatomicis administrationibus 1.2 (2. 224–225K); trans. Mattern 2013, 14.
\textsuperscript{15} Eunapius of Sardes (5.498) uses the expression patrios theos for another physician of Pergamum from the fourth century called Oribasius.
\textsuperscript{16} Cf. Plutarch, Quaestiones Convivales 9.14.4: καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς Ἀσκληπιὸν ἰσμεν ἱγεμόνα. See also the testimonia (T) 337–347 in Edelstein and Edelstein 1945.
\textsuperscript{17} De ordine librorum suorum 4 (19. 59K); De metodo medendi 9.4 (10. 609K); De praecognitione 2 (14. 608K); cf. also Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 71–73.
\textsuperscript{18} See Le Glay 1976; Musial 1990, 236; and Mattern 2013, 15; cf. also Marcus Aurelius, Fronto ad Caes. 3.10 (van der Hout, 43): the Asclepieion of Pergamum was the most renowned healing sanctuary of the Roman Empire.
commanding him to do so. Lucian of Samosata’s dialogue, *The Dream or Lucian’s Life*, may well have been partly fiction but it still relates how a vision inspired the author to abandon his training as a sculptor in order to follow the higher calling of the teachings of *Paideia* and the career of a sophist. Similarly, the Greek geographer Dionysius Periegetes embedded the name of Hermes, the travellers’ god, in acrostic verses in his *World Description* (v. 513–532), as a tribute to his personal deity.

But Galen was not only bound to Asclepius through his ancestors, homeland or profession. In *On his Own Books*, the main argument he gave when he refused to go with Marcus Aurelius on campaign against the Marcomanni was that he had received a warning dream from Asclepius. He adds: ‘I had declared myself his servant (therapeutes) ever since he had saved me from a deadly condition of an abscess.’ Other parallel passages distributed throughout the corpus provide more details of this conversion.

From the age of seventeen, Galen suffered every year from a hepatic disease. An excessive ingestion of fresh fruits at the end of the summer in 146 caused an abscess between the liver and the diaphragm that autumn. This inflammation is described by Galen as an acute disease, which turned out to be a chronic disease that affected him every autumn for more than ten years until 157. He was 28 years old when he was delivered from this deadly condition by divine healing:

Exhorted by certain dreams, of which two came to me distinctly, I went to the artery in the middle between the forefinger and the middle finger of the right hand, and allowed the blood to flow until it stopped by itself. Not quite a whole pound flowed out. Immediately a chronic pain ceased which was fixed mainly in that part where the liver meets the diaphragm. This happened to me when I was young with respect to stage of life.

Galen received in two clear dreams a divine therapy from Asclepius, which he had never experimented with before: an arteriotomy. Galen was used to the practice of venesection but he had never tried to cut an artery. This origi-

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20 On the difficult interpretation of the expression θεὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, see Jacob 1991; Marcotte 2014, 519; and Lightfoot 2014, 378–379. On more oneiric epiphanies instigating writer’s careers, see Petridou 2015.
21 *De libris propriis* 3. 5 (Boudon-Millot, 142. 20–22 = 19. 18–19K); trans. Mattern 2013, 79: τὸν πάτριον θεὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, οὗ καὶ θεραπευτὴν ἀπέφαινον ἐμαυτόν, ἐξ ὅτου με θανατικὴν διάθεσιν ἀποστήματος ἔχοντα διέσωσε.
22 *De bonis malisque sucis* 1 (6. 755–756K); *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 23 (11. 314–315K); *De propriis placitis* 2 (Boudon-Millot, Pietrobelli, 173. 4–6). On this file, see Boudon-Millot 2012, 81–84; Mattern, 2013, 78–80; Pietrobelli 2013; Brockmann 2013; and *infra* 3.
23 *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 23 (11. 314–315K); trans. Matten 2013, 79.
24 On ‘clear dreams’, see Dodds 1973, 185 n. 2; and Platt 2011, 216.
nal surgical procedure, suggested by Asclepius, saved Galen's life. From that time onwards he became a \textit{therapeutes}, or devotee, of the god. At the end of his career, Galen still remembered this event as pivotal in his life.\(^{25}\)

The meaning of the word \textit{therapeutes} has been disputed:\(^{26}\) does this designation imply only a personal worship or also an official function in the cult of Asclepius? Was this active devotion limited to a specific period or was it a lifelong occupation? This episode dates to 157, when Galen was appointed to the post of physician of the gladiators in Pergamum by the high priest of the city.\(^{27}\) The high priest was sponsoring the gladiatorial games as part of the imperial cult. As seen above, the imperial cult in Pergamum was linked with the sanctuary of Asclepius.\(^{28}\) When he became a \textit{therapeutes} Galen was thus also a member of the religious staff of the Asclepieion. Another famous \textit{therapeutes} of the same god is Aelius Aristides, who spent a long sojourn in the sanctuary from 146 and was a friend of Rufinus, the rebuilders of the temple. Aelius mentions other \textit{therapeutai} in his books, such as the philosopher Rosandros and the senators Sedatus Severianus of Nicaea and Q. Tullius Maximus the Libyan.\(^{29}\) The Pergamene inscriptions bear the testimony of rich benefactors inscribing their condition as \textit{therapeutes} on a public inscription: T. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, an imperial procurator and P. Cassius Epigenes of Nicaea, who came from the same influential family as Cassius Dio.\(^{30}\) Ti. Claudius Pardalas, \textit{strategos} of Pergamum is also named on an inscription of the Asclepieion as \textit{perithytes}. He was a friend of Aelius Aristides from childhood and was mentioned in a lost Galenic text.\(^{31}\)

The title of \textit{therapeutes} seems, as far as we know from Pergamene evidence, to have been specific to a micro-society of well-educated people of aristocratic lineage attached to the sanctuary. Bernard Legras has suggested

\(^{25}\) Galen, \textit{De propriis placitis} 2 (Boudon-Millot, Pietrobelli, 173. 4–6): ‘The god who is honoured in my homeland in Pergamum demonstrated his power and providence on many other occasions but specifically once when he healed me.

\(^{26}\) Georgia Petridou has provided a useful historiographical synthesis; see Petridou 2017a; on this question, see also Habicht 1969; Kudlien 1981, 120; Nicosia 1980; Pearcy 1988; Brabant 2006; Legras 2011; and Baslez 2014.

\(^{27}\) On Galen and the gladiators, see Scarborough 1971; and Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 101–136.

\(^{28}\) The relationship between the offices of Asiarch, high priest and priest of Asclepius is uncertain; see Robert 1940, 256–257 and 267–275; Scarborough 1971 n. 17; and Schlange-Schöningen 2003, 113, n. 54.

\(^{29}\) See respectively \textit{Or.} 50.16 (Keil, 429.14–15) and \textit{Or.} 50.19 (Keil, 430.14–16). On the intimate nexus of \textit{therapeutai} described by Aristides, see Petridou in press.


a convergence between the *therapeutes* of Asclepius and the *cultor* of Isis to whom Apuleius refers in his *Metamorphoses* (11.19.1). A *cultor* of Isis was someone who lived in the precinct of the sanctuary for a while and took part in the religious service of the goddess without necessarily being a priest. An inscription found in Magnesia bears a list of *therapeutai* of Isis and Sarapis that includes three priests among ten names. In Sardis, the *therapeutai* were allowed to enter the *adyton* to crown the god’s statue. For Legras, who has written a book on the recluses of the Sarapeum of Memphis (second century BCE), the common point of all these *therapeutai* from different places and periods is their special link with the divinity they honour and serve. They were not ordinary pilgrims but devotees who had established an institutional, permanent and accepted link. They belonged, for a shorter or longer time, to the religious staff of the temple by being personally involved in the ritual duties.

Georgia Petridou has studied more deeply the activities and duties of the *therapeutai* of Asclepius in Pergamum. She reminds the reader that a *lex sacra*, found at the archaeological site, establishes the ritual protocol for the incubants and differentiates between two groups: the first-time visitors, who had to offer expensive sacrifices and were conducted to a larger incubatory chamber, and the *therapeuontes*, who might have been the *therapeutai* themselves, who could offer modest sacrificial gifts and had at their disposal a much smaller and more intimate incubation room. The latter group was in charge of performing regular sacrifices (*perithuein*) and had their own private access to the shrine. Exploring in depth the relationship of Aristides with his group of *syntherapeutai*, Petridou has stressed some of their usual activities. As well as sacrifices, they practiced dream interpretation, decoding together the therapeutic signification of their dreams. They were ordered to bathe or to follow other therapeutics. Some of them even required surgery or bloodletting. Being *therapeutai* in both respects, as ‘servants of the god’ and ‘healers’, they shared their medical expertise and religious knowledge.

Galen may have been a physician but he was not ignorant about dream interpretation. In his commentary on *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, he quotes Artemidorus of Daldis as one of the most renowned diviners. Bloodletting

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32 See Legras 2011, 158.
33 Legras 2011, 156.
34 Petridou 2017a.
35 On the authority of physicians as dream interpreters, see Hulskamp 2013 and Israelowich 2014.
was also prescribed to Aelius Aristides but the god enjoined him to perform rhetorical lectures, songs and hymns. The *therapeutai* were an elite group sharing their particular skills and knowledge, similar to the circles in which Galen was later to move in Rome; the *therapeutai* of Pergamum were sophists, philosophers, physicians, politicians, all of them being *pepaideumenoi* and *philatroi*.

In comparing Galen and Aristides, the only two surviving writers who provided direct testimony concerning *therapeutes*, the reader is struck by their insistence on bloodletting, each one recording the place of the incision and the quantity of bloodshed, as if the worshippers were competing for the god’s attention by offering their blood to him. This kind of religious practice is not specific to the Pergamene context. Precolombian Mayas used to practice such a self-sacrifice by shedding their blood through ritual bleedings in order to communicate with their gods and ancestors.37 This practice was limited to the ruling elite and ensured the dynastic lineage. The rituals and significations of bloodletting were different in Pergamum and Yucatan but this anthropological detour shows that bloodletting could be a sort of human self-sacrifice in the cult of Asclepius as well as a rite of communal cohesion.

Galen belonged to the same group of Pergamene *therapeutai* some years after Aristides but this belonging clearly endured long after he left his position as physician of the gladiators, as is attested by his description of himself as a devotee of Asclepius in 169.38 The treatise *On Treatment by Venesection*, in which Galen declares that he has become Asclepius’ devotee, was written after 193, during Galen’s late career. And more than fifty years later, in *My Own Opinions*, written around 210, he renews his devotion to the god.39 This begs the question: was it perhaps possible for Galen to maintain this specific relationship with Asclepius during his stay in Rome (169–c. 216) by engaging in ritual activity at the Asclepium of Rome on the Tiber Island?40

38 When Galen says in *On My Own Books* that after his first stay in Rome, between 162 and 166, he came back to Pergamum and returned to his usual occupations, we can reasonably assume that he took up his activities as a *therapeutes* of the god in the Asclepieion for two more years. In order to explain their refusal to the emperor, both Galen and Aristides produced analogous narratives in which their functionary identity as *therapeutai* led Marcus Aurelius to acknowledge the might of the god and to prostrate himself before him.
39 *De propriis placitis* 2 (Boudon-Millot, Pietrobelli, 173.4–5).
It is worth stressing that the inscriptions found on the Tiber Island are in Greek and that they only mention Greek physicians as staff of the sanctuary, most of whom came from Asia, like Galen. Several statues of Asclepius stood in the city of Rome, one of them inside the Octavian Portico in Juno’s temple and another in the Temple of Concord at the western end of the Roman Forum. We find no evidence of Galen’s specific devotion to Asclepius in Rome but, since the staff of the Roman Asclepium was composed of Greeks from Asia, we may suppose that Galen was in contact with them.

More significantly, beside this practical and ritual devotion to Asclepius, Galen also pursues in his books a more philosophical discourse about the gods, a theology, so to speak.

3 Galen’s philosophical religion

To develop briefly this aspect of Galen’s thought, I will start with some conclusions from a paper by Rebecca Flemming entitled ‘Demiurge and Emperor in Galen’s world of knowledge’. Flemming has advanced the convincing and stimulating idea that Galen fashioned the picture of his demiurge in On the Usefulness of the Parts under the influence of social and political factors. The ten books are presented by the author as a hymn to a provident creative power manifesting itself in the perfect design of the human body. Such a work was written in a specific context, for a given addressee and audience. The profile of the Galenic demiurge is the result of public vivisections performed by Galen on animals in front of the Peripatetic circle of the consul Boethus. His public anatomical demonstrations were put into writing at Boethus’ request and Galen’s teleological insight must have aroused the admiration of those followers of Aristotle. Yet, at that time, during his first stay in Rome (162–166) Galen was also, by his own admission, running after fame and honour. Flemming showed that Galen’s words about the demiurge echoed in places the epigraphic formulas in which the Emperor was thanked for his providence. Just as the demiurge is the guarantor of the harmony between the different parts of the body, so the Emperor is the guardian of the Empire’s unity. Moreover, if we remind ourselves that Zeus-Asclepius was, since Hadrian’s time, a dynastic and imperial god, we can better measure how ambitious Galen’s endeavour to seduce the capital’s ruling elite really was.

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41 Pliny, Historia naturalis 36.24.
42 Flemming 2009.
In his final books, Galen does not display such an optimistic trust in a demiurge. This figure is still present but Galen expresses a gloomier and more doubtful viewpoint. I would like to discuss this evolution in the light of the new texts of Galen discovered in the Vlatadon manuscript.\textsuperscript{44} If we follow R. Flemming’s hypothesis, Galen’s theology as it appears in \textit{On the Usefulness of the Parts} was influenced by the specific context of the beginnings of Marcus Aurelius’ reign (161–180): for the first time in recorded history, a philosopher was Emperor of Rome. Such enthusiastic hopes must have been dashed after Marcus’ death. In 169, Galen was entrusted with the care of young Commodus’ health. Instead of going on campaign with the army, he followed the prince to his different palaces in Italy. From this period, during which he sat at the bedside of the young prince, Galen records only the healing of Commodus’ tonsillitis.\textsuperscript{45} Commodus really emerges in the Galenic corpus only after his death in 192, in \textit{Avoiding distress} written in 193.\textsuperscript{46} In that letter, addressed to a Pergamene friend, Galen gives a critical opinion of his imperial patient: his reign was the worst in recorded history (18.1–4); he was a tyrant who terrorised and tortured his court and subjects (18.7–9). Galen had, himself, lost two of his friends because of Commodus’ cruelty: Quintilius Condianus in Syria and C. Aufidianus Victorinus who committed suicide. Such a political transformation at the imperial court, where Galen spent his career, must have curtailed his initial enthusiasm and hopes concerning what an inspired leader could achieve for the Empire and its inhabitants.

At the end of his life, Galen was more doubtful about the all-mighty and provident demiurge. He still confessed the existence of the gods but he declared himself ignorant of their \textit{ousia} (‘essence’), being unable to give a definition of the nature of the gods. There are five main subjects, traditionally linked with theology, for which he uses the Greek verb \textit{ἀγνοεῖν} to signify his philosophical position. Galen declares himself to be ignorant about: 1) the creation or non-creation of the cosmos and the finite or infinite nature of the universe; 2) the nature of the demiurge (as corporeal or non-corporeal) and the place where he lives; 3) the essence of the gods; 4) the substance of the soul (whether it is mortal or immortal, corporeal or incorporeal); and finally, 5) the faculty or the substance that fashions or shapes the embryo. Galen refused to declare himself on such subjects because he could find no scientific proof on which to base his conclusions. I have shown elsewhere that this kind of sophisticated agnosticism clashes with contemporary phil-

\textsuperscript{44} On this discovery and the manuscript, see Pietrobelli 2010.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{De praecognitione} 9, 10 and 12 (ed. Nutton, 118.30–120. 3; 126.13–15; 130.11–134. 8).
\textsuperscript{46} On Galen and Commodus, see Boudon-Millot 2012, 235–237.
Galen's Religious Itineraries

philosophical opinions, Judeo-Christian beliefs and later Islamic thought, and that this sort of sophisticated agnosticism prevails as a strong and innovative position in the field of ideas.47

However, we should not believe that the change in the political scene was the only factor that shaped Galen's intellectual evolution. We should rather invoke his research orientations and medical practice. Galen's agnosticism is more epistemological than philosophical or theological. As mentioned above, he refuses to declare himself on certain subjects because he could not find any scientific proof that would justify firm conclusions. This positioning is not dogmatic at all; it results from years of intense medical experimentation with the human body. His treatise *The Capacities of the Soul Depend on the Mixtures of the Body* reflects this shift in Galen's thought. In *On the Usefulness of the Parts*, the first books of which were composed between 162 and 166, he thought the soul used the body and its parts as instruments (ὀργάνα).48 By contrast, in *The Capacities of the Soul*, dating to the reign of Severus (after 193), Galen adopted the conviction that psyche was influenced by the mixture of the body, that is to say the mixture of its qualities and elements.49 In *My Own Opinions*, his final book, the soul is explicitly described as a slave of the body.50 We can clearly see that during Galen’s career his conviction on the relationship between body and soul had been turned on its head. This significant development, which needs further consideration, shows the importance of recasting the genesis and evolution of Galen's ideas in a biographical and chronological context. The Galenic corpus mirrors a shifting thought process interacting with its sociocultural milieu.

In *My Own Opinions*, Galen brings together in the same text features that seem incompatible to us. He declares himself to be an avowed agnostic, which seems to us a modern scientific and intellectual approach to religion, while he also postulates the existence and power of the gods who have given him their mercy in saving him from a deadly illness (Asclepius) or from a shipwreck (the Dioscuri).51 In doing so, Galen endorsed a similar attitude to that of the Sceptics:52 in practice, they respect the ancestral religious cus-

47 Pietrobelli 2013.
48 *On the Usefulness of the Parts* 1.2 (3.2.5–6K).
50 See *On My Own Opinions* 15.2 (Nutton, 116.26–118.5 = Boudon-Millot, Pietrobelli, 188.30–33. For another example of Galen's disillusion, see *De foetuum formation* 6 (4.70K; trans. Mattern 2013, 177).
51 See below.
52 See Pietrobelli 2013.
tom, performing sacrifices or other rituals, but intellectually they could not pronounce on the metaphysical or theological questions, instead choosing to suspend judgment. However, Galen departs from the view of the Sceptics insofar as his position is not at all dogmatic. Instead, Galen’s views are self-constructed and forged on the basis of his long experience of medicine.

Finally, I would like to explore a new aspect of Galen’s religion by interpreting the act of composing the Galenic corpus as a religious deed, which, on the one hand, expresses devotion to the gods and, on the other, constructs a kind of divine self-representation.

4 Writing the Galenic corpus as lived religion

Several texts or passages from the Galenic corpus can be read as ex-votos or acts of devotion. It is well attested in Aristides’ Hieroi Logoi that Asclepius sometimes prescribed to his incubants the composition of poetry or rhetorical speeches as a remedy to strengthen their bodies or their souls. The Hieroi Logoi themselves are written in an attempt to conform with a divine therapeutic prescription as well as to sing the glory and the power of the god of Pergamum. Diogenes Laertius (5.76) quotes the more ancient case of Demetrius of Phaler, whose sight was restored by the divine healing of Sarapis. To thank the god, Demetrius composed paean which were still sung in Diogenes’ time. On the Usefulness of the Parts, one of the first major works of Galen, presents itself as ‘a sacred discourse devoted as a sincere hymn to the Creator of human beings’. Instead of offering to the god numerous hecatombs and expensive incenses or perfumes, Galen considered it a better gift to teach his fellows how great is the wisdom, power and goodness of the Creator by writing his book on anatomy:

But if I should speak further of such fattened cattle, right-thinking men would justly censure me and say that I was desecrating the sacred discourse which I am composing as a true hymn of praise to our Creator. And I consider that I am really showing him reverence not when I offer him unnumbered hecatombs of bulls and burn incense of cassia worth ten thousand talents, but when I myself first learn to know his wisdom, power and goodness, and then make them known to others.

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53 See Petridou 2017b; and also Galen, De sanitate tuenda 5.10.40–43 (6.358–359K = Koch, 158). On this practice of textual therapy, see the file to be published in Métis 15 (2017).
54 Janet Downie argues that Aristides’ Hieroi Logoi are like a hymn offering; see Downie 2013.
55 De usu partium 3. 10 (3. 237K; trans. Tallmadge May, 1, 189). The whole treatise is inspired by these mystical inflexions: see the reference to Samothracian and Eleusinian Mysteries in 8.14 (3. 576–577K) or 4.2 (268. 15–17K).
When I questioned Nicole Belayche about the meaning of the word *therapeutes*, she guided me to, among other sources, some epigraphic testimonies known as *Beichtinschriften* or confession inscriptions.\(^5\) Belayche summarised the formulaic arrangement of these popular inscriptions by saying that they all involve: 1) punishment as a physical or mental pathology; 2) admission of guilt; 3) propitiation of the god; and 4) writing on the stele as an advertisement for the god, mostly followed by an act of worship in the form of a *eulogia*. According to Belayche, these stones are more likely to be steles of exaltation than steles of confession. Even if the Galenic prose never strictly adopts such a form, it is interesting to read some of Galen’s formulations and narratives in the light of the epigraphic testimonies.

As seen above, the narrative of Galen’s specific conversion to Asclepius as a *therapeutes* is spread over several treatises written some time after the actual event. From his work *On good and bad humours*, written after 180, we learn that Galen had a hepatic inflammation when he was seventeen. This dangerous disease was, as Galen admits, his own fault. When his father was absent from the city, trusting his son to do his homework, Galen spent the end of the summer eating too many fresh fruits with his friends. He was subsequently reprimanded by his father and forced to follow dietary restrictions. After his father’s death two years later, he repeated the same error and became affected every single autumn by the same disease\(^5\) until he had two dreams from Asclepius ordering him to cut his artery.\(^5\) From this divine epiphany onwards, Galen became a *therapeutes*. Galen’s narrative is not continuous in the fashion of the confession steles and the punishment is attributed not to a god but to a physiological factor. Nevertheless, in his biographical accounts, Galen claims that his chronic disease was caused by disobedience to either his father’s prescription or memory. Galen admitted his guilt and was cured via the mediation of Asclepius. His claim to be a *therapeutes* at the end of *Treatment by venesection* could be read as a *eulogia* or act of adoration. This type of narrative, where misconduct causes illness which is, in turn, cured by repentance, is most commonly found in the *Beichtinschriften*.

Similarly, some lines of *My Own Opinions*, already mentioned above, summarise Galen’s position on the gods and can be interpreted as a piece of aretalogy:

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57 *De bonis malisque sucis* 1 (6. 755–756K).
58 *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* 4. 23 (11. 314315K).
To their [the gods] activity belongs the constitution of living beings as well as all announcements they send through presages, token and dreams. The god who is honoured at my place in Pergamum demonstrated his power and providence on many other occasions but also once when he healed me. At sea, I experienced not only the providence but also the power of the Dioscuri.\footnote{De propriis placitis 2 (ed. Boudon-Millot, Pietrobelli, 173. 2–8; my translation).}

In these lines, Galen gives personal proof of the gods’ existence: he experienced their power and providence when he was cured by Asclepius and saved from a shipwreck by the Dioscuri. Galen attributed to the divinities the same characteristics of power and providence that are well-attested in the epigraphic evidence as a formulaic expression. It seems that in writing some of his texts, Galen could perform a religious act in the same way as other worshippers could, through the engraving of stones.

In his paper ‘Galen und Asklepios’, Christian Brockmann has pointed out that Galen could set himself up as a new Asclepius in On Prognosis.\footnote{Brockmann 2013, sp. 63–66.} He notes that Galen uses the expression καὶ μέγα τοὔνομα Γαληνοῦ (kai mega touroma Galênou),\footnote{Galen, De praecognitione 5. 4–5 (ed. Nutton, 92.12–15).} which is very similar to the ritual acclamation μέγας ὁ Ἀσκληπιός (megas ho Asklêpios) performed and sung by Aristides.\footnote{Aristides, Hieroi Logoi 2.21 (Keil, 399.22–23). We find such an acclamation addressed to Sarapis in some Egyptian inscriptions, see SB 1: 181 (Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten) = PH 220080 (Packard Humanities Institute) and SEG 8:810 (Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum) = PH 223168; found online on the website of the Packard Humanities Institute.} Galen, like Hadrian or Aristides, wanted to be a Neos Asklepios.\footnote{For Aristides, see Petridou 2016.} But Asclepius is not the only god in Galen’s pantheon.\footnote{K), Dionysos (4.809K), Hephaistos (3.268K) or Hermes (Character Traits 2; ed. Kraus, 40 = Davies, 158) appear in the Galenic corpus. Some of the god’s names are applied to types of plants or remedies, such as the plaster called Isis; see Marganne 2013.} In the conclusion of the section of My Own Opinions devoted to the gods, Galen mentions Pythios, the Delphic Apollo, father of Asclepius. In On Prognosis (14.618K), he says that he was once ironically compared by an enemy to a forecaster inspired by Pythios. It is worth stressing that Asclepius is often mentioned by Galen together with his father Apollo.\footnote{See, for example, 1.2K and 13.272K or On examination by which the best physicians are recognised 1 (ed. Iskandar, 41–43).} In Galen’s mind both are gods of the medical art but Apollo is also the mantic god. Galen frequently shows throughout his corpus that he considered the art of divination to be a logical art.\footnote{See In Hippocratis De victu acutorum commentarius 1.15 (15.441–446K = Helmreich, 128–130); cf. also Mattern 2013, 173–175 and Van Nuffelen 2014.} For Galen, just as for the Stoics, divination was an actual demonstration of the
existence of gods. At the same time, Galen also believed that divination was a religious science. For him, medicine and divination belong to the same family of divine arts.\textsuperscript{67} His personal predictions, relying on a very sophisticated method of prognosis, could be regarded as divine prophecies by his contemporaries.\textsuperscript{68} In his \textit{Method of Treatment} (3.6; 10.207K), he acknowledged that the limit of his knowledge (of every patient’s nature) prevents him from being equal to Asclepius but, like many of his contemporaries, he recognised, after Plato’s \textit{Theaetetus} (176b),\textsuperscript{69} that a man could become similar to a god.\textsuperscript{70}

Galen also includes mortals in his personal pantheon. Véronique Boudon-Millot\textsuperscript{71} has studied Galen’s use of the words \textit{theios} and \textit{theiotatos}. The superlative is earmarked for just two humans, Hippocrates and Plato,\textsuperscript{72} the two main authorities who not only constitute the foundational pillars of Galen’s scientific system but are also the two men who acquired immortality via their written work. Boudon-Millot notes that Galen used to call Hippocrates ‘divine’ whenever he quoted him, particularly when he drew on the very enigmatic and oracular \textit{On aliment}, which he attributed to Hippocrates.\textsuperscript{73} However, in Galen’s mind, Hippocrates is divine most of all because he was the inventor of the correct method in medicine. He may have founded the logical method of medicine but he could not give all the details. Galen claims

\textsuperscript{67} See Galen, \textit{Adhortatio ad artes} 1.11. In the probably pseudo-Galenic commentary on the \textit{Hippocratic Oath} one can read: ‘Asclepius is said to be the son of Apollo, because physicians must possess some of the ability of the diviner, for it is not unnecessary for a good physician to have some knowledge of the things that might happen later on’ (see Rosenthal 56; Van Nuffelen, 346).

\textsuperscript{68} See Galen, \textit{De praecognitione} 3 (14.614K) and Barton 1995.

\textsuperscript{69} Plato, \textit{Theaetetus}, 176b: ὁμοίωσις θεῶν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.

\textsuperscript{70} See Galen, \textit{De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis} 9.5.34 (De Lacy, 570.33–57.2), where we hear about Teuth who was previously a man before becoming a god.

\textsuperscript{71} See Boudon-Millot 2014.

\textsuperscript{72} Plato, to whom we owe the formulation that human life can be deified by the practice of philosophy (cf. n. 69), is called ‘divine Plato’ by Galen when it comes to his ideal of distributive justice (δικαιοσύνη; \textit{dikaiosunê}), see \textit{De usu partium} 16.1 (4.266K); or when he conceives that he is not able to speak about the mystery of the body/soul creation otherwise than using a \textit{mythos} (\textit{De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis} 9.9.3; De Lacy 598.9). See also \textit{De metodo medendi} 11.12 (10.772. 5K), where the same adjective is used for Plato. But the adjective \textit{theios} is also applied to certain abstract notions, such as θεῖα δύναμις, θεῖα ἁρμονία, θεῖα δικαιοσύνη.

\textsuperscript{73} This treatise is very salient among the Hippocratic corpus. Its inspired and elliptical style, polished aphorisms and antitheses have most commonly been linked to the work of Herakleitos but its riddling and oracular utterance might also be compared to Lycophron’s \textit{Cassandra}. On the problematic date of the \textit{De alimento}, see Craik 2015, 26.
to be a follower of Hippocrates. Not only does he present himself as the only true exegete of his corpus, but he also identifies himself as the heir and continuator of his unfinished masterpiece. There is nothing surprising in this perspective if, via his affiliation to Asclepius, he identifies himself as an Asclepiad. By confessing his personal allegiance to Asclepius, the ancestor of Hippocrates, Galen activates a religious, scientific and methodological link in his self-promotion as the new Hippocrates.

Along the same lines as Galen’s attempt at self-deification are two masterful passages in which Galen speaks about his corpus. In *On the Usefulness of the Parts*, Galen, criticised by his enemies, intends to restrict the audience of his book to people trained in scientific demonstration. He compares himself firstly to a hierophant initiating his fellows into the truest mysteries and commanding the non-initiates to block their ears. Secondly, Galen compares himself to the demiurge who continues to produce seasons and fruits with no care for the blasphemy of atheists such as Diagoras, Anaxagoras or Epicurus:

Indeed no auditor distresses me so much as the one who does not follow what I say, since of those who do understand I do not know of one who has ever gone away accusing Nature of any lack of skill. Well then, just as in the discourses of the mysteries the uninitiated are bidden to close the portals of the ears, so I too, who am introducing not into human ordinances, but into the veriest mysteries of the truth itself, bid those not initiated in the methods of demonstration to close the portals of their ears; for asses would learn the lyre sooner than those people would comprehend the truth of what is said here. And though I realise that very few indeed will follow my discourse, still, for the sake of those few, I have not hesitated to deliver even to the uninitiated my mystic sayings. The book will not escape from the stupid and place itself in the hands of the learned. Even our Creator, though knowing perfectly the ingratitude of such men as these, has yet created them. The sun makes the seasons of the year and perfects the fruits without paying any heed, I suppose, to Diagoras, Anaxagoras, Epicurus, or the others blaspheming against it. No beneficent being bears malice over anything, but naturally aids and adorns all. So too, though I am not unaware that times without number this book will be treated spitefully and abused by foolish and ignorant men, like an orphan fallen into the hands of drunkards, I am nevertheless undertaking to write it for the sake of those few who are capable of reading and understanding it correctly and judging what is said.

In a much later treatise, the *Advice for an Epileptic Boy*, written during the reign of Severus (after 193), Galen repeats the idea that understanding of his corpus is restricted to a well-trained and educated audience but he uses another comparison to describe its composition:

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74 See Boudon-Millot 2006.
75 In *De methodo medendi* 1.1 (10.6.1K) the Asclepiads of Kos, Knidos and Rhodos are called the ‘Asclepiads of Asia’, Galen’s homeland.
76 *De usu partium* 12.6 (4.20–22K; trans. Tallmadge May, 1. 558–560).
Thus I hesitated to write the instructions, much I wished to please you. It seemed to me that I should suffer something similar to what Phidias would have suffered if, after creating the statue of Athene, he had been compelled to create a finger, an arm, a foot, the nose, an ear and each parts all separately. For I think, like a statue, the therapeutic method has been created by me in several books, not, however, in a manner likely to help the layman or even the ordinary physician.\footnote{Pro puero epileptico consilium (11.359, K); trans. Temkin 1973, 180–181.}

It is significant that, when speaking about his writing project, Galen makes use of three religious activities: the hierophant, the demiurge, and Phidias sculpting the chryselephantine statue of Athene. In the second text, Galen uses a simile to compare his whole corpus to a divine statue or body, each treatise being a finger, an arm, a foot, or the nose of the therapeutic method he has constructed. Like Phidias, Galen has accomplished a work that is gigantic and monumental in its scale. Like the demiurge, Galen has created a huge structure, connecting each part together through catalogues of his books and countless cross-references. If we remember that the sculptor inserted his self-portrait in the middle of the goddess’ shield in such a way that it was not removable without causing the statue to collapse,\footnote{Pseudo-Aristotle, De mundo 10 and Plutarch, Life of Pericles 31.392.} we can also interpret all biographical accounts or religious confessions inserted by Galen in his corpus as parts of a self-portrait and as a seal of authenticity ensuring its coherence. We might say that Galen envisioned the survival and transmission of his corpus as a strategy for acquiring immortality.

The writing of the Galenic corpus can thus be understood as ‘lived religion’. The corpus contains acts of devotion to the gods, it mirrors a strategy of self-deification, and it is driven by the hope of immortality. Such a strategy was successful. Eusebius of Caesarea\footnote{Eusebius of Caesarea, Historia ecclesiastica 5.28.13–15.} reports that a group of heretic Christians had applied Galen’s demonstrative and philological method to the Holy Scriptures and that they prostrated themselves before him during his lifetime. Much later, Galen was depicted on a fresco among other pagan wise men in the refectory of the Byzantine Monastery of Megistis Lavra in Mount Athos. Galen’s greatest success was undoubtedly the survival of his monumental corpus, the largest preserved in Greek, which stands like a reasonably undamaged sculpture in comparison to the very small fragments that remain from the works of others.
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What is Divine about Medicine?

Mysteric Imagery and Bodily Knowledge in Aelius Aristides and Lucian*

Abstract

This study draws on Sullivan’s work and argues that in the second century CE a major strand of bodily knowledge was transmitted through culturally shaped experiences of the body. Sullivan, who studied extensively ‘the medical ritual systems’ of traditional communities in the Americas, South Africa, Oceania, and Japan, concluded that the members of these communities acquired much of their knowledge about the body through life- and status-changing ritual experiences, such as rites of passages, initiatory rites and purification. In a similar vein, I argue that the body in Aristides and Lucian’s works is construed, fragmented and reassembled in ritual and that its processes are thought of as controlled and determined by ritual contact with local healing deities, such as Asclepius of Pergamum and neos Asklepios Glykon (‘the Gentle One’) of Abonouteichos.

Keywords: Asclepius, neos Asklepios Glykon, Aelius Aristides, body, fragmentation, initiation, illness, Lucian, healing cults, medical ritual systems

This paper asks why religious imagery, in general, and terminology drawn from mystery cults, in particular, are employed to describe bodily knowledge in two of the most emblematic narratives of the Second Sophistic: Aelius Aristides’ Hieroi Logoi and Lucian’s Alexander the Pseudo-Prophet. The argument, briefly, is that these texts, and many others from the same period, present us with a new kind of physiology, a physiology that is ritually experienced and religiously expressed.

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Lawrence E. Sullivan, a historian of religion and anthropologist at the university of Notre Dame, thinks that ‘critical knowledge of the body is frequently related to critical experiences that are religious. Such critical experiences are envisaged as crises’ and Sullivan holds that this kind of physiology is central to the study of religions.¹ This study draws on Sullivan’s work and argues that in the second century CE a major strand of bodily knowledge was transmitted through culturally shaped experiences of the body. Sullivan, who studied extensively ‘the medical ritual systems’ of traditional communities in the Americas, South Africa, Oceania, and Japan, concluded that the members of these communities acquired much of their knowledge about the body through life- and status-changing ritual experiences, such as rites of passages, initiatory rites and purification.

In a similar vein, I argue that the body in the works of Aristides and Lucian is construed, fragmented and reassembled in ritual and that its processes are thought of as controlled and determined by ritual contact with prominent healing deities, such as Asclepius of Pergamum and neos Asklepios Glykon (‘the Gentle One’). The body as a vibrant object with increased agency is the main focus of a plethora of medical writings from that period,² but Aristides’ Hieroi Logoi and Lucian’s Alexander are unique in presenting us with a close-up of this new conception of the body as dismembered and repaired in ritual.

To be sure, this physiology is only new in the sense that it became in that period the object of systematic observation and examination. In every other sense, the body never really stopped being experienced and expressed in religious terms (and nor will it, in my opinion). There is something about bodily discovery, something about radical changes in the human anatomy and age-related corporeal revelations and breakdowns, which makes us mortals think of the immortal gods.

These observations, along with Sullivan’s view that bodily knowledge in many traditional communities is a religious affair, offer a particularly useful framework for approaching the ways Aristides and his peers viewed and experienced their own bodies in and out of the Asclepieion of Pergamum. The same conceptual outline is valuable when attempting to understand the pairing of initiation and healing rites instituted in honour of neos Asklepios Glykon at Abonouteichos. In other words, socio-anthropology puts the close correlation of medicine and mystery cults into a wholly new perspective. Thus, medicine could be construed as embodied knowledge experienced

and expressed in religious terms, while illness, when experienced as a major crisis, challenges the foundations of the previously established identity and, thus, evokes ritually rehearsed crises that the individual had experienced as part of earlier initiatory rites.

In the first part of the paper, I look at illness and its recasting as a sort of painful mystery initiation and gateway to a new and enlightened form of existence in Aristides’ *Hieroi Logoi*, which in turn offers new insights into Aristides’ peculiar conception of the Pergamene cult of Asclepius as a mystery cult.\(^3\) Having said that, I would like to clarify that I do not necessarily take the cult of Asclepius at the Pergamene Asclepieion to be a mystery cult with formal initiation, a *hieros logos*, and inbuilt mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. What I argue here is not that the cult of Asclepius at Pergamum was a mystery cult but – and this is far more important for the purposes of the ‘Lived Ancient Religion’ (LAR) project, which lays emphasis on individual appropriation of religious traditions, practices and knowledge – that it was *lived* by Aristides as such.

The second part of this study explores further the intersections between the medical and the sacred in Lucian’s *Alexander*, and offers a parallel formation of a healing cult with distinct mystery-cult components: the cult of *neos Asklepios Glykon* at Abonouteichos (modern Inebolu) at the Black Sea.

### 1 Illness and initiation: Asclepius and Sarapis

The ill body as partaking in dangerous and life-altering initiatory rites features prominently in oneiric encounters Aristides has with Isis, Sarapis and Asclepius. These encounters belong to the third book of the *hieroi logoi* (*Or*. 49.46–48 Keil) and have been interpreted as exuding mysteric ambiance even in the eyes of those scholars who opt for a positivist-reductionist analysis of Aristides’ religious narratives.\(^4\) In addition to the close correlation of medicine and mystery rites, these chapters are of great interest because they amply demonstrate Aristides’ preoccupation with the ineffability of mysteric

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3 Kevin Clinton 2003, 55 offers a basic definition of what a mystery cult is: ‘A mystery cult (1) presupposes mystai …, (2) normally requires that they undergo a death-like experience or at least an experience of suffering, and (3) holds a promise of prosperity in this life and usually also in the afterlife.’ On *hieros logos* as an integral element of mystery cults see Festugière 1954, 88, Burkert 1987, 72–77, Henrichs 2003, Bremmer 2010, Graf and Johnston 2013\(^3\), 174–184, Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 125, and other examples cited below.

4 By way of a concrete example, see Behr 1968, 34 n. 57, who singles this passage out, albeit in a footnote, and admits the possibility that ‘it points to something secret’.
and medicinal experience and reveal that Asclepius and Sarapis occupied analogous spheres of influence in Aristides’ ‘medical ritual system’, to put it in Sullivan’s terms.

A few months prior to the Cathedra period, in the winter of 144/145 CE, and while residing at the warm springs of Smyrna, Aristides was said to have been the recipient of a dream-vision sent by Isis (Or. 49.46), who very specifically asked for two geese to be sacrificed to her. Isis actively engages in Aristides’ sōteria (‘salvation, therapy’) by alerting (perhaps via a vision) the poultry farmer to the existence of Aristides and his imperative need for the specific sacrificial offering. She then proceeds to send further confirmation of her strong interest in Aristides’ recovery, which involves ‘light and other unspeakable things pertaining to Aristides’ sōteria’. On the same night and shortly after Isis’ salvific intervention (Or. 49.46), Aristides experiences the epiphany of Asclepius and Sarapis, who appear jointly, looking marvellous in stature and beauty (θαυμαστοὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος), and, most importantly, resembling one another in physical appearance (τινα τρόπον ἀλλήλοις ἐμφερεῖς”).

This and several other examples of the cultic and physiognomic identification of Sarapis and Asclepius are mentioned by Behr in his 1978 study of the role of the ‘Egyptian gods’ in Aristides’ works. Yet ‘the most Aristadian of scholars’, as Laurent Pernot called Behr, insisted that Sarapis strikes a jarring note in the orchestration of Aristides’ eclectic pantheon. Two reasons lie behind Behr’s reluctance to accept that ‘Egyptian healing deities’ in general, and Sarapis in particular, played a significant role in Aristides’ cultic cosmos. He was convinced that a) Aristides had no eschatological preoccupations, and b) Asclepius’ healing realm was restricted to the upper world, while Sarapis catered for the patients in the underworld.

The latter conviction can be overthrown easily, simply by pointing to the emphasis placed on the physiognomic similarities between the two gods. We can also note the number of other instances in which Asclepius and Sarapis appear to collaborate closely, both in the HL and in other orations. In

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5 Aristides spent two years of his life (145–47 CE) in the temple of Asclepius in Pergamum, a period of professional inactivity which he referred to as the Cathedra. The term carries a degree of ambiguity as it can also denote ‘the chair of rhetoric’.

6 Beauty and stature (kallos kai megethos) along with radiance and fragrance are all typical concomitant semeia of divine epiphanies: Petridou 2015, 32–43 with more bibliographical references. On kallos kai megethos in descriptions of impressive cult statues, especially those of an epiphanic nature, see Tanner 2001; Platt 2011; Bremmer 2013 and Petridou 2015, 49–64.

7 Behr 1978, 13–24.

8 Behr 1968, 93.
the second book of the *HL* (*Or*. 48.18), for instance, the two healing deities were held jointly responsible for prolonging Aristides’ life for a period of seventeen years, while in the first book Asclepius and Sarapis are described as brother-like deities, the divine counterpart to the imperial brotherly pair of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Moreover, in his *Panegyric in Cyzicus* Aristides uses the common appellation *theoi sotēres* to refer not to the Dioscuri or Cabeiroi but to Asclepius and Sarapis, confidently asserting that the two gods operate in salvific unison, sharing both their acts of benefaction and the people’s thanksgivings. When he remarks on the iconographical similarity of the statuary representations of the two deities (Sarapis looked like Asclepius holding a staff, wearing a *modius*, and being accompanied by a three-headed Cerberus), Aristides draws on the cultic realities of his time. The similarity of their bodily physiognomies points towards a deeper analogy in their identities. The two deities were thought of as identical already in the late first century CE and their identification is attested all

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9 *Or*. 47.38–39 K.  
10 *Or*. 27.39 K. Cf. Keil *ad loc*., and Behr 1978, 14 n. 4.  
11 Enthroned statues of Sarapis were quite common both in Egypt and the Greek-speaking world. See Hornbostel 1973; Kater Sibbes 1973, 83, no. 463; and LIMC VII, 666–692, s. v. Sarapis. Enthroned images of Sarapis featured also in magical amulets like the one excavated in Karanis (and depicted in fig. 1 above).  
12 A more indirect link between the cults of Isis and Sarapis and that of Asclepius can also be found in the first book of the *HL* (*Or*. 47.24–25), where Aristides first dreams that he is in Elephantine in Egypt and then discovers that the priest of Isis in Smyrna, where Sarapis was also venerated, turns out to be the priest of Asclepius.
over the Greco-Roman world. More to the point, the cult epithet of Asclepius in Pergamum was μοιρονόμος (lit. ‘the distributor of fate’), a cultic function normally associated with Sarapis or Zeus.

Nonetheless, the strongest argument against assuming a concrete demarcation line between the cultic identity of Asclepius and Sarapis, the two healing deities who look after those in need in life and death, is provided by the very interstitial nature of illness. Illness itself is neither life nor death, neither here nor there. Illness, and chronic illness in particular, oscillates between life and death, constantly pushing the boundaries, existing permanently on the edge. The reader is reminded at this point of the multitude of references in the Hieroi Logoi to illness as being on the threshold to death, as in the following hymn Aristides composed in his sleep:

Πολλοὺς δ’ ἐκ θανάτοιο ἐρύσατο δερκομένοι ἀστραφέεσσι πύλῃσιν ἐπ’ αὐτήσιν βεβαῶτας Ἀἰδεώ.

‘He tore away many men from keen-eyed death,
While they were stepping into gates of no return,
The gates of Hades.’

Whilst residing briefly in Aliani in the spring of 146, Aristides dreamt that a chorus of boys in Egyptian Alexandria sang these encomiastic verses composed in honour of Asclepius. Why would a hymn written in honour of Asclepius be sung in Egypt, the land of Sarapis, if the identification of the two deities was not a given in Aristides’ mind? This recurrent conceptualisation of illness as the threshold between life and death would have served as a good meeting place for the spheres of interest of Asclepius and Sarapis, preparing the ground for the enmeshment of their bodily physiognomies and cultic activities. It is this interstitial aspect of illness that allows for the mysteries of Sarapis to be attributed freely to Asclepius as well. The interconnectivity and interchangeability of the healing identities of Sarapis and Asclepius can also be observed in chapter 48 of the third book (on which see below).

The same chapter, and that which precedes it (Or. 49.47–48), speaks volumes against Aristides’ alleged lack of eschatological preoccupations, and is, thus, worth quoting in full:

13 Cf. Stambaugh 1972, esp. 75–78; Pearcy 1988. Tac. Hist. 4.84.5 says that many people thought that Sarapis was Asclepius. Cf. also Paus. 2.26.7; 7.26.6–7.
14 E.g., in Or. 43.27 K. and 45.21 K.
15 All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.
'(47) When Zosimos' misfortune occurred – for I omit the things the god predicted when it was going to happen and how he consoled me – but when it happened and I was distraught with grief, I dreamed that Sarapis, in the shape of his seated statues, took some sort of lancet, and made a circular incision around my face … as if he were removing impurities, purifying it, and changing it to its befitting state. So even later, I had a vision from the chthonic gods, that if I were to give up my strong grief for the dead it would confer a benefit to me. (48) However, what was revealed to me much later was much more frightening than these things, for there were both ladders, which demarcated the region above and beneath the earth, and the supremacy of the god on either side, and there were other things, which caused a marvellous bewilderment, and cannot perhaps be told to everyone; hence, the *symbola* of Asclepius were revealed to me to my delight. And the most significant point was about the power of the god, that both without vehicles and without bodies Sarapis was able to carry men wherever he wishes. Such were the initiatory rites, and I got up disorientated (lit. unable to recognise).'

This passage is dated by Behr to 149 ce, a year after the death of Aristides’ beloved foster father Zosimus. As I have discussed elsewhere, Asclepius had been involved actively in Zosimus’ illness and temporary recovery by predicting his death and by instructing Aristides on how to prevent it, or, to put it more accurately, how to postpone it, since Zosimus disregarded Aristides’ instructions and succumbed to his illness in 148. This extract shows amply enough that Aristides had a keen interest in the afterlife and was preoccupied with the fate of the soul after the death of the physical body. This interest may have resurfaced because of the death of his foster-father Zosimos – eschatological interests often come to the fore when one is faced with the loss of a loved one – but it seems unlikely to have been exclusively triggered by this event. The increased popularity in the Antonine period of
philosophical works which centred on the dualism of body versus soul, such as Plato’s *Timaeus* and *Phaedrus*, may also have contributed significantly to that end.\(^{19}\)

Although chapter 48 focuses exclusively on Sarapis’ oneiric intervention in assisting him with his grief over Zosimos’ death (λύπη … λυπεῖσθαι), Aristides deliberately alludes also to Asclepius’ involvement via *praeteritio*: ἃ γὰρ μελλοῦσης προεῖπε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο ὁ θεὸς παρίμμ. The main reason the narrative does not go into greater detail about Asclepius’ intervention is because we are given all the graphic details of Asclepius’ attempt to save Zosimos in the first book of the *HL* (*Or*. 47.70–72).\(^{20}\)

Sarapis’ involvement in soothing Aristides’ pain for the death of Zosimus takes the form of a strange ritual that involved, as far as we can tell from the corrupted text,\(^{21}\) an incision around Aristides’ face with a σμίλη (‘surgeon’s knife’ or ‘lancet’) as if removing impurities, thus purging or purifying him (οἷον λύματ’ ἀφαιρῶν καὶ καθαίρων), and reinstating his appearance to its fitting state. σμίλην is a term that operates in the intersections of the medical and the sacred (as is καθαίρω), since it can denote both a sculptor’s chisel and a surgeon’s lancet.\(^{22}\) Behr emends the corrupted text as follows: περιτέμνειν μου τὰ κύκλῳ τοῦ προσώπου <ἐν τῇ τῶν χειλῶν> πως ῥίζῃ ὑπ᾿ αυτὸ τὸ οὖλον. He then substitutes πρόσωπον with ἀκροβυστία, and reads allusions to circumcision, which in his view was a *desideratum* for Aristides but was forbidden by the Roman law for everyone except Jews and Egyptian priests. The verb περιτέμνειν usually takes some noun like τὰ αἴδοια or τὴν σάρκα, and can mean ‘to circumcise’ although it can also simply mean ‘to curtail’, ‘to cut around’, which I think is more likely the case here.\(^{23}\)

\(^{19}\) In the fourth book of the *HL* (*Or*. 50.56), for instance, Aristides alludes to and comments on Plato’s *Timaeus* 34a. On possible Middleplatonic influences in these passages, see Behr 1968, 54 n. 50. On the popularity of *Phaedrus* see Trapp 1990, 141–173, esp. 152–153 and 166–168.

\(^{20}\) Petridou 2016.


\(^{22}\) Knife for cutting or carving: Ar. *Th*.779, Pl. *Rep.* 353a, Babr. 98.13; engraving tool, sculptor’s chisel: *AP* 7.429. on *smilē* as a medical instrument and its uses, see Bliquez 2014, 28: ‘The surgical literature of the Roman Empire features the technical term *smilē* (σμιλή), and numerous examples survive in surgical kits of the period. We do once find *smilē* in the Hippocratic Corpus (*Diseases* 2.36 P) but, like *machaira/is, smilē* was merely a general term in Hippocrates’ time.’

\(^{23}\) Behr 1978, 19. ‘to circumcise’: e.g. Hdt. 2.104, Diod. *Sic.* 79.11.2; ‘to curtail’, ‘to cut around’: Hdt. 4.64; Hes. *Op.* 570; [Arist.] *Mir.* 835a19. On the social attitudes to Gentiles in Early Christianity, see MacLaren and Sim 2013. On circumcision and other practices of bodily modification in the Bible, see Stavrakopoulou 2013. On body modification in
meaning of the text is that Sarapis shaves Aristides’ face, thus relieving him, perhaps, of some untidy and dirty facial hair, since changes in appearance of this sort were one of the most conspicuous symbols of mourning, and perhaps even pollution, that resulted from Aristides’ familial relationship with the dead.24

This interpretation is further supported by the subsequent dream-vision, sent by the chthonic gods, which Aristides interprets as admonishing him to relinquish his grief over Zosimos’ death. Additional support can be found in the even more frightful vision, featuring ladders (Or. 49.48) which demarcated the things above and below the surface of the earth (ἐν οἷς αἱ τε δὴ κλίμακες ἦσαν αἱ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀφορίζουσα, καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρωθι κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ). This vision is said to have brought along another wondrous surprise (ἐτέρα ἐκπληξίν θαυμαστήν), which is not deemed fit for the eyes and the ears of the general public but is evidently meant for a more exclusive audience (καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ μήτα ἰσώς εἰς ἅπαντα). Aristides interprets this cryptic vision as evidence of Sarapis’ power to transfer people wherever he wishes without vehicles and without bodies (χωρὶς ὀχημάτων καὶ χωρὶς σωμάτων). The emphasis on the emotional responses of phrikē (φρικωδέστερον) and ekplēxis are also evocative of the initiants’ emotional reactions in some of the most popular mystery cults of the Roman Empire, namely the mysteries of Dionysus, Sabazius, and Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.25

All in all, it is, I think, extremely hard for any student of the history of religions to deny the possibility that here we are, in fact, dealing not with a metaphorical use but with Aristides’ appropriation of an actual initiation into a mysteric cult. The initiatory rites are presided over by both Sarapis and Asclepius (if one is willing to ignore Keil’s delenda)26 and take place in one of Aristides’ dream visions, perhaps a vision not very dissimilar to the one reported by another individual in Sopater’s Divisions of Questions (Διαίρεσις...
The individual in Sopater’s rhetorical exercise was said to have had an extremely detailed dream in which he had been initiated into the Great Mysteries of Eleusis.

The reader is constantly under the impression that the references to the ineffability of the spectacles seen and the emotional responses felt go far beyond the realm of figurative speech and betray a real bafflement and confusion, not only over the (in)ability of language as a semiotic system to convey any true religious sentiment but also over the (un)suitability of the audience to receive the message. ‘Is it not true that the mysteries were “unspeakable”, arrheta, not just in the sense of artificial secrecy utilized to arouse curiosity, but in the sense that what was central and decisive was not accessible to verbalisation?’ asked Walter Burkert.

Perhaps the strongest indication that what Aristides described in chapters 47 and 48 is much more than an individualised take on initiatory language and imagery lies in the final sentence of the passage, where Aristides presents himself as the traditionally disorientated initiand who has abandoned his old identity and is on his way to acquire a new enlightened one: καὶ ἀνέστην οὐ ῥᾴδιος γνωρίσαι. In a similar vein, the initiand who dreamed of his initiation into the mystēria of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis in profound detail in Sopater’s Diairesis Zētēmatōn, says that he came out of the initiatory chambers feeling like a stranger to himself: ἐπ᾿ ἐμαυτῷ ξενιζόμενος. These are typical reactions to the dramatic psychological and somatic ordeal, often combined with prolonged sensory deprivation, which most commonly takes place in the course of an initiation ritual, and they coincide with Aristides’ emotional response to his oneiric initiation.

In the same vein, one must understand the emphasis laid on the term σύμβολα. The symbola, the visual ‘tokens’ of the initiation (as opposed to the synthēma, the acoustic reminder which functioned as a password of sorts)

27 Cf. Sopater Rhet. Gr. VIII 114 Waltz. This is how Sopater summarises the hypothesis of the speech: Νόμος τὸν ἐξειπόντα τὰ μυστήρια τεθνάναι· ὄναρ τις θεασάμενος τὴν τελετὴν ἠρετο τινα τῶν μεμυημένων, εἰ ταῦτα εἴη, ἀπεκ έώρακεν· ἑπένευσε καὶ κρίνεται ἀσεβείας. This parallel may be of some importance if the author of this rhetorical speech (in all likelihood written as problēma, that is a rhetorical exercise) is the same Sopater who wrote the Scholia and the Prolegomena to Aristides’ works. The identification of the two is still a matter of debate.

28 Notice the emphatic repetition of ἀμύθητα (Or. 49.46) and καὶ οὐδὲ ῥητὰ ἴσως εἰς ἅπαντας (Or. 49.48). The first pertains to some form of divine light that was sent to him by Isis, while the second to visions of Sarapis and the chthonic gods.

29 Cf. Pernot, 2006; Rüpke and Degelmann 2015.

30 Burkert 1989, 69.

31 Sopater Rhet. Gr. VIII, 114f Waltz.

would differ from one mystery initiation to another, but their presence was rather conspicuous in a large number of the attested mystery cults. But if the vision exclusively concerned Sarapis, why did Aristides report that he received gladly the symbola of Asclepius (ὡστε ἀσμένῳ μοι φανῆναι τὰ σύμβολα [τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ])? The easy way to go about this problem is to follow Keil in deleting the genitive on the basis that the whole vision concerns Sarapis: τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ seclusi, de Serapide solo agitur, Keil notes ad loc. However, Asclepius seemed to be in the habit of providing Aristides with decipherable signs, often referred to as symbola, such as at Or. 48.26: καὶ ἀλλα γὰρ ἔδωκεν σύμβολα ἀληθείας. The fact that this structure appears at least twice in the HL in conjunction with Asclepius makes it, I think, harder to emend the text by simply deleting the genitive possesive tou Asklepiou in Or. 49.48. Moreover, Keil’s emendation is indicative of the circularity of the argument discussed above, an argument that is based on the erroneous assumption that the spheres of influence of Asclepius and Sarapis can and should be defined with clinical precision and that, above all, they should be kept apart. In this esoteric account, Sarapis and Asclepius, Aristides’ principal Sotēres theoi, embark on a joint enterprise to persuade him that his beloved Zosimos may have died but that his soul, deprived of its ochēma, its vehicle (a synonym for sōma), is safe in the hands of the gods.

The aforementioned klimakes, which delineated the regions of the upper and nether world (αἱ κλίμακες αἱ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀφορίζουσαι), can also be construed as connecting these regions and, thus, delineating also the sphere of influence of Asclepius, which includes both (καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρωθι κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ). Klimax in the singular and accompanied by the adjective hiera (‘sacred’) also features in Philadelphos’ vision, which urged Aristides to drink ἀψίνθιον (‘wormwood’), in the second book of the HL (Or. 48.29–35): ‘and he reported a certain sacred ladder (κλίμακα ἱερὰν), I believe, and the presence (παρουσίαν) and certain wonderful powers of the god (δυνάμεις τινὰς τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμαστάς)’. In this case, the sacred ladder is

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33 E.g., τῆς τελετῆς τὰ σύμβολα in Orphic-Dionysiac cultic context: Clem. Protr. 2. 18= Orph. Fr. 34. On symbola in the context of mystery cults in general and in regard to Eleusis in particular, see Riedweg 1987, 82–84. On symbola in Bacchic initiatory rites see Graf and Johnston 2013, 140 and 151–154 and Bremmer 2014, 91, 127 with further bibliography. Cf. also Proclus In Remp. II 108, 17–30 Kroll.

34 σῶμα … ψυχῆς λεπτὸν ὀχήμα Orac. ap. Hierocl. in CA26p.478M; of the supposed vehicle consisting of fine and indestructible matter informed by the soul, its spiritual body, Procl. Inst.205, cf. Iamb. Myst.5.12, Dam. Pr.102; cf. also ἀχράντῳ ὀχήμα χρώμειν τῷ … κάλλει in Procl. in Alc. p. 33 C.

35 ἀψίνθιον, or Artemisia Absinthium, as it is known among botanists, features in a variety of medical texts: [Hipp.] Morb. 3.11, Mul. 1.74, Aret. CD 1.13, etc.
What is Divine about Medicine?

Fig. 2: The Hippocratic ladder for correction of spinal deformities with the head pointing upwards. From the illustrated comments of Apollonius of Kitium on the Hippocratic treatise *On Articulations*. Bibliotheca Medica Laurenziana, Florence (after Vasiliades, Grivas, Kaspiris 2009, fig. 13).

clearly a component of Asclepius’ epiphany, not that of Sarapis. It seems to me that what we have here is more than a playful pun based on the medical and the mystery connotations of the word *klimax*. Several medical texts feature the term *klimax* or *klimakes* in plural to refer to the medical instrument which was used to reduce dislocations and treat spinal deformities (fig. 2),36 but in religious texts ladders have traditionally been conceived of

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36 E.g., [Hipp]. *Art.* 42; κλίμακας ἰσχυροὺς ἔχουσα κλιμακτήρας. This *klimax* is illustrated in several manuscripts, which preserve the works of medical authors who wrote on the topic,
as symbols of union and communication. The reference to the *klimakes* in both instances (Or. 49.48 and 48.29), I submit, intensifies the general mysterious ambiance of the dream and reflects contemporary philosophical and theological debates about the relationship between the soul and the *sôma*, and the soul’s fate after death.

However, the comparison of the cryptic incision on Aristides’ face with the rite of circumcision, which may have been expected from an Egyptian priest, but which in the eyes of a Greek or Roman would look like the equivalent of a symbolic castration, cannot be substantiated. Instead, it would be better to read this passage as containing philosophical ideas regarding the liberation of the soul from its material constraints, ideas that were first advocated by Plato and continued to be dominant later on, for instance in the writings of some prominent figures of Middle Platonism and in alchemical texts of the early third and fourth century CE, such as ‘the visions of Zosimos’, as well as in the *vitae* of the so-called Desert-Fathers and Desert-Mothers of Late Antiquity.

Furthermore, one must not downplay the strong medicinal connotations of the mystic imagery employed in our passage: a healing deity manifests his godhead and performs a purification, which resembles an operation performed with a medical instrument, a lancet (*smilē*). This treatment is meant for Aristides’ suffering psyche rather than for his body; it aims at removing his excessive *lypē*, his grief over Zosimos’ death (τὸ σφόδρα οὕτω λυπεῖσθαι).
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ἔπι τοῖς τελευτῶσιν. Lypē (and its cognates) is an interesting term that features in both Hippocratic texts and Galenic treatises.40 The author of the Hippocratic Breaths (de flatibus 1.22–23), for instance, gives a wider definition of illness (nousos), in which the concept of lypē features prominently: ‘For whatever causes grief to men, this is what we call illness’ (ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν λυπέῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο καλέεται νοῦσος·). Earlier on (1.5 = L. 6.90) in the same Hippocratic text we find lypē featuring in the very definition of the iatrikē technē:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ῥητός ὁρῇ τε δεινὰ, θιγγάνει τε ἀηδέων, ἐπ᾿ ἀλλοτρίᾳσι λύπας· οἱ δὲ νοσέοντες ἀπαλλάσσονται τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν διὰ τὴν τέχνην, νοῦσων, πόνων, λύπης, θανάτου· πᾶσι γὰρ τουτεύοισιν ἄντικρυς ἰητρικὴ εὑρίσκεται ἀκεστορίς.

‘For the physician sees terrible things and touches unpleasant things, and in the grief of others, he harvests grief for himself. But the patients get rid of the greatest of evils by means of the art of medicine, such are disease, pain, grief, and death. For the art of medicine has proved to be a manifest healer for all these evils.’

2 Healing cults with mystic aspects: the case of neos Asklepios Glykon

Lucian was familiar with the popularised medical discourse of the period.41 It is no coincidence that at the beginning of his provocative The Double Indictment (Bis Accusatus 1.35), Lucian has Zeus quoting almost word for word the opening passage of the Hippocratic Breaths (De flatibus 1.5 = L. 6.90) quoted above. Nonetheless, although in the Hippocratic text it is a human physician who complains about the difficulties he faces in his day-to-day conduct with patients, Lucian attributes these all-too-human petty complaints to Asclepius, the divine physician par excellence. The reader’s attention is instantly directed to the term lypē (‘grief’), the same term that describes Aristides’ emotional state treated by Sarapis. Lypē, in Lucian’s text, is ranked among the ‘greatest evils’ treated by medicine and by Asclepius in particular.

However, the most quoted testimony for the popularity of medical discourse in the Antonine period is Lucian’s parodic biography of Alexander, the Pseudo-Prophet, who introduced the inhabitants of Abonouteichos (modern Inebolu) in Cappadocia to the (in)famous reptilian and remarkably anthropomorphic healing deity called neos Asklepios Glykon (‘the Benign One’ or ‘the Gentle One’). For many generations, Lucian’s Alexander, the

40 Mattern 2016.
41 Paz de Hoz 2014; Van Nuffelen 2014.
_Pseudo-Prophet_ was read quite literally as a figment of Lucian’s imagination at worst, or as a testament to the creativity of a religious entrepreneur at best. In any case it was read in isolation from the abundant material evidence that attests the popularity of this healing deity.\(^{42}\) Thanks to the pioneering work of Louis Robert, Robin Lane-Fox, Christopher Jones, Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis and others, we know now that Glykon, the theriomorphic reincarnation of Asclepius was received warmly not only by the ‘gullible’ and ‘uneducated citizens’ of Abonouteichos, but also throughout the entire Roman Empire.\(^{43}\)

The wide geographical distribution of the cult can be seen in coins, inscriptions, statues and statuettes depicting the god himself in a variety of forms (see, for example, fig. 3), which perhaps are not the result of ‘iconographical types’ but are, rather, indicative of the physiognomic variations with which the god appeared to his worshippers, as Petsalis-Diomidis has argued.\(^{44}\)

Galen himself seems to have been well acquainted with the cult of _neos Asklepios Glykon_ (via Lucian’s writings or personal knowledge?) and its popularity amongst the members of the Roman ruling class, whom he vehemently chastises at 1.4 of his treatise _On examining the best physicians_.\(^{45}\)

Galen may even be thinking of the same Asclepian cult in his _On the Therapeutic Method_, when he mocks Thessalos, the Methodist doctor, by saying that his rival fancies himself as the epiphany of a second Asclepius (Θεσσαλὸς, ὁ δεύτερος Ἀσκληπιός, εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἥκεν).\(^{46}\)

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\(^{42}\) On the cult and the popularity of Neos Asklepios Glykon see Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 12–66, where an informative discussion of Lucian’s treatment of the cultic realities behind the parody and more bibliography can also be found. The most comprehensive treatment of the Lucianic text remains Victor 1997. On the cult’s competition with Christianity, see Gilhus 2006, 110 and Bricault 2014, 97–114. On Alexander as a religious entrepreneur, see Bremmer (forthcoming).

\(^{43}\) Statuettes of Glykon have enjoyed a wide geographical distribution: from the Athenian agora to Pisidia, Dacia, and Mysia. Alex. 2 confirms the wide geographical attestation, albeit not without some ironic overtones.

\(^{44}\) Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 12–66. On Glykon’s reptilian shape, see Ogden 2013, 325–329. On _Alexander the Pseudo-Prophet_ and the cultic realities behind the Lucianic parody, see Jones 1986, 133–148. On the material culture that attests to the existence of the cult, see Robert 1980, 393–421; Lane-Fox 1986, 241–250. Jones 1999, 107–109 discusses a fascinating inscription honouring a doctor called Nikētēs, son of Glycon, from Tieion and with the image of a snake (SEG 18.519), which, he maintains, could refer to a follower of the snake-god Glycon of Abonouteichos. This doctor could have been one of the many illegitimate children of the god’s prophet conceived in the course of one of their initiations.

\(^{45}\) Galen’s treatise _On examining the best physicians_ survives only in Arabic and is translated by Iskandar, _Galeni De optimo medico cognoscendo_ with Nutton 1990, 23–25. This cult’s influence spread from the Black Sea to the center of Pisidia and from there to the Roman aristocracy, if we are to judge by the fact (as reported by Lucian) that Rutilianus, a Roman senator, was keen to make the founder of the cult, Alexander, his son-in-law.

\(^{46}\) _De metodo medendi_ 3,208 K: ‘But the most shameless Thessalos (ὁ δ’ ἀναισχυντότατος
Nonetheless, even in the studies in which the Glykon cult is treated seriously, as an expression of the popularity of these healing cults in the Second Sophistic, the medical aspect of the cult is downplayed in favour of its mysterious aspects.\(^47\) Hence, not nearly enough attention has been paid to Alex-

47 Robert 1980, 419 n. 60; Jones 1986, 135. Cf. also Crosby 1923.
nder’s training as a doctor’s apprentice under a doctor from Tyana in Cappadocia, who in turn was a disciple of the famous Apollonius of Tyana. In this apprenticeship lies, in Jones’ view, the explanation behind Alexander’s Pythagorean beliefs (Alex. 4). It is no coincidence that Alexander anchors his new (‘fraudulent’ in the Lucianic text) cult on strong pre-existing and time-revered signifiers of Asclepian healing powers, such as snakes and prognostic (and, to an extent, oracular) declamations. He is well acquainted with all the specifics of Asclepius’ cult, because he has served one of the Asclepiadae – his teacher from Tyana being a public physician (δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἰατρὸς, Alex. 5). He also utilises his firm grasp of Asclepian myths and lore and builds up his connection with the god, when he engineers an oracle from Chalcedon, which supports the idea of his congenital proximity to Asclepius: Alexander traces his bloodline back to Asclepius’ son, Podaleirius (Alex. 11).49

Alexander’s medical training allowed him to prescribe successfully various courses of therapy and regimen, as well as several other pharmaceutical remedies, such as his renowned soothing ointments (κυτμίδες), in which bear fat was apparently the main ingredient.50 He even attempted to prescribe this medicine to Lucian’s servant, who presented himself on the pretext of a pain located in his ribs.51 However, not all prognoses and prescriptions went according to plan. Whenever health and longevity was prognosed to unfortunate patients who eventually died (Alex. 28), a post-eventum oracle (μεταχρόνιος χρησμός) followed immediately to reinterpret Glykon’s first prognosis and salvage the trustworthiness of the god and his prophet. Nothing, however, could be done in the case of the spontaneous oracle (αὐτόφωνος χρησμός) that failed to protect the inhabitants of the Empire from the deadly plague that devastated large parts of its population in 165 (Alex. 36). Alexander’s devotees put all their faith in an apotropaic verse (Φοῖβος ἀκειρεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει) they were instructed to inscribe on their doorways and, according to Lucian, paid with their life for their gullibility. Finally, the medical aspect of Glykon’s cult is emphasised

48 On snakes as signifiers of Asclepius’ presence and healing power, see Petridou 2013.
49 On conscious attempts to forge an ‘elective affinity’ with the divine, see Petridou 2015, 343–347.
50 Alex. 22: ‘τοίς δὲ θεραπείας προὔλεγεν καὶ διαίτας, εἰδός, ὅπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔφην, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα φάρμακα, μάλιστα δὲ εὐδοκίμουν παρ’ αὐτῷ κυτμίδες, ἀκόπου τι ὄνομα πεπλασμένον, ἐκ λίπους ἀρκείου συντεθειμένον’. In the seventh book of his De compositione medicamentorum (13.1008 K.), Galen describes soothing ointments made out of hard fat or suet from wild animals, such as lions, and leopards, but he does not mention anything about bears.
51 Alex. 53: “Θεραπείας,” ἔφη, “αἰτήσων πρὸς ὀδύνην πλευροῦ” – Κυτμίδα χρίεσθαι κέλομαι δροσίην τε κέλητος.”
by the fact that the most prominent candidate for the role of the prophet and hierophant after Alexander’s death was also a doctor called Paetus.

The whole mysteric component of the Glykon cult was, it seems, constructed so as to mirror the mysteries of Eleusis. The main initiation ritual lasted for three successive days. Just like in Eleusis, a) there is a πρόρρησις, i.e., a public proclamation that excluded certain people from participating in the mysteries (Alex. 38), b) there are torchlight processions led by the priestly personnel, and c) members of the ‘garlic-reeking Paphlagonian’ elite who, as we are explicitly told in our text, function like the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes genē in Eleusis (Alex. 39). What Lucian fails to tell us is that the god’s healing and oracular abilities were celebrated not only by ‘the fat and garlic-smelling Paphlagonians’ but also by a large number of educated and sophisticated individuals in Rome. In fact, Lucian presents the cult’s popularity in Rome as yet another ploy engineered by Alexander and his manipulative attitude towards influential individuals, such as Rutilianus and Sedatius. Out of those two individuals, we are particularly interested in the latter, M. Sedatius Severianus, the consul suffect of 153. This is the same Roman consul who was said to have consulted the oracle of Neos Asklepios Glykon before invading Armenia in 161. The same individual may be named in the Hieroi Logoi as one of the most well-known therapeutai at Pergamum (τῶν γνωριμωτέρων θεραπευτῶν) and one of Aristides’ closest friends (Or. 50.15–18).

Perhaps it was amongst members of the socio-political elite that these healing cults had the strongest impact. They must have appealed to the conservative tendencies of Rome and the need of the upper classes to belong to an exclusive club or association while simultaneously accumulating symbolic capital. As has been pithily argued by Elena Muniz Grijalvo, healing cults such as those of Isis and Sarapis, Asclepius and Zeus Hypsistos offered an opportunity for these privileged individuals to display their generosity, offer patronage, and increase their social cachet. The main means of achieving all of the above was to join these religious associations, often by becoming a priestly official of sorts, and then model these priestly hier-

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52 It goes without saying that Alexander retained for himself the roles of both the hierophant and the dadouchos (ἐδαδούχει δὲ καὶ ἱεροφάντει ὁ Ἐνδυμίων Ἀλέξανδρος). On this passage see Bremmer 2014, 8–9, 15–16, and 115–156; Petridou 2015, 93. 264–265; and Bremmer 2017.
53 Várhelyi 2010, 83–84.
54 Alex. 27. On Severianus’ defeat in Elegia, see also Birley 1987, 161.
55 Muniz Grijalvo 2005, 274.
archies on long-standing and highly respectable priesthoods, such as the priesthood of Athena Polias in Athens or the sacred officials of Eleusis.

*Alexander the Pseudo-Prophet* is not the only one of Lucian’s work in which mysteric terminology is used to treat a medical subject matter. *Podagra*, for instance, is yet another. It is essentially an aretalogy in praise of the goddess *Podagra* (‘Gout’), recast in the form of a paratragedy. Podagra is, like Isis, an invincible deity and one who presides over mysteric rites. Both patients and physicians obey the almighty goddess Podagra, whose mysteries consist in inflicting terrible physical pain and agony on her initiates (119–123). The physical ordeal the goddess causes to her devotees can only be relieved by the goddess herself (136, 245, 308). Her mystae are left pain-stricken, begging for a salvation that can only be provided by her divine epiphany (131–137), a statement that reminds the reader strongly of chapters 50–51 of the fourth book of the *Hieroi Logoi*, where it is only the epiphany of the god Asclepius that can soothe the pain of Aristides, his most devout devotee.

## 3 Conclusion

The similarities between our three narratives (the *Hieroi Logoi*, *Alexander the Pseudo-Prophet*, and *Podagra*) are numerous. All three narratives, when properly contextualised, speak of the harmonious coexistence, and even interdependence, of medicine and religion in the Imperial era; all three give us a glimpse into popular healing cults with a distinct mysteric ambiance and, above all, they all offer insightful comments on this kind of new physiology that was ritually experienced and expressed. It is this kind of physiology, to return to Sullivan’s work, that is central to the study of religions and has the potential to enhance substantially our understanding of the correlations of medicine and mystery cults in the second sophistic.

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56 More information on the topic of gout, a highly painful illness which primarily afflicted the upper socio-economic stratum, can be found in Porter and Rousseau 1998 and Anderson 1979. On mysteric terminology in *Podagra*, see Paz de Hoz 2014.

57 *Podagr. 82–85*: ΧΟΡΟΣ Σὺ δ’ ὢν τίς ἡμᾶς καὶ τίνων προσεννέπεις; ὡς γάρ σε βάκτρον καὶ βάσις μηνύετον, / μύστην ὁρῶμεν τῆς ἀνικήτου θεᾶς.

58 τότε διὰ μελέων ὰξὸν κελεύειν καὶ μήν ὀδοὺς ὁποιοὶ κατέχουσι, / ἀφανές, κρύφιον, δεδυκός ὑπὸ μυχοίσι γυών, / πόδα, γόνο, κοτύλην, ἀστραγάλους, ἱσχία, μηροῦς, / χέρας, ἀμφιλάτας, βραχίονας, κόρωνα, καρποὺς / ἔσθει, νέμεται, φλέγει, κρατεῖ, πυροῖ, μαλάσσει, / μέχρις ἂν ἡ θεός τὸν πόνον ἀποφυγεῖν κελεύεσθι.
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Disease and Healing in a Changing World


Abstract

The Vetus Latina, or ‘Old Latin Bible,’ comprises a diverse collection of Latin biblical texts which encompasses unauthorised versions of the Bible translated into Latin. These Old Latin manuscripts reflect the early struggle for a ‘proper’ understanding of biblical texts, which is interesting for the healing stories of ‘female patients’ like the woman with ‘the issue of blood’. This paper argues that parallel to the spread of medical knowledge beyond medical circles, medical designations arise, some similar to, some strikingly different from, those current in medical discourses. The Vetus Latina ‘Afra’ and ‘European’ text tradition avoid all references to uncleanness for Mark 5:25–34 and Luke 8:40–48: In the Markan narrative, however, the manuscripts condense the medical nomenclature of illness in a medical correct manner, which is not seen consistently in Luke 8:40–48.

Keywords: Vetus Latina Mark and Luke, Vulgate, purity and impurity, Latin medical vocabulary, Roman medicine, Theodorus Priscianus, Cassius Felix, Caelius Aurelianus, Aulus Cornelius Celsus, North Africa

1 Introduction

In disability studies, biblical scholars have recently emphasised the significance of ancient Greek medicine for interpreting healing stories in the Gospels. In my 2003 dissertation, Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke, I argue that contrary to the Gospel of Mark there are numerous references to

1 I want to express my sincerest gratitude to Prof. Dr. Dr. Thomas Bauer, with whom I am working on a critical edition of the Beuron Vetus Latina Luke. I am also thankful to Georgia Petridou for inviting me to the conference on Lived Ancient Religion and Medicine, in which a version of this paper was first presented, and to other conference participants, especially to A. Pietrobelli, M. Horstmanshoff and R. Gordon, whose comments have been insightful.

2 Weissenrieder 2003.
‘rational’ medicine in Luke and that the author in his descriptions employs constructs of illness that were understandable within the culture of antiquity and that can only be viewed in this context. However, does this medical approach hold true when Greek manuscripts are translated into Latin? Natural physiological processes in the ancient world present particular challenges for translations from Greek into Latin, in part due to their self-evident and persistent ordinariness. Because they were, and still are, normal, contemporary readers required no special medical explanations or detailed descriptions. For the *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin Bible translation) Mark and Luke, this is especially true with regard to the illness construct most commonly referred to as the ‘issue of blood’, which plays an important role pertaining to the impurity of women in the Hebrew Bible. This matter is particularly noticeable in Leviticus 15 but it is also mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels in the healing narrative of the bloodletting woman in Luke 8:40–48 and Mark 5:23–34. In Leviticus 15 this ‘issue of blood’ has ‘bodily’, cultic and social implications. Leviticus 15 is part of the so-called Purity Code. Single norms governing cleanness and uncleanness are used here in a purely functional manner. Above all, they define a human being’s capacity for participating in ritual. The Purity Code is framed by two literary sections dealing with sacrifices and feast days (chapters 1–10 contain instructions for priests with regard to rituals while chapters 16–27 contain instruction for all of Israel). The text addresses various nuanced terms and concepts, among which the medical description with its account of abnormal discharges stands out. The text describes discharges in men that are caused by illness (vv. 2–3) and irregular issues of blood in women (vv. 25 ff.). The most salient *Vetus Latina* manuscript for Leviticus, 100 Lugdunensis, and the Vulgate use various terms for regular and irregular issues of blood: *mulier quaecumque fuerit*

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3 I deliberately chose this translation to denote the different terms αἷματι, ἡ ῥύσις, ῥέῃ ῥύσει αἵματος to avoid automatic equation with menstruation or hemorrhage.

4 For New Testament miracle stories, form-critical classifications like therapies, exorcisms, gift miracles etc., are still foundational; see the influential work by Theißen 1983. These classifications distinguish between miracles that are historically plausible and others that should be considered wonders. It is unsettling, however, that form-critical analysis does not include insights on ancient diseases.

5 Alternatively, the term ‘medical’ could also be used. More on this topic below.

6 With regard to body concepts in the Hebrew Bible see Erbele-Küster 2008; Erbele-Küster 2009; Häusl 2010; Kamionkowski and Kim 2010.

7 The question of whether menstruation was pure or impure has attracted much scholarly attention. See, for instance, Theißen 1983, 133–135; D’Angelo 1999, 83–109. For a more feminist evaluation, see Minor 1992; Kraemer 1998. Shaye J.D. Cohen argues that menstruation did not have cultic and social ramifications: Cohen 1991; Cohen 1992; *BiKi* 67.1 (2012); Kazen 2013, 119.
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fluens sanguine (100 Lug. v. 15, 19); mense patitur fluxum sanguinis (Vg. v. 19); tempore sanguinis menstrualis (Vg. v. 24); fluxerit fluxum sanguinis (100 Lug. v. 25); fluxum sanguinis (non in tempore menstruali) (Vg. v. 25); post menstruum sanguinem fluere (Vg. v. 25); depurgatione depurgata fuerint a fluxu (100 Lug. v. 28); steterit sanguis et fluere cessaverit (Vg. v. 28) and fluent sanguinem (100 Lug. v. 33); flu‧

The church fathers mainly use mulier sanguinaria, sanguinis menstrualis, menstruae mense or aemorrhousae. Accordingly, no terminological difference between regular and irregular ‘issues of blood’ can be inferred and the distinction between the two seems unclear. This point of view reflects the general understanding one finds in ancient medical texts concerning ‘issues of blood’. Whereas the Greek (LXX) translation reflects the term used for the ‘issue of blood’ in Mark 5 and Luke 8:42–43, when it comes to technici termini like ἥ ρέουσα αἷματι, ἡ ρύσις, ρέῃ ρύσει αἷματος, and ρύσεως, neither profluvio sanguinis nor profluvium sanguinis or in fluxu sanguinis can be found in the New Testament passages. However, ‘fluxum sanguinis’, which is used in v. 25 to signify irregular ‘issue of blood’, is close to the Lukan term in 8:44 and is even used in the European manuscript Codex Corbeiensis ff2 (8).

In contemporary exegesis of the Markan and Lucan text, the ‘issue of blood’ is mostly cited as a paradigm for uncleanness, and the illness is analysed as gender-specific and traced to a matter of cultic origin and significance. It is often argued that normal and ‘harmless’ bodily functions are identified as unclean – either arbitrarily or with misogynistic intent – and used as grounds for social exclusion or equation with the dead. There are scholars who think that, since when Jesus is touched by the woman with the issue of blood he does not become unclean, this act constitutes a critique against the woman’s marginalisation. Bovon speaks of a ‘critique of the Law’.8 We must ask whether the manuscripts of Vetus Latina Mark and Luke are following the interpretation of LeviticusVg. and whether they emphasise the cultic interpretation as the hermeneutical key or if they do so unequivocally. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is that the reference to immundus, which is most important for the description of a polluted body in Lev. 13–15, occurs in neither Mark 5:25–34 nor Luke 8:40–48. Therefore, we must ask whether the translation of ρύσις αἷματος (LXX, NA 28) into profluvium/profluvio sanguinis, in fluxu sanguinis (Vetus Latina Mark and Luke), μάστιξ into plaga (VL Mark) and ἀπτομαί into tangere can be interpreted as an indication of impurity, meaning that this body was mainly treated as a polluted body, or if it is more likely that this woman should be classified as a person with a ‘severe’ illness.

8 Bovon 2002, 338.
In this essay I wish to demonstrate the parallels and differences between the medical and the New Testament understanding of *profluvium/profluvio sanguinis, in flux sanguinis*. In particular, I will emphasise the question of where the differences between *Vetus Latina* Mark and Luke are with regard to this passage and ask whether the *Vetus Latina* in its translation is oriented towards an understanding of this bodily condition in the context of pollution. I will begin with an overview of the *Vetus Latina* and will identify issues raised in the most recent scholarship on the topic. The *Vetus Latina*, or Old Latin Bible, comprises a diverse collection of Latin biblical texts used by Christian churches from the second century onwards. Do these translations of biblical texts use a ‘Christian idiomatic language’ which is primarily addressed by a specific Christian group? Secondly, I will analyse the terms *profluvium/profluvio sanguinis, in flux sanguinis*, especially from a Roman medical perspective. This analysis will be deepened in the final section of the essay, in which I contend that reading the healing story of the woman with the issue of blood in the light of ancient medical discourses in antiquity provides new insights into the *Vetus Latina* Mark and Luke.

2 The origins of the *Vetus Latina* Mark and Luke

The first complex of questions is concerned with methodological issues: there are no reliable sources indicating when and where the translation of biblical writings from Greek into Latin began, nor who it was that assumed responsibility for the translation and how the work proceeded. Congregations in Rome are often thought to be responsible for these translations but this interpretation disregards the fact that these congregations retained Greek as their *lingua franca* until the third century. Clemens, Ignatius and Justin, for example, wrote in Greek. It is possible that the first reference to the Old Latin translation is found in a brief remark made by Tertullian (150–220 CE), where the *Libri et epistulae Pauli viri iusti* (A-SS Scilitani 12), the collected letters of Paul in Latin, are mentioned. As Christianity spread in the Roman Empire and Latin replaced Greek as the common language of the church, an array of Latin Bible translations emerged, usually unauthorised and frequently inaccurate.

9 Fischer 1987; Fischer 1989; see also Fisher 1982; Marti 1974; Powell 1995.
10 The basis for this interpretation is Weissenrieder 2003. In turn, the new insights from Roman medical texts shed new light on several Latin sources, as I have argued previously.
11 It is not clear whether these treatises by Tertullian can actually help us to access the Old Latin bible text; see Stummer 1928, 11–14.
Latin translations are first found in North Africa. The most important citations come from Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage († 258), whose writings offer the first sure indication of the existence of Latin translations. These quotations represent an attempt to create a resemblance to the Greek presentations through word by word translations which remain. Apparently, Cyprian’s translation of the Greek text did not contain significant changes. Like all writings in the Old Latin traditions, Cyprian’s text was not standardised and was therefore subject to numerous modifications. The vocabulary and translation techniques used by Cyprian differ from later text versions and can usually be identified. However, the chronological and geographic classification of these texts often remains difficult. And even if the geographical origin of a particular manuscript is known, the question of its content’s origin remains open.

Because there was no authoritative version of both the Greek and the Latin texts they underwent numerous changes. It is debatable whether Hebrew or, as has recently been proposed by Cassuto and Kedar-Kopfstein, Greek was the direct source for the translation of the Old Testament into Latin. It is also debatable whether the different manuscripts are to be seen as coming from one text type or from several types, as I will discuss below.

Whereas the Old Latin Bible encompasses all unauthorised versions of the translation of the Bible into Latin, the Vulgate presents a standardisation of different forms of the Old Latin promulgated under Pope Damasus († 384) and the theologian Jerome († 419). And whereas the Vulgate is the end result of several revisions, recensions, and editions, the Old Latin Bible preserves several versions and is older than the Vulgate and many Greek biblical manuscripts. These Old Latin manuscripts reflect the early struggle for a proper understanding of the biblical texts. The Old Latin Bible text is transmitted in two different ways: for the direct tradition of the Old Latin Bible text of the Hebrew Bible and New Testament there are 495 manuscripts designated in the actual Beuron list, alongside the 49 known manuscripts of the Gospels and a number of fragments. The indirect tradition of the Old Latin Bible text includes quotations and allusions to the Latin Bible authors which can be compared with texts from the church fathers. The indirect tradition is of particular interest when a correspondence between the Bible quotation of a church author and the text of the Old Latin Bible manuscript can be identified.

12 See esp. Schäfer 1957.
The investigations made in the nineteenth century by Hans von Soden and William Sanday\textsuperscript{16} show that by analysing word use and the method of translation it is possible to identify two groups of the Old Latin Bible texts, an ‘African’ or ‘Afra’ text type and a ‘European’ text type.\textsuperscript{17} By comparing the manuscripts and Bible quotations by the church fathers, one can determine the time and place of the translation.

In my opinion, the question of whether variations of a text of both African and European provenance, which are not attested in the church fathers, should be taken into consideration remains open. The two oldest Itala manuscripts, Codex Bobiensis ($k$) and Codex Palatinus ($e$), are clearly the basis of the ‘Afra’ tradition. These two manuscripts, however, possess a later layer of readings from the so-called European texts. The two layers are distinguished by the later use of specifically ‘Christian’ terms, such as *baptizare*, ‘to dip in water’, instead of *tingere*, ‘to dye, wet’, the use of *diaconus*, ‘deacon’, instead of *minister*, ‘assistant, helper’,\textsuperscript{18} or the use of *praeparatio* for the Saturday vigil ($\pi\rho\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron$ or $\pi\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\varepsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$) instead of *cenapura*.\textsuperscript{19} The African substrate cannot, however, be reconstructed mechanically. One way of disentangling the African from the European text involves comparing the Vulgate with the other European versions. The core group of manuscripts for the European text consists of manuscripts $b$ (4), $ff^2$ (8), and $I$ (17), all probably dating to around 350–380 CE. Later manuscripts, mostly from the sixth century CE and from several geographic regions, exhibit mixed texts from the ‘Afra’ and ‘European’ traditions. That the different manuscripts have different linguistic preferences can be shown by, among other things, their use of terms signifying illnesses. In Matthew, for example, one finds a preference for *languor* in the best African manuscripts, $k$ and $a$, *valetudo* in $h$, *aegrimonium* in Codex Veronensis $b$ (4), Codex Monacensis $q$ (13) and *aegritatio* in Codex Aureus $aur$ (15), Codex Colbertinus $c$ (6), Codex Corbeiensis $ff^2$ (8), Codex Rehdigeranus $l$ (11), and Vulgate as Burton has shown convincingly.\textsuperscript{20}

A second complex of questions concerns the assessment of the Latin. Even as early as in the nineteenth century, exegetes tried to show that the translations from the Greek into Latin may refer to the vulgar Latin.\textsuperscript{21}

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\textsuperscript{16} Von Soden 1909; William 1885, 234–239.
\textsuperscript{17} The terms ‘Afra’ and ‘European’ text are misleading but are still standard in the literature on the Old Latin Bible. A new denomination has not yet been found.
\textsuperscript{18} See for further details the excellent books by Ph. Burton (2000) and H. A. G. Houghton (2016).
\textsuperscript{19} Bogaert 1968, 22.
\textsuperscript{20} See, for further examples, Burton 2000.
\textsuperscript{21} Thielmann 1893a; Thielmann 1893b; Lundström 1943; Lundström 1948; Lundström 1985.
\end{flushright}
to the studies by Johannes Schrijnen and Christine Mohrmann, Christian congregations developed their own ‘langue commune’ from the very beginning. The thesis of community life forming the basis of a Christian idiomatic language has received particularly sharp criticism. Recent studies from Coleman and Langslow, to name but two, have made clear that the starting point of scholarship should be an understanding of the Latin bible text defined as ‘bible Latin’ or ‘later Latin’ or ‘late Latin’. However, one question remains open: when exactly can we use the phrase ‘bible Latin’? For instance, in Luke 13:32 ἡ ἴασις is translated with sanitates in plural, which is a hapax legomenon in classical Latin. From the perspective of Latin philology, the choice of this term is even more questionable if we take into consideration that nouns with the ending -itas are more indicative of a state than of action. It is in cases such as this that we may comfortably speak of ‘bible Latin’.

As Philip Burton recently wrote, profluvium ‘is a very precise choice of rendering; this word (rare outside the Elder Pliny) is used only in medical contexts.’ The fact that the Gospels of Mark and Luke are very different in nature with regard to the Latin reading ‘issue of blood’ is indeed interesting. In Mark the reading profluvio (sg. neutr. dat. or abl.) is transmitted by almost all manuscripts of African tradition, such as the Codex Bobbiensis k (1), which corresponds often with the readings of Cyprian and Codex Colbertinus c (6), one of the best examples of the African text. In addition, the reading profluvio can be found in codices that are regarded as ‘the nucleus’ of European tradition, like Codex Veronensis b (4), Codex Corbeiensis ff (8) and Codex Vindobonensis i (17) and by ‘mixed texts’ like Codex Aureus aur. (15) (see the Index). Two manuscripts provide a different reading: one is the Codex Palatinus e (2), which also exhibits many characteristics of the African tradition and gives in fluxu sanguinis, and Codex Vercellensis a (3), a presumably European text with strong African tones and one of the oldest texts with many interesting readings, which has profluvium sanguinis. From the perspective of Mark, it seems clear that the majority of the manuscripts of the Old Latin Bible translate ρύσις αἵματος into profluvio and one would expect that the same manuscripts would translate the same term in a simi-

22 Schrijnen 1932; Mohrmann 1958.
27 This Codex was also an African text which was changed in Italy and shows an ‘Italian’ choice of text.
lar way in the Gospel of Luke. However, the situation here is different.\textsuperscript{28} We can begin by noting that the part about the woman with the issue of blood is missing in the best Lucan manuscript preserved by an ‘Afra’ text, Codex Palatinus e (2).\textsuperscript{29} The majority of the documented texts refer to \textit{in fluxu sanguinis}, as for example the Codex Colbertinus c (6), which is the ‘best representative of the African text,’\textsuperscript{30} and which is especially strong in Luke 7–24; in Luke most closely related to the Codex Palatinus e (2); the Codex Monacensis q (13), a European text which shows many correspondences with African texts and with Arian writers; Codex Veronensis b (4) from the Core Group of European texts; or Codex Auras \textit{aur.} (15), which is very close to the Vulgate, which also documents \textit{in fluxu sanguinis}.\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Profluvio sanguinis} is documented also in manuscripts such as the above-mentioned Codex Vercellensis a (3), which exhibits early ‘Afra’ elements;\textsuperscript{32} Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis d (5), a highly curious Latin translation which is recognised as a European text with strong African elements; Codex Usserianus r\textsuperscript{1} (14), which is the best preserved manuscript of the Gallo-Irish group; and Codex Corbeiensis ff\textsuperscript{2} (8), an example of a European text that also shows some relation to the texts written by Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrose and Ambrosiaster.\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Influvio sanguinis} is documented by Codex Gatium \textit{gat} (30), which is classified as a Vulgate manuscript. Both versions show strong affinity with the African text version and also document European text versions which are either mixed with the Afra text or Vulgate text tradition. The well-established variant \textit{profluvio} may be evaluated as a harmonisation with the Mar- kan text. However, this still leaves open the question of whether the translation of \textit{ῥύσις αἵματος} into \textit{profluvio}, \textit{profluvium} or \textit{in fluxu} reflects ritual impurity or whether the terms reflect a ‘precise choice of rendering’ from the perspective of ancient medicine, as Burton has argued.

\textsuperscript{28} Indirect references to \textit{profluvio} can be found in an Ver. h. 7,1; Ps.au s. Cai. 1,7,15; Bed. Mc. cap. 14 (434); Fu. Thr. 2,15,1; Pet. C 33,4; 34 tit; Sul. dia 3,9m3.

\textsuperscript{29} The best preserved African Codex, Bobbiensis k (1), is still missing for Luke.

\textsuperscript{30} Burton 2000, 17.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{In fluxu sanguinis} can be found in indirect references like Ath. Ant. 58; au Ev. 2,50, however has ‘\textit{post fluxum}’; and 245,3 where we find \textit{quae fluxu sanguinis}; CU-D 26: \textit{fluxus sanguinis}; Qu. pro 1,49: \textit{ex fluxu sanguinis} and \textit{a fluxu sanguinis}.

\textsuperscript{32} I am thankful to Gregory Heyworth for sharing with me his latest work on the Codex Vercellensis.

\textsuperscript{33} The indirect reference to Ambrose is interesting: in his interpretation to Psalm 48.2.1 (362.20), Ambrose mentions \textit{illa in evangelio meruit sanitatem, quae profluvio per duodecim annos sanguinis curator}, however, in ep. 3.9 (23.89), he refers to Luke and Matthew writing: \textit{hic pest ignis, qui siccavit aemorrouasae per XII annos sanguinis profluentem}. 
3 The illness construct ‘issue of blood’ and Roman medicine

We have seen that the terms in Leviticus\textsuperscript{Vg.} alternate and that there existed a variety of terms which describe different kinds of bleedings, regular as well as irregular. We come across a similar phenomenon when we turn our attention to a number of instances in Roman medicine.

First, in Theodorus Priscianus, as well as in Aulus Cornelius Celsus and Cassius Felix, the terms alternate between Greek and Latin within one text, using Latin paraphrases for a single Greek term without acknowledging the Greek origin. One can also speak of ‘silent alternation’.\textsuperscript{34} In Theodorus the terms \textit{sanguinis emissio (effusio)} and \textit{fluor sanguinis}, ‘bleeding or haemorrhage’, alternate with \textit{haemorrhagia}, as do the terms \textit{profusio and profluvium sanguinis} in Celsus.\textsuperscript{35} For Theodorus the Greek medical language was the main language of every medical discourse (Theod. Prisc. 1.6–7) and he promotes this perspective in his treatises. The case is different for Cassius, who is a native Latin speaker. Recent scholarship has shown Cassius Felix intermingling parallel terminologies and his Greek terms, therefore, always have a Latin equivalent.\textsuperscript{36} Unlike Theodorus Priscianus and Cassius Felix, who were medical professionals, Celsus, the author of a medical encyclopedia, was not but he may have had some medical experience and at least acknowledged his Greek sources. Caelius Aurelianus, who translated some of the writings of Soranus, also promoted a medical discourse in the Latin-speaking world.\textsuperscript{37}

Secondly, instead of using the medical term \textit{haemorrhagia} the above mentioned authors use different medical termini consisting of noun phrases (noun and a subjective genitive or ablative). These periphrases do not refer to a physical state but rather name a disease and relate to pathology. Theodorus uses the terms \textit{emissio or effusio sanguinis, fluor sanguinis} and \textit{fluxus sanguinis}; Cassius speaks of \textit{profluvium sanguinis} (193.9; 194.3), \textit{fluor sanguinis} (59.9), and \textit{fluxus sanguinis} (59.8); Celsus refers to \textit{profluvium sanguinis} and \textit{proflusio sanguinis}; and Pliny gives \textit{sanguinis fluctiones} (35.189), \textit{sanguinis profluvium} (31.129), and \textit{profluvia sanguinis} (24.119). The phrasal head (\textit{effusio, fluor, proflusio, profluvia and profluvium}) always derives from a verbal base which is mostly intransitive and passive.\textsuperscript{38} This first overview

\textsuperscript{34} This phrase was first used by Marx 1915, XCVI.
\textsuperscript{35} See Theodorus Priscianus (Gelen ed.) 1990; Meyer 1909; Theod. Prisc. 165.1; 165.2, 10; 166.1; 168.11; 171.3.
\textsuperscript{36} Löfstedt 1959, 99–111 and 119, Sabbah 1985, esp. 292–293.
\textsuperscript{37} Caelius Aurelianus (Bendz and Pape eds.) 1990.
\textsuperscript{38} Langslaw 1992, 233.
is surprising as it refers to *fluxus sanguinis* as one possible phrase used in medical literature in North Africa and Rome alongside *profluvium* and other variant phrases. These terms have several connotations. Some of the terms are preferred by some authors and never used by others. Questions arise as to what the terminology means and who uses it.

Out of the abundance of different authors, sources and terms I extract only a very few examples of bloodletting in ancient medicine:

*Outflow of blood from a hidden place of the body:* In Chapter 9 (‘De Sanguinis Fluore’) of *Tardarum passionum II*, Caelius Aurelianus defines an ‘issue of blood’ as an ‘outflow of blood from a hidden part’ of the body (2.9.117). Aurelianus distinguishes between correct and incorrect usage of the term ‘issue of blood’ in the medical texts of his time. A correct use would describe a flow from close to the surface of the body. In contrast, he identifies an incorrect application of the term as one referring to an ‘ascending’ (2.9.119) flow from the lung or stomach (2.9.119). According to Caelius Aurelianus, this flux is defined as ‘*materialis influxio in corpus*’ and is distinguished in Caelius in three ways: ‘*ad nares, ad fauces, ad thoracem*’. Caelius Aurelianus mainly uses two terms to explain this chronic flux of blood: *sanguinis fluoris* and *influxio*. In the translation of *Gynaeciorum Sorani*, in particular, he uses *fluxu sanguinis* in his translation with regard to the *infans pericletur*. However, Caelius Aurelianus never uses the phrase *in fluxu sanguinis*, which is important for the Old Latin Bible manuscripts and Luke.

*Epistaxis – nosebleeding.* In his first book Theodorus Priscianus develops the topic *de fluxu sanguinis*, on nosebleeding, where he uses *fluxu sanguinis* alternating with *sanguinis fluentis*.

*Blood issue in relation to regular or irregular female issues of blood (profluvium and de fluxu sanguine/de aemorrhagia).* The term *profluvium sanguinis* is used at various points by Pliny to refer to the regular female menses. ‘Issue of blood’ of a different sort is the next subject of the seventh book of Pliny’s *Natural History*. The term ‘issue of blood’ is used variably and only more specifically defined through descriptions. Whereas in 7.61 the term *profluvium genitale* occurs, in 7.63 he uses *menstruale mulier* and *menses*, and in 64 *mulierum profluvio magis monstrificium*, whilst in 21.169 *profluvia mulierum*, in 28.255 *profluvium quamvis inmensum* and in 28.251 he speaks of *profluvia sanguinis*. Different fluxes (*item ex abortu profluvia*) after miscarriage are arrested by drinking a juice which consists of mother’s milk or of the bark of a tree (*datur sanguinem reicientibus cortex tritus et contra profluvia...*)

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41 See also Marc. Med. 10.35: *profluvio muliebri*. 
feminarum)\(^42\). For excessive fluxes, Pliny uses *adposita profluvia feminarum* (27.103) or *feminarum profluvium* (34.122). Theodorus Priscianus refers to the female issue of blood with two superscriptions: *de fluxu sanguinis* and *de aemorragia* (using the Greek term next to a Latin translation), when he discusses severe issues of blood.\(^43\) Pliny groups nosebleeds and menstruation together. ‘Haemorrhage *sanguinis profluvia sistit* is checked by the red seed of the plant *paenia* – the root also is styptic – but by clymenus when blood is discharged from the mouth or nostrils *sive ore sanguis reiciatur sive narisibus,* or when it flows from the bowels or the uterus *sive alvo fluat sive feminarum utero […]*.\(^44\) This is supported by the ancient idea of the equilibrium of bodily fluids, which, in line with the ancient understanding, can also be maintained by blood flowing out of different parts of the body.

**Wounds in the internal organs:** Celsus, in particular, mentions severe inflammation of the inner organs, which he identifies by a set of symptoms, especially fever (2.7.2.4). And in 5.26.21 he explains: ‘After these matters have been investigated, when a man has been wounded who can be saved, there are in the first place two things to be kept in mind: that he should not die from the flow of blood or inflammation *ne sanguinis profusion neve inflammatio interemat.* If we are afraid of a flow of blood which can be judged both from the position and size of the wound and from the force of flowing blood *ruentis sanguinis* […]’.\(^45\)

To summarise at this point: In considering serious ‘issues of blood’, *Vetus Latina* Mark and Luke, as well as medical treatises, make use of different terms, such as *profluvium* or *profluvio sanguinis* or *de/in fluxu sanguinis*. The term *fluxus* is variable and only more specifically defined through descriptions. Thus, the term seems to be a paradox in itself, since an internal ‘issue’ often becomes evident through the fact that it ‘freezes’ or appears very suddenly. The location of the ‘issue of blood’ is not very specific. According to Aurelianus, blood can flow from a wide variety of places in the body (2.11.127). For example, he mentions the top of the throat (2.11.128), the trachea (2.11.129), the lungs (2.11.130), the liver, the spleen, and the large vein connected to the spine (2.11.132). Whereas Caelius Aurelianus does not use *profluvio/profluvium sanguinis* and uses instead *sanguinis fluore*, Celsus and Pliny use *profluvio* or *profluvium sanguinis* for internal wounds. Soranus, Pliny and Theodorus Priscianus also mention the regular ‘issue of blood’ in women. Pliny writes: ‘The seed taken with boiled sap must relieve

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\(^{43}\) See Theod. Prisc. 3.7.


\(^{45}\) LCL 304, 80–81 (transl. Spencer).
suffocation of the uterus, and an application checks bleeding at the nose’ (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 22.32, see also 32.124).

The term can be applied to pain that occurs with an internal fluxus, or to different issues such as menstruation, white or red fluxus, or seeping wounds. Yet another point becomes clear in this brief overview: an issue is associated with various symptoms, which makes the already loose concept of internal issue open to interpretation. The gravity of the irregular issue of blood depends on the symptoms accompanying the illness, for example, shortness of breath, irregular pulse, invariability in sensory perception, or numbness in the body.46

4 The illness construct ‘issue of blood’ in Mark 5 and Luke 8

That ‘issue of blood’ (*profluvium/profluvio sanguinis, in fluxu sanguinis*) appears in the medical texts of antiquity is indisputable, even though in contemporary New Testament exegesis on the Markan and Lucan pericopes there is rarely a reference to these texts. The relevant question for the exegesis of Mark 5 and Luke 8 is whether the translators still used Leviticus as a reference point – which could then be seen as a vote in favour of the text’s orientation to the Israelite discussion of ritual purity and impurity – or whether the author is rather referring back to ancient medical texts.

Use of the terms ‘issue of blood’ (Mark 5:25; Luke 8:43–44; cf. Lev. 15:19. 25) and ‘touch’ *tangere* (Mark 5:27–28; Luke 8:44, cf. Lev 15:7. 19. 27) speaks for accepting the text as part of an Israelite discussion on ritual cleanness and uncleanness. Leviticus 15 could then function as a point of reference for Luke 8:43–48 and Mark 5:25–34. However, this conclusion is contradicted by the fact that the terminology of purity characteristic of Leviticus 15 and of the entire Purity Code, *immundus* and *polluere* (Lev. 15:20–27), is not used here. Neither the expiatory sacrifice nor the rules of restrictions are recurrent themes. Whatever relevance Leviticus 15 may have had, therefore, for the woman with an issue of blood in Luke 8 and Mark 5, the gospels’ complete disregard of its semantic frame indicates that purity and impurity are not determinative socio-cultural categories in the historical interpretation of this passage.47

Nevertheless, it seems questionable to dispute an analysis of the text against the background of the Purity Code when one considers the use of

46 Föllinger 1996.

'touching' (ἅπτομαι; tangere; Luke 8:44). The Vulgate reference to the issue of blood, connected with the reference to touching, recalls the semantic frame of reference of cleanness and uncleanness. Bovon concludes: 'Her condition is all the more dramatic because her discharge of blood renders her ritually unclean and thus socially isolated. Contact with her is forbidden by law. Thus the word ἅπτομαι (“to touch”) is the key here.'

In Luke 8:44 and Mark 5:27, however, touching does not appear in the context of restrictions, nor is there any mention of a priest who points out the woman’s cleanness, as we find in Luke 17:14, which refers to the ten lepers who are asked to show themselves to the priests after being healed. Rather, a semantic opposition is created between divine reality and human reality. Within human reality, an ‘issue of blood’ is described as a chronic disease, which has economic ramifications: the sick woman is impoverished. As described by the few witnesses in Luke, the consulting physicians were unable to heal her. The divine reality is represented by Jesus’ power (Luke 8:46), which was released with the touching of his garment – tetigit vestimentum eius. The divine power (Quis est, qui me tetigit?… Tetigit me aliquis, nam et ego cognovi virtutem de me exisse, v. 46), which brings healing through touch (Luke 5:13) or by word (Luke 5:17, 24), is plausible within the context of Luke’s Gospel. Δύναμις – in the Latin translation virtus – is especially well-known in ancient medical texts as a quality of medicine and has a meaning similar to qualitas. This is different when we take into consideration another possible translation for δύναμις, vires, which is more a bodily power or physical strength. The results suggest that Jesus’ virtus, which healed the sick woman, does not refer to his physical power but functions here much more like a medicine. That this is a case of divine reality is also made believable through the reaction of the surrounding witnesses: they are ‘amazed’ (Mark 5:26). Thus the text does not lead us to consider the influence of the Purity Code on the bloodletting woman or on Jesus being touched by her. This is not the woman’s concern, nor is it the concern of Jesus, or evidently of the crowd around them. What does shed light on these texts, however, are the medical texts we have been examining.

First, it is striking that, in contrast to Mark’s version, Luke does not include two crucial points that would permit an interpretation in the con-

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48 Bovon 2002, 337.
49 Sor. 17.13; 73.22; Anon. Par. 24 v.3; Cael. Aur. Cel. 4.134; 3.17: quoties viderimus constricti-vam virtutem; 3.9 est enim efficacioris virtutis; 3.33: castoreum vero acerrimae esse virtutis nemo negat; 3.42: emeticom vomificae virtutis.
50 See Sor. 96.29; Cael. Aur. Acut. 1.86: permittibus viribus; Cel. 1.22: iuxta virium possibi-tatem.
51 Vietmeier 1937, 53–54.
The text of the Purity Code. According to Mark 5:29, the bloodletting woman felt that she was healed of her ‘plague’ (\textit{mastix, plaga} and in \textit{k flagellum}), an expression repeated in 5:34. The author of Mark also reports in 3:10 that many sick people, \textit{quicumque habebant plagas}, wished to be healed by Jesus. The term \textit{μάστιξ / plaga} is used often in Greek and Latin literature but in the sense of plague only by Hellenistic Jewish authors.\textsuperscript{52} If one considers the usage of \textit{μάστιξ / plaga} in the LXX and in the Vulgate, Psalm 37(38):18 stands out in particular. In verses 4, 6 and 8 various symptoms are listed that are also named in the context of leprosy: no ‘soundness in my flesh’, the ‘wounds stink’ and ‘are corrupt’. In verse 12, the social consequences of the illness are reported: the people nearest to the speaker stand aloof because of the ‘wounds which are corrupt’, that is, they stand at a distance. This meaning is also confirmed by Celsus and other Roman medical authors who use \textit{plaga} for ‘wound of a surgical incision’, ‘deep wounds’ or ‘an incision’. Accordingly, the term ‘\textit{plaga}’ may be interpreted as terminology that refers to a visible illness. On the other hand, the term \textit{μάστιξ} is only used once in Luke, in 7:21 where plagues are listed along with a general description of illnesses and the healing of evil spirits. However, the term used is \textit{verber} (and in \textit{e flagellum}) and not \textit{plaga}. Accordingly, the term ‘plague’ may be interpreted as terminology that differs from that of other concepts of diseases, at least those associated with uncleanness in the Purity Code. In Leviticus 15, the term is not applied to an irregular ‘issue of blood’. This explanation of the meaning occurs for the first time in 4Q274.

It is, therefore, at least possible that the omission of the term ‘plague’ in Luke could stem from the fact that its use would point to the disease construct for an ‘issue of blood’ that characterised the Purity Code and, with it, Leviticus 15. Thus, far from invoking Leviticus 15 as the backdrop for understanding this pericope, our author wishes to avoid this association.

This interpretation is further supported by a second conspicuous omission: Luke does not mention the source of the issue of blood, which Mark in NA 28 described as \textit{πηγὴ τοῦ αἵματος}, the source of blood. This same phrase is also used in the LXX translation of Lev 20:18, which speaks generally of menstruation. Gerburgis Feld, in a discussion on Leviticus, suggests that the ‘Hebrew formulation \textit{māqôr dāmēhā} (in Lev 12:7 and 20:18), frequently rendered as “flow of blood,” should be translated as “source or fountain of blood”’.\textsuperscript{53} It is the equivalent of ‘uterus’ in Hebraic texts that also deal with medical problems.\textsuperscript{54} However, \textit{fons}, the Latin term used in Mark is not used

\textsuperscript{52} See similar Burton 2000, 126.
\textsuperscript{53} Feld 2012, 62.
\textsuperscript{54} See Preuss 1911, 1992.
in Leviticus. Therefore, it seems clear that the Markan *Vetus Latina* translation does not refer to Lev 12:7, whereas the Greek Na 28 text does refer to the Septuagint translation. If the author of Luke makes an effort to avoid this term, which is indigenous to the Purity Code, and the Latin translators of Mark use a different term, then this in turn represents a conscious decision in terms of understanding the illness. Could it be that they intend instead to follow the ancient medical understanding of the illness? The etiology behind the issue of blood does not appear to be important to the author of Luke; he would, otherwise, have left the gender-specific references in the text or even emphasised them. As it is, it is simply clear that blood is flowing. In this way, the author of Luke reduces his statement to the case history of an issue of blood and, thereby, to an ancient construct of the body and illness that centres on the equilibrium of fluids.

By neglecting to use the terms that Mark employs – ‘plague’ and ‘fountain of her blood’ – as well as those indicating cleanness and uncleanness, the author of Luke does away with the fundamental references to the Purity Code of Lev. 12–15 and concentrates solely on the issue of blood as an indicator of illness and the social consequences that accompany it.

Now that we have clarified that the author of Luke has made the signs of disease the focal point, the second essential question becomes that of the severity of the illness. Unfortunately, the majority of ancient medical texts do not offer precise answers to this question. In the introduction to his ninth chapter dealing with ‘issues of blood’, Caelius Aurelianus describes the following: ‘An outflow of blood from a hidden part [of the body] can often lead to an improvement in health, but can just as often be highly dangerous. In some cases, it can lead to immediate death, if the body becomes weakened by an excessive issue [of blood]. In other cases, death comes in the final phase [of the illness], when consumption develops or when an internal wound fails to heal’ (Acut. 2.9.117). This statement is supported by similar terminology from other physicians of antiquity. A variety of terms are employed interchangeably to describe regular and irregular issues of blood. For example, Soranus describes regular and irregular issues of blood with ‘female flow’ (Gyn. 2.41, 43), and Pliny treats the following terms as equivalent: *profluvium* (Nat. Hist. 26.160) and more frequently *sanguinis profluvia* (26.131, 133); *fluctiones mulierem* 21.123; and *profluvia feminarum* (27.103; 29.9). These expressions simply describe the facts without evaluating them. Therefore the terms used in the different manuscripts describe the flow of blood alone and do not indicate an illness. The severity of the disease is not linked to the term ‘issue of blood’; rather it is determined by a series of other criteria, for example, the heaviness of the blood flow or the duration. The dura-
tion of the illness is reported in Luke 8:43–48, as well as in Mark, to be twelve years. In addition the texts mention the physician the woman has consulted and the hopelessness of a cure. According to the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, an exact record of the length of an illness was of great relevance to the case history. For instance, the duration of illnesses is mentioned often in the seven books of *On Epidemics*, in which the duration of an illness is an essential part of the chronicles of illness. In such references, the number of weeks, months or, very occasionally, years are seen as signs of the intensification of the illness and the imminence of death. If a physician diagnoses a patient as being near death, the therapy is often discontinued. In light of this understanding, an illness lasting twelve years (Luke 8:43) would signal incurability. The mention of physicians (*medici*) can then be seen as part of this line of thinking. However, the choice of the term *medicus* is interesting. Celsus and Cassius Felix use this term in the sense of ‘the one treating the patient on the spot’ and mostly in reference to a famous Greek doctor who is not so much a practitioner as a professional who writes books (Cel. 4.7.5), writes prescriptions (Cel. 3.3.2) and names an illness (Cel. 3.3.2). This is different from a *curans*, who is a physician in a household. Of the *curantes* Celsus says that they make mistakes in the treatment of their patients (4.13.3).

It is an oversimplification of this point to infer the woman’s exclusion from society on the basis of illness. After all, it is significant that the woman with the issue of blood steps forth out of the crowd and attains healing within the obscurity of the multitude (v. 47). One should consider the connotation of the crowd in Luke’s Gospel: it distinguishes itself in that it can be interpreted as a ‘summoned gathering of Jesus’ close relatives’ If the woman with the issue of blood lingers within the group then this could indicate her affiliation with the crowd of believers. An analogy to Jairus’s daughter – the healing of whom forms the framing story here – and her membership in a family could then be constructed. But we are told that the woman has wasted a big part of her wealth on these physicians who have failed her.

This transformation is made particularly clear through the verbs of movement: whereas the people are depicted as waiting (v. 40), verbs of movement are repeatedly applied to the woman (v. 44, v. 47, v. 48). The verbs are accompanied by details that express a paradox, that the woman approached from ‘behind him’ and ‘hid’. One could speak of a ‘paradoxical integration’. The central point is not exclusion from the community but the lack of functionality imposed on the woman due to her long-term illness and the absence of

55 See 162.10; 181.11.
hope for a cure. The bleeding woman’s lack of function stands out in contrast to Jairus, who, as a ruler of a synagogue and homeowner (v. 41), represents various aspects of belonging to the community. Second, the transformation is also indicated through the verbs of speech repeatedly applied to Jesus. Before the healing, the verbs of speech function as a sign of the obscuring of the incident’s visibility for Jesus; afterward, the verbs function as the expression of positive change. It is not Jesus and the disciples that are named, but the people as the forum for the proclamation of the woman’s healing (v. 47). This is striking when one takes into account the audience in Mark 5:33 for the speech announcing the healing, namely Jesus. The triumph over the presence of death in Luke occurs, in the end, through the integration of the bleeding woman into the community, when Jesus calls her ‘daughter’ (v. 48). Not only is her relationship to Jesus implied but, amid the crowd, the healed woman is given a function as the daughter of Jesus, which amounts to a repeal of her ‘paradoxical integration’.

5 Conclusion

In my dissertation *Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke*, I showed that the author of Luke’s Gospel in the healing story of the woman with the ‘issue of blood’ (Luke 8) subordinates the issue of contamination through illness and therefore does not refer to Lev 15, which was the main reference in Mark 5, in favour of a representation of illness that was plausible in the context of ancient medicine. I expected to see a similar tendency for Luke in the story’s reception in ancient Latin manuscripts. However, it was just the opposite. While the ancient Latin tradition not only avoids all references to uncleanness in Mark 5 but also condenses the medical nomenclature of the illness in a medically correct manner, this aspect is not seen consistently in the Lukan narrative as found in the ancient Latin manuscripts. This is surprising as the terms used in the Greek New Testament clearly reference the medical terms.

The Latin manuscripts, both in Mark and Luke, avoid references to the Purity Code of Lev 15 and the associated focus on the indicators of illness, instead emphasising the hopelessness of the situation. In other words, the interest is in the degree of illness and not – as is often assumed – in uncleanness. Christologically, the Lukan and Markan Jesus in the *Vetus Latina* removes the ‘plague of illness’ rather than the plague of uncleanness.
6 Appendix

Mark 5:25 Vetus Latina

(1) k C. Bobiensis et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII
(2) e C. Palatinus et mulier quae erat in fluxu sanguinis annos XII
(3) a C. Vercellensis et mulier quaedam habens profluvium sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(4) b C. Veronensis et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII
(5) d C. Bezae et mulier quendam erat in profluvio sanguinis annis XII
(6) c C. Colbertinus et ecce mulier qu(a)e fuerat in p(ro)fluvio sang(u)inis p(er) annos XII
(8) ff2 C. Corbiensis et ecce mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis annis duodecim
(10) f C. Brixianus et mulier quaedam quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(13) q C. Monacensis et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(14) r1 C. Usserianus et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII
(15) aur C. Aureus et mulier qu(a)e erat in profluvio sanguinis annis XII
(17) i C. Vindobonesis et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis annis XII

Luke 8:42 Vetus Latina

Codex Palatinus e (2) is missing for this passage; Codex Bobiensis (k) is missing for the Gospel of Luke.

(3) a C. Vercellensis et mulier, quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(4) b C. Veronensis et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis annis XII
(5) d C. Bezae et mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII
(6) c C. Colbertinus et ecce mulier qu(a)e fuerat in p(ro)fluvio sang(u)inis p(er) annos XII
(8) ff2 C. Corbeiensis et mulier quedam erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(10) f C. Brixianus et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(11) l C. Rehdigeranus et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(13) q C. Monacentis et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim
(14) r C. Usserianus et mulier quaedam erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII
(15) aur C. Aureus et mulier qu(a)e erat in profluvio sanguinis ab annis XII

7 Bibliography


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