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The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions

Text, Translation and Commentary

by

Lynn R. LiDonnici

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Several tales in this collection describe pregnancies of astoundingly long duration, that can only be brought to birth by the god's intervention. While in no sense divine (!), this volume certainly represents a very long gestation and a 'birth' that would not have been possible without the assistance of a great many κουροτρόφοι throughout the years. First and always I thank Professor Robert A. Kraft of the University of Pennsylvania, whose keen eye noticed many textual anomalies that eventually provided the key to the compositional background of the collection, and whose humor and kindness sustained me through many slumps and uncertainties. My gratitude to Bob, Guy Welbon, E. Ann Matter, and the graduate program of the Department of Religion at the University of Pennsylvania is great. I also thank Benjamin G. Wright III, colleague and friend, for every kind of assistance that one scholar can give another; my debt to him compounds daily. The revisions to the original dissertation were begun during my post-doctoral year in the Department of Religion at Syracuse University. I thank my colleagues there for that opportunity, and especially, Prof. Patricia Cox Miller for inspiration and support. I am also very grateful for the assistance and encouragement of other friends and colleagues, especially Michelle I. Marcus. Finally, I thank Prof. Ronald Hock, editor of the Greco-Roman *Texts and Translations* series, for his sharp eye, patience, and encouragement.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE	*Ἐφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογική*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BE	*Bulletin Épigraphique*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IG IV^1	Fränkel, W., ed. *Inscriptiones Epidauri*. Berlin: Reimer, 1902.
IG IV^2 I	Hiller von Gaertringen, F., ed. *Inscriptiones Epidauri*. 2nd ed., editio minor, v. 4, fasc. 1. (1929)
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
HSCL	*Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed., Oxford University Press, 1968
PECS	R. Stillwell, W.L. MacDonald, M.H. McAllister, eds., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton University Press, 1976
OCD	N.G.L. Hammond, H.H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 1970.
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SGDI	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, eds., *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.* Göttingen, 1899.
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Society*

INTRODUCTION

The Epidaurian inscriptions of cures preserve traces of at least seventy tales,[1] recounting a great variety of problems and solutions, desires and gratifications:

> *Aristagora of Troezen. Since she had a worm in her belly, she slept in the temenos of Asklepios in Troezen and she saw a dream. It seemed to her that the sons of the god, while he was not there but was in Epidauros, cut off her head, but they couldn't put it back again so they sent someone to the Asklepieion, so that he would return. Meanwhile the day overtakes them and the priest clearly sees the head removed from the body. When the night finally came again, Aristagora saw a vision. It seemed to her that the god had returned from Epidauros and put the head on her neck, and after that cut open her belly, took out the worm and sewed it together again, and from this she became well.*[2]

Aristagora's vision was personal, concerned with the invasion, fragmentation and wholeness of one body. The inscription, however, moves out of the realm of the personal and becomes a public document, commemorating the vision, but also instructing later suppliants (and scholars), and communicating a complex sequence of ideas that link the health and wholeness of the body with the two parallel dimensions of the divine realm, and the realm of political and social "health." Her inscription becomes part of the fourth-century promotional campaign of the polis and sanctuary of the Epidaurians, a campaign that clearly combined the concepts of bodily health, divine favor, and political wholeness and strength.

The Epidaurian inscriptions recount personal afflictions, but ones that reflect and support public ideology. For example, while an extremely large proportion of tales reflects the desire for offspring, surely a personal matter, there are no examples in the corpus of persons asking the god for help in attaining a particular lover, or

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[1]Two of the stelai are reasonably complete and contain 20 and 23 tales respectively; fragments of a further two bring the total up to approximately 70 tales. Pausanias mentions six stelai in the second century CE, and says that in earlier times there were more; *Guide to Greece* 2.27.3.

[2]Tale B3.

other what one might call "counter-cultural" desires.[3] The god solves an inheritance problem by helping a widow to locate her husband's lost wealth,[4] but rejects the petition of a man who attempts to coerce him by a bribe.[5] Many of the afflictions in the Iamata may possibly be subject to spontaneous remission, and this has led some commentators to view both cure and illness as psychological in origin.[6] However, many examples do not concern physical illness and cannot be explained in this way.[7] Many other tales deal with illnesses where mental remission is unlikely to have had effect, such as bladder or kidney stone.[8] These tales cannot be either endorsed or explained away by psychology. However, they remain as examples of what suppliants and other visitors would (or in some cases would *not*) accept as true; both what they wanted and needed to hear.

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This study began as an attempt to focus upon personal, private religion in Classical Greece, religion unconnected (for the most part) with the community or state. The worship of Asklepios at Epidauros, rich in texts and centered on the very personal issues of health and the relief of pain, seemed a very good source of material. In particular, the inscribed tales of healing stories seemed to cover a wide demographic or geographic area, and to cross genders and possibly economic groups.

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[3]For the idea that desire can be dangerous to society, see e.g., John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1990), especially 1-100. It would be, of course, most natural to find such supplications in connection with Aphrodite, etc. Inscriptions and archaeological investigation have, however, revealed that people could approach almost any deity with needs of this kind. The absence of such tales from the Iamata corpus is an important reflection of the public and pro-cultural editorial slant of the compilers. On the other hand, that the wells and the outside margins of the temenos walls have not turned up private religious articles of this kind ("defixiones" et al. - although this picture may change if and when whatever cemetery served the sanctuary is found) may indicate that individuals with what they themselves perceived as counter-cultural needs felt that they would have better success bringing these needs elsewhere. For personal counter-cultural prayers in antiquity, see (most recently) John G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford, 1992).

[4]Tale C 3.

[5]Tale A 7.

[6]For example, L. and E. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945), 2.139-80.

[7]Tale B 4 concerns the finding of a boy in an undersea cave; other examples: treasure, C 3; broken crockery: A 10, etc.

[8]Tale A 14; see also Tale A 9, where Asklepios not only cures blindness but actually fabricates a missing eyeball.

These intentions were eventually undermined by two features of the corpus itself. First and foremost, the sources presented numerous textual and compositional problems which needed to be carefully evaluated before they could bear interpretative weight. This evaluation, though a preliminary step toward my original intention, became the basis of my dissertation.[9]

The second unexpected development concerns the definitional problems associated with the concept "personal," and how this category is to be applied in the context of the religious practices of ancient Greeks.[10] If the personal is defined by social categories, can we ever identify matter which does *not* reflect social ideology? This question is thrown into particularly sharp relief when we consider the most private religious documents that survive from antiquity, usually referred to as magical or curse inscriptions. Even these sources, however, are increasingly regarded as reflecting a way of dealing with the personal *strain* resulting from social and ideological pressures.[11] When, in particular, the Epidaurian corpus is compared to sacred and secular texts relating to the body in later antiquity, its reflection of contemporary Classical experiences of invasion is striking. As Aline Rouselle has pointed out, the Roman and Late Antique perspective was one that defined the body as dangerous, and perpetually endangered, leading many people to seek the supervision of doctors (and other caretakers) at all times;[12] this perspective is reflected in both religious texts about healing, advising extraordinary and life-consuming regimens,[13] and in the works of contemporary secular doctors.[14] The Epidaurian collection, on the contrary, clearly reflects the Classical, Hippocratic idea that the body itself, if left to its own devices, would naturally tend to a balanced condition of health, providing no environmental (external, i.e. "foreign") factors interfered. If such factors are removed or minimized, either by diet or the correct geographical siting of sanctuaries and towns, general health can be expected.

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[9]*Tale and Dream: The Text and Compositional History of the Corpus of Epidaurian Miracle Cures* (University of Pennsylvania, 1989)

[10]I would like to express my gratitude to Patricia Cox Miller who, during my post-doctoral fellowship year at Syracuse University, introduced me to the modern scholarly discourses on the body and sexuality in antiquity.

[11]See, e.g., J.Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW* 2.16.1, 425-39; C.R. Phillips III, "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire," *ANRW* 2.16.3, 2677-2773; C. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York: Oxford, 1991); Gager, Curse Tablets.

[12]*Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity* (tr. F. Pheasant; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 5-62.

[13]For example, the experiences of Aelius Aristides.

[14]*Porneia*, 9-10.

It is possible to regard such an attitude as essentially optimistic, reinforcing a belief in the ultimate goodness, or at least rightness, of the world we know.[15] It is very interesting to note that it is precisely where such an ideology is least satisfying, in cases of chronic disabilities of generally healthy people (blindness, deafness, infertility, paralysis - the overwhelming majority of Iamata afflictions), that we see divine intervention. Just as the impossible situations of Classical tragedy, created by conflicts between different social responsibilities, could only be resolved by the highly unsatisfactory device of "the god from the machine," in medicine as well the place where ideology and actuality clash is a prime location for religious activity.

The tales were re-inscribed[16] onto the stelai that survive today as part of a long-term and massive expansion of the Epidaurian sanctuary, essentially an architectural transformation from a local to a pan-Hellenic shrine.[17] It is tempting to connect this basic ideological slant (in support of natural health and against invasion and interference, both on the physical and the political level) with the political experiences and methodologies of the still-autonomous Greek (and particularly oligarchically-organized Doric) city-states in the fifth and fourth centuries.[18] Such a connection would contrast well with the opposite perspective, of the body as the source of disease, so widespread under the overwhelming and alienating weight of the Roman Empire.[19]

Although it is beyond the scope of the present volume to go into these issues in any detail, such questions need to be continually borne in mind when evaluating the Iamata for use as data. Our perspective on what is and is not *personal* or *public* in a given context determines what the texts are evidence *for*, what the comparanda are, and what the consequences are.

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[15]See J.Z. Smith, "The Influence of Symbols on Social Change: A Place on Which to Stand," *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 129-46.

[16]On at least one occasion; see below, *Compositional Background*.

[17]The best study of sanctuary development is still Alison Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969).

[18]Such connections between political and medical ideology are present in our own society as well; one example that comes to mind is the current folk belief that a "negative attitude" can "draw illness into one's life." This accords beautifully with the underlying American political stance on "making one's own luck," "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps," etc. Popular ideas about the functioning of the body could also be studied from this perspective.

[19]Rousselle, *Porneia*.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT[1]
THE EPIDAURIAN SANCTUARY OF ASKLEPIOS

The sanctuary of Asklepios and Apollo Maleatas lies to the southwest of the polis of Epidauros, well inland from the coast in a sheltered valley with abundant woods and water sources.[2] During the Bronze Age, there was a small settlement on the slopes of the bordering Mount Kynortion. Although this settlement was dispersed by the Classical period, the area continued to be (or came to be) recognized as a sacred place, and continued in use throughout the period of Asklepios' greatest popularity as a smaller, associated sanctuary for Apollo Maleatas, or simply Maleatas.[3]

---

[1]What follows is an abbreviated discussion, intended only to give the reader a sense of sanctuary layout and operation. For full bibliography and discussion of the archaeological remains from the sanctuary as a whole, see my dissertation, *Tale and Dream: The Text and Compositional History of the Corpus of Epidaurian Miracle Cures* (University of Pennsylvania, 1989); also R.A. Tomlinson, *Epidauros* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983). Work at the site has recently begun again; see now *The Propylon of the "Gymnasium" and the Tholos in the Asklepieion at Epidauros* (tr. J. Binder et al.; ed. Committee for the Preservation of the Epidauros Monuments (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 1988); references there.

[2]The first excavations of the two sanctuaries were conducted by the Archaeological Society of Athens, under the direction of Kavvadias and later of B. Staïs. Site reports: yearly in the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society* (ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ), 1882-1928. Major studies: Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, v.1,(Athens: Vlastos, 1891 [further volumes never appeared]); *τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκλήπιου ἐν Ἐπιδαύρω*, (Athens: Perre Bros., 1900); "Die Tholos von Epidauros," *Sitzungs.K.Preus.Akad.Wiss.* v. 19 (1909) 536-40. This expedition was begun in 1881 and went on more or less continuously until Kavvadias' death in 1928. In addition, see R. Martin and H. Metzger, "Chronique des Fouilles," *BCH* 66-7 (1942-3), 327-334; R. Martin, *BCH* 68-9 (1944-5) 375ff.; 70 (1946) 352ff.; J. Papadimitriou, "Le Sanctuaire d'Apollon Maléatas a Épidaure," *BCH* 73 (1949) 361-383; 74 (1950) 303-4; 75 (1951) 113-4; 76 (1952) 221. Interpretation: H. Lechat and A. Defrasse, *Épidaure* (Paris, 1895); F. Robert, "L'édifice E d'Épidaure et la topographie du hiéron d'Asklepios," *BCH* 57 (1933), 380-393; *Thymélé. Recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaire dans l'Architecture religieuse de la Gréce* (Paris: De Boccard, 1939); G. Roux, *L'Architecture de l'Argolide aux 4e et IIIe siécles avant J-C* (Paris, 1961); A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969); R.A. Tomlinson, *Greek Sanctuaries* (London: Elek, 1976); *Epidauros* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983). Further references: N. Yalouris, s.v. "Epidauros," *PECS* (1976) 311-4.

[3] While we would expect a healing association for Maleatas, it is not clear what type of god he actually was. Wilamowitz regarded the god as the fusion of an originally independent Bronze Age Malos or Maleatas with the later-arriving Apollo; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf,

Evidence from the Early Period

There is no evidence of Bronze Age activity in the area which later became the lower or Asklepios sanctuary. The earliest remains from this area tend to indicate, however, that there was cult activity here from the middle of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and it is possible that all necessary structures for the worship of Asklepios as it is known from later times were already in place by then. In particular, at least two important structures show evidence of ritual function in this early period.

The Tholos, or *Thymele,* though its function remains a mystery, was the most distinctive building at Epidauros throughout its history. Most of the remaining fragments of this building date from the total rebuilding and decorative enhancement that it received during the fourth century. However, there is disagreement as to the date of the maze-like foundations. Recent archaeological investigation has suggested that the Tholos is a completely fourth and third century structure, erected on open ground at the time of the great sanctuary monumentalization.[4] Burford also places these foundations in the first ten years of the building program, 360-50 BCE.[5] In contrast, most earlier scholars have dated them to the earlier period of the fifth or sixth centuries.[6] The remaining foundations consist of six concentric rings.[7] Of these, it is only the innermost three which have been supposed to represent an earlier structure. Within these rings, there are openings placed so that a person would have had to go all the way around a ring to reach the door into the middle ring, then all around again to reach the outermost ring (or innermost well, depending on the direction from which he began). Tomlinson suggests that there was access to the underlying maze at the center of the building, through a trap-door leading to a

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Der Glaube der Hellenen, (2 vols.; Weidmannsche: Berlin, 1931; repr. Basel B.Schwabe, 1956): 1.393-7. Farnell argued that the cult was a typical Apollo cult, the local epithet Maleatas arising from the cult's having been imported from one of several regions called Malea; Lewis Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (5 vols.; New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1977 [orig. 1896-1909]) 4.235-41. More recently, Tomlinson has maintained Wilamowitz' view, adding that Maleatas' prime function was hunting; Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 9-10.

[4]See n. 1, above.

[5]Burford, *Temple Builders*, 64; also Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 61.

[6]Yalouris, s.v. "Epidauros," *PECS*, 311-314; also see Robert, *Thymélé*. Recently, R. Rüttimann, in *Asclepius and Jesus* (Th.D. Diss. Harvard, 1986), has suggested that the foundations are actually the walls of an early building, and that the raising of the grade placed these old walls underground. Discussion and references, 23-5; drawings, App. I.a.,p.233.

[7]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 60.

set of wooden steps.[8] If so, an otherwise-unattested role in the early worship on the site may be indicated for the maze.[9] However, it is not clear whether these steps date from the same time as the foundations or were added later. One possibility can probably be ruled out - although the word "Thymele" means a "hearth", there is no trace of fire or burning associated with the building.[10] Rene Rüttimann has suggested that the foundations, and indeed the entire elaborate building, make more sense as monuments to a *previously* important sacred place, or preservation of an older sacred building, now no longer used, than as a newly-constructed and imagined mid-fourth century sanctuary feature.[11]

The second early structure is referred to variously in the literature as the Old Altar, Altar A', and the Altar of Apollo. This is a medium-sized, square altar, approximately 5 by 7.5 meters. Its importance is indicated both by its age and by its location. It is aligned with the Thymele on a direct path from the east-facing entrance of that building. Also, the plan of the mid-fourth century building program suggests that the major new sanctuary buildings, including the Temple of Asklepios, were placed about the central sacred area to accommodate the preservation of this altar. R. Tomlinson argues that since, during the 4th-3rd century building program, the new Temple of Asklepios was not built facing this altar, but rather facing an entirely new altar built at the same time, then this altar served not Asklepios but Apollo, and it continued to be used for him in the later period.[12] However, the evidence found around the altar indicates that it was used for Asklepios or for Asklepios and Apollo together.

Among the ash and debris from many sacrifices found around the altar were two early inscriptions.[13] One of these, on a bronze patera, is dedicated to Asklepios by one Mikylos;[14] the other, on a bronze vase, is dedicated to Pythian Apollo.[15] The inscription on the Asklepios patera, originally dated by Kavvadias to the sixth

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[8]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 61.

[9]Rüttimann enumerates the many and varied theories the maze has inspired: *Asclepius and Jesus*, 24, n. 41.

[10]Tomlinson, *Sanctuaries*, 100. Tomlinson is talking, however, about the later building. This had an elaborate marble parquet floor, the massive centerpiece of which is on display in the Epidauros Museum. According to Rüttimann, this has no handles, is too heavy to lift without a mechanical device, and is not designed to be removable; *Asclepius and Jesus*, 25, n. 42. This could not be an entryway for an important cult activity-center.

[11]Whose function is never mentioned in literary or epigraphical sources - even as being forbidden to mention!

[12]Tomlinson, *Sanctuaries*, 100.

[13]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 73.

[14]*IG* 4^2 I, 136.

[15]*IG* 4^2 I, 142.

century, has recently been assigned to the early years of the fifth century.[16] Even so, these two inscriptions establish the presence of Asklepios on the site well before the large-scale 4th-3rd century activities at the sanctuary. They may represent the earliest phase of religious activity here and prefigure the tradition of inscribed votives which, through successive modifications, result in the Iamata.

To the east of the Old Altar lies a structure called Building E. It is a square structure, approximately 20 x 25 m., made up of stoas on three sides of a courtyard facing the Old Altar to the west. There are many questions regarding its original date (it was renovated several times) and function. Robert theorized that Building E is a multi-purpose building, which housed all the different functions of the worship of Asklepios, which later had separate buildings in the expanded sanctuary.[17]

Robert's plan of the building shows a small room and paved enclosure in the northwest corner. In this room was found a limestone doorsill, still in place. Around the perimeter of this room is a sunken channel. Robert suggests that this channel probably drained liquid offerings, which would flow from an offering table in the room's center, pointing out that a similar drainage channel is found in the Temple of Asklepios at Corinth,[18] and concludes that the small room was a chapel or worship center for Asklepios, having the required elements of offering table, altar and boundary wall.

Another, less well-preserved doorsill was also found in Building E. We cannot be sure that its present position is original. Robert theorizes that if it is in its original place, it may represent another small chapel or temple, perhaps to Apollo.[19] Both of these small rooms were joined to the Old Altar (a') by a paved track; but the date of this paving is uncertain.

The building contains two galleries, the northeast, or bent gallery, and the south. He suggests, on analogy to abatons in the Amphiareion at Oropus and the Asklepieion at Athens, that the two galleries functioned as abatons and were used for separate sleeping quarters for men and women.[20] This suggestion prompts a question in light of one room's being roughly twice the size of the other - was more space required for men, or women? Judging from the Iamata, the numbers were somewhat higher for men. However, it is difficult to accept Building E as containing abaton quarters, because there is no spring or water source within or even close to the building. Water is very important in sanctuaries of Asklepios, and we should expect to find in the earlier period a similar concern with wells, fountains

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[16]L.H. Jeffrey, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 180.
[17]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 380-93.
[18]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 388-9.
[19]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 390.
[20]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 391.

and water to that which is so clear later. At the eastern end of the 4th-3rd century Abaton, there is an ancient well with sixth-century foundations. This was later joined to the Abaton itself (when that building was built) and also supported a fifth-century building, perhaps a bath, on the opposite side of the wall.[21] This well seems always to have been an important focus of worship.[22] It seems possible that the stone Abaton replaces a perishable or informal incubation area next to an important well; and that the galleries in Building E served some other purpose - perhaps as sleeping quarters, but for the healthy worshippers who came to attend the festival.

Another issue to be resolved concerning Building E is the presence in the central courtyard area of ash remains of a large number of sacrifices. This evidence led Kavvadias to regard Building E as a whole as a grand altar of Asklepios, a theory which Robert takes great pains to disprove, because it leaves out of account the role of the Old Altar and the unusual architectural form of Building E. Robert's view is that the Old Altar and the small altar were part of the official cult and that sacrifices there would be presided over by the priests in charge and be communal or public in nature. The remains in the courtyard, Robert claims, represent the individual sacrifices made by the people who came to sleep in one of the galleries (abatons) in search of a cure.[23] This theory of division is attractive in that it suggests the later, well-attested duality in the worship of Asklepios here, which encompassed both private healing and public festival worship.

Building E cannot be precisely dated. In fact, Robert will go no further than to say that it is earlier than the fourth century.[24] However, even that much shows that Building E represents a very early form of the worship of Asklepios on the site, since that worship itself probably is not older than the late sixth or early fifth century. If we recognize Building E as an early sacred building, though not a full-fledged temple, it is easier to understand why it had to be retained, but still could be re-used for more secular functions and could be architecturally modified. Moreover, Building E faces the Old Altar *from* the east, while Greek temples customarily face an altar *to* the east, as is the case with the fourth century temple and altar of Asklepios. From this point of view, given the arrangement of the three buildings, it is more likely that the Tholos served as an early temple of Asklepios, since it is directly in line in the proper arrangement with the contemporary Old Altar.

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[21]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 67. If, as Burford suggests (*Temple Builders*, 51), the Asklepieion at Athens was modeled on the pre-renovation Epidaurian sanctuary, then water within the abaton or at least the sacred enclosure becomes even more likely.

[22]Kavvadias, "Ἐπιγράφαι ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρια Ἀνασκάφων," *AE* 1883, 217.

[23]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 391.

[24]Robert, "L'Édifice *E*," 393.

The Monumental Sanctuary of Asklepios

During the course of the fourth century, the increasing wealth and popularity of the sanctuary led the city-state of Epidauros to begin an ambitious program of rebuilding and monumentalizing the site. In this, the polis took a commanding role, and many vital facts regarding sanctuary construction and sanctuary-polis relations are preserved in a remarkable series of inscriptions, containing plans, legislation, payroll, and in some cases, item-by-item lists of things purchased and wages paid for buildings as they went up.[25] Building begins in the fourth century and continues at a greater or lesser pace throughout the Hellenistic age.

The layout of the revamped sanctuary may have been affected by some of the issues discussed above. The *Temple of Asklepios*, which initiated the renovation program, was the first temple, not replacing any earlier free-standing building, but had to be accommodated within the central sacred area. It is very small for a central building in a major sanctuary, especially of this period, approximately 24 x 13 m. Burford dates the temple construction to the years 375-370; the building inscriptions reveal that it was completed in four years and eight months.[26]

Tomlinson suggests that a lack of money in the early years of the project dictated the small size of the temple.[27] However, according to Burford, the large and magnificent Tholos project, which cost a fabulous amount of money and took over twenty-seven years to complete, was begun only a few years later, in 365-360. She explains the modesty of the Temple as being due to a shortage of skilled craftsmen in the area at that time.[28] Another possible limitation of the size of the temple is the presence, just to the south, of the Old Altar, which had to be retained. The temple could not have been built further to the north of its actual location, in the large unused areas north of the Abaton, because the slope of the land there is very steep; or even where the Abaton itself was later built, since the old well there indicates that spot was already designated for the abaton-function and possibly already had an impermanent building. To the west was the Thymele, perhaps already in place. If the planners desired to have the temple within the most sacred part of the temenos, there is no other place for it to have gone, and therefore small size was necessary. In other parts of the sanctuary, which are within the preserved walls, there is open space, which was not used. This may indicate *degrees* of sacredness *within* the sanctuary as a whole, and a necessity to keep the "ultra"-sacred buildings together.

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[25]See Burford, *Temple Builders*.
[26]Burford, *Temple Builders*, 54-5.
[27]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 55.
[28]Burford, *Temple Builders*, 54-5.

The temple was a Doric peripteral (6 X 11) poros building, entirely upright and relatively unadorned, though the metopes show traces of red paint. The majority of the construction was Corinthian poros limestone with a few details in marble, and terra-cotta tiles. The pediments had sculptural depictions of the Fall of Troy (E) and an Amazonomachy (W). The building stands upon the usual three step base and has a ramp at the eastern end. This ramp may have been for the benefit of the sick; though ramps were in general use in temple architecture at this time, especially in the Peloponnese. Incubation, however, was without exception at Epidauros practiced in the Abaton, not the Temple which is rather small, reminiscent of a modern one-car garage. At other sanctuaries pilgrims generally did not enter the temples at all, and it is unlikely that worshippers went into the temple at Epidauros either. Asklepios was, however, often noted for his closeness and accessibility and one aspect of this may have been access for worshippers to the deity in his home. In the Iamata, Tale A 7, a man is told to dedicate his fillet "in the naos," and in Tale B 18, a man climbs *upon* the naos; it is possible that he had been inside the "adyton," though probably that word means "Abaton" (rather than "temple") in this context.

The temple has the ordinary porch/cella plan, but the relatively long cella exhibits some unusual features.[29] The base slabs, Tomlinson says, were omitted in one spot along the south wall, leaving a shallow, rectangular trough. This may have had a lid. Troughs usually indicate liquid offerings, though here there is no accompanying channel. There was also a partition in the cella, behind the trough. In the second cella thus created was the chryselephantine cult statue of Asklepios, seated on a throne holding his scepter, with a dog at his side.

The Tholos, or *Thymele*, as it is termed in ancient literature, is the most interesting and puzzling building on the site. Although other tholoi are known from other sites in Greece, the Epidaurian tholos is the only one which is called Θυμέλη. This term has several meanings but usually refers in some way to sacrificial hearths or altars, or to a part of a theater.[30] The function of this building remains unknown.[31] In the case of the Epidaurian building, the word is more likely to mean

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[29]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 60.

[30]*LSJ* s.v.; also discussed in Robert, *Thymélé*, 46 ff. and 153 ff. A.S.F. Gow, in "On the meaning of the word ΘΥΜΕΛΗ," *JHS* 32 (1912), 213-38, asserts that the building must have been one large hearth, on etymological grounds; but this is in conflict with the archaeological evidence.

[31]Many theories have been brought forward on this subject, but each one faces the problem that no source refers to activity associated with the building. Epidauros is comparatively well-endowed with sources, and it seems unlikely that it is due only to the tricks of preservation that the use of such an important building remains in the dark. It seems to me possible that

altar than hearth, since there are no traces of burning associated with either the foundations or the fragments of superstructure that survive. If the building was used for sacrifice, then the offerings were not burnt. However, it seems unlikely that such a building was an altar. It was clearly a roofed, ornate building that provided indoor space for some activity.

Building of the Thymele that Pausanias saw began about 365-360 BCE and proceeded for twenty-seven years.[32] The completed building was about twenty meters in diameter. Standing on a base of three steps (which, like the temple, contains a ramp), there first was a Doric colonnade of twenty-six limestone columns with rosette metopes and an elaborately carved marble gutter with lion head water spouts and acanthus leaves. Behind the colonnade, the wall of the enclosure was also decorated with an unusual amount and use of moldings and floral decoration, elaborately coffered ceilings with rosettes, and a decorated frieze. Inside, set upon a geometric-pattern floor of black limestone and white marble, was another colonnade of fourteen Corinthian columns, another deep coffered ceiling with rosettes, acanthus scrolls, wave patterns, spirals, and according to Pausanias, several paintings along the walls.[33] The central section probably had a wood ceiling of some kind - this is gone but the rest of the building suggests elaboration. The tile roof was also covered with decorative elements, acroteria, and acanthus scrolls.[34]

The *Abaton* lies to the north of the Tholos and the Temple of Asklepios. Most commonly, Iamata tales deal with the practice of "incubation." Patients slept within the sacred enclosure in this special building, called the *Abaton*. During the night, they hoped for dreams sent by the god or for a visitation by the god himself. Within the dream, the god would cure the patient, and the next morning, he or she would leave the Abaton healthy. A tale's narration often leaves unclear what occurs

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knowledge of the true function of the Thymele was concealed *deliberately*, and that it may have had some sort of secret character. Pausanias' account (2.27.3) indicates that the building could be visited, but that does not rule out this possibility.

[32]Burford, *Temple Builders*, 54. The Thymele's function cannot have demanded both a complete building *and* that particular site. If the foundations truly do indicate a predecessor for the building, its function must either have been continued in a construction site for a very long time, or have been moved elsewhere for the duration.

[33]Pausanias 2.27.3. The pictures may have been either on the inside or the outside of the building's wall. They were of Eros with a lyre and "Drunkenness holding a wineglass through which you could see a woman's face." The content of these paintings may indicate a possible musical or artistic function for the building. However, it is not big enough to accommodate the audiences for the musical competitions at the Asklepian games; moreover, Tomlinson has suggested another building (#25 on pl. 1) as the site of these competitions. See R.A. Tomlinson, "Two Buildings in Sanctuaries of Asklepios," *JHS* 89 (1969), 111.

[34]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 60-67.

in the dream and what is "really" happening.[35] The Abaton at Epidauros is in the form of a long stoa opening on the south side. There is a very steep slope along its back, so that the rear wall is on a very high foundation. The Abaton is actually a double building. The eastern portion is an Ionic stoa, 38.07 by 9.42 meters, with sixteen columns along the front and seven along the center, supporting the roof. These seven columns appear to have been joined together by some species of wall or barrier, perhaps creating two parallel spaces.[36] To the west was another portion of the building, perhaps added at a later time.[37] This portion matched the eastern stoa in dimensions and forms of decoration, making the dating of this section difficult. Because of the steeply sloping ground, the addition became in effect a two-storey structure, with a flight of steps giving access to the lower portion, a four-walled enclosed "basement." The upper portion of this western stoa, being high above the ground, was provided with a half-wall of stone-cut grilles running between the outer columns.[38] The Abaton was probably built in the earliest phase of monumental construction.[39]

The Abaton was built next to an early building, perhaps a bath or fountain, which was served by a very old well. This well, about 14 meters deep, was incorporated into the Abaton, and lay on the southeast corner, directly across from the Temple. In it, Kavvadias discovered many fragments of black pottery and some iron handles, which he though had come from buckets used to draw water.[40] The well's importance is shown by its inclusion within the Abaton. Though there are other springs and fountains around the perimeter of the enclosure walls, this is the only source within the temenos. It is probable that it was an early and important focus of activity, and may have been the point around which the sanctuary as we see it grew. This would explain the relatively cramped sacred area and the small size of the Temple of Asklepios.

All Greek sanctuaries were kept free from pollution, not only of birth and death but also, usually, of illness.[41] Although pregnant women and the sick could approach Asklepios, the Iamata show that birth was prohibited within the sacred

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[35]This is probably deliberate in some cases, for example, Tale B 3.

[36]Kavvadias, *Fouilles* I, 17-18.

[37]Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 68.

[38]Burford, *Temple Builders*, pl. 4. An inscription from approximately 160 CE tells us that one Apelles is ordered by Asklepios to take a walk in the ὑπερώω. This may refer to the upper storey of the expanded Abaton; *IG* 4^2 I, 126.

[39]Roux, *L'Architecture de l'Argolide*, 404.

[40]*Fouilles* I, 18.

[41]Asklepios would obviously be different in this regard, though it is worth noting that critical illnesses such as fevers are not mentioned in the Iamata.

boundary.[42] Tales A 1 and A 2 both concern women who must rush out of the Abaton to bear children outside of the sacred area (ἰαρόν). A 1, A 6 and A 7 also indicate that the Abaton was very close to a fountain that lay outside the sacred border.

If the Abaton borders a fountain that is outside of the boundary, then it must itself lie on or near that boundary. In Tale A 11, Aischines climbs a tree to peer over into the Abaton while the suppliants are sleeping, pointing out the proximity of this fence to the Abaton, which is clearly at the edge of the sacred boundary.

A temenos is usually marked by a clear boundary, either a stone wall or a series of inscribed markers, usually with only one entrance. Within the enclosure only purity is tolerated. The boundary at Epidauros consists of two parallel walls divided by a trench.[43] The enclosed area is not at all large and excludes the majority of buildings on the site, most of which are concerned with the festival aspect of the worship.

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[42]That this practice continued through Roman times is made clear by Pausanias 2.27.1, 6.

[43]There is no clear indication of the purpose and date of these walls. They seem to have been built of blocks of marble taken from other buildings, and some of the blocks are inscribed; J.G. Frazer, ed., *Pausanias' Description of Greece* (2nd ed., 6 vols.; New York: MacMillan, 1898 [repr. New York: Biblo & Tannen, 1965]) 2.238. Pausanias speaks of the sanctuary as being marked by "boundary stones in every direction," 2.27.1. This may refer to an expanded sacred area at a later time.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF CURES

The Iamata-inscriptions were not all found in the same place or at the same time.[1] The fragments of stelai A, B, and D were found in the vicinity of the eastern portion of the Abaton, broken up and used as fill for the walls of a medieval house that was built there.[2] By 1883, Kavvadias had found 20 fragments. Nine of these joined together to make Stele A, which he published in that year. The following season, seven more fragments were found which could be joined with 15 of the fragments that had already been found, to make up Stele B. In addition, the fragment of D seems to also have been found that season. Stelai B and D were then published in 1885.[3]

Stele C was discovered in 1900 during the excavation of the eastern part of an apsidal building, a chapel of St. John, built close to the foundations of the sanctuary's Propylaia. Stele C had been re-used as the threshold of this building and was found broken into two pieces, on which we can clearly see the round and rectangular cuttings made to take the doorposts or hinges.[4]

At the same time, one new fragment of B was discovered. In 1918, in the western part of the same building, another fragment of B was discovered, and Kavvadias published the new version of B including both fragments in 1918.[5]

Kavvadias described the stelai as being of a grayish limestone, of high quality, which he calls "lithographic stone." He notes that of the hundreds of

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[1]There have been many editions of these inscriptions. Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 197-228 (A only); *AE* 1885, 1-28 (B); 85-86 (D); *Fouilles*, 23-32 (A, B and D with French trans.); *τὸ ἱερόν*, 256-267 (trans. of A and B into modern Greek, with photographs); Baunack, *Aus Epidauros: Eine Epigraphische Studie*, (Leipzig: Dürr, 1890), 8-11; *SGDI* v.3, 1, 3339-41; *Sylloge*^{3} 1168-9 (A and B only); Fränkel, *IG* 4^1, nos. 951, 952, and 953; Kavvadias, *Mélanges Perrot*, 42 (fragment of C); *AE* 1918, 155-171 (augmented portion of B and text of C with pictures of both); Hiller, *IG* 4^2, nos. 121-124; Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*, *Philologus* suppl. 22.3 (Leipzig, 1931), 7-35; Peek, *Fünf Wundergeschichten aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros. Abh.Sachs.Akad.* (1969) bd. 60, hft. 8, 3-8 (first 5 tales on C with facsimile); M.N. Tod, "Recently Discovered Records of Ancient Cures," *Proc.R.Soc.Med.* 15 (1922) 24-6; G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 140-5 (transl. of Stele A), et. al.

[2]Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 197.

[3]Kavvadias, *AE* 1885, 1.

[4]Kavvadias, *AE* 1918, 158-9.

[5]Kavvadias, *AE* 1918, 155-6.

inscription fragments at the site, only the Iamata are composed of this type of stone.[6] Stelai A, B, and C all have the same approximate dimensions, being roughly man-high at 5'7", 30" wide, and from 4 to 7" thick.[7]

The stelai are written in stoichedon form, with the letters aligned into vertical columns as well as horizontal lines. Each horizontal line is separated by 6 mm. from the following one, and each vertical column is separated by 8 mm. The letters are 6 mm. high.[8] On the average, the lines contain around 50 letters, though there is slight variation in this, as the masons have carefully avoided separating letters of the same syllable. The last 6 lines of stele A are compressed and have 57-66 letters, but the vertical spacing remains the same as on the rest of the stele. B and C have approximately the same number of lines, 134 and 136 respectively. A has 126 lines, partially due to the larger letters of the two lines of heading. On stele A, there are two small horizontal lines in the left "margin," which come between lines 71 and 72, and 78 and 79, and come at the beginning and end of tale 9. Presumably they are meant to point out or set apart the tale, though this device is not apparent anywhere else on this stele, or the others.[9] D is a small fragment with only 21 lines preserved, containing from one to 16 letters per line. The usual manner of separating tales is by vacats. These vary in length from one character space to practically an entire line.[10]

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[6]Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 198.

[7]I give these dimensions in a note because there is some disagreement in the published accounts. Both Hiller and Fränkel differ from Kavvadias on some of these measurements, as follows: (metric)

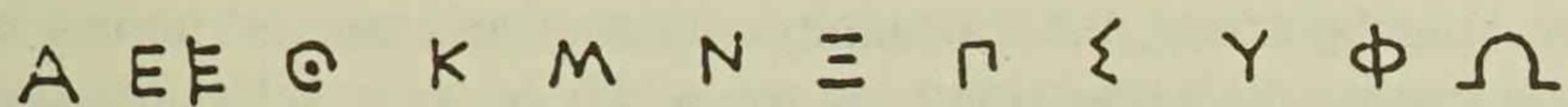
		H	**W**	**D**
Kavvadias 1883	A:	1.75	0.75	0.17
1918		1.71	0.74-76	0.17
Fränkel and Hiller		1.71	0.76	0.18
Kavvadias 1885	B:	1.71	0.77	0.15
1918		1.69	0.74	0.17
Fränkel and Hiller		1.69	0.74	0.15
Kavvadias 1918	C:	1.70	0.75	0.17
Kavvadias 1885	D:	0.28	0.28	0.10
Fränkel and Hiller		0.30 (max.)	0.32	0.10

[8]Kavvadias gives these precise measurements only for A, in *AE* 1883, 198. For the other stelai, he says the measurements are the same and refers the reader to that passage. For C, we have it from Werner Peek that the letters are 7 mm. tall, with Θ, Ο, and sometimes Ω a little smaller. Peek also says that the lines are separated by 5 mm.; *Fünf Wundergeschichten*, 4, n. 1.

[9]Both editions of the *IG* 4 incorrectly picture the first of these lines as coming between 70 and 71, though Fränkel notes the true location in his introduction.

[10]The varying patterns of vacats have a bearing on the compositional analysis of the tales. On stele A, no vacats at all are used in the first 67 lines. On line 68, one character space is left blank at the beginning of tale 8, and at the end of the tale, several spaces are left to bring the

The dialect of the inscription is Doric, with Attic influence.[11] The forms of the letters are as follows:[12]



These letters, and the other features I have already discussed, indicate that the inscription was made in the latter half of the fourth century BCE.[13]

With the exception of stele C, the letters are very well preserved and legible. This is an indication of their having been indoors, or at least under a roof, and not exposed to weathering. Most of Stele C is catastrophically worn, but most of this must have come from the foot traffic over it during its time as a threshold. In fact, the semicircular wear pattern on the stone is exactly what we would expect from this type of use, and shows that the stele was used face up, with the letters showing. The reason for this is probably not symbolic, but rather simply that the stelai are not

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beginning of the next tale to the left margin. It is here that the first of the above mentioned horizontal indicators occurs. The tale ends at the right margin, followed by the second indicator. In line 79, a blank of one character is left *after* the first word or "title" of this iamaton, "the cup." Lines 89, 94, 103, 106, 110, 112, and 119 contain the ends of tales and leave blanks of substantial size (except for 112 and 119) to the end of the lines. From line 120 on, the letters are compressed, and the practice of leaving large blanks and starting tales at the left margin ceases. In line 122, two character spaces are used; in 125, as many as 6 may have been left (unclear due to breakage). On stele B, vacats are somewhat more consistently employed. Tale 1 ends naturally at the right margin, but in line 9, after tale 2, a large blank is left to the end of the line. For the next 90 lines, the stele seems regularly to use a vacat of 10 characters to separate tales wherever the breaks occur (i.e., not at the margins), except for a short vacat of three characters in line 63. From line 110 on, the vacats are 5 characters in length. Stele C shows the same pattern of the first tale ending near the right margin (there is probably room for about six characters left blank). However, at lines 8, 21, and 29 there are vacats of 7, 9, and 5 characters. The vacat at 21 appears larger in editions because that tale begins with 9 unwanted letters, that were later rubbed out. Lines 35-121 on C are too worn to be of use here, but at the end, we do see vacats of 4, 5, and 5 letters in lines 123, 129, and 134. Stele D also shows two vacats, of one and two characters, in lines 10 and 14. Basically, we see from this a consistent pattern of large vacats at the beginnings of the stelai, getting smaller as the masons approached the end. The small vacats on D may indicate that it comes from the end of its stele.

[11]As reported by Pausanias, 2.27.3; C.D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, rev.ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 84.

[12]Reproduced xerographically from Kavvadias, *Fouilles*, 24 and 28.

[13]Kavvadias originally placed them (he is actually only discussing Stele A) in the third century, *AE* 1883, 219, but later changed to the earlier date, *Fouilles* 27. Hiller also places the inscriptions in the latter part of the fourth century, *IG* 4^2, 70.

finished on the backs, and so the back surfaces would be uneven and rough. This last feature suggests that the stelai were meant to be displayed against a wall.[14]

Inside of the Abaton, along the same eastern partition as the well, Kavvadias discovered a rectangular stone, 0.45 m. high, with a groove carved across its top surface. This groove is the same length as the width of stele A.[15] This type of stone would be used as a base for a stele standing up against a wall. Taken all together, the unfinished backs of the stelai, their good state of preservation, and the grooved bases found in the Abaton, tend to support the contention that the Iamata would have been found inside, along the eastern wall of the Abaton. If this is the case, it is important to determine whether the Iamata were on general view or were available only to the suppliants sleeping in the Abaton.

It is likely that an important function of the display and preservation of the Iamata, and of the rituals associated with incubation, was to heighten the suppliants' expectations, and to "pre-condition" them for dreaming properly miraculous dreams.[16] This is supported both by the internal evidence which several times mentions reading inscriptions as an activity for pilgrims,[17] and by the discovery of a number of grooved stele-bases within the Abaton building itself, which may indicate that the stelai were displayed there, where the patients would be sure to see them in the midst of their preparations.[18]

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[14]Or against some other surface. I doubt that they stood back to back; the grooved bases (see next note) can keep a stele's base from slipping out, but they still must lean. Two stelai leaning against each other along their tops could precipitate events that might dismay Asklepios himself.

[15]Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 217. The number of such bases found is unclear. He speaks here of only one, but in *Fouilles*, 18, he refers to them in the plural, implies that they were found *in situ*, and refers the reader to plate 7. This shows four bases, one of which is only half the width of the others. In plate 1 of the same volume he shows six bases, but this may be an "ideal" plan, on the assumption that all six were displayed together, as does seem from Pausanias (II.27.4) to be the case.

[16]This issue hinges on restriction of access; see J.W. Hewitt, "The Major Restrictions of Access to Greek Temples," *TAPA* 40 (1909), 83-91. Psychological interpretation offered by Emma and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945) 2.163; taken up by Carl Kerényi, *Asklepios, Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*, Bollingen Series 65.3., trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Pantheon, 1959), and H. Siefert, "Inkubation, Imagination und Kommunikation im antiken Asklepioskult," *Katathymes Bilderleben: Ergebnisse in Theorie und Præxis* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1980).

[17]Tales A 3, A 4, possibly B 16.

[18]There are problems with viewing these as the actual bases, *in situ*, for the Iamata inscriptions; there is only room for four bases in this area, which is in conflict with Pausanias.

The word ἄβατον means "untrodden, not to be trodden, inaccessible," and is also used (as ἄδυτον) for the innermost part of a temple. However, we have no evidence that this title was used for the Epidaurian abaton in its etymological sense.[19] The idea that the Iamata were restricted is unlikely. It is in conflict both with Pausanias' account of the sanctuary and with the internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves.

The preserved walls at Epidauros indicate, as I have said earlier, a rather small sacred area.[20] The Abaton itself probably lay on the sacred border. Within those walls, according to Pausanias, the prohibition against birth and death was observed. However, no other sources mention any restricted access for individuals in the sanctuary. Pausanias also mentions the stelai without suggesting that they were not for public inspection, but simply as an observable feature of the sanctuary.[21] The Iamata themselves refer to people, both sick and well, casually wandering about the sanctuary and reading the tales of cures.[22] Though these sources obviously refer to earlier forms of the tales that existed before these stelai were inscribed, it seems to me that, if the original sources could be viewed by anyone, then surely no new restrictions would be applied to the compilations onto stone.

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[19]Hewitt is satisfied that Asklepeiea abatons *were* restricted to those practicing incubation; however, this is reasoned on the grounds that Asklepios was a "chthonic" god and such gods generally had restricted access. He brings forth no specific testimony on Epidauros.

[20]At least in the earlier period - the boundaries may have expanded in later times.

[21]Pausanias 2.27.3. Pausanias' description does not place the stelai inside the Abaton at all. From the context, he may even be saying that they were in or near the Tholos - but Pausanias is in general not too scrupulous about the order in which he discusses things - at least for this sanctuary.

[22]A 3,4; possibly B 16.

COMPOSITIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE INSCRIPTIONS
THEMATIC AND STYLISTIC ISSUES

What is most striking about the Iamata is not the fact that the tales differ from or resemble one another, but the ways in which they both differ from one another and yet share important features. These patterns of resemblance and discontinuity reveal complex "activity" within the larger collections. There are three types of variable features: 1) thematic; 2) linguistic; and 3) stylistic. By thematic elements I mean those motifs used to tell the tale, and they are used here specifically for the purpose of identifying compositional strands within the corpus. They do not reflect all individual content features of tales, such as the types of illnesses represented, etc.[1] Rather, I will analyze detail because of its *level*, viewing relative detailedness or vagueness as a mark of style. Individual details which *repeat*, especially those which repeat language, are considered very important. In these cases, thematic features border upon being linguistic features. These latter elements are the most significant from a compositional-historical standpoint, but both types of criteria interact in several pattern combinations.[2]

The following pages present schemata of those linguistic and stylistic variable features which are most noticeable and occur most often; smaller patterns are represented in the category of "Other" in each section. After this, I discuss the individual groups and patterns in detail. Because most of the groups are more noticeable *in context*, that is, when preceded or followed as on the stele, it would be

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[1]Herzog presents discussion of these content features, especially possible identifications of diseases, the appearance of Iamata-conditions in ancient medical writers, and modern medical/rationalistic explanations of Iamata cures in *Wunderheilungen*, Ch. 5.

[2]While Herzog noticed some of these thematic groupings, he did not pursue the possibilities they generate (or suffer from the problems they create). For the comparison of the Iamata tales with medical writers and the scientific criticism of medical care at Asklepieia, questions of sources and compositional technique seem not to have been thought relevant. Herzog's main interest here was the examination of contemporary medical writers and medical practice for similar rationales and secular modes of explanation to those in the often non-rational, even supernatural Iamata. He is constantly concerned with emphasizing the "grounding" of these tales in actual practice, as well as with finding modern, rationalistic explanations for them. As is most apparent from large portions of his restorations of the erased area on Stele C, this concern has often shaped his reading of the text itself.

misleading to discuss individual groups by themselves. Each stele presents a pattern of groups and single tales; these have to be taken into account. After I have gone through the corpus describing the patterns, I will return to individual groups in the following section in order to discuss the possible ways in which they arose, and to relate larger features within smaller groups together into "strands" of differing date and emphasis.

Fig. 1: ***Thematic Criteria***

I. Incubation
    A. in the sanctuary at Epidauros
    B. in other sanctuaries or at home
II. No incubation
    A. miracle cure in daytime
        1. while awake
        2. while napping
    B. Other strange events
III. Dream/vision
    A. of the god
        1. he speaks
        2. he touches the patient
        3. he uses an implement
        4. other activities
    B. of other things
        1. human beings
        2. animals
IV. No dream; dream is unclear
    A. this is stated
    B. this emerges from narrative
V. Cure; problem solved
    A. in the dream
    B. by a dream prescription
    C. means left unstated
    D. other
    E. while awake
VI. Attitudes
    A. of suppliants
        1. scoffing, hybris
        2. trusting faith
        3. cowardice
    B. of other people
        1. scoffing, hybris
        2. encouragement
VII. Accompanying ritual
    A. before incubation
    B. after incubation
        1. gifts, ἰάτρα, plaques, tasks

Fig. 2: ***Linguistic and Stylistic Features***

I. Manner of opening:
   A. narratively
   B. name
   C. home state
      1. use of ἐκ with state
   D. condition
   E. other
II. Internal formulae (vocabulary):
   A. Presence of ἀφίκετο
      1. Presence of ἱκέτις
   B. Use of ἐγκαθεύδω
   C. " ἐγκατακοιμάομαι
   D. Other word for incubation
   E. Use of ὄψιν
   F. " ἐνύπνιον
   G. ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς etc.
   H. Variants of the above
   I. Other patterns
   J. No formulae
III. Closing formulae:
   A. ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε
   B. καῖ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο
      1. καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο
   C. Variants of the above
   D. Other
   E. No formulae
IV. Style:
   A. Relative terseness or verbosity
   B. Use of direct speech
      1. by the god
      2. by individuals
   C. Use of Asklepios' name
   D. Preference for "grisly details"

Patterns on Stele A

Stele A contains 20 individual tales.[3] The first and most noticeable pattern on Stele A is the large group of Tales 1-10, that share many stylistic features as well as a common message. Within this group of ten, several linguistically and stylistically dissimilar tales are arranged in smaller groups or pairs which are related thematically. A second large, noticeable pattern is the manner of inscription of the letters, with Tales 1-8 and 9-20 employing different ways of separating tales.

The heading of Stele A clearly indicates that it begins the corpus. After this formal notice, the first tale to appear, that of Kleo, is one of the most provocative from a source- and redaction-critical point of view. Because of the prominent placement of this tale within the corpus, it should probably be considered important to the compilers of the inscription. This importance may come from heavy significance, great antiquity of the tale of original votive, or both. However, the placement here may also derive from a pre-existing arrangement of tales, in which it was already placed first.[4] The latter explanation does not change the fact that its placement first indicates its importance to the compiler; however, it moves back the *time* in which we must look for that compiler. On the other hand, even the selection of the pre-existing group to lead off the fourth-century Iamata stele indicates the feeling then that these tales deserve emphasis.

A 1 and 2 are two tales of remarkable pregnancies; one of five and the other of three years. In each case, the mother is healed by Asklepios and gives birth immediately outside the sacred area. The tales are superficially similar in that they deal with overlong pregnancies, but they differ in wording and details.[5] The manner of introduction in A 1 is narrative, "Kleo was pregnant for five years," while the second begins with a terse statement of the condition, "a three-year pregnancy," followed by Ithmonika's name and home state. Each of these introductory types is

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[3]With the possible exception of 6 and 7, which may be thought of as a two-part tale.

[4]A 1-10 shows strong signs of being a pre-existing group. The next section will deal with the possible age and original format of Kleo's tale.

[5]Of all the Iamata, these two are the only ones in which the affliction itself is "miraculous" or out of the ordinary (apart from god-inflicted problems). The author of the Hippocratic treatise "The Nature of the Child" [G.E.R. Lloyd, ed., *Hippocratic Writings*, trans. J. Chadwick and W.N. Mann (New York: Penguin, 1983)], ch. 30, takes pains to explain that it is not possible for pregnancy to last longer than the standard ten [lunar] months, despite what the mothers may say; an indication that mothers frequently did report longer pregnancies. The eleven-month daughters of the Apollo miracle (see Weinreich, below) do indicate that this is considered prodigious and in need of explanation. These unusual ailments in themselves are indicators that the details of these tales developed orally; see next section.

emblematic of discrete "families" of narrative style, which appear in the corpus again and again. Different language is used in each case for the pregnancy itself. Kleo's tale is very atypical in the way it is told, and because of the structure of the story, the tale uses none of the internal formulas. However, Ithmonika's tale uses the typical formula ἐδόκει ‹οἱ› [infinitive] τὸν θεὸν etc. Neither tale employs any of the closing formulae which appear in other tales in the corpus. Probably, though, in these two cases we should take ἔξω τοῦ ἰαροῦ ἧς ἔτεκε κόρ[ο-α]ν as formulaic for this content motif, which does not reappear after this pair. The 'formula' appears at the end of 2, but in the middle of 1, due to the presence of the votive text following the narrative there. Stylistically, Ithmonika's tale is verbose and repetitive in relation to most tales, while managing to include very few details; Kleo's tale is of average length and elaboration in relation to the corpus as a whole.

Tales A 3 and A 4 form another pair that shows a pattern similar to that in A 1 and A 2. Here, the shared element of content is scoffing at the god's power on the part of the suppliants themselves, who are ultimately healed by the god despite their bad or impious attitudes; additional shared content is the mention of the inscriptions around the sanctuary and of action to be taken after the cure is completed (new name/dedication). The wording of this pair is somewhat similar. Both tales use ὄψιν, ἐνκαθεύδω, the closing formula ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας, and ἱκέτις, in A 3 doubled with ἀφίκετο. However, they use different openings. A 3 begins narratively, A 4 with Ambrosia's name, state, and condition; here with the variant of using the preposition ἐκ which we find several times used with a woman's name in the Iamata. A 3 uses direct speech by the god while A 4 avoids it.

These first four tales are not only thematic pairs, but they form a structural or compositional unit. The first tale of the first pair begins narratively and includes a directly quoted votive inscription. The second tale of this pair begins only with the condition, followed by name and state, and avoids direct speech. In the second pair, the first tale begins narratively, and the tale includes direct speech on the part of the god; its companion tale begins with name, state and condition, and again the god's words are narrated. In both pairs, the second tale amplifies the first thematically. In the positioning of tales, we see the collector at work, here grouping tales from discrete votives, by content.[6] However, the difference in language and style indicates different sources or "composers" for the original tales.

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[6]Here Herzog's "naive association of ideas" theory of grouping is at its most convincing. The inscriptions at Lebena were apparently grouped entirely by content or method, i.e., medicine, surgery, etc. Herzog, *Wunderheilungen* 51; Guarducci, *ICr* I, xvii, 8-16. However, this should not cause us to lose sight of other possibilities, such as oral formation of the amplifying tales and grouping due to physical proximity, discussed below.

Since the tales using narrative openings and direct speech and quotation are positioned first in their respective pairs, it is possible that the person who last held the *actual* votives, i.e., the compiler, judged or knew them to be earlier, and so gave them priority.[7] This may indicate that the taste which preferred the technical opening and disliked direct quotation was later in time than the taste for narrative opening and direct speech. As we proceed through the corpus, we will continue to see these elements, and others, occurring together.

Tale 5 stands alone thematically and also differs linguistically from tales 1-4. It employs the third and briefest mode of opening, "a mute boy," with no mention of name or state, and uses a new closing formula, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο, which occurs many times later on.

The next "pair," the tales of Pandaros and Echedoros, may have originally been a single tale. As they appear on the stone, there is no vacat separating the two; in tales 1-5 there is at least a one-character- space vacat between tales.[8] Larger vacats begin at line 68, which is the end of tale 7. These tales present a thematic unity, with the action of 7 being the direct consequence of 6. Tale 6 begins with name, state and condition; Echedoros begins narratively. In other respects, the tales are worded similarly. Both tales use ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει... and ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας displaced to the middle of the tale rather than its usual place at the end. Both tales avoid direct speech, are relatively detailed as to objects and sanctuary features, and contain the same dream-elements and stress on the post-cure action of dedicating an offering. The lack of resemblance in the manner of opening makes most sense if A 7 is viewed not as being a separate votive, but rather a continuation of the tale of Pandaros.[9]

Like A 5, tale A 8 stands alone. It uses direct speech by both the god and Euphanes, the ending formula ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε, and the interior formula ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς followed by an infinitive. However, it also uses variant language, ἐνεκάθευδε for ἐγκαθεύδων; ἔδοξε for ἐδόκει, which is due to the use of different grammatical construction.

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[7]Another possibility is that the originals of A 1 and A 3 may have been bigger or more ornate. Also, in both cases, the miracle is more dramatic than in the second member of the pair. However, in the case of A 1 these elements of high drama probably derive from oral amplification, possibly inspired by Ithmonika's later votive - this issue is addressed below.

[8]This can come after the "rubric" and before the narration, as in A 3, and also 10 below.

[9]Herzog held that all such "punishment miracles" could not originally have been votives, but were a priestly contribution. Although I dispute this in regard to the *other* so-called punishment miracles, since in those cases the people do repent and are healed, in the case of Echedoros I agree so far as to say that 7 was not originally a votive. It may have either been a priestly tale attached to Pandaros' votive, or an actual continuation of the text of 6. I lean toward the latter on linguistic grounds.

Tales A 9 and A 10 form a thematic pair. The association in the first two is the scoffing attitude on the part of other people, who ridicule the suppliants (in the case of 10, the servant) for their faith. In A 11, Aischines acts impiously and is not at the sanctuary as a suppliant, making him one of the "other people" who display a scoffing attitude in this section.[10]

Despite the loosely shared motif of impiety, the content of these tales is so different that they share practically no vocabulary. Moreover, these tales are so unlike the majority of Iamata that the opportunity for them to use formulae generally does not arise. Tale A 10, for example, is like no other tale, and uses no formulae. Interestingly, Tale A 9 uses variants of formulae familiar from Tales A 1-9, while A 11 uses formulae which *become* familiar, occurring in A 12-20 and on the other stelai.

I doubt that these three tales represent a deliberate group, though the pairing of A 9 and A 10 probably *is* intended. Though A 10 is anomalous, it has a similar tone or "feel" to A 9, and both of them resemble A 1 (Kleo) and A 3 (The Unbeliever). If this relationship is valid, it may place A 9 and A 10 into a group with A 1 and A 3, which has already been tentatively placed earlier in time than A 2 and A 4.

Like the structural unity observed in A 1-4, it is possible to observe a unity in the larger group of A 1-10. These tales form a system of smaller patterns that, when viewed in context of the corpus as a whole, are relatively longer, more circumstantial, and more supernatural and folk-tale like. In addition to this, 1-10 (9) consistently use the word ὄψιν for vision where this is mentioned, and include all or part of the phrase ἱκέτις ἀφίκετο. As I mentioned above, the placement of these tales at the beginning not only of their stele, but of the corpus as a whole, indicates their importance to the inscribers. It is possible that most visitors to the sanctuary would have begun to read the Iamata in order, from the Stele A, the heading of which clearly indicated it to be the beginning. The authorities, knowing that many people would not bother to or be able to read everything, may have taken this into consideration, making sure to open the corpus with their biggest and most spectacular tales.[11]

Tales A 1-10 also portray a particular message about the god. This, however, is only apparent when the group is viewed *in relation* to the rest of the corpus. In

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[10]On the stone, tale 9 is set apart both by the use of small horizontal indicator bars, and of large vacats, beginning and ending the tale on a new line. This practice, apart from the indicator bars which do not appear again, is used consistently on the rest of the stele until line 120.

[11]Or with the tales most descriptive of their propaganda goal at that particular time. These ten tales stress the kindness and benevolence of Asklepios and the fact that nothing limits his power. This idea is by no means universal in the corpus; see next section.

these tales, the god is kind and friendly, but makes sure that he is treated with respect. As I mentioned, this group contains folk-elements and the cures are clearly supernatural. However, in no case are the methods employed by the god painful or frightening. A veil is drawn over the actual mechanics of his operation, but emphasis is placed on the calm and soothing presence of the god, and his ability and willingness to perform a painless and instantaneous cure. These characteristics are in sharp contrast with the other tales of the corpus, particularly those on Stele B.

This group also addresses the problem of disbelief and cynicism toward miracle, by underlining not only the fact that disbelievers themselves still turn to the god for assistance (A 3, A 4), but that the presence of people in the sanctuary who do *not* believe is not to deter the faithful. By incorporating this message within the inscription itself, the psychological "priming" effect of reading the corpus is enhanced, and the chance of a last minute weakening of faith or resolve, brought about by some of these scoffing people, is reduced or brought under control.

Tale 11 is an interesting transition between 1-10 and what follows. The question remains whether it was deliberately used to follow A 9 and A 10 because of its vaguely related content; I will leave this open. Linguistically, however, it more closely related to the tales which follow both here and on Stele B.

Tales A 12, A 13 and A 14 are similar both linguistically and thematically. In many ways they form the most obvious group. However, the reasons for these tales' appearance together and in these forms are more complicated than for the thematic pairings above. Tale A 12 begins narratively and supplies the name, while A 13 and A 14 begin with the brief statement of "a man" and the condition, to which 13 adds the state. In contrast to A 1-10, each tale uses the word ἐνύπνιον for dream,[12] and is relatively brief and specific about the way in which the cure was effected: in two cases divine surgery and in the third the physical expulsion of a stone. A 13 and A 14 both employ variations of the common internal formula οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς etc.); A 12, however, uses the unusual form ἐγκοιτασθέντος without further elaboration. To close the tales, whereas A 12 uses a variant of ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας, A 13 combines a variant of this with another variant formula, καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. A 14 does not employ standard closing formulas.

The author of A 13 has used forms of two common closing formulas (though they do not appear at the end); and several internal formulas (some of which arise on B and have not yet come up in this discussion). Except for the closing sentence, which describes how the man's stepmother had tricked him into consuming the

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[12]In A 4, Ambrosia uses the word ἐνύπνιον in a possibly derisive and scoffing sense. She doubts that a *dream* could cure anyone; she then later sees a *vision*, ὄψιν, by which she is cured.

leeches, the entire tale is quite "derivative," using only language that appears many other places in the corpus. Tale A 12 does not use a large number of formulas, and it presents them in variant forms when they do appear.

Tales A 13 and A 14 resemble each other more than they resemble A 12, which shows a slight resemblance to A 1, A 3, A 9, and A 10, tentatively called 'older' above. All three include the phrase ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, referring to the original object that caused the distress: stone, spearhead, leeches. This phrase appears exclusively in these three tales and in a variant form in B 10.[13] In the case of 12 and 13, the use of this phrase fits well with the content, since in those tales the god has used *his* hand, and specifically given the object over into the hands of the patient. For tale 12, it is easy to envision a pictorial votive plaque depicting the scene of hand-to-hand contact between the god and the patient. The "fit" between the formulaic phrase and the narrative is only slightly less comfortable for tale 13, where the main stress is on the surgical operation, rather than hand contact. In the case of A 14, however, the formula is not natural and seems intrusive. Here, the element of hand-to-hand contact is absent; as is any element of surgery or therapy. The man is specifically stated to have expelled the stone himself.[14]

Tale A 15 does not use any familiar formulae, due to its content. The main emphasis of the tale is on the stone, rather than the incubation experience. The tale uses, however, the familiar opening pattern of name, state and condition, used in tales A 2, A 4, and A 6. It also uses ἐκαθεύδω and leaves out ἱκέτις ἀφίκετο, and is brief and straightforward. Thematically, it refers to the concrete physical act of moving a stone to the front of the Abaton. This may appear to reflect a more pragmatic mind-set than the rather amazing Iamata in 1-10. However, the stone (or its replacement) to which this tale refers has been discovered, and it is far larger than any person could lift; Herzog estimated the weight at 700 kg.[15] Therefore, this

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[13]Using φέρων. Interestingly, B 10 may possibly form part of another group using the motif of hands, though without this particular phrasing. Therefore, though B 10 contains the identical phrase I will not discuss it out of context, though I will discuss in the following section why the phrase might reappear out of the group.

[14]As I mentioned above, A 13 may have deliberately imitated phrases from other dedications. The same might be true for A 14, which would explain the presence of the formula there, and the positioning of the tales together. However, it does not account for the reappearance of the motif, in a thematic grouping of its own, in Tale B 10. Herzog's explanation of "stich-wort" or key word organization accounts *only* for the formula, and leaves out the facts that 1) the three tales differ thematically; 2) the phrase occurs in different locations in the three tales; and 3) it does not account for B 10.

[15]See discussion of the stone below, *Text and Translation*, Tale A 15; also Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 100.

tale should be considered a miraculous tale, exclusive of Hermodikos' cure, though it is still less sensational than those in Tales A 1-10.

Tales A 16 and A 17 are both tales that occur in the daytime, though in A 17 the man is napping and does report a vision; neither patient is in the Abaton. Both are cured by seemingly random action, in one case of a boy and in the other of a snake in reality which mirrors the patient's vision of a good-looking young man. This motif of "physical intervention" reappears later in the corpus. The tales are dissimilar linguistically. A 16 begins with the patient's name and condition, and concludes with the common formula καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. It is also terse and contains a low level of detail, not even including the man's home state. Tale A 17 begins narratively and elaborates on this statement in the second sentence. The tale is moderately repetitive and has a much higher level of detail. It uses no formulae, though when the man reports his experience he uses the word ὄψιν.

The last three tales on the stele again show a change in the way the text is laid out on the stone. Vacats to the end of the lines disappear, and there are now small vacats between tales. The size of letter used is smaller, and the original stoichedon order is broken (and a new one established) to allow for more characters per line. It is tempting to imagine that the mason was worried about fitting these last three tales into the remaining room and so conserved space in this manner. However, linguistic features of these three tales add no support to this theory, but rather are more suggestive of a different, pre-inscribed exemplar being copied exactly by the mason.[16]

The three tales are worded somewhat similarly, though because they are different in content, not much of the language is shared. Each tale begins with the patient's name and home state, followed by narrative beginning with the word οὗτος; in the case of A 20 this is amplified by the addition of Lyson's condition. After the introductions, the language of the tales becomes very different. Tale A 18 uses the formula ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας etc., A 19 uses no formula, and A 20 concludes with the briefest ὑγιὴς ἀπῆλθε. "Physical intervention" reappears in A 20, but A 18 and A 19 apparently concern incubation and action by the god.

Patterns on Stele B

Stele B presents a different picture from Stele A. It is more consistently worded. However, though the linguistic differences between individual tales are much less marked, there is a much broader variety of content. The narrative style of opening is rarely used. It appears, in a variant form, only in tales B 6 and B 7. All

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[16]See *Source Material for Tales,* below.

other tales begin with the patient's name, state, and condition; or with the name and state followed by narrative giving the condition or circumstances. Where the name is omitted, "a man" or "a boy" is used, but the state always appears except for tales B 6 and B 7.

The groups are generally smaller and more scattered. Tales which strongly resemble each other are separated by other, very different tales between them. These features indicate a somewhat different condition of the source materials from which Stele B was composed. Unlike Stele A, which shows signs of the use as models of several relatively large precollected groups of tales, Stele B more often appears to use related tales in random order, though there is one noticeable large group in Tales B 1-5 (7). Apart from this, the stele may have been put together directly from separate votives. If so, then linguistic resemblances between tales on B may not be due as much to multiple redactions as to shared taste of the time or to quirks of an individual composer who worked for several suppliants. It is possible that this will mean that *all* tales on B are later than *some* tales on A (and C or D).

Two features should be noted. One is the use of Asklepios' name. This occurs on Stele A only twice, once possibly in a proverbial context. On Stele B it is commonly used in narrative, as in Tales B 3, 4, 5 and 7; and also in Tale B 16. The second feature is the marked "goriness" of several of the tales on Stele B. Many of these tales display a fascination with minute and dreadful details, not only of miracles and medical practices, but of such things as the number of basins filled with creatures, or the amount and location of blood.[17] Some tales seem deliberately designed to frighten or repulse, by stressing the more fearful or terrible aspects of the story being told. A prime example of this is in B 3, where emphasis is placed not only on the patient's decapitation, but on the fact that she must remain in that condition for at least twenty-four hours, and is possibly conscious for a portion of that time.[18] Within the Iamata collection these tales stand out, especially in relation to Tales 1-10 on Stele A, which depict the operation of the god as a pristine, painless, and spiritual encounter with a benevolent being. While there might be tangible results of Stele A cures, such as spear points, stones transported, or children born, these are always clean or even "noble." The corresponding features on Stele B are more likely to be bowls of pus, soiled bedclothes, or the floor of the Abaton covered in blood. This difference between Stelai A and B strongly suggests

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[17]Herzog suggests that when actual numbers appear in the tales, the composer is trying to imitate medical writing, in which this is common (*Wunderheilungen*, 82).

[18]This is suggested by the use of the phrase "During the *following night* Aristagora saw a vision," which indicates that the text does not intend the reader to assume that the entire episode is a dream/vision, but rather only selected elements within it.

a different origin in time for the two groups of tales, reflected by a change both in attitude and literary taste; and a difference in compositional technique.

While the Stele B tales are more gruesome, their miracles are less amazing, less majestic. Herzog was of the opinion that the natural development of propaganda is to become more wild and miraculous with the passage of time.[19] This would suggest that the greatest miracles in the Iamata are the latest in time, but this is unlikely on linguistic grounds.[20] In addition to this, examination of Asklepieia votives and inscriptions from later times clearly indicates a progression from the amazingly miraculous to rationalistic, regimen-oriented cures.[21] Herzog's view is also in conflict with anthropological models of the development of religious institutions, which suggest a moderation of wilder claims as a group becomes more established.[22]

The first five tales are related by both linguistic features and content.[23] The shared thematic element here is that of "action at a distance." Some tales involve a third person supplicating on behalf of a patient in another location, as in B 1, where Arata herself remains in Lacedaimon and dreams the same dream as her mother, or in B 4, where the father is led in the dream to his missing son. Other tales have Asklepios himself acting on patients *outside* of his usual sphere of activity in the sanctuary at Epidauros, as in B 2, where he reafflicts a man, presumably at his home on Thasos; B 3, in which he is summoned to bail out poor practitioners in the Asklepieion at Troizen; or on the road, as in B 5.

The name and state are reported for each tale. While B 1, 4, and 5 begin with name, state, and condition,[24] B 2 and 3 employ a combination of this and narrative, using the name and state, followed by narrative. The word for incubation is always ἐγκαθεύδω. Dream is ἐνύπνιον, but in B 3 and 5, ὄψιν is also used.[25] Of the five

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[19]*Wunderheilungen*, 51.

[20]Tale A 1, which is one of the "wildest" tales (in terms of the child born mature) also, as Herzog himself points out, contains very old elements of language in the dedication-portion of the tale.

[21]Louis Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece* (1956), 28-9; inscription texts: Edelstein, *Asclepius* I.

[22]Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), especially chs. 3-5.

[23]Does this indicate a pre-grouping of these five tales? I lean toward a "yes," although the presence of Tale B 7, which is like 1, 3, 4, and 5 in "gory taste" and the use of Asklepios' name, but unlike them linguistically, may indicate otherwise. See below, sec. 3.

[24]Order inverted in the case of B 4.

[25]In both B 3 and B 5, ὄψιν appears to be used in unusual senses. In B 5, the word refers to a waking experience - the epiphany of the god looks or appears like "a vision." In B 3 the

only B 3 uses a familiar closing formula, καῖ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. The other four tales' content makes it more difficult for them to use any of the closing formulae.

Within this group there may be a divided thematic pair, as Herzog thought. Tales B 1 and 3 share the motif of the cutting off of the patient's head,[26] in one case by Asklepios himself with a successful result, in the other, by the "sons" of the god, who must send to Epidauros for Asklepios to complete the cure. Apart from this content feature, the tales are much closer linguistically than other "doubling" tales, for instance, A 1 and 2. They have approximately the same length and level of detail, and use the same vocabulary for decapitation, incubation, and dream.[27]

Tales B 3, 4, and 5 all use Asklepios' name. B 1, 3, and 5 are extremely detailed and dwell upon frightening and painful elements in the stories, as does B 4, which may reflect the "gory style" even in the absence of physical or surgical subject matter.

Tales B 6 and 7 are very close to the preceding five, and if it were not for the omission of the names, I would have considered them a group of seven. Tale B 7 relates particularly strongly to B 3, 4, and 5; B 6, however, remains a problem. Like B 2, B 6 is a very brief tale, with a low level of elaboration and an absence of formulaic language. It does not relate to its neighbors either linguistically or thematically, although it shares the lack of the patient's name with 7; this is unusual on B. Tale B 7 shares several features with 1-5. Most notably, it is remarkably grisly, incorporating not only specifically gruesome details, but harping on the fear of the patient (he must be kept from running away from the god) and the physical evidence of all this, the Abaton floor covered in blood *in actuality* in the morning. Linguistically, B 7 is worded like 1-5. It uses ἐγκαθεύδω, ἐνύπνιον and familiar internal narration structure, ἐδόκει etc. with infinitives, but uses αὐτῶι instead of οἱ. Vocabulary for stomach, surgery, sewing up is all the same as in B 1, 3, and 5.[28] Tales B 1, 3, 4, 5, and 7 share a similar length and level of descriptive detail. In addition to this, like B 3, 4, and 5, Tale B 7 names Asklepios by name.

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word may be deliberately presented in positive contrast with ἐνύπνιον, since the ὄψιν heals Aristagora, and the ἐνύπνιον is more nightmare than dream.

[26]It should be noted that in both cases the patients' problems are apparently unrelated to the head or neck: dropsy and intestinal parasite.

[27]Except for the addition of ὄψιν in B 3; see n. 25 above. The tales also use different words for neck. It is very likely that one or both of these tales originally was on a pictorial representation of a woman with her head off; however, there are several other possibilities that will be considered in the next section. The interruption of this pair by the tale of Hermon is typical of Stele B.

[28]There is in B 3 and 7 a similar play between forms of τέμνω and ἀνσχίσσω: the former is bad, fearful or ineffective; the second is good, quick and healing.

Tales 8 and 9 form a clear pair, with shared verbal patterns and thematic features. In both cases, the god does the same thing to them, he "stands them up straight, naked." There is a slight difference in the wording of this element. B 8 uses γυμνὸν καταστάσας ὀρθὸν, while B 9 is phrased ὀρθόν ἀστάσας γυμνόν. The two patients' ailments are very different. In the case of Kleinatas, the standing up straight and naked makes sense as a preparation for sweeping off the lice, but in 9, the man is suffering from headache and insomnia.[29] The two tales resemble each other linguistically. Tale B 8 begins with name, state and condition, while B 9 begins with only name and condition and omits the state, unless we are to assume the man's home was Nemea. Both tales do strange things with the formulae for sleeping and dreaming. B 8 uses ἐνεκάθευδε for incubation but ὄψιν ὁρῆι instead of εἶδε.[30] In B 9, seeing the dream is in the expected form, ἐνύπνιον εἶδε, but instead of any of the normal words for incubation, καθύπνωσε is used, the only time in the collection. This makes some sense in terms of the content, since the point was the man's insomnia and the stressed idea is that even he, in the Abaton, falls asleep. In the narration of the dreams, both tales show an unusual grammatical structure. They use ἐδόκει, but instead of the usual dative pronoun followed by a string of various types of infinitives, they both use the accusative αὐτόν and a number of participles before a final infinitive, which is followed immediately by versions of the formula ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴ ἐξῆλθε. The formula is varied slightly in both tales; B 8 adds the phrase ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου, and B 9 uses the aorist passive participle γενηθείσας instead of the aorist middle γενομένας. Neither uses the name of Asklepios.

This is actually more of a grab-bag than a group, but the tales show enough similarity to possibly suggest that at least B 10 and B 12 were deliberately combined, and interrupted with B 11, a common pattern on Stele B. Small elements relate the tales to *other* tales and groups. The thematic element of stress on hands reappears in B 10 and 11; and B 10 and 12 share the thematic and linguistic element of the battle wound, and the content features of barb or dart, and surgical cure. Tales B 11 and 12 are not like each other, but B 11 is like B 14, 19 and 22, which are discussed together below. Tale B 10 corresponds with Stele A, 12-14 in the phrase ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ [φέρων], the surgical cure, and the formulaic ending ἁμέρας etc. The wording of B 10, however, is very different from that of the group on Stele

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[29]The question is not why Asklepios used this particular treatment in these cases, but rather why these two tales both have this detail and appear together on the stele. The possibilities are examined in the next section; a pictorial or sculptural source is likely.

[30]ὁρῆι may be due to a mason's mistake -having just written ὄψιν, his eye may have wandered back to the omicron. For this to work, we have to assume word-division in the model. This use of the present appears also in tale B 1. There, however, ὁρῆι follows ἐνύπνιον.

A, and similar to that used in most tales on Stele B. Tale B 10 uses ὄψιν while A 12-14 uses ἐνύπνιον when dream is mentioned. B 10 begins with name, state and condition, while none of A 12-14 does; where the closing formula is shared between B 10 and A 12 and 14, in A 12 the formula is a variant. The phrase concerning hands, which uses ἔχων in all three tales on Stele A, here appears with φέρων.[31] B 10 is a prime example of the preference for goriness of Stele B. The details of the year and six months of the infection, and the sixty-seven basins of discharge, are very close in tone to tales B 1, 3, 5 and 7.[32] Linguistically, B 10 is very close to 12. Both begin with name, state, and condition; both use ὄψιν, are surgical cures, contain the phrase ἐν τινι μάχαι telling how the man was wounded, and both conclude with ἀμέρας κτλ., with B 10 going on to add the detail about the hands. But they differ in internal structure. Tale B 10 uses the usual ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς plus infinitive, while B 12 uses ἐδόκει οὐ (the only example of that in the collection) followed by a participle, closer to the structure of B 8 and 9. Despite this, B 10 is very close to B 12 and to other tales on Stele B, and apart from the reference to hands, differs from any tale on Stele A.

Tale B 11 is the first of four scattered tales with essentially the same content and similar wording. I am going to discuss them as a group here rather than repeating myself four times later. B 11, 14, 19 and 22 all concern women who come to the sanctuary for offspring. All four begin with name (restoration in B 14 and B 19), state (restoration in B 14), and condition, represented by the phrase περὶ παίδων (ὑπὲρ τέκνων in B 14). All use similar language for incubation and dream, αὗτα ἐγκαθεύδουσα ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ... (Tale B 11 uses αὐταῖ). This close a resemblance is unusual even between tales which are grouped together. All four tales use a version of the ἐκ τούτου ending, sometimes mentioning "a son," sometimes "offspring" when the tale is of a multiple birth. None of the tales mentions Asklepios by name. There is variation in the content of the women's dreams: a boy uncovers Andromache and the god touches her hand; the god speaks to the woman in B 14 and asks her if she would like a son or a daughter; a snake lies

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[31]I have examined the possibility that B 10 is inspired by the same votive or other source as A 12-14, but both linguistic and thematic factors indicate that it cannot go with that group. The presence of hands corresponds with the hands in the following tale of Andromache. Both of these tales could have appeared on or near a votive of hands or have carried hands themselves without involving the votive from the other group. The hand was a very popular shape for the Corinthian votives; probably there were many of them throughout the Epidaurian sanctuary as well.

[32]Herzog suggested that specific numbers indicate imitation of medical writers. G.E.R. Lloyd, *Science*, 154, n. 122, states that καλεόμένος/α/ον is a term often used in Hippocratic writers to introduce a new technical term; this appears in B 12. This again ties B 10 to B 12, and is in contrast to the group on A.

on the stomach of the woman in B 19; and Nikasiboula has sex with a snake. It is possible to see sexual content in three of the four dreams, and it is tempting to suggest a surrogate fatherhood service for women with infertile husbands actually occurring in the Abaton at night. Interesting as that is, it does not explain why these tales should be so similar in language, and yet not grouped together but scattered here and there across the latter half of Stele B.

Tale 13 vaguely resembles the fragmentary C 18, and shares also with B 5 the motif of unsuccessful incubation and activity on the road or out of the sanctuary. However, it stands alone in the collection as the foundation story of an Asklepieion in Halieis. The tale is very likely to have come from an official inscription, professionally composed and set up by the polis of Halieis.[33] In light of this and also of the fact that the tale's content is unique, it is not surprising to find that, apart from the standard opening of name, state and condition, no formulas or patterns appear.[34]

Tales B 15-18 are so fragmentary that they are not very useful for the present purpose, yet some general remarks may be in order. The tales appear to open with name, state, and condition, except for B 18, which begins with name, state, and narrative; this is a "return" to an earlier pattern on Stele B, and is also shared by the following tale B 19. Tale B 16 clearly shows Asklepios' name, which is a trait of B 3, 4, 5, and 7; however, it is possible that as in A 10, the use here is proverbial. Tales B 15 and 17 both have been restored to concern cowardice. Though I have no alternative suggestion, I very much doubt the restoration of this theme, especially for B 17. Tales B 16 and 18 appear to mention horses, possibly trampling or injury from horses, though in different contexts, as far as we can tell. Based on so little, however, I would hesitate to consider the four tales as two broken pairs, or as a group of four concerning lameness and paralysis.[35]

The next pair, B 20 and 21, shares the motif of drugs or medicine used, within the patient's dreams, by the god to effect a cure. Tale B 20 is very brief, B 21 much longer. As far as I can tell with the many lacunae, both tales use similar language.

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[33]It strikes me as strange that an official inscription like this would have been removed from whatever gift was given by the polis of Halieis and transferred into the collection. This seems to somewhat diminish the original - especially since the tale is not given prominent placement. However, its length and lack of formulas shows that in this case, the inscription was probably not re-worded when transferred to the stele.

[34]Herzog presents several examples of other Asklepios foundation stories (usually much later in time), *Wunderheilungen*, 37-9.

[35]As does Herzog. He considers B 15 and 17 as a linguistic pair connected by the key-word δειλός - restored by him into both tales! They both do, however, appear to contain the word μικρόν.

Both B 20 and 21 use ἐνύπνιον, and follow ἐδόκει etc. immediately with a participle and an infinitive. Tale B 21 uses the καὶ ἐκ τούτου ending, B 20 the briefer variant. A stylistic point is the gross detail of B 21, stressing the condition of her little robe the next morning in "real life." It is very much like Tale B 7, and again underlines the generally sensational taste of Stele B.

Stele B ends with a very brief animal cure tale which takes place in the daytime. It is not related to its preceding tale, and is so brief that it shares no language with other tales except for the opening of name [presumably], state, and condition.[36]

Patterns on Stele C

In the case of Stele C, we have to consider the material in two classes: 1) Tales 1-5 and 21-23, fairly complete, and 2) the fragmentary word list from lines 33-123. A general overview seems to indicate that the stele is very consistently inscribed. Where starts and endings are preserved, small vacats of about 6 characters are always used between tales. This vacat appears even in the broken lines 33-123, at lines 108, 117, and 123. This size vacat is not generally used on Stelai A or B, which show great variety in the treatments of the ends of tales.

Of the first five tales, none concerns incubation for illness in the ordinary way, a possible indication that these tales were deliberately arranged together. Tales C 1 and 2 concern naturalistic cures in the daytime; C 3 uses incubation for treasure located far away, C 4 is a remarkable problem tale of punishment far away, and C 5, though the patient is asleep in a sanctuary, is a warning. If the readings were more certain, language might help establish whether or not this is to be considered a conscious grouping. The first four tales do not begin either narratively or with name, state, and condition. Tales C 1-3 begin by name and condition (in C 1 "a girl" stands in for the name); C 4 begins only with the name, by necessity since Amphimnastos has no condition when the story begins. There is great variety in wording among the first five, perhaps largely due to the wide variety in content.

Tales 1 and 2 are both cures of female patients, which do not involve incubation or dreams. Both are performed by snakes, with Asklepios taking no part. In 1, the girl is cured spontaneously on seeing the snake, while in 2 a woman's tumor is cured by a snake bite. Not only do these cures not involve incubation or dreams, but they are rather concrete or naturalistic. These tales simply are reports of events, and the events are of the type which might often happen. Each person's

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[36]The positioning of this tale and of A 20, brief daytime animal cures at ends of stelai, suggests that when such tales appear elsewhere they may have originally *been* ends of stelai.

release from illness is miraculous to that person, but would not necessarily be considered so by other people. The two tales use different words for snake, C 1 uses δράκων and C 2 ἔχις, which is not used elsewhere in the collection. As noted above, the tales begin anomalously with name, or "rank", and condition; C 2 mentions the patient's name while C 1 does not. C 2 uses the familiar ἐκ τούτου ending; the ending of C 1 is in dispute. The two tales are similarly brief and not at all gruesome; both mention sanctuary features.

Tales C 3 and 4 have very little in common apart from the thematic similarity of the absence of illness, and their relatively longer lengths. C 4 mentions Asklepios by name several times. An interesting point is that at the beginning of this tale, the word "Kallikrateia" has been begun and then rubbed out. At least in this one case, the mason has clearly had the previous tale in front of him when beginning to cut this one. C 3 uses the Ionic form ἱέρον rather than ἱάρον. In addition to this, Herzog says that Thargelion is an Ionic, not a Doric month.[37] This may indicate an Ionic source for the tale, but Ionic craftsmen are also a strong possibility. Peek reads ἱέρον also in C 1.[38]

Like B 3, C 5 expresses a somewhat low opinion of the level of care in Troizen. In this case, however, it is not necessarily to be assumed that the man is in the Asklepieion there, since only "doctors" are mentioned, and Eratokles is said to be just sleeping, καθεύδοντι with no prefix ἐγ-. It is interesting to note that when a patient is not practicing incubation, words such as "vision" or "dream" are avoided. This tale returns to the more usual linguistic pattern of name, state, and condition opening, and internal structure of ἐδόκει κτλ. The closing phrase is not preserved.

Line Fragments 33-123

The fragments of lines 33-123 are too small and unconnected to be of great use for the present purpose. However, an overview of what is and is not there may be of value. Most of the these lines seem to deal with "straight" cures from familiar illnesses involving incubation and dreams of various types. This is in contrast with the five tales at the start of Stele C. Bits and pieces of familiar formulae continue to appear.[39]

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[37]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 114-8.

[38]It appears in A 3 as well, there in conjunction with ἱάρον. The exemplar for A 3 may have used the Ionic form, rendered as Doric by the mason due to his familiar dialect, etc.; the problem is that it could work just as well in the reverse, i.e., the Ionic craftsman again.

[39]46: ἀβάτου ἐ - ; 71: [ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ [ἰ] - ; 79: [τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἀφι - ; 85: [ἐνύπν]ιον εἶδε· ἐδό - ; 88: ὑγιὴς ἐγένε - ; 115: 'Αρ]γεῖος ἐπίλαμπτος· οὗτος ἐγ - ; 117: ἐγ]ένετο. *vac.* Ἡράκλειτος Χῖος· οὖ - ; 119: ἐν]εκάθευδε καὶ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδό-- .

Certain points are worth noting. Both words for dream appear, and the formula ἐδόκει οἱ κτλ., is frequent. Forms of the word ἐνεκάθευδε appear twice (59 and 119) and may appear a third time in 115, though there either of the words is possible; the word is also used in C 5. This makes the group of three at the end, C 21-23, which uses ἐγκοιμάομαι, very noticeable.[40] "The God" is mentioned in lines 48, 56, 75, 76, 79, 86, 98, and 116; there is no trace of the name Asklepios. Money is mentioned twice, drachmas at 68 and triobols at 107. Specific coinage does not appear elsewhere except for mention of a mina of silver on D.

The last three tales on C use similar language. All three use forms of ἐγκοιμάω or -μίζω for incubation; this word is not used on Stele B; the form used on A is ἐγκατακοιμάω. Both C 21 and C 23 use ὄψιν, C 22 shows no word for dream. There is a resemblance between the closing formulae; C 22 and C 23 both use καὶ ἐκ τούτου etc., and C 21 uses the shorter variant, ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. Thematically these tales do not resemble each other. 21 is very unusual in the collection, in that it prescribes a long stay for the patient; despite this the tale makes clear that it is not this, but the instantaneous cure, which occurs in the last days, that is being commemorated.[41]

Fragment of D

Herzog thought that "all four" tales on "Stele D" concerned treasure or payment, a thematic grouping. This is a faint possibility. Basically, in line 2 the verb ἐκέλετ[ο] appears; in line 6 τὰ νομιζόμεν-; in line 8 the mention of a mina of silver, and in 12, treasure or treasury. Proper names, closing formulae and small vacats show that line two is from one tale, lines 6 and 8 from a separate tale, and 12 from a third; there is no trace of this motif in the fourth "tale" of Ophelion. For Stele D there are no complete lines, let alone tales. Some of its 22 lines consist of only one or two characters. For the present purpose Stele D is not very useful. As with Stele C, 33-123, I will just note some general points. Line 1 shows a possible appearance of ἐγκατεκοιμάθη, elsewhere only on A. Line 5 shows a name, state, and narrative (or "a man", state, and narrative) opening; this may also be the form of line 9. This pattern is very unusual, but appears also in B 3. In the case of the fourth "tale" at line 13, there is room for another type of ending. ὑγιὴς γενομένος appears at lines 4 and 17; ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο in line 7.

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[40]On the other hand, when the snake in C 2 lies down in Melissa's bedding, the verb used is ἐγκοιταθεὶς.

[41]Long stays at Asklepieia were more common later in the Hellenistic age, cf. Aristides, Apollonius, etc., with the adoption of regimen as the healing tool. This may indicate a relatively late origin for this tale.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR TALES

As early as the first publication of Stele A in 1883, Kavvadias suggested that the corpus reflects a priestly collection of stories from votive inscriptions around the sanctuary, combined with stories from an oral tradition.[1] The internal evidence of the inscriptions strongly indicates the presence of narrative votive inscriptions around the sanctuary. In the case of A 1, the inclusion of the text of an earlier inscription within the tale on the stele is a further indication that stories were drawn from votive sources.[2]

Kavvadias' assertion that an oral tradition was an additional source of the material would also account for tales which some scholars have thought unlikely to have come from votives. For example, Herzog states that the "Strafwunder," tales where the god inflicts punishment upon people for various acts, would have been inserted by sanctuary authorities (or some other source), and that the sensibility required for those persons involved to have had these tales inscribed themselves is an Eastern development of a much later period.[3]

The Iamata exhibit many features of linguistic style and thematic arrangement which suggest that the tales were drawn from a *variety* of sources, including narrative and pictorial votives, oral tales attached to sanctuary features, and state-sponsored inscriptions. These features also suggest that the corpus had a long history of collection, arrangement and redaction, and that certain sections of the final product may have a longer and more involved history than others. The purpose

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[1]Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 220.

[2]Tale A 15, with its corresponding inscription, is also an indication of this; see Table 1.

[3]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 56-7. However, in all cases but one of this type in the corpus, punishment is followed by repentance and eventual healing, making it perfectly possible that these people would have dedicated votives. Moreover, in the case of A 4, we learn that the god himself has requested a votive, which might very well have carried the original narration of the story. The one case of a person who is not eventually healed, A 7, comes in what is very likely not a separate tale but a continuation of the previous one. This story would therefore have been inscribed by Pandaros of A 6. As far as the religious mentality is concerned, although this type of self-criticism was not the most common expression of Classical Greek piety, Dodds points out the general preoccupation with purification as early as the Archaic period, which grows into a kind of puritanism in some circles in Classical times. This may allow for a small number of individuals who find it right, even important, to expiate the sin of impiety in a public way (especially if the god commands it, as above.) See especially E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1951), ch. 5.

of this and the following chapters is to sort out the compositional history of the corpus of Iamata, in order to arrive at a clearer picture of the sources from which it was drawn, and the principles of organization (if any) which result in the format of the preserved stelai.

A Greek sanctuary in operation presented a very different appearance from the pure, white and austere impression we get from the surviving ruins. The buildings themselves often took second place to the masses of votive objects, which in some cases even obscured the buildings.[4]

Votive offerings could consist of almost any thing that an individual valued or considered significant, such as the clothing worn during pregnancy or shipwreck, or the locks of hair offered upon coming of age.[5] Of course, sacrifice of animals or other foods is probably the most common form of gift. Of tangible and *relatively* permanent votive offerings, again there is a wide variety in both forms and materials, ranging from vessels to figurines to full-scale sculpture to entire buildings, to human beings: Diogenes the Cynic dedicated to Asklepios a bully, who used to run up to anyone praying in a prone position and beat them up.[6] In the great majority of cases, these gifts carried some record of the donor's name and that of the god for whom the gift is meant; often more information is included, such as the reasons for the supplication or thanksgiving.

It is difficult to say precisely what kind of votives were most common in the sanctuary at Epidauros. The reason for this is that few small finds have been found or reported from it. For the most part, we have to rely on the internal evidence within the Iamata which mentions votive gifts, plaques, or other features of sanctuary geography to get an idea about what was there.[7]

There are probably several reasons for the lack of small votive finds at Epidauros. The possibility exists that deposits of votives may remain to be uncovered at the site. It was a common practice to bury votives when a sanctuary became too full. In Corinth, seven deposits were found in and around the Asklepieion, yielding ten cubic meters of terra-cotta votive fragments.[8] In addition,

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[4]Or at least impeded traffic: Sokolowski, *LSS* 107; 123; blocking the cult image: Pausanias 2.11.6; 3,.26.1; discussion in F.T. Van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (ed. H.S. Versnel; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 78-9.

[5]Van Straten, "Gifts," 79-80; other exx. in Edelstein, *Asclepius* II, 188-90, from a variety of Asklepios sites; see also D. Wachsmuth, *Πόμπιμος ὁ Δαίμων*, Diss. Freien Universität, 1967 (Berlin, 1967), 120 ff; 141 n. 243; 134 ff; 141 n. 246.

[6]Diogenes Laertius, 6.37-8.

[7]These references are collected in Table 1, below.

[8]It should be noted that these deposits occurred for the most part in the many wells and fountains on the site, and in the libation channel running away from the temple. It is very unlikely

the usual depredations of human beings and the passage of time were probably important factors. Precious votives could be melted down for re-use or stolen over the centuries; other votives of wood or unfired clay would not be able to stand the test of time. Since the sanctuary area at Epidauros continued in use as a church site, many of its artifacts as well as its architectural elements may have been willfully destroyed by being used for other purposes.[9]

We must also consider the possibility that Epidauros may not have had large numbers of small votives. The preserved finds from the three known major mainland Asklepieia, Epidauros, Corinth and Athens, present the appearance of a personal or regional style or preference for certain types of votives over others. Epidauros is best known for narrative inscriptions, represented by the Iamata; Corinth lacks inscriptions but is rich in terra-cotta body-part votives, while Athens and Piraeus have many stone votive reliefs, without any text.[10] Each of these types is poorly represented from the other sites. This may reflect the taste of the respective districts and the availability in each area of craftsmen and materials.

On the other hand, it is possible to explain this disparity as due to the accidents of preservation. Though few body-part votives were found in the Athenian Asklepieia, we do know that at one time they existed. Inventories of the Asklepieion from the middle of the 4th to the end of the 3rd centuries BCE list numerous body-part votives, many of gold or silver.[11] In the case of Epidauros, the indications in the Iamata are that there were reliefs, though probably not of stone, and body-part votives as well.[12]

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that deposits in these locations would have been missed at Epidauros, where the wells and fountains have been gone over very carefully a number of times. However, the excavator of Corinth suggests that the field around the sanctuary probably contains even more deposits of this kind; F.J. de Waele, "The Sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth," *AJA* 37 (1933), 422; 440-5; also M. Lang, *Cure and Cult in Ancient Corinth* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1977), illus. 14, 14.

[9]As, for instance, the erasure of Stele C by its use as a church door-sill, see above, ch. 1. The Asklepieion at Corinth suffered much rougher treatment by the Christian community and for several centuries was a taboo location for churches or chapels; de Waele, "Sanctuary," 435-6.

[10]Reliefs discussed by K. Sudhoff, "Handanlegung des Heilgottes auf attischen Weihetafeln," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medezin* vol. 18 (Leipzig: Barth, 1926), 235-50; plates ix-xii.

[11]*IG* II^2 1532-37 and 1539; S.T. Edmunds, "An Inventory of the Asklepieion at Athens," *AJA* 76 (1972) 209-10.

[12]Some Epidaurian reliefs are in C. Kerényi, *Asklepios: Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*, trans. R. Manheim (New York: Pantheon, 1959), illustrations, *passim*.

The Athenian inventories[13] may provide a possible example of text formation in the case of the Iamata. A similar list or inventory may have provided an intermediate format for some, though not all, of the Epidaurian tales. In particular, certain features of tale "heading" or stone layout with vacats may reflect this. If indeed the preserved corpus originates with an inventory of objects (in this case, inscriptions) removed, then we should not expect to find the originals still in the sanctuary, unless they are in a storage or burial pit, as at Corinth.

The deposits at Corinth, discussed above, are dated to a time of sanctuary rebuilding, around 338 BCE.[14] If at the time of the Epidaurian sanctuary renovations, an effort was made to monumentalize every aspect of the sanctuary, including the votives and inscriptions, then the transferal of the inscriptions from the votives to stone stelai or some intermediate form would presuppose a purposeful removal of the original objects from the site.[15]

Some of the source votives may not have carried any inscription at all. Particularly in the case of very odd, beautiful or expensive gifts, oral stories may easily arise concerning these prominent sanctuary features.[16] The possible oral sources of Iamata material are discussed below.

Source votives which *did* carry text may also have taken a variety of forms. The Iamata mention a number of objects within the tales, which may have been either the form of the original votive or pictorially represented on a plaque. The following chart lists possible objects, exclusive of plaques:

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[13]Other sanctuaries also occasionally kept such records. An example from Oropos: *IG* 7 303, which records data from votive vessels of silver and gold that were melted down for temple implements, cited in Van Straten, "Gifts," 80 and App. A, 16.3; Lindos: F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: Leiden, 1923-58) # 532.

[14]de Waele, 440.

[15]The local taste or supply of materials may play a role in non-survival of these votives. The Corinthian deposits have survived because they are terra-cotta, which withstands burial. According to de Waele, terra-cotta votives are more characteristic of Italian sanctuaries, and mainland votives are mostly marble or metal; de Waele, 444. To this must be added *wood*, an important material and one which would most likely disintegrate after 1000 years underground. Though the archaeological methods of today might be able to detect a former deposit of buried wood, it is probable that one would have been missed in the nineteenth century excavations of the likely areas at Epidauros. For discussion of wood as a probable material for the Epidaurian votives, see below.

[16]Burkert suggests this scenario for the Lindian Temple-Chronicle; *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 94.

Table 1

Stele A:	1, 2	
	4	silver pig
	6, 7	fillet, located in the naos
	10	cup
	12, 13, 14	
	15	stone (later version preserved)
	17	snake or votive bench (many)
	20	dog
Stele B:	5	couch or foot basin
	6	dog
	7	operating table
	8, 9	athlete
	10	hands or bowl
	15	ladder; fracture-reduction machine
	16	horse
	18	horses, chariot
	19	snake
	20, 21	phiale or medicine bottle
	22	snake
	23	goose
Stele C:	1, 2	snake
	3	lion?
	5	implement for cautery?
	6	canes
	7	lekythos

The majority of such votive objects would have had very brief inscriptions, probably names, but not narrative.[17] For the sources of the much longer tales or inscriptions preserved in the Iamata, we must turn to the plaque, or πίναξ.

Within the Iamata, pinakes are mentioned in A 1, 3, 4 (indirectly), B 16 (possibly); C 12 (possibly). The clearest reference is in A 1, where we are apparently given the original inscription from the pinax of Kleo:

> "*The wonder is not the size of the plaque, but the act of the god: Kleo bore a burden in her stomach for five years, until she slept here and he made her well.*"[18]

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[17]An exception to this would be large statues, which could have longer inscriptions on the bases.

[18]*IG* 4^2, I, 121, 7-9.

The pinax was a very popular type of votive.[19] Pinakes were mainly made of wood, perhaps stuccoed over, with the inscription and/or pictorial accompaniment painted on. A pinax could also be of terra cotta, as in the famous Niinnion tablet from Eleusis.[20] The square shape of the Niinnion tablet is probably rather unusual. Since the pinax was a wooden object or one in another medium strongly influenced by wooden origins, the long rectangle or beam shape was most common. With the passage of time, or in areas where stone and stoneworkers were abundant, the pinax became the votive relief, though it often retained the characteristic oblong shape.[21] On a fourth-century relief from the Amphiareion at Oropus, which probably depicts a scene of the sanctuary, an oblong pinax, supported by a central column or post, is pictured in the background.[22] Pinakes could also be hung up.

Wood and plaster are not durable materials, and it is not surprising that original pinakes do not survive from Epidauros. There is, however, a pinax in the National Museum[23] in surprisingly good condition, which provides a good comparative idea of what the Epidaurian votives may have been like. This pinax derives from of Pitsa, a site between Corinth and Aigion, and is a dedication to the Nymphs. Though only 15 cm. high, the pictorial area leaves ample room for several lines of text.

Over time, the word "pinax" was extended to cover the Epidaurian Iamata themselves. Strabo uses it in this sense, when he describes the stelai and in discussion of similar inscriptions in Trikka and Kos.[24] Though these examples are stone, an interesting tradition about Hippocrates may contain a faint remembrance of original wooden pinakes at Kos. Pliny reports that Hippocrates began the study of medicine by studying the inscriptions in the temple at Kos; these inscriptions were then destroyed by fire.[25]

No iamata, either inscribed or on wood, survive from either Trikka or Kos.[26] From 3rd century Delphi, however, there is an interesting dedication to the god for a

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[19]Van Straten, "Gifts," *passim*, discusses pinakes for Asklepios, Pan and the Nymphs, and the Great Gods of Samothrace, among others.

[20]Athens, National Museum 11036; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 213-21; Pl. 88; Van Straten, "Gifts," 88-9; fig. 27.

[21]Fraser and Rönne, *Tombstones*, 40-2.

[22]Athens, National Museum 3369; Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 88f; frontispiece.

[23]No museum number is reported for the pinax, but it appears in Van Straten, "Gifts," Plate 13; and also in F. Muthmann, *Mutter und Quelle* (Basel: Archäologischer Verlag, 1975) discussion: 95-6; Plate 14.2. Muthmann dates the pinax to the 6th c. BCE.

[24]Strabo, *Geography* 8, 6.15.

[25]Pliny, *Natural History*, 29, 1 (2), 4 (Edelstein, T. 795).

[26]The Asklepios complex from Trikka has not been found. Kastriotis originally identified a building as the early Asklepieion, but this was revealed by further excavation in 1956 to be a

sort of combination childbirth and hair-growth miracle.[27] In this fragmentary tale, two daughters, who are given the significant names of Delphis and Pytho, are either born as the result of prayer to Apollo or are prophesied by him. These are apparently eleven-month pregnancies; and the girls are born with full heads of hair which continues to grow remarkably fast after they are born.

I find this inscription interesting because of the possibility that people's knowledge of the Epidaurian Iamata may have influenced the votives dedicated at other sanctuaries; particularly those of deities as closely connected to Asklepios as is Apollo, his father.[28] It is not, however, a very helpful comparative source for the Iamata, since it is a single tale and not part of a collected group.

There is a comparable, though much less extensive, body of material preserved from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena, Crete.[29] The Asklepieion at Lebena was apparently affiliated with the Epidaurian sanctuary, either directly or through Balagrai.[30] The town of Lebena is thought to have been founded in the fourth century BCE as a spa, due to the medicinal springs there. If this is the case, then it is possible that the Asklepieion began operations at the same time as the foundation. The preserved temple is apparently of fourth-century date.[31]

The temple is adjacent to a stoa, which may have been the Abaton of Lebena.[32] Within this stoa nine fragments of inscriptions were found which relate cures performed by Asklepios. Unlike Epidauros, where the inscriptions were

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Roman building with a different function; Kastriotis, *τὸ ἐν Τρίκκη τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκλεπιεῖον* (Athens, 1903); "Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιεῖον," *AE* 1918, 66-73; T.S. MacKay, s.v. "Trikka," *PECS*, 934. For information and bibliography on every aspect of Kos, see S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period* (Hypomnemata 51; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978). It is possible that Koan iamata may still have existed in the eighteenth century; Sherwin-White, *Cos*, 275; n. 109.

[27]O. Weinreich, *Eine Delphische Mirakel-Inschrift und die Antike Haarwunder*, *Sitzungs.Akad.Heid.*, vol. 7 (Heidelberg, 1924-5); also M.N. Tod, "The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1915-1918," *JHS* 39 (1919) 220.

[28]I agree with Weinreich, *Delphische*, 7, that the inscription represents Epidaurian influence. Though it is possible that early non-narrative votives at Epidauros may have been originally for Apollo, as the Stele A heading remembers, the narrative votive tradition seems clearly associated with Asklepios.

[29]Lebena lies on the south coast of Crete, in the center of the island. It functioned as a harbor of Gortyn in Roman times. For description of site and references, see K. Branigan, s.v. "Lebena," *PECS*, 493.

[30]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 55, n.12; M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome: Librerio dello Stato, 1935-50) I, 7, 158.

[31]Guarducci, *ICr* I, 150.

[32]The word [ἄ]βατον appears in *ICr* v.1,11, B 1; ἄδυτον is used in 9, 9 and 15, 7. Guarducci has suggested that 11 B is slightly later than other parts of the collection, see below.

recorded on free-standing stelai, these texts were apparently engraved directly onto the walls of the stoa.[33] The text lines of the inscription extended across the divisions of the building blocks of the wall. Since consecutive blocks have not been discovered, none of the tales survives complete.

The inscriptions are dated for the most part to the second century BCE, though small sections seem to be somewhat later.[34] However, they derive from earlier material. One of the fragments, very likely the first in the series, preserves an introduction or heading, which indicates that the catalog was drawn together and inscribed in the second century from the plaques around the sanctuary.[35] These plaques are referred to as σανίδες. This word may describe votives of any shape, but the significant factor is that they are always of wood.[36]

The texts from Lebena exhibit both interesting similarities to those from Epidauros and differences which may indicate regional preferences of the two sanctuaries or changes in taste and activity over time. Like the Iamata, the Lebena tales begin with the suppliant's name, father's name, and home town, followed by the problem for which he or she came to the sanctuary. They also seem to use certain formulas and repeated words. Where the text is clear, ὕπνον or καθ' ὕπνον is the designation used for the time or mode of cure. Like Epidauros, Lebena employs a compound of εὕδω for incubation, though here it is prefixed by ἐπι rather than καθ' or ἐγκαθ'; the verb is also used uncompounded. The words χύγιὴς ἐγένετο appear several times. The individual tales seem always to be separated by small vacats, though not by blank (skipped) lines. The presence of vacats or of proper names indicates the existence of approximately 22 tales; the original count would probably have been much higher. The conditions from which the people suffer are familiar from the Iamata, and include sciatica, infertility, stomach pain, and from the following century, a two-year cough and a shoulder ulceration, separate problems of the same man.[37] There is also a possible foundation story, a tale of sailing (?), and several appearances by snakes.

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[33]Guarducci, *ICr* v.1,159; Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 51-2.

[34]Guarducci, *ICr* I, 11, 162.

[35]Guarducci, *ICr* I, 8, 1-4, 159.

[36]P.M. Fraser and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*, (Lund: Gleerup, 1957) 41-2, n. 13 gives citations of this word from other geographical areas. It was not used exclusively for Asklepian or health-related texts; there is no apparent connection to Latin *sanus* and its relatives.

[37]*ICr* I, 8-16, except for the small section of 11 and 12 (12 is probably the continuation block of 11), are all assigned by Guarducci to the second century stoa-walls project: M. Guarducci, "I 'miracoli' di Asclepio a Lebena," *Historia* 8 (1934), 410-428.

The great difference between the Iamata and the Lebena tales lies in the manner of cure or treatment. The Lebena group shows an element which is not used in Epidauros, namely the employment of specific plants or other items from the pharmacopoeia. Lettuce, laurel, chestnut, and myrtle all appear, as well as another case where the patient eats something but the name of the object is not preserved. Each of the specifically named plants was used by the secular medicine of the day. In the Iamata, however, when Asklepios uses a drug only a general term is used; the clearest reference is to ποίαν, "an herb," in B 20. In addition to this, there is a mention of a cupping glass (or gourd), a device in use by secular doctors. This element does not appear in the Iamata, though by the fourth century BCE the polis of Epidauros pictured a cupping glass on the reverse of coins.[38]

The fact that the Lebena tales present a different appearance than do the Iamata may have several explanations. The passage of two centuries between the two texts may show a change in people's expectations about how the god worked and what was likely to occur in a sanctuary. At the time of the original Epidaurian votives, or even the inscription of the Iamata, comparatively few people had been to an Asklepios sanctuary for treatment or knew someone who had. As the cult grew more popular, numerous people had been through the experience and doubtless had described it to all of their friends. This would lead to a curbing of some of the wilder fantasies people might have about activities at the shrines and consequently to more "workaday" content of dreams reported or experienced.

A corollary to this is that with the passage of time the practices at Asklepios sanctuaries may have shifted to incorporate more techniques from secular medicine. This certainly seems indicated by votives from Pergamon and Rome, and especially by the lengthy stays at sanctuaries and prescriptions of regimen described by Aelius Aristides.[39] Local taste may also have played a role in this difference in emphasis.

These inscriptions from Lebena show that a corpus of tales, originally votives on wood, could be consciously drawn together by sanctuary authority, resulting in a single text whose component parts may reflect different ages, personal aspirations, and sanctuary traditions. Yet despite their possibly disparate sources, there is a clear similarity in phrasing and methodology of cure between the preserved Lebena tales.

Where names and home towns are preserved, we can see that the people in the Lebena texts hail from the neighboring city of Gortyn or Lebena itself. This may have tended to somewhat homogenize the corpus. Another factor is Lebena's

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[38]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 74-5; 75 n.20.

[39]Aelius Aristides, *The Sacred Tales*, *Opera Omnia* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1981) ed. C.A. Behr; C.A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968).

foundation, "fully armed," from an existing sanctuary. This would preclude wild variations in tales due to changes over time in a developing cult. Moreover, the heading of the first inscription states that the tales were drawn directly from the wooden originals, without any intermediate collection or editing.[40] This means that the final corpus probably represents the organizational preference and linguistic quirks of a single redactor or team of redactors. All of these points may contribute to the somewhat uniform content and manner of narration of the Lebena texts.

In all respects, the situation is completely different at Epidauros. The Iamata record home towns for suppliants from every part of the Greek world, each person perhaps bringing practices and expectations from very different local traditions. The Epidaurian cult evolved over a much longer period of time, which saw great change in the fortunes and popularity of the sanctuary and probably even a change of major deity, from Apollo to Asklepios. Therefore, the range of sources available for collection was much broader than at Lebena and may have reflected successively activity at the small shrine of a local hero, gifts to a young new god under his mythological father's wing,[41] and dedications to a mature, major god in a great Panhellenic sanctuary.

On the question of editing, no direct testimony from Epidauros survives relating to the carving of these inscriptions or the collection of material. It is the internal evidence of arrangement, linguistic style and repeated content motifs which leads to the conclusion that some of the tales represent collected lists underwent more than one phase of redaction and combination to reach their preserved form.

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[40]*ICr* v.1,159, # 8.

[41]The heading on Stele A, "cures of Apollo and Asklepios," which is employed even though Apollo is not named in the Iamata inscriptions, is a good indication that the memory of tales associated with him persisted.

INTERPRETATIVE SCENARIOS

This section has several purposes: 1) to explore the possible explanations and scenarios that could account for the patterns described above, and 2) to show, in specific cases, which factors or combination of factors are most likely to be at work. The factors to be discussed differ greatly from each other, but some of them interact closely, becoming more *processes* than individual events. In this way, we may be able to learn something about the way in which this large corpus-inscription evolved.

Each of these factors is different in its own way and accounts for a different aspect of thematic or linguistic grouping. There are several main families of possible factors: 1) the interplay between orality, pictorial representation and sanctuary location; 2) the influence of local artisans, their abilities and "stock" items; and 3) redaction. Very often, more than one set of these circumstances could explain the form of a given group of tales. However, a division into two sets is possible on the basis of the *types* of similarity and difference. Basically, where tales resemble each other thematically but not linguistically, the influence is more likely to be oral and pictorial; where tales share linguistic features but differ thematically, redaction or the influence of artisan style is more probable.[1]

Pictorial Representation; Oral Tradition; Sanctuary Location

In the previous section, I discussed the most likely source of much of the Iamata material, inscriptions on private votives, πίνακες. However, some places in the corpus show odd features that cannot be explained as ordinary votive inscriptions. For example, in the tales of Kleo and Hermodikos, A 1 and A 15, details appear in the Iamata narrative that are not required by the votive inscription, in Kleo's case preserved on the stele and in Hermodikos' on a separate stele.[2] From where were these details taken? Why do they have these forms?

One obvious and likely source for narrative material is the translation into words of 1) a pictorial representation on a πίναξ, or 2) the original form of a given votive. For example, in the case of Kleo, a possible source for the narrative's details of pregnancy and miraculous childbirth might be a picture of a woman with a boy

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[1]This logical or common-sense characterization is by no means meant as a blanket covering all instances. However, it is very useful for making sense out of the seemingly random "events" within the Iamata.

[2]*IG* 4^2 1, no. 125 (Edelstein T. 431).

walking or washing at the fountain, which may originally have accompanied the brief metrical inscription.[3] If the votive had such a picture, lost when the text was taken over onto the Iamata stele,[4] then the lack of details in the inscription portion of this iamaton is understandable, since in its original format, the pictorial element complemented the text. With the transfer of the inscription to a stele, the picture would be lost, and with it a good part of the information originally conveyed. The attempt to retain as much information as possible could have inspired the composition of additional text to replace the now missing picture.

The development of an oral tradition in order to explain unusual natural features or artistic works is recognized by Vansina, who refers to it as "iconatrophy."[5] Oral tradition for Vansina includes not only the exchange of information, i.e., "news," but is also the mode by which explanatory tales (which most other scholars call "myths") are exchanged and modified.

According to Vansina, a classic example of this is the existence of the legends of Pope Joan, which appear in many medieval sources. Vansina claims that this legend arose to account for the presence in Rome of an ancient Roman statue of a woman seated upon what looked like the papal *sedia gestiatoria*.[6] If this is in fact the genesis of the legend, then it is a very clear example of the type of activity I suggest for the sanctuary at Epidauros. It is an informal, private exchange of information and explanation, which takes on a life of its own until the exchange of these tales becomes so much a part of the "Epidauros experience" that the tales are eventually co-opted and preserved. Once this happens, however, the oral tradition keeps right on growing, sometimes leaving the versions which had been inscribed well behind.

It was by no means a requirement for votives to carry text. In the great majority of cases, they simply had the name of the giver, and/or a very brief dedicatory phrase. A large number, particularly object-votives (i.e., actual gifts, not in pinax form) or body-part votives, probably were completely free of writing,

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[3]The fountain or fountain house alone might suggest childbirth if it was the one outside the temenos boundary where death and childbirth could take place; see below, Appendix 2.

[4]Probably a smaller, intermediate stele of ten or less tales; see this chapter, section 3 for discussion of pre-collected groups of tales.

[5]J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 10.

[6]However, he very frustratingly does not indicate whether or not this statue still survives or even where it is. He cites on this point E. Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1903) 324. I have only been able to find a 1908 edition of this work, which discusses the Johanna legend on 355 and 375; but does not mention this statue at all.

without even the names.[7] Small, inexpensive votives of this type were displayed together in large groups. This practice, and the lack of distinguishing features of these gifts, make it less likely that tales associated with particular examples would arise or be preserved. Nameless votives which inspired tales should probably be thought of as having been large, prominent, expensive or difficult to identify, in short, in some way requiring explanation. When a tale did arise from a picture, the information originally conveyed by the picture or shape of the votive is of the highest importance. Some tales may reflect a description of a votive, combined with the name and home state,[8] which was all the original gift actually "said." The name and home state may also be supplied by other votives which are otherwise undistinguished.

The transformation of content from picture into words can happen in two ways: 1) deliberate addition or composition, or 2) preservation of tales circulating orally among the suppliants, officials, and other people living or working around the sanctuary.

The existence of an oral tradition of tales concerning Asklepios' activity, and occasionally centering on particular votives or places within the sanctuary, should logically be expected and is vaguely indicated by internal evidence in the Iamata.[9] Especially in the earlier period of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros was a pilgrimage center. The telling of tales by pilgrims and by guides is an important part of the pilgrimage experience, and it plays a great role in inducing mental readiness and expectation, not only in pilgrimage, but in many other types of ritual as well.[10] In the case of incubation, however it actually functioned, mental readiness was certainly an important element, and in addition to ritual (which we know was simple for Asklepios), there were probably several techniques or practices used to enhance it.[11]

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[7]Most of the Corinthian body-part votives have no writing, though they are painted; see Van Straten, *Gifts*, 123-4; C. Roebuck, *Corinth 14, The Asklepieion and Lerna* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951), 128-38.

[8]Possibly also condition, though this could be supplied by the shape of the body-part dedicated

[9]A 3 and A 4 mention "looking at the plaques" or "walking about the sanctuary." This could indicate a group activity or a "guided tour."

[10]For the total process, see Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[11]G. Lück suggests that magical rituals were performed by the priests to induce proper dreams in the patients as well as in themselves, *Arcana Mundi*, 99. The absence, however, of priests' dreams recorded in the Iamata or anywhere else in the early inscriptions, suggests that if the priests did participate in this way, it was later and at other sites.

In the field of Classical scholarship, the term "oral tradition" today generally refers to the tradition of oral *composition*. The oral poet composed "text" simultaneously with performance, drawing on a stock of traditional, more-or-less fixed formulaic patterns of metrical lines. The common stock of formulae was used, combined and added to by the poet in accordance with his or her level of training, creativity, and talents. This activity was associated with both stationary and traveling bards, who in this manner transmitted "text," both the forms (formulaic patterns) and content (the information in, for example, the *Iliad*).

This type of oral tradition is associated primarily with the performance of a somewhat formal literary and historical tradition within non-literate or pre-literate societies. Classicists have directed relatively little attention to loose, informal exchange and preservation of non-literary material, especially that which is in free language, that is, non-formulaic prose. It is more this type of oral activity, the spread of tales and traditions by word of mouth among the suppliants, which I envision as lying behind some of the Iamata tales.

Among anthropologists, "oral tradition" is also generally used in the context of non-literate societies.[12] Essentially, anthropological oral tradition is the study of oral history and the emphasis is on the *transmission* of details and traditions from one generation to the next, rather than on composition. Here too, the emphasis on transmission and preservation does not entirely fit in with the conditions in Greece at the time of the formation of the Iamata. This was a period of widespread literacy, and in fact, without the ability to read the minimal dedication-inscriptions, it is unlikely that a tradition of adding details would have begun.[13]

It is in New Testament studies that we find the somewhat analogous set of conditions of an oral tradition developing *within* a highly literate society and at a certain point being written down, and then still continuing for a time in both written *and* oral forms. The relationship between oral tradition and text is much more crucial in the area of New Testament studies than for the Iamata, and as such has been hotly debated. At one end of the spectrum of opinion is R. Bultmann, who essentially sees most of the traditions about Jesus as a person as having been

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[12]See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*; J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965); J. Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); J. Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Cultural Context* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). A Classicist who approaches Greek material in this manner is Eric Havelock, see especially *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

[13]See especially Havelock, *Literate Revolution*, 3-38.

generated by the early Christian community.[14] At the opposite end is B. Gerhardsson, who envisions oral transmission in terms of accurate, verbatim memorization and recital of authentic sayings of Jesus.[15] At issue is not the *mode* of transmission, oral for both, but rather the *reliability* of the tradition and the sources and origins of the material.

Mediating between these views, but also in some ways rejecting both, is W. Kelber, who makes the interesting point that in a true oral tradition, there is no "original form" to which we can get back, and that it is because we are so conditioned by the existence of texts in our *own* world, that we misunderstand the functioning of traditions which are not written nor even formally composed, though oral.[16] Kelber, however, does view Jesus as an oral *performer* (in the Parry-Lord sense) in that he probably articulated the same messages many times, possibly in memorized or formulaic language, but with somewhat different forms (variants) at different times. Kelber's views are somewhat more consistent with psychological studies of memory and rumor transmission than are those of Bultmann and Gerhardsson.[17] These rumor studies, however, are not necessarily the best analogies to the transmission of oral tradition.

Psychological studies suggest that a rumor will circulate in a community in proportion to its importance and ambiguity.[18] However, the evidence of our own lifetimes, as well as modern folklore studies, show this position to be false, or, if true, restricted to far too narrow a range of circumstances to be really useful.[19] People will repeat very detailed false tales of no possible importance to themselves, presumably for shock or entertainment value.

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[14]R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. J. Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); see now also Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993); id., *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

[15]B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript. Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Uppsala: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961); B. Gerhardsson, *The Gospel Tradition* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1986).

[16]As, for example, the Homeric oral tradition. W. Kelber, *The Oral and Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

[17]G. Allport and L. Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965); E. Abel, "The Psychology of Memory and Rumor Transmission and Their Bearing on Theories of Oral Transmission in Early Christianity," *Journal of Religion* 51 (1971) 270-81.

[18]Abel, "Psychology," 280.

[19]For example, J. Brunvand, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends and Their Meanings* (New York: Norton, 1981).

What becomes clear at this point is a warning to those attempting to use the model of "rumor" to explain New Testament formation; or even to analogize "oral tradition" with "rumor." It is certain that rumors concerning New Testament activities circulated among the faithful and probably among non-believers, both Jewish and Gentile. However, in addition to circulating by free word of mouth, the oral tradition behind the New Testament was intended to pass *particular* messages, and could not really evolve freely on the model of rumor studies. There were certain controls provided by the messengers of the gospel to new communities, and the written correctives of people like Paul and others who may have written letters at a very early stage before there were written gospels. This holds for the oral Iamata as well, and for the oral traditions studied by anthropologists. In contrast, it is the essence of rumor to make its way through a community with no controls whatsoever. In fact, if any controls, in terms of verification, etc., *did* exist, then one would be talking about simple *news*, not rumor.

With this warning in mind, we may examine some of the specific marks of oral tradition suggested by these authors. One point of interest is the question of names and details. Bultmann held that as the oral tradition developed, names and details would be inserted, reflecting a "novelistic" concern with the "characters" in the tradition.[20] This implies that, other conditions being equal, the simpler tales will be closer to the original tradition; details are also added to provide links between originally discrete groups of material.[21] Another indication of oral tradition or origin is the presence of underlying mnemonic features, such as rhythm, rhyme, and alphabetic organization; as well as the presence of mistakes based on speech and hearing - homonyms and the attraction of consonants.[22]

Another argument, that of "temporal sharpening," holds that as an oral tradition circulates, originally separate events are related and indirect speech is changed to direct discourse.[23] This process appears in the Gospels and supports Bultmann's general view of how new sayings, as well as tales, could arise within the

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[20]However, studies on the transmission of rumor suggest that it is just this type of detail which drops out, rumors becoming more vague though keeping their basic shapes; Allport and Postman, *Psychology*, 156. This is another example of the mismatch between rumor studies and tradition studies, whether oral or written. Rumor is free, but when even an informal tradition is making the effort to persuade and to preserve, it seems very natural for the tradition to *gain* material rather than the reverse. This is also the view of Brunvand, *supra*.

[21]Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, 241-2.

[22]Gerhardsson, *Gospel Tradition*, 31; Abel, "Psychology," 277-8.

[23]Abel, "Psychology," 279.

tradition, or how authentic sayings (apophthegmata) could acquire a narrative "frame."[24] Both versions of this process are active in the Iamata.

Several tales within the Iamata show one or more of these features, and may reflect oral activity. The tales fall into the following categories: 1) tales that are completely oral, having oral origins (except for names); 2) tales that have gained new motifs or text from oral "commentary" later preserved by inscription; and 3) written tales that are grouped together because of oral tales which associate them. In the case of originally non-text votives, orality may account for the form of an entire individual tale; but in most cases it is evident in pairs or groups of tales, explaining their relationships.

As I mentioned above, orality should be suspected where tales occur in groups or pairs which are similar thematically but different linguistically. The first pair of this type in the collection is A 1 and A 2, the tales of Kleo and Ithmonika. In the case of Kleo, A 1, there is the additional factor of the relationship between the preserved tale as a whole and the smaller section which represents her votive. For the present, however, we are concerned with the existence of the closely related following tale, which raises a number of questions about the way in which a votive or inscription could be amplified. One thing which strongly indicates oral activity is the fact the major detail added to Kleo's tale is fantastic - the child which is born mature. The other unusual element, the five-year-long problem, is supplied by the votive portion of the iamaton; this then would be the starting point for amplifying the tale. Kleo's preserved dedication does not mention either pregnancy or a child of any condition. It refers to a "burden," βάρος. However, A 2 unambiguously concerns a pregnancy, which, as in A 1, is of much longer than normal duration. Was A 2 grouped with A 1 because of the narrative amplification which deals with pregnancy, or did this amplification arise in A 1 because of an association of some kind with A 2? Were the pictorial elements (if any) of these votives similar? Did they become similar because they were located next to each other, either by chance or by design?

If we examine A 2 in terms of the oral factors discussed above, we may be able to answer some of these questions. In the first place, the tale is long and repetitious, and although it does contain a name and home state, it has surprisingly few details for such a lengthy tale. Though there is a lot of speech in the tale, none of it is direct. The preposition ἐν does change to ἐγ γαστρὶ in line 14, though this appears often in the corpus, and A 2 does not do this consistently, as for instance, οὐθεν καὶ in line 18. These features indicate that, if A 2 is an oral tale, then by most form-critical criteria, it cannot be very far developed.

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[24]Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, 312.

These features, however, do not indicate that A 2 *is* an oral tale. All of the questions concerning content and grouping remain; and these questions are best satisfied by postulating A 2 as an oral amplification of some type of picture which was associated with Kleo's tale, to which was later added the details of the name and home state, probably from another nearby votive which had these details but no other text. This may indicate that this oral tale circulated at a later time than the dedication of Kleo's original votive; but not long before it was collected and inscribed, either on a large stele or its precollected form.[25]

The issues of pictorial representation, oral tradition and sanctuary location are intimately connected and cannot really be considered separately. These three factors should be viewed as a dynamic group, and as a continuing and circular process of tale- and, ultimately, text-formation.

Tale A 3 shows several signs of oral origin. In the first place, there is no reported name or state, and I suggest that all tales without names should be suspected of oral origin in this relatively "well- documented" inscription.[26] While it is possible that the name is deliberately omitted to harmonize with the content, oral influence is also indicated by the narrative form of beginning and the folk-tale motif of the re-naming of the man. In addition to this, the text uses τῶμ πινάκων in line 30. The change from ν to μ appears much less frequently that the change from ν to γ. In the following line the word ἱερόν is used. Elsewhere in the Iamata, this word always appears as the Doric ἱαρόν,[27] as it does even here in the same tale in line 23. It is possible that this is due to homophony, and may reflect a person inscribing "fresh" text without a model, therefore making the mistake, possibly supplying ἱερόν from his own native dialect.[28]

Another example of a tale whose form may reflect oral tale-telling is A 15, Hermodikos of Lampsacus. As is the case with tale A 1, we have here not a group but a single tale for which we have two preserved "versions." Unlike A 1, however, Hermodikos' tale does not give the other version within the iamaton; it survives on a separate inscription, archaizing but later than the Iamata in date.

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[25]Basically, I say this because of the lack of features typical of a well-developed oral tale, according to Bultmann. If his criteria hold for the Iamata, this probably is so.

[26]However, as in A 2, nameless oral tales may gain names from other votives. According to Bultmann's view then, in terms of the detail factor, A 3 should probably be seen as being in an even more primitive stage than A 2 at the time of collection. This may indicate a later time of origin for A 2.

[27]Stele A: lines 5, 10, 21, 23, 35, 39, 42, 59, 74, 109, 121, 126, 79; Stele B: 27, 37, 71, 80; Stele C: 51, 63-4, 108, 124.

[28]Attic or other itinerant craftsmen, as Burford suggests; *Temple Builders*, 109-18 and Appendix 2.

In this case it may be possible to see at least three steps in a process of tale formation. Since the independent dedication inscription is later than the Iamata stelai, what is the stone referred to in A 15 as lying in front of the Abaton? How heavy was it? What, if anything, did it say? Why are the details in the later inscription inconsistent with the iamaton?

Fränkel was of the opinion that the dedication-inscription, though later in time, represents a renovation of an earlier inscription, and imitates it.[29] This might suggest that the actual language and wording of an early inscription was transferred to this new stone. There probably was another, earlier dedication associated with Hermodikos, but I doubt that the text of the remaining dedication-inscription is an accurate copy. It has several features that I view as late features: mention of the "children" of Asklepios (not "sons" - possibly medical assistants at the shrine?); name-state beginning; a problem with infection. None of these features is present in the iamaton - what is their source?

Whether or not a previous inscription lies behind *IG* IV^1 954, its internal features make it likely that the narrative portion of the tale originated orally. The text of A 15 is very simple and brief, without much circumstantial detail. It is told in a very unusual way, with ἰάσατο, "he was healed," after the common opening with name, home state, and condition. This in itself suggests that the text is a running, oral "commentary," informally "composed" and added to the corpus in order to explain and amplify a large votive, probably a lumpish unshaped stone, which was most likely inscribed simply with the words Ἑρμόδοκος Λαμψακηνός ἀκρατὴς τοῦ σώματος. This becomes the opening of the expanded tale. Later, as the oral tradition keeps adding more and more specific detail to the explanation of this votive (or prodigy - a stone too heavy to move having been moved), the new inscription grows longer and more involved. We therefore can see three steps of accretion of information (and speculation) about a single object or event.[30]

Why would a new stone be moved, set up, and inscribed to replace an ancient votive, especially a prodigious one? I would suggest that it probably was *not*. Tale A 15 appears to call for a large unshaped stone, such as a man would find lying about for hauling. The dedication inscription is a finished stele, rectangular in

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[29]*IG* 4 ^{1} 954, 232-3.

[30]There is also the possibility to consider that the oral tale originated to explain the *natural* presence of a large rock somewhere in the sanctuary, which was later removed due to sanctuary renovation or other general beautification. At this point, it becomes necessary to *supply* a rock or lose the story.

shape. Herzog estimates its weight at 375 kg.[31] Its text uses τόνδε, with no additional descriptive word for the stone Hermodikos picks up. ὅδε most often indicates something nearby or just noticed (or mentioned). Smyth lists it as indicating identity, standing for ἐγώ only in poetry.[32] Therefore, τόνδε in the inscription most likely refers not to *itself*, *IG* IV[1] 954, but to another stone nearby. It is very possible that this inscription, cast by some rhetor into a high-style version of Iamata language, was meant to stand next to and discuss the original old stone. If this inscription was displayed next to the stone and not too near the Iamata stelai, the inconsistencies between the iamaton and the newer version would not be of the first importance.[33]

A pair of tales that seems to clearly reflect oral activity is A 16 and A 17. Both tales in this pair concern daytime activities, men sitting, and the actions of boys, but they are linguistically unlike each other. The second tale lacks any personal information whatsoever about the patient.

Any tale that lacks a patient's name can be suspected of being an oral tale and examined from that perspective. It is a lot harder to explain a tale with no name than it is to explain a name with no tale - that is, narrative unconnected with a personal dedication is more unusual than votives carrying the name but without narrative. On Stele A there are six tales without names.[34] Of these, A 17 is the easiest to imagine as an oral elaboration of the tale which comes before it, based on a pictorial representation.

In the case of this pair of tales, the same picture would accommodate both. The shared features of daytime cure and the sitting position would probably suggest each other in any pictorial representation. A nighttime, Abaton cure usually showed a patient lying down in bed, as on the stone reliefs from Athens and Epidauros. A representation of a man sitting, especially if outdoors, would indicate the daytime. The picture may have shown a crutch, which is explicitly mentioned in Tale A 16. The man's ailment in A 17, a toe infection, could also be indicated by a picture of a crutch. Finally, a boy or a good-looking young man would probably appear, as is

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[31] *Wunderheilungen*, 102. For Herzog, this heavy weight "proves" that the inscription is a fabrication, since no one could lift such a heavy stone. Again, this seems to miss the whole point of the miracle: that the god makes the impossible happen.

[32] Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 307, # 1238-61; esp. 1242.

[33] And in fact the inscription was not found in front of the Abaton, but "near the east side of the Temple of Asklepios" (Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 100).

[34] A 3, 5, 9, 10, 14, 17. Of unbroken tales on B, 6 and 7 are apparently "nameless," as are C 1 and 22.

also usual on reliefs. These elements, which complement Nicanor's text, might easily have suggested nearly every detail of an originally oral A 17.[35]

Artisan Composition and "Stock" Influence

The oral tales above are like each other thematically, but differ linguistically. However, there are many tales that occur in groups that resemble each other both thematically and linguistically. A different explanation of these tales is required.

This second category of related tales may be explained by the supplies and abilities of individual artisans or merchants around the sanctuary at different periods.[36]

In most cases, a votive is a commodity, produced for sale and either given anonymously or customized for the buyer by the addition of his name, the dedication or other message. Every major sanctuary and festival site was surrounded by many people who made their livings as innkeepers, merchants, etc. One trade would certainly have been votive sellers and makers.

While literate, well-educated people might compose their own votive texts and tell the votive-maker what wording they wanted, it was probably more usual for the buyer to tell the artisan what had been experienced, and leave it to the expert to phrase the tale in appropriate language.[37] Therefore, the tales rephrased and dedicated through a particular craftsman could show the same features of wording and style.[38]

Thematic similarities between tales could also be influenced by merchants. For instance, a particular merchant or artisan might have a "stock" of pre-fabricated plaques, with the images already in place and awaiting text. Craftsmen in clay had pre-made molds, ready to make up the most popular three-dimensional votives, for

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[35]The addition of both a snake's activity and the use of a drug to these pictorial elements suggests relatively recent time; see discussion at end of chapter. Where did the snake motif come from if it was not in the picture? Possibly from the sanctuary location - since A 17 mentions that the snake came out of the Abaton, it is possible that the original relief hung *on* the Abaton.

[36]Individual keepers of archives for the sanctuary or stele redactors may also explain some groupings of this type; see Part 3.

[37]For example, Tale B 13 was probably set up and composed by the polis of Halieis. This represents a tiny minority of cases within the Iamata.

[38]Another process that could account for this is some form of record-keeping, reflecting language habits of archivists at particular times. This will be discussed in the following section.

instance, feet or genitalia.[39] These could carry names and short dedications;[40] plaques, of course, could have relatively long narrative texts. In most cases, a buyer would select the image or form which best matched his experience, but sometimes other reasons could dictate the choice; items "on sale," for example, should be considered. When the inscription was being added, the temptation may have been for the artisan or giver to weave the pictorial details into the narrative. If the votive only provided the name and state, or a very terse dedication, orality could take care of creating verbal details from the original picture, these details being later formalized and preserved by inscription.

Not all the people who made the journey and set up votives would have had the ultimate experience of incubation, the dream-vision of the god, with or without cure. In fact, many probably had no appreciable experience at all except for religious devotion and the desire to give something to the god (for whatever motive). Such people were free to choose whatever format of votive appealed to them, for any one of a thousand human reasons. These votives either could be inscribed simply with the giver's name and home state, or have been inscribed with tales added by the artisan or the giver.

Money is a significant factor here. Clearly, an inexpensive votive will have less text and less picture than a "deluxe" model. One of the longest and most graphic tales in the corpus, B 13, was probably originally dedicated by the polis of Halieis rather than by an individual. As an official inscription, commemorating the foundation of a local sanctuary at Delphi's direction, it was probably large and ornate. In this case, the polis probably would have had the stele and inscription made at home and then sent to Epidauros; at the very least it would send the wording to be used.[41] In an expensive, official inscription, commissioned by literate people, there is little scope for artisan input. However, the vast majority of tales on the Iamata stelai concern private citizens. Some may have been wealthy and literate; many probably were not.[42]

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[39]Mold-made terracottas from Corinth: de Waele, "Sanctuary,"442. He goes on to mention the fact that in modern (1933) Athens, body-parts are pre-embossed on gold plates, ready for the addition of names to become Christian votives.

[40]Short dedications and graffiti on terracotta fragments (cups) from Corinth: de Waele, "Sanctuary," p.437.

[41]The text for the inscription sent by the polis to Epidauros was probably a copy of the dedicatory inscription of their own new sanctuary. The text of B 13 is ambiguous as to where the prescribed image of the god is to go.

[42]The home towns of the suppliants may provide confirmation on this point - those who traveled very long distances to reach the sanctuary might be more wealthy. Tales of travel often mention servants, bearers, etc., for example A 10 and B 5. See Appendix 1, *Towns*.

Some tales reflecting artisan composition or the use of stock pictorials are grouped together, others appear singly. I have already discussed some of the means by which tales could be connected and grouped. If votives with shared pictorial elements could be mentally associated and grouped accordingly, how much more likely it is that *identical* pictorials would be occasionally grouped! This introduces a chronological element - the possibility that stock and artisan tales that *are* grouped are earlier than those that are not.[43] This follows from the practice of clearing sanctuaries: once a tale was collected, the original would be removed and would from then on no longer be available as a source.

The clearest examples of the possible use of a stock pictorial votive and the linguistic habits of a single artisan are B 8, Kleinatas of Thebes, and B 9, Hagestratos. As noted above, both tales contain the motif of the god standing the patient up straight, naked; as well as an unusual pattern of language. In the case of B 8, the fit of the details of the story with the man's ailment, an infestation of body lice, is very good. Within the tale, the god strips the man, and sweeps his body clear with a broom. Though this is not quite a non- miraculous, rational-medicine type cure, the accompanying pictorial image of an upright naked man, with the god nearby, perhaps holding a stick (broom handle), is easy to imagine. B 9, however, is a tale of headache. The fit here between the stated actions of the god and the man's original complaint is so poor, that even the composer must gloss over the cure of the head pain and insert explanation about the pankration at Nemea to account for the god's act of standing Hagestratos up straight and naked - he is teaching him an athletic move. Interestingly, the added detail concerns athletics, a context in which nudity for men is common and ordinary. Why are these details present in B 9 at all? Why must the narrative accommodate them?[44]

The simplest answer to these questions is that these elements come from the pictorial representation on the votive that Hagestratos dedicated. If we ask what picture would suggest the athletic activities, then "the image of an upright naked man, with the god nearby, perhaps holding a stick" (possibly interpreted as javelin or spear in this case), just as in the previous tale, suggests itself.

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[43]This might indicate a rather late date for Stele B, which has a small number of groups but mostly individual stock and artisan tales; i.e., the inscription as we have it is closer to a "primitive stage" and has not been collected and collected again several times, as are the tales on Stele A.

[44]That is, beyond the obvious possibility that this iamaton simply gives an accurate report of the man's dream. Even if this is the case, 1) pictorial influence is possible, if he looked at the B 8 votive and then dreamed about it; and 2) artisan composition is still indicated by the linguistic patterns in the two tales.

The great linguistic similarity between the two tales makes the possibility extremely unlikely that we are dealing with a case of oral elaboration or doubling due only to picture and sanctuary location, as in the previous section. In contrast to the majority of Iamata using this general pattern,[45] these two tales use the accusative αὐτόν and a number of participles leading into a final infinitive and a version of the formula ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας κτλ.[46] In addition to this, B 8 and 9 share a tendency *not* to use other familiar formulae, and to substitute words or forms not used elsewhere in the corpus.[47] All of these features tend to indicate that the inscriptions were originally composed by the same person.

Such linguistic similarity is less likely to come from the editor or collector, since the other tales of this pattern collected for Stele B do not show any changes from infinitive to participle structure. If the fact that B 8 and 9 are positioned together indicates that they were already collected and together on some medium intermediate between the original votives and the preserved stelai, then the possibility is stronger that the linguistic similarity is the result of editing, though the editorial changes seem rather pointless. If, at this intermediate phase, *one* of the tales, B 9, was brought into agreement with the other, then this still leaves us with 1) pictorial similarity as the probable connecting feature, preserved by transformation into narrative and 2) the need to explain the participle-prone author of B 8. Individual composition *might* account for that. However, if the aim were to bring the tales into *thematic* similarity because of a picture, sanctuary location, or even an oral tradition, would the editor go to such lengths as to copy the use of participles from B 8? The broad linguistic variety within the clearly pre-collected thematic groups on Stele A shows that editor, at least, either did not think linguistic unity important or else was not conscious of the differences.

A grouping of three tales which may reflect stock votives is A 12, 13 and 14. These tales all share the phrase and idea of carrying away in the hands an object or creature which was the original cause of their problem: ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων. The three cases concern an injured jaw, internal leeches, and stone. Only A 12 stresses hands or the action of hands in the content of the tale, and even there it is only the god's action of handing over the spear point into Euhippos' hands which even mentions them; this is weakly echoed in A 13 and absent from A 14 where the "fit" between tale and motif is very poor. Why does this phrase appear in all three?[48]

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[45]ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει etc.

[46]As opposed to a dative pronoun and a series of infinitives.

[47]e.g., line 47: ὁρῆι ὄψιν. This, however, may reflect space or layout requirements on lost originals, or mason error.

[48]The motif seems to appear in B 10 as well.

It might be possible that a plaque or relief picturing hand-to-hand contact between the patient and the god was the original motive for the phrase, which was added also to A 13 and A 14 when they were all collected, probably because these latter two were displayed near the original picture. This would imply that the original A 12 votive is rather older than those for 13 and 14; and that they were non-pictorial and inexpensive. This accords well with the narrative beginning of the A 12 text and the lack of names in A 13 and A 14. However, it goes against the length of tale of A 13. If the A 13 we have was the original inscription, then the votive should probably be viewed as moderately expensive. If it is due to oral elaboration, then the original A 13 votive should be thought of as pictorial. Tale A 14 reads like a relatively inexpensive votive, in that it is extremely brief and the motif of hands accords poorly with the man's ailment. This is an indication that, at the least, the votive was not "tailor made" for the giver and may have come from stock.

Tales A 13 and A 14 resemble each other linguistically more than they resemble 12; and A 13, though long, is very derivative and draws on many common formulas for its manner of narration. These points taken together indicate that the three tales do not have the same origin and history, despite sharing the same phrase/motif.

If tales that begin narratively truly are older, then A 12 should be viewed as an early tale which was displayed before A 13 and 14;[49] probably in the middle phase of development of the sanctuary. There are no strong indications remaining about the nature of the votive or the composition of its text, other than that it probably was pictorial and showed hands in either painted or sculpted form.[50] Tale A 13, however, shows marks of artisan activity. Its heavy reliance on formulas, actually "clichés," indicates a composer for whom these phrases were everyday tools. This would probably not be true of an individual suppliant. Tale A 14 represents a less "deluxe" version of artisan composition, short and to the point.

The phrase ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων is the indicator that we are dealing with stock votives, as well as artisan composition, in the case of A 13 and A 14. The

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[49]There is no reason why a very early tale cannot reflect artisan composition - however, it is not the same or same generation artisan as in A 13 and 14. A probably very early tale, A 1 (Kleo), with its verse dedication, probably does reflect artisan or professional poetic input at a very early stage. See McLeod, "Oral Bards," for an analogous situation at Delphi. The Epidaurian rhapsodic contest may be a further indication of early literary activity.

[50]A votive form which is between the terracotta body-part votive and the painted pinax is a plaque with terracotta parts attached. From Athens are several examples of eyes and genitalia on plaques; Van Straten, *Gifts*, 107-21; in addition to this, many of the Corinthian votives have holes, presumably for hanging and possibly for attaching to a plaque; de Waele, "Sanctuary,"422. From Epidauros there is an inscription which implies that ears were once attached to it; *IG* 4^2 1, 474; and a later marble version with gilding, now in the National Museum, no. 1428.

votives probably either pictured hands, had hands molded on them, or carried attached models of hands in three dimensions.[51] The phrase appears in 13 and 14 to tie the content to the chosen picture. It is not easy to understand why hand votives would be chosen by the people in A 13 and 14; in the case of the briefly-inscribed A 14, the idea of a "sale" item is attractive.[52] However, without the visual connecting feature of the pictured hands, it is even harder to understand the grouping and language patterns of the three. Herzog's idea that they are grouped only because of the key words (more than one word in this case) is inadequate, since it does not explain why other tales sharing phrases, such as the childbirth tales on Stele B,[53] are *not* grouped together. This idea also contradicts Herzog's own later statement that the "bearing" had clearly been represented on the pinax.[54]

Redaction; Multiple Redaction; Priestly Tradition

The passage of tales from votives, archives, and/or an oral tradition onto the preserved stelai is envisioned by Kavvadias, and apparently Herzog as well, as a single act of selection, collection, and inscription.[55] This would imply that, during the sanctuary renovations of the late fourth and third centuries, officials collected tales from votives and possibly from archives or records of their own (punishment miracles?), joining them for the first time on massive stelai. These authorities grouped tales together, often without connection but occasionally according to a "naive association" of thematic ideas.[56]

This idea is not fully developed by either Herzog or Kavvadias, and neither author addresses the problem of groups of thematically dissimilar tales that share linguistic style.[57] However, the general concept of one-shot collection can

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[51]Hands are well represented in Van Straten's catalog of body-part votives, both pictured and modeled; Van Straten, *Gifts*, catalog 105-149 & pls.; see also Perdrizet, "La Miraculeuse Histoire," *ARW* 14 (1911), 54 ff. for plates of dedicated three-dimensional hands bearing text.

[52]Especially since votives of genitalia are even more numerous than hands in Van Straten.

[53]B 11, 14, 19, and 22. Other possible examples of artisan (or archive) composition, where tales are thematically unlike each other but linguistically similar, are B 20 and 21 (again possible contrast between cheap and expensive votives); and C 21, 22, and 23.

[54]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 82.

[55]Kavvadias, *AE* 1883, 220. Kavvadias does not mention archives, though he views the act of collection itself as being "priestly." Herzog appears to assume that most of the tales were originally on pinakes, except for the "punishment miracles" (such as A 11, Aischines); *Wunderheilungen*, 46-8.

[56]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 58.

[57]Herzog, however, does note linguistic *dis*-similarity between "punishment miracles," indicating to him that they cannot all be assigned to the same archive; *Wunderheilungen*, 56-7.

accommodate this problem if we assume a number of officials in charge of the process, each rephrasing (and selecting) according to his own taste and interests.

If the collection and editing of the tales did reflect a one-time project, then study of this redaction should reveal a lot about the aims and attitudes of the people in charge of the sanctuary at one specific time; especially about the message they wanted to monumentalize and broadcast to all Greece at a time of major expansion and change.

However, it seems improbable that a project as important as the composition of the most visible and important literary statement of sanctuary "self-definition" would have been deliberately conducted in a manner haphazard and careless enough to account for the inconsistencies in the preserved Iamata inscriptions.[58] A model of one-time redaction requires us to envision not only a general "free-for-all" in terms of rephrasing, selection and arrangement; but in terms of change and variety in letter size, format and layout on the finished stelai as well.

The idea that the preserved version of the Iamata may reflect *several* episodes of collection and arrangement of tales onto successively larger and probably less numerous stelai better explains the inscriptions' inconsistencies, patterns and quirks. Collection may have occurred every few years as the sanctuary became overloaded with votives. Because the tales on each small stele would come from the same time, they could reflect not only the same editorial preference, but the activities of the same artisans and the currency of the same oral traditions. Some of them may have shared thematic material, such as a stele of surgical cures; some may have shared an original location, such as a small stele collected from one specific statue or place in the sanctuary. Sometimes the grouping of tales may have contributed more to the narrative impact than the sum of each individual tale would separately.

Interestingly, Herzog does suggest some kind of intermittent collection of tales from votives, but places it in the third century BCE, after the "closing" of the Iamata stelai.[59] His actual reason for mentioning this is to explain Pausanias' statement that in his time there were six stelai remaining, and that "in antiquity" there had been more.[60] Herzog doubts that there would have been more than the surviving four stelai as great monuments, since there is already so much repetition within the corpus that to double the number of tales would be to "invite ridicule";

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[58]The Epidaurian building inscriptions show an orderly progress for the project, and a fairly well-conceived overall plan relatively early on. The leave no record of the inscription of the Iamata stelai, but the fact that they were inscribed on imported, expensive stone, indicates that they were official. It seems inconceivable that the selection of text to go on important stone in a well-planned sanctuary could have been governed by free choice.

[59]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 36.

[60]Pausanias, 2.27.3.

Herzog feels that the editor is "too good a psychologist for that." The fact, however, that here he suggests an occasional collection of later tales seems to imply that Herzog envisions the later age as either less disposed toward ridicule, or completely cynical.[61]

Pictorial representation, orality, and sanctuary location explain many features of thematically similar tales in pairs or small groups; stock and artisan influence explains some linguistic features, either in pairs or in single tales. However, when it comes to the larger patterns of two or more tales which share thematic emphasis but which cross the lines of smaller patterns mentioned above, multiple redaction onto small stelai is a very attractive explanation.

One example of a group of possibly pre-collected tales is 1-5 on Stele B. As noted above, this group concerns "action at a distance," cures (or afflictions) that occur outside of Epidauros or that concern other individuals who are not at Epidauros. In addition to this theme the tales share certain language features such as "grisliness." This type of thematic input is probably less likely to be due to pictorials, stock or otherwise, since it is not a very "graphic" feature;[62] and since the way in which the location is given for each tale is so different, it is not due to orality or excessive reliance on formulas (artisan composition). The best explanation is deliberate selection of tales occurring at a distance, for the purpose of subtly communicating the idea that Epidaurian Asklepios' power and influence were not confined to the local sanctuary, but were free-ranging.

The linguistic resemblances may then arise either from 1) editorial paraphrasing or addition; or 2) processes discussed above acting on tales current or created at the same time: artisans, oral tales, preference of the time. That gruesome details and the practice of naming Asklepios in a votive did exist outside of this group suggests that the linguistic features *do not* come from editorial paraphrasing. The indication, then, is that the editor communicated his message in this case by means of selection.[63]

Stele A seems very clearly to have been made up of three smaller, earlier collections. The indications are both physical, in the way the tales are actually inscribed on the stone; and thematic/linguistic.

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[61]Since Herzog wants to discuss additional cure/miracle material, preserved from other sources much later in time, a later date is almost required.

[62]With the possible exception of B 5, which could have pictured a roadside scene. This, however, probably could not have caused, by influence of an oral tradition, the other tales to take place out of the sanctuary, since none of them takes place on a road.

[63]Tale B 7 concerns typical Epidaurian incubation and cure; but is gruesome and names Asklepios by name.

As I have discussed, there is variation in the way text is laid out on Stele A. To summarize: the first ten tales, lines 1-89, use an average of 50 letters and run the tales together with either no vacats, a one- character vacat or a one character vacat *within* the tale, after the "title." Tales 11-17, lines 90-119, continue 50 characters per line, but consistently leave large blank areas in order to begin each new tale at the left "margin." The last three tales, 18-20, use smaller letters and have 57-66 characters per line; they use small vacats and do not skip to the next line to begin new tales.

This strange variation, taking place on such an important official monument, the first of a series, surely cannot be due to whim; nor can it be due merely to a change in masons. Any mason would follow his model as closely as possible, and would probably not insert or delete vacats and spacing. In addition to the physical patterns, there are linguistic and thematic grounds for placing the tales on Stele A into the following three groups: 1) 1-10, 2) 11- 17, and 3) 18-20. The first ten tales are relatively longer than the rest of the tales on A. This group uses only ὄψιν for dream,[64] ἐγκατακοιμάω for incubation;[65] and likes the phrase ἱκέτις ἀφίκετο. A 11-17 avoids this phrase and uses ἐνύπνιον for dream and ἐγκαθεύδω for incubation (where it appears).[66]

Excluding A 5, tales A 1-10 show great thematic similarity, not just in the smaller patterns discussed in the previous section, but in the attitude and general message communicated by these ten tales. This group stresses a very "supernatural" and very kind Asklepios. By supernatural I mean that in most cases the cure does not take place in a way which is even analogous to the actual medical practice of the time.[67] These tales leave no doubt in the reader's mind that Asklepios operated in an unexpected, majestic way, not in the manner of doctors but like a god; and that if

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[64]Tale A 4 uses ἐνύπνιον, in a probably pejorative sense, *with* ὄψιν.

[65]Tale A 1 uses ἐγκατακοιμάω in Kleo's dedication portion, but the later narrative uses ἐγκαθεύδω.

[66]Tales A 18-20 are so brief and thematically different that they really do not show much linguistic similarity.

[67]In A 1 and 2, the problems themselves are beyond the normal; A 3 involves renaming, possibly a redemptive symbol; A 4, though it does use a somewhat rationalistic method of cure, is mostly concerned with Asklepios' attitude - kindly but demanding his due; A 5 is an instantaneous miracle possibly involving a daytime epiphany; A 6 and 7 are related stories involving humor and what is due a god; A 8 again indicates kindness and humor; A 9, like A 4, is somewhat rationalistic but most concerned with Asklepios' treatment of pious people; and A 10, the cup, is a non- rational, actually non-medical tale.

one approached him properly, he would be kind and would give healing.[68] This "version" of "Asklepios theology" is not common throughout the corpus. Though tales generally do picture the god as powerful, his actions are somewhat less surprising elsewhere; and other than here he certainly does not joke around and play word games with suppliants, showing humor, kindness, and "humanity" - this last in the sense of human kindness, not human modes of cure.

Tales A 11-17 do not show such a clear-cut "theology"; nor do 18-20. Not every episode of collection and combination necessarily would have a specific purpose in mind; not every small stele would have a unified theological purpose. They could have different organizing principles; sometimes none at all.

I suggest that the layout and internal patterns on Stele A clearly indicate that three sources were used for the inscription and were copied directly onto the new medium, preserving their original layouts, vacats and line lengths. These three sources, then, pre-date the second half of the fourth century, when the stelai (our versions) were inscribed. Within these three groups are smaller patterns, which in turn may indicate an even earlier stage of pre-collection.[69] This would leave us with at least three episodes of collection and possible redaction in the history of the corpus of tales.

Another group which has indications of precollection and a unified theology are 1-5 on C. It is not easy to make too much of this group, or even to know its full length, because of the bad condition of the stone. However, in the tales we have, there seems to be a repetition of the emphasis on non-human modes of cure, instantaneous miracle, wide-ranging power, and another dig at the Troizenians. Though the tales themselves differ, this overview is similar to that in A 1-10. It is quite possible that the two collections reflect, if not the same man, then at least a similar mind-set, similar goals.[70]

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[68]Herzog, of course, holds the opinion that Epidaurian healing operated rationalistically; he devalues these ten tales, saying they are folktales or oral, and that the rest are the "real" Iamata.

[69]Pairs: A 1 and A 2; A 3 and A 4. These four were probably precollected and joined with A 5, the typical, brief daytime cure which often ends a stele (or group); B 8 and B 9 also probably a pre-collected pair.

[70]Interestingly, in line 21 on Stele C, the mason has by mistake begun to inscribe the word "Kallikrateia" again, at the beginning of the next tale (Amphimnastos). Kallikrateia's tale begins in line 8, in approximately the same position in the horizontal line. This slip of the eye may shows that when the model for C 4 was before the mason's eye, C 3 was there as well. In other words, at least these two were drawn from the same model. An eye searching for that positioning of a vacat might easily confuse lines 8 and 21; this would not be true if on the source tablet, Kallikrateia was on the first line, as it would be if the source tablets were separate. This again indicates that the original line divisions of the sources were retained.

Historians/Medical Writers; Other Asklepieia

The final set of possible circumstances of origin for Iamata material that will be examined here centers on the idea that some tales may have been "lifted," either from written sources (historians or medical writing) or from the collections (either archive or votive) of tales from other Asklepios sanctuaries. Several tales may show the influence of medical writing, in the manner of narration or in vocabulary choices.[71] However, only one tale, B 3, has been widely noted to resemble an actual text, a passage from an ancient historian, Hippys of Rhegium.[72]

Hippys of Rhegium is very poorly known. None of his works survives, and very little is known of him, even to his name, which appears differently in different sources. According to the *Suda*,[73] Hippys lived or was born around the time of the Persian wars, but the entry is fragmentary. He seems to be one of the earliest historians of the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily. His known works are Κτίσις Ἰταλίας, Σικελικὰ, and Χρονικὰ, each in five books; and in three books a work entitled either Ἀργολικὰ, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ, or Ἀστρολογῖων.[74] The sole quotation surviving from this last work appears in Aelian's *On the Nature of Animals* IX, 33, and tells the story of a woman cured at Epidauros.

It is not easy to understand why Hippys would have undertaken to write about the Argolid, or "Argolic Matters."[75] The polis Rhegium, modern Reggio Calabria, was founded in about 720 BCE, from Chalkis. Chalkis is the main city of Euboea, not a part of the Argolid. Therefore, historical affinities would not lead Hippys to write about the Argolid. According to the *OCD*, Messenians also lived there from at least 600 on.[76] Messene, however, is not a part of the Argolid either. Jacoby suggests that Hippys may actually have written only two works, and that

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[71]B 12, for instance; possibly the "gory" group. Herzog says that all specific numbers in tales imitate medical writing; *Wunderheilungen*, 82.

[72]Herzog, *Wunderheilungen*, 77-84; M. Hamilton, *Incubation* (London: W.C. Henderson, 1906); Edelstein, I, 220-21.

[73]*Suda*, ed. Adler; Teubner *Lexicographia Graeca* I, i-v, (Leipzig, 1929-38), s.v. "Ἵππυς." Herzog dates Hippys to the 3rd century BCE; *Wunderheilungen*, 78 n. 26.

[74]Jacoby, *RE* 8 pt. 2, 1927. The fragments of Hippys' works are collected in Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1841-70), vol. 2, 11-15.

[75]His main importance for scholarship is as an early indigenous historian of the south Italian city- states. Recent publications on Hippys: E. Manni, "Recenti Studi sulla Sicilia Antica," *Kokalos* 7 (1961), 238-9; E. Manni, "La Fondazione di Roma secondo Antioco, Alcimo e Callia," *Kokalos* 9 (1963), 260; 264-5. Also, A. Momigliano briefly in *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1938-46), s.v. "Ippi."

[76]E.T. Salmon, s.v. "Rhegium," *OCD*, 920.

Χρονικὰ and 'Αργολικὰ or 'Αρχαιολογικὰ may refer to sections of the Italian histories.[77] Jacoby is, however, not strongly convinced and leaves the question open.

The version of the story preserved in Aelian is as follows:

> 33. This is not the occasion for mentioning all the benefits that accrue from Wormwood, how it eases the windpipe and even cleanses the lungs. But to a troublesome creature it certainly is an enemy: it destroys intestinal worm. This creature grows and grows and becomes a monster bred in the intestines, and is reckoned among the diseases of mankind, and what is more, among those which are hardest to cure and which will not yield to any mortal treatment. Hippys is sufficient witness to this. The account given by the historian of Rhegium is as follows. A woman suffered from an intestinal worm, and the cleverest doctors despaired of curing her. Accordingly, she went to Epidauros and prayed the god that she might be rid of the complaint that was lodged in her. The god was not at hand. The attendants of the temple however made her lie down in the place where the god was in the habit of healing his petitioners. And the woman lay quiet as she was bid; and the ministers of the god addressed themselves to her cure: they severed her head from the neck, and one of them inserted his hand and drew out the worm, which was a monstrous creature. But to adjust the head and restore it to its setting, this they always failed to do. Well, the god arrived and was enraged with the ministers for undertaking a task beyond their skill, and himself with the irresistible power of a god restored the head to the body and raised the stranger up again. For my part, O King Asclepius, of all gods the kindliest to man, I do not set Wormwood against your skill (heaven forbid I should be so insensate!), but in considering Wormwood I was reminded of your beneficent action and of your astounding powers of healing. And there is no need to doubt that this herb also is a gift from you.[78]

The comparative tale in the Iamata is of course, B 3, Aristagora of Troizen:

> Aristagora of Troizen. Since she had a worm in her belly, she slept in the temenos of Asklepios in Troizen and she saw a dream. It seemed to her that the sons of the god, while he was not there but was in Epidauros, cut off her head, but they couldn't put it back again so they sent someone to the Asklepieion, so that he would return. Meanwhile the day overtakes them and the priest clearly sees the head removed from the body. When the night finally came again, Aristagora saw a vision. It seemed to her that the god had returned from Epidauros and put the head on her neck, and after that cut open her belly, took out the worm and sewed it together again, and from this she became well.

Though there are obvious similarities between the two tales, there is one major difference. While on Stele B the story clearly occurs in Troizen, Hippys

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[77] *RE* v.8, pt. 2, 1972 - 1928.

[78] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 9.33., trans. A.F. Scholfield.

places it at Epidauros, the god happening to be away. If the tales are "versions" of each other, which site should be given priority? The version on Stele B establishes Epidauros as the main center for Asklepios, the place where he is reliably to be found, and the place to turn when all else, even other healing deities or sanctuaries, has failed. "Accept no substitutes" seems to be the message of this tale. However, this could easily be due to Epidaurian avoidance of the Hippys version, which states that at some times the god might not be available at Epidauros. This version, if Aristagora's home state is accurately recorded,[79] could have been current at Troizen.

The Asklepieion at Troizen has been located and excavated. Though there are some early and archaic buildings there, the Asklepios complex is dated between the end of the fourth and the early third century BCE.[80] This places development there at roughly the same time as the monumentalization at Epidauros. The two poleis are in the same vicinity, and a certain degree of rivalry is, perhaps, natural.[81] The question raised by the possible presence of alternate "versions" appearing both at Epidauros and in Hippys is whether or not there was a certain degree of communication and sharing as well.

There are other differences between the two tales which deserve consideration from this standpoint.[82] In Hippys' version the patient is unnamed, and it is the "attendants of the temple" who rashly embark upon this radical surgical procedure.[83] Both "versions" agree that it is the head which is cut for an intestinal problem, but in Hippys' version this does in fact cure the worm - the attendants' only stated problem is in restoring the head. The action on Stele B occurs away from Epidauros, so the god's absence is easily understood. Here, the actors are not mere

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[79]Discussion of "accuracy" in this context is awkward. What is indicated is association of this tale with a particular votive marked "Aristagora [of Troizen], not the factual accuracy of the reported events.

[80]The Asklepios complex at Troizen is associated with a precinct for Hippolytos, with whom Asklepios is mythologically connected. The Asklepieion had a propylon, a small temple, and a large *hestiatorion* with a stoa and rooms, suggestive of the multiple functions which Building E may have had. See especially G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin: Mann, 1941); summary by M. Cristofani, *PECS*, 936.

[81]Tale C 5 also contains a recommendation of Epidauros over Troizen, also with the implication that at Troizen you will be frightened and hurt, and at Epidauros the care is gentle.

[82]The wording is completely different; if the tales are "versions," this may be due to Aelian's paraphrasing of Hippys' version.

[83]If this story is reliable at all, this would clearly argue against Herzog's view that secular doctors of the time, with a connection to the school of Hippocrates, were active forces at Asklepieia. That tradition is clearly against surgery "even for stone." Asklepios does perform unorthodox surgery, but when this is mentioned it is because he is supernatural, a god.

attendants, but may be doctors or even deities themselves. The term "sons of the god" may indicate either Machaon and Podalirius, the hero-doctors, or possibly "Asklepiads," a guild of doctors who would be Asklepios' sons only in the sense of practicing medicine.[84] Whatever they might actually be, in this tale they are not priests of Asklepios, since that figure is mentioned separately, later. The "Asklepiads" cut off the woman's head, presumably while she is asleep, and it stays off for at least twenty-four hours. Unable to restore the head, they send for Asklepios who, not angry, simply comes and repairs the damage the following night; he then removes the worm in a more expected way by abdominal surgery.

The version on Stele B is more logically consistent than that of Hippys; but the question is whether logical consistency or its absence can as a reliable guide to which story should be considered "original," if any. Should we assume increasingly consistent versions with time, or the opposite?[85]

As we can see, in this case the issues of "lifting" from historians and borrowing miracle stories from other Asklepieia are intertwined. The existence of each problem almost precludes the resolution of the other.

Do these two tales really share a source or are they just similar tellings of traditional folk material? Early historians often did include this type of story; Hippys may be relating folklore. Names and specific details provided on the Epidaurian stele may have been provided by a non-narrative, pictorial votive; and the details of B 3 could have been oral, although the linguistic resemblances between B 3 and its neighboring tales argue against this. The resemblances between the two stories are not so striking as to demand that one derives from the other or that they reflect a single written source.

As to the second question, whether tales from Troizen would be lifted and transferred to Epidauros, I think that the answer is no in this case. If we look at the two tales which mention Troizen (B 3 and C 5), we see that they clearly are Epidaurian tales. They may be propaganda, but more likely they represent individuals who did go to Troizen first, and had no luck there. With so many tales to choose from, it seems improbable that Epidaurian authorities would specifically choose unassociated tales, then have to add a lot of material to make them Epidaurian. There is only one tale to which I think we can point and name an

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[84]Machaon and Podalirius are Asklepios' sons. They take part in the *Iliad*, both as soldiers and as field surgeons, and are later heroized as healers themselves; references in Edelstein, *Asclepius* v.1, 60-107; v.2, 2-65.

[85]Herzog feels that propaganda becomes wilder over time; *Wunderheilungen*, 51. Bultmann views simpler traditions as more original, though this is in relation to details, rather than level of amazingness; *Synoptic Tradition*, 241-2; Allport and Postman, however, suggest the rumors become less detailed as they spread; "Psychology," 156.

outside source - B 13, Thersandros of Halieis. As I have already mentioned, this tale, as a foundation story for the Halieis Asklepieion, probably came to Epidauros as an official inscription which would have been displayed at Halieis also. However, this does not mean that other stories were taken from Halieis. B 4, Aristokritos of Halieis, is again specifically Epidaurian; A 18, Alketas of Halieis, shows no indication either way, but note that these tales appear in different groupings with different histories, and are not associated with each other in any way. Therefore, I think we are safe in saying that tales probably were not "lifted" either from other sanctuaries or from authors.[86]

Summary

The following is a summary of the various suggestions and possibilities as to origins of tales and explanations of groupings:

Stele A:
- 1 Pictorial pinax, oral amplification
- 2 Simple votive; oral amplification
- 3 Oral tradition
- 4 Pinax/votive; may have influenced A 3
- 5 Daytime; brief - end of early stele?
- 1-10 a large pre-collected group
- 12 Stock/artisan - hands
- 13 Stock/artisan - hands
- 14 Stock/artisan - hands
- 15 Oral tradition
- 16 Oral activity - pictorial influence
- 17 Oral activity - pictorial influence
- 11-17 pre-collected group
- 20 Brief, animal, daytime - typical end

Stele B:
- 1-5 pre-collected - action at a distance
- 6 Brief, animal, daytime - end of sm. stele?
- 8 Stock/artisan
- 9 Stock/artisan
- 13 Official - Halieis foundation
- 23 Brief, animal, daytime - typical end?

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[86]The discovery of iamata of Trikka or Kos might change this picture; on the other hand, the Lebena inscriptions are local and not borrowed.

Stele C: 1-5 precollected?

The greater number of entries for Stele A is due to the longer history and greater number of intervening stages hypothesized for it. These indications show that *some* tales on Stele A are closer to their original traditions than others; as are *most* [unbroken] tales on Stele B. Whether these indications also allow us to place some tales earlier in time than others, is still an open question.

CHRONOLOGICAL ISSUES[1]

A number of indications have surfaced through this detailed analysis of patterns in the Iamata which have tended to show, if not absolute dating, some possible hints as to the relative ages of some of the tales. If we could extend this relative dating from single tales to their groups, then a good number of tales may be dated in relation to each other.

The first phase of this process was the analysis of the smaller groups and patterns within the corpus of Iamata. Taking the pre-collected groups as a starting point, it is possible to arrive at a *stylistic taxonomy* of tales, which may possibly also indicate their relative chronology.

As I discussed above, Tales A 1-10 are very likely to represent an inscription prior to the final stele-version that survives, based both on linguistic similarity and on the layout of text upon the stone. Within this group, there are smaller patterns and pairings which indicate that some tales are earlier than others. These, however, are *not* marked by variations in the manner of inscription, which is an indication that tales A 1-10 were already collected onto a single model by the time of inscription in the middle of the fourth century BCE.

The sub-patterns within A 1-10 are suggested more by content features and arrangement than by linguistic variation. If we examine A 1-5, we see two pairings, related by content. A 1 and A 2 concern remarkable, overlong pregnancies that are "resolved" outside the sacred boundary; A 3 and A 4 deal with the issue of scoffing and disbelief among suppliants. Within both pairs, the first member seems to be amplified by the second. Tale A 2 bears marks of oral tradition, and may have been inspired by A 1; in the second pair, Tale A 3 suggests oral origin, while A 4 does not. In these cases, it appears that tales or votives were grouped for content, and the first member of the pair does not necessarily cause the second to arise. Both pairs, however, show the addition of more concrete details, in terms of names and home states, in the second members, A 2 and A 4. This may indicate a later phase of oral tradition (in the case of A 2). In the case of A 4, many features of the tale suggest that it is more "modern" than A 3.[2]

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[1]The remarks and conclusions in this section should be considered *highly* provisional.

[2]Content features: Name, home state, and condition opening; surgical and medicinal cure; avoidance of direct speech; Formulaic language: terms ἐνύπνιον; ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστάς etc.

To briefly summarize, the first four tales could be viewed as follows:

Early votives	*Embellishments*
Kleo	Ithmonika
"Incredulous"	Ambrosia of Athens

The indications above suggest that Kleo's tale and that of "Incredulous," A 1 and A 3, are earlier than A 2 and A 4. However, A 5 does not really resemble any of the four; nor is it clearly related by content. It is relatively brief and undetailed, with a terse "rubric" opening, which takes place outdoors in the daytime in an instantaneous manner and involves a functionary of the sanctuary, the πυρφόρος. If we scan the corpus for other tales which resemble A 5, an interesting pattern emerges. In two cases, A 20 and B 23, tales of this type appear at the ends of their stelai. Two other examples, tales B 6 and the pair A 16 and A 17, appear where I have suggested, for other reasons, a change of model or precollected group.[3] In other words, all four of these examples were found, at one time or another, at the *end* of a small or large stele.[4] The strong resemblances between the tales, and their positions as *appendages* to other groupings, indicate that they originate later in time, relative to the other types of tales.

If we accept this model of the relationships between these tales, then by viewing them as representatives of three groups, styles or periods of composition, it may be possible to extend the range of the relative chronology by comparing other tales on Stele A, which are *not* in obvious chronological relationships with neighbors, but which share many features of A 1 and A 3; A 2 and A 4; or A 5. It should be remembered that, in the case of Tale A 1, we have an earlier portion, the pinax-text, and a later, narrative addition. For *at least* these two portions, then, we know that one part is earlier than the other.

It has already been already observed that Tales A 12-14 are closely related, but probably have different histories. A 12 is older than A 13 and 14, and may have provided the inspiration for them. Linguistically, the narrative beginning of A 12 resembles the first group; while A 13 and 14 resemble the second group. A 11 resembles both groups in different ways, so it has been put aside for the moment.

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[3]In all of these cases except A 16, the "functionary" is an animal.

[4]A problem, however, is posed by C 1, which is of this type, but is first. If the ideas that I am developing here hold up, this would tend to indicate that Stele C was compiled in the third period, out of separate, later votives.

The patterns of resemblance and grouping on Stele B occur in different ways than those on Stele A. Apart from one very likely pre-collected group, Tales 1-6,[5] and the stock/artisan pair B 8 and 9, Stele B gives the impression of having been drawn mainly from individual votives. If Tales B 1-6 are a true pre-collection, and appeared together on a small stele at a phase intermediate between their first dedication and the inscription of the larger Stele B, then they may possibly be older than remaining tales on Stele B which were individually collected and *not* previously grouped.

The majority of tales on Stele B are worded in the general manner of the middle group. None of the tales on Stele B shows the features of the earliest group on Stele A, including the pre-collected group, B 1-6.[6] This group, however, has several other "relatives" scattered over the rest of the stele, and together they form a clearly identifiable stylistic group, emphasizing the fearsomeness and possibly gruesome nature of both illnesses and cures, that has no counterparts on the other two extant stelai. This suggests a short history for Stele B, with all of the tales (except for B 6 and B 23) coming from approximately the same time.[7] The similarity of these other tales to those in the pre-collected group B 1-6 indicates that its original small stele was made almost immediately prior to the inscription of the larger stele, since the same types of votives were still present in the sanctuary in great numbers when the tales for large stele were collected.

The mason's error in Stele C line 21 indicates that at least tales C 3 and C 4 were copied from the same model, and may therefore have been a pre-collected pair, or larger group of C 1-5. It is difficult to know how large this pre-inscribed

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[5]Tales B 1-5 have a unified message, share certain linguistic features and are rounded out by B 6, which is terse, daytime, animal, etc.

[6]This *may* indicate that B 1-6 is not a true pre-collection, but an arrangement of a small number of tales for a theological purpose, made at the same time as the inscription onto the preserved stele. However, I think that the presence of the close relatives of this group, B 7, 10, 18 and 21, in random locations, as well as the "capping" of B 1-5 by B 6, clearly show that the group *is* a pre-collected group.

[7]B 6 and 23 strongly resemble the third group on Stele A and are probably therefore later than the other Stele B tales. It is possible that the large stylistic group reflects the literary taste ("shock votives") of a particular artisan, just as B 11, 14, 19 and 22 may reflect stock pictorials. The sheer number of gruesome, frightening tales would, in this case, probably indicate an extremely busy and successful artisan. My impression, however, based on subtle variations in syntax, vocabulary, etc., is that they do not all come from the same *composer*, but rather represent a votive "fad." Either way, they are close to each other in time, and close to the other middle group tales based on language and formulas.

group on Stele C would have been, since the context which the following tales would have provided, is destroyed.[8]

There is a fairly wide variety in the first five tales on C. However, if we look at an overview, we can see that the underlying message, a stress on non-human modes of cure, instantaneous miracle, and wide-ranging power, is reminiscent of the "program" behind A 1-10;[9] as well as B 1-6, though the element of fearsomeness does not appear. This may indicate that the C 1-5 tales are at least as old as the middle tales,[10] and may reflect the same "advertising" mind set. Their cleanliness and the majesty, cryptic acts and phrases and ease of operation of the god places them closer to A 1-10.

Adding the extant tales on C to the groups, we find:

Early	*Middle*	*Late*
A 1	A 2	A 5
A 3	A 4	A 8?
A 9	A 6 & 7	
A 10	A 13	
A 12	A 14	
	A 15	A 16
	A 18	A 17
	A 19	A 20
B 1	B 8	B 6
B 2	B 9	B 23
B 3	B 12	
B 4	B 13	B 11
B 5	B 15	B 14
B 7	B 16	B 19
B 10	B 17	B 22
B 18	B 20	
B 21		
		C 1
	C 2	
C 21?	C 3	C 21?
C 22?	C 4	C 22?
C 23?	C 5	C 23?

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[8]C 1-5 do resemble each other in not concerning incubation for illness in the usual way. This may show a deliberate arrangement or thematic pre-collection.

[9]Particularly in the anti-Troizen feelings behind tale C 5.

[10]The problem here is the resemblance of C 1 to the late, third-group tales. Why was a type of tale generally reserved for the end of a stele, possibly therefore viewed as "filler" (particularly in light of the absence of names) in this case given such a prominent position?

Tales C 2-5 resemble the majority, middle group.[11] Tales C 21-23 resemble this group as well, but are very problematic. Content features that reflect late practice, such as the prescription of a very long stay in C 21, could indicate that they may be somewhat later tales. However, all three tales use forms of ἐγκατακοιμάω for incubation, which elsewhere appears on Stele A only, in the earliest tales.[12] Tale C 1 clearly resembles members of the third, latest group, especially A 5. However, it is thematically similar to C 2 in the details of young girls, attendants (parents, servants) and snakes. The two tales are linguistically unlike. This fact, in combination with the lack of names or details for C 1, suggests that it originated in an oral tradition, probably inspired by the pictorial material on Melissa's original votive, and was collected not too long after it originated.[13]

The features of the groups in schematic form appear in the final chart. Though there are exceptions and tales which cross lines of categories, these are the general features of the three basic groups:

Early	*Middle*	*Later*
Narrative opening	Name, state, condition beginning	Terse
Direct Speech	Avoidance of direct speech	Animals/Functionaries
ὄψιν	ἐνύπνιον	Daytime
ἐγκατακοιμάω	ἐγκαθεύδω	ὑγιῆ ἐπόησε ?
ἁμέρας δὲ γενομένας **etc.**	ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστάς **etc.**	
	καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο	
	Asklepios' name	

If we make the attempt to extend this relative chronology/stylistic taxonomy into the area of absolute dating of tales within the corpus, the results are very disappointing. The very latest a tale on these stelai could have originated is the immediate time of the inscribing of the stones, in the midst of the monumentalization of the latter half of the fourth century BCE. None of the tales in the third group gives any hints as to absolute date.

The majority of tales are assigned to the "middle group," which is assumed to be earlier than the third group. But, if we look for specific clues that might clearly

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[11]As far as I can tell, most of the fragmentary tales would belong here also.

[12]The letters E-K-O-I do, however, appear in line 2 of the fragment of Stele D, and are probably also part of this word.

[13]See discussion of oral tradition above. The positioning of the oral amplification so prominently, however, remains a problem.

indicate that this is so, or *how much earlier* a given tale might be, the clues are few and very ambiguous.

The most promising candidate for absolute date is B 11, concerning Andromache and Arybbas of Epirus. Herzog places the birth associated with this tale in 360-350.[14] However, he must identify two possibly different women to do so. It is possible that the Andromache of B 11 is an earlier wife of Arybbas; however, whichever wife is concerned the tale cannot have originated much earlier than the third group tales if this is the right Arybbas. However, that may have been a common name in the Molossian royal family, as were Andromache, Neoptolemus, Alketas, etc.

Another potentially helpful date which, however, does not pan out is Hagestratos' pankration win at Nemea, in Tale B 9. Unfortunately, Hagestratos' name is not reported in the surviving Nemean victor lists.[15]

The animus against the Asklepieion at Troizen, reflected in tales C 5 and B 3, should probably be associated with a period of rivalry between the two sanctuaries. Building activity at the Asklepieion at Troizen is dated from the end of the fourth through the early third century BCE. This places the major growth there after the closing of the Iamata corpus; however, if building *follows* rather than *precedes* rising popularity, then the perceived threat from Troizen could have bothered the Epidaurian sanctuary at almost any time in its development, since the Troizenian Asklepieion does include traces of very early buildings and is associated with a sanctuary of Hippolytos, who is associated in myth with Asklepios from very early times.[16]

Dates for the earliest tales are also impossible to establish, especially in light of the possibility that some tales may originally have concerned Apollo, as the heading on Stele A indicates. This removes even the presence of Asklepios as a control of absolute dating. Because of all this, the stylistic features of the tales must remain our only guide, however rough, to the dates of origin (and collection) of these tales. Based on these features and groupings, however, it is possible to come to certain conclusions as to the compositional history of the Iamata corpus.

In the first place, the three groups of tales, though they reflect somewhat different times, styles and individuals, probably do not cover an extremely wide

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[14]*Wunderheilungen*, 73-4. Arybbas and Andromache are discussed below in the notes to their tale.

[15]Knab, Rudolf. *Die Periodoniken* (Chicago: Ares Press, 1980 [orig. 1934]). The compilation of updated lists is in progress by the University of California at Berkeley Nemea Excavation Project.

[16]Welter, *Troizen*, 34-6. Jealousy or other feelings about Troizen activities may have kept Hippolytos from prominence at Epidauros.

range of dates; probably less than a century. The first indication of this is in the layout problems on Stele A. If, as I have suggested, the stele mason followed the layouts of his original three sources, then those sources were probably near to the Iamata in time, since their own layout of line length, etc., was similar to good 4th century stoichedon style.

The second indication is the verse-inscription votive part of Kleo's tale. Herzog characterized its two hexameters and pentameter as an old, traditional verse-form.[17] However, though the metrical form may be old or folksy, the language used within the verses is no different from the language and vocabulary employed by most other iamata. If the original verses were from a very long time before the final inscription, one might expect more variation in the language.

From this point of view, then, it becomes unlikely that any of the Iamata, even the earliest part of A 1, are very ancient or pre-date the first large building activity which resulted in Building E, during the course of the fifth century. This negative conclusion is, however, interesting in that it suggests that the tradition of *narrative* tales preserved in the sanctuary was not necessarily a feature of the earliest religious activities on the site. This in turn implies that the Epidaurian narrative tradition was not inspired by priestly archivists and reflects individual motivation.[18]

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[17]*Wunderheilungen*, 8.

[18]The growth of widespread general literacy may also have played a role in the development of this tradition.

STELE A

ΘΕΟΣ ΤΥΧΑ ΑΓΑΘΑ

ΙΑΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΥ[1]

Κλεὼ πένθ' ἔτη ἐκύησε. *vac.* Αὔτα πέντ' ἐνιαυτοὺς ἤδη κυοῦσα ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτις ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν τῶι ἀβάτωι· ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐξῆλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰαροῦ ἐγένετο, κόρον ἔτεκε, ὃς εὐθὺς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας ἐλοῦτο καὶ ἅμα τᾶι ματρὶ περιῆρπε. τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· 'οὐ μέγεθος πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τῶ θεῖον, πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύησε ἐγ γαστρὶ Κλεὼ βάρος, ἔστε ἐγκατεκοιμάθη κάἰ μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ.[2] *τριέτης*[3]

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[1]Asklepios is specifically named as the agent on Stele A only in tale 2; in tale 10 his name is used proverbially. All other times it is simply "the god" who is mentioned. There is no indication of Apollo and Asklepios acting together, but it is possible that some of the earliest tales originally concerned acts by Apollo, possibly votive texts from the Maleatas sanctuary; and that this is remembered in this heading, though note its use of ΘΕΟΣ rather than ΘΕΟΙ.

[2]The votive inscription forms two hexameters and a pentameter; Herzog calls this an "altes volkstümliches Versmass," *Wunderheilungen*, p.8, n. A7.

[3]I have included in italicized print the words or phrases that make up the rest of the lines in which tales begin or end. This is to underline the various ways in which text is laid out on the stone, and to highlight the indications of possible source combinations.

GOD GOOD LUCK

Healings by Apollo and by Asklepios

[A1] Kleo was pregnant for five years. After the fifth year of pregnancy, she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the Abaton. As soon as she had left it and was outside the sacred area, she gave birth to a son who, as soon as he was born, washed himself at the fountain and walked about with his mother. After this success, she inscribed upon an offering: *"The wonder is not the size of the plaque,*[4] *but the act of the god: Kleo bore a burden in her stomach*[5] *for five years, until she slept here,*[6] *and he made her well."*

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[4]πίναξ: Flat wooden board or plank, generally plastered or primed and then painted and inscribed. Pinakes could either be hung upon walls or statues, or attatched to a vertical member which was then driven into the ground, creating a "For Sale sign" type of effect. The pinax was an extremely popular votive format; see *Introduction*, above.

[5]Greek anatomical knowledge in Classical times held that the stomach was connected with the womb; this connection is implied also in Tale A2; see, e.g. G.E.R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 83-4, n. 98. It is important to retain the less specific word "stomach" as a translation for γαστρὶ for two reasons: 1) to reflect this element of ancient anatomical usage, and 2) to emphasize the fact that if the pinax text is read alone, there is no real reason to associate Kleo's problem with pregnancy or childbirth, details that are supplied by the narrative frame, possibly a later addition to the original votive text; see *Introduction*.

[6]There are two words which are commonly used to describe the process of incubation in these inscriptions, ἐγκαθεύδω and ἐγκατακοιμάω. These verbs appear in various forms. In the majority of tales the verbs are used with no specification of location. Edelstein has translated these verbs as "sleeping in the Temple," but, where the location is mentioned, it is always the Abaton. On the other hand, I do not want to insert mention of the Abaton where it does not appear. These words clearly indicate a special sleep, in a special place. I have chosen to translate the unspecified occurrences as "sleeping *here*," meaning either simply "here in the sanctuary" or "here in the Abaton," if the stelai were in fact displayed for pilgrims within the Abaton; see *Introduction*, above. The choice of one of these verbs over the other may reflect the choices made by the composers or redactors of a particular tale. This tale, using both, may indicate faithfulness to the original pinax-text on the part of a later editor.

τρὶ Κλεὼ βάρος, ἔστε ἐκατεκοιμάθη κάι μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ. τριέτης
[φο]ρά. --Ἰθμονίκα Πελλανὶς ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ὑπὲρ γενεᾶς. ἐγ[κατα-
[κοι]μαθεῖσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν Θεὸν κυῆσαι κό-
[ραν], τὸν δ' Ἀσκλαπιὸν φάμεν ἔγκυον ἐσσεῖσθαί νιν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
α[ἰτ]οῖτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ ἐπιτελεῖν, αὐτὰ δ' οὐθενὸς φάμεν ἔτι ποι-
δε[ῖ]σθαι. ἔγκυος δὲ γενομένα ἐγ γαστρὶ ἐφόρει τρία ἔτη, ἔστε πα-
ρέβαλε ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόκου· ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα
δὲ ὄψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτᾶι
πάντα ὅσσα αἰτήσαιτο καὶ ἔγκυος εἴη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιθέμεν
νιν οὐθέν, καὶ ταῦτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τινος καὶ ἄλλου δέ-
οιτο, λέγειν, ὡς ποιησοῦντος καὶ τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου
παρείη ποτ' αὐτὸν ἱκέτις, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ φάμεν ἐπιτελεῖν. μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτο σπουδᾶι ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθοῦσα, ὡς ἔξω τοῦ ἰαροῦ ἦς, ἔτε-
κε κόραν. Ἀνὴρ τοὺς τᾶς χηρὸς δακτύλους ἀκρατεῖς ἔχων πλὰν
ἑνὸς ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτας· θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶι
πίνακας ἀπίστει τοῖς ἰάμασιν καὶ ὑποδιέσυρε τὰ ἐπιγράμμα-
[τ]α. ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ὑπὸ τῶι ναῶι ἀστραγαλίζον-
[τ]ος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος βάλλειν τῶι ἀστραγάλωι, ἐπιφανέντα
[τ]ὸν θεὸν ἐφαλέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰν χῆρα καὶ ἐκτεῖναί οὐ τοὺς δακτύ‹λ›-
λους· ὡς δ' ἀποβαίη, δοκεῖν συγκάμψας τὰν χῆρα καθ' ἕνα ἐκτείνειν
τῶν δακτύλων· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ἐξευθύναι, ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν,
εἰ ἔτι ἀπιστησοῖ τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶμ πινάκων τῶν
κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν, "Ὅτι τοίνυν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπίστεις
αὐτο[ῖ]ς οὐκ ἐοῦσιν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι,' φάμεν, '"Απιστος
ὄν[ομά].' ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. *Ἀμβροσία ἐξ' Ἀθανᾶν*

[A2] A three-year pregnancy. Ithmonika of Pellene came to the sanctuary for a family. Sleeping here she saw a vision. It seemed that she asked the god if she could conceive a daughter, and Asklepios answered that she would and that if she asked anything else that he would do that as well, but she answered that she didn't need anything more. She became pregnant and bore the child in her stomach for three years, until she came again to the god as a suppliant, concerning the birth. Sleeping here, she saw a vision.[7] The god appeared, asking whether everything she had asked had not happened and she was pregnant. She had not asked anything about the birth, and he had asked her to say whether there was anything more she needed and he would do it. But since now she had come to him as a suppliant for this, he said he would do it for her. Right after this, she rushed out of the Abaton, and as soon as she was outside the sacred area, gave birth to a daughter.

[A3] A man who was paralyzed in all his fingers except one came as a suppliant to the god. When he was looking at the plaques in the sanctuary, he didn't believe in the cures and was somewhat disparaging of the inscriptions. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed he was playing the knucklebones[8] below the temple, and as he was about to throw them, the god appeared, sprang on his hand and stretched out the fingers. When the god moved off, the man seemed to bend his hand and stretch out his fingers one by one. When he had straightened them all, the god asked him if he would still not believe the inscriptions on the plaques around the sanctuary[9] and he answered no. "Therefore, since you doubted them before, though they were not unbelievable, from now on," he said, "your name shall be 'Unbeliever.'" When day came he left well.

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[7]The inscriptions use two words for vision, ὄψιν and ἐνύπνιον. Here also the choice of one word over another may indicate editorial preference. I translate ὄψιν as "vision" and ἐνύπνιον as "dream."

[8]Tale A 8 also mentions dice or knucklebones. Dice were a regular means of minor divination at many oracular shrines such as Delphi and the sanctuary of Athena Skiras; see Flacèliére, *Oracles* 16-17, etc.; Robbins, *Classical Philology* XI (1916) 278-92.

[9]The text here uses ἱερόν instead of the usual Doric ἱαρόν, which in fact appears in this tale at line 23. ἱερόν appears again in tale A10, line 86.

ὄν[ομά].' ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. Ἀμβροσία ἐξ Ἀθανᾶν
[ἀτερό]πτ[ι]λος. αὕτα ἱκέτις ἦλθε ποὶ τὸν θεόν· περιέρπουσα δὲ
[κατὰ τὸ ἰαρὸν τῶν ἰαμάτων τινὰ διεγέλα ὡς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδύνα- *35*
[τα ἐόν]τα, χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺ[ς] ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι ἐνύπνιον ἰδόν-
[τας μό]νον. ἐγκαθεύδουσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς
[εἰπεῖν], ὅτι ὑγιῆ μέν νιν ποιησοῖ, μισθὸμ μάντοι νιν δεησοῖ ἀν-
[θέμεν ε]ἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ὗν ἀργύρεον ὑπόμναμα τᾶς ἀμαθίας. εἶπαν
[τα δὲ ταῦτ]α ἀνσχίσσαι οὐ τὸν ὄπτιλλον τὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ φάρμ[α- *40*
κόν τι ἐγχέ]αι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. παῖς ἄφωνος.
[οὗτος ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ὑπὲρ φωνᾶς· ὡς δὲ προεθύσατο καὶ
[ἐπόησε τὰ] νομιζόμενα, μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ παῖς ὁ τῶι θεῶι πυρφορῶν
[ἐκέλετο, π]οὶ τὸμ πατέρα τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς ποτιβλέψας, ὑποδέκεσ-
[θαι ἐντὸς ἑ]νιαυτοῦ, τυχόντα ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστι, ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἴατρα. *45*
[ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐξ]απίνας 'ὑποδέκομαι,' ἔφα· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐκπλαγεὶς πάλιν
[ἐκέλετο αὐ]τὸν εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε πάλιν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγέ-
[νετο. *Πάνδαρ]ος Θεσσαλὸς στίγματα ἔχων ἐν τῶι μετώπωι. οὗτος*

[A4] Ambrosia from[10] Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god. Walking about the sanctuary, she ridiculed some of the cures as being unlikely and impossible, the lame and the blind becoming well from only seeing a dream. Sleeping here, she saw a vision.[11] It seemed to her the god came to her and said he would make her well, but she would have to pay a fee[12] by dedicating a silver pig in the sanctuary as a memorial of her ignorance. When he had said these things, he cut her sick eye and poured a medicine over it. When day came she left well.

[A5] A mute boy. He came to the sanctuary for a voice. He performed the opening sacrifices and did the required things; and then the boy who carries fire for the god,[13] looking over at the boy's father, bid him to promise to sacrifice within a year, if what he came for occurred. Suddenly the boy said, "I promise." The father was amazed and told him to repeat it. The boy spoke again and from this[14] he became well.

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[10]The Iamata frequently use the preposition ἐκ before a woman's home town; but this does not occur with the names of men, who are simply described as being "of" a given place.

[11]Play between ὄψιν, what Ambrosia really sees, and ἐνύπνιον, what she calls, while scoffing, what the people in the inscriptions have seen.

[12]μισθὸμ: physician's fee; or other fees with the sense of pay or wages.

[13]The πυρφόρος is mentioned in many dedicatory inscriptions published by Kavvadias in *Fouilles* I, 51-4. The office apparently began as a rather menial one, concerning tending of fires on the various altars; by Roman times the office of πυρφορός had become nearly as important as that of priest. In the context of tales A 1-10, however, the probable implication of the order he gives is that this is an epiphany of the god.

[14]The ending καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο, "and from this he/she became well," is formulaic. Here, the use of this particular formula creates an ambiguity - does τούτου refer to the giving of advice, or to the whole complex of events? Most likely it is the latter; but the employment of this formula may show that the composer was not interested in theological niceties of this kind.

[νετο. Πάνδαρ]ος Θεσσαλὸς στίγματα ἔχων ἐν τῶι μετώπωι. οὗτος
[ἐγκαθεύδων ὄ]ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτοῦ τα[ι]νίαι καταδῆσαι τὰ στί-
[γματα ὁ θεὸς κ]αὶ κέλεσθαί νιν, ἐπεί [κα ἔξω] γένηται τοῦ ἀβάτου
[ἀφελόμενον τὰ]ν ταινίαν ἀνθέμε[ν εἰ]ς τὸν ναόν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενο-
[μένας ἐξανέστα] καὶ ἀφήλετο τ[ὰν ται]νίαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον
[κενεὸν εἶδε τῶ]ν στιγμάτω[ν, τ]ὰν δ[ὲ τ]αινίαν ἀνέθηκε εἰς τὸν να-
[όν, ἔχουσαν τὰ γρ]άμματ[α] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. Ἐχέδωρος τὰ Πανδά-
[ρου στίγματα ἔλ]αβε ποὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. οὗτος λαβὼν πὰρ [Παν-
[δάρου χρήματα], ὥστ' ἀνθέμεν τῶι θεῶι εἰς Επίδαυρον ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ,
[οὐκ] ἀπεδίδου ταῦτα· ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θε[ὸς
[ἐπιστὰς ἐπερωτῆν νιν, εἰ ἔχοι τινὰ χρήματα πὰρ Πανδάρου ε[ἰς Ἀ]-
θηνᾶν ἄνθεμα εἰς τὸ ἰαρόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν λελαβήκειν οὐθὲ[ν]
τοιοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ' αἴ κα ὑγιῆ νιν ποήσαι, ἀνθησεῖν οἱ εἰκό-
να γραψάμενος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὰν τοῦ Πανδάρου ταινί-
αν περιδῆσαι περὶ τὰ στίγματά οὐ καὶ κέλεσθαί νιν, ἐπεί κα ἐξ-
έλθηι ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου, ἀφελόμενον τὰν ταινίαν ἀπονίψασθαι τὸ
πρόσωπον ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας καὶ ἐγκατοπτρίξασθαι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ· ἀ-
μέρας δὲ γενομένας ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου τὰν ταινίαν ἀφήλετο,
τὰ γράμματα οὐκ ἔχουσαν· ἐγκαθιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἑώρη τὸ αὐτοῦ
πρόσωπον ποὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις στίγμασιν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πανδ(ά)ρου γρά[μ]-
ματα λελαβηκός. ---- *Ἐυφάνες Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς. οὗτος λιθιῶν ἐνε[κά]-*

[A6] Pandaros of Thessaly, with tattoos[15] on his forehead. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed that the god bound a fillet[16] 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.

[A7] Echedoros received the tattoos of Pandaros along with those he already had. He had taken money from Pandaros in order to make a dedication to the god at Epidauros for him, but he did not hand it over. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god came to him and asked whether he had any money of Pandaros' to make a dedication for Athena[17] in the sanctuary. He answered that he had taken nothing of the kind from him, but that if he would make him well, he would have an image inscribed and dedicate it to him. At that the god seemed to tie Pandaros' fillet around his tattoos and to order him, when he went outside the Abaton, to take off the fillet and wash his face at the fountain and to look at his reflection in the water. When day came, he went out of the Abaton and took off the fillet, which no longer had the letters, but when he looked into the water, he saw that his own face bore his original tattoos and had taken on the letters of Pandaros.

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[15]Edelstein translates this as "marks" (and later uses "signs" for γράμματα), but *LSJ* take the word, in this passage, to mean "tattoo-mark," perhaps denoting dedication in a temple, especially of a slave or of a soldier. No other problem is indicated either for Pandaros or Echedoros in the following tale. The question of tattoos, particularly letter tattoos, and their significance is taken up in detail by P. Perdrizet, "La miraculeuse histoire de Pandare et d'Echédore," *ARW* 14 (1911), 54 ff.

[16]Edelstein translates ταινία as "band." Although it can mean "bandage" as well, it is most often used, in the context of religious literature, as the regular word for a fillet, the type of thing customarily dedicated to a god or athletic victor. Translational choices, it seems to me, hinge upon whether the texts are regarded as a sub-species of medical writing or as a sub-species of religious literature. This translation opts for the latter; and so I retain the ritual echo in the term "fillet."

[17]Herzog restores εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν, "for an Athena," Hiller renders it ἐξ Ἐυθηνᾶν, which is either "an image of the goddess Abundance," who is not mentioned elsewhere at Epidauros, "out of his abundance." Athena is named on several Epidaurian votives: Kavvadias, *τὸ ἱερόν*, 192-3.

ματα λελαβηκός. ------ Ἐυφάνες Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς. οὗτος λιθιῶν ἐνε[κά]-
θευδε· ἔδοξε δὴ αὐτῶι ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν, 'Τί μοι δωσεῖς, αἴ τυ
κα[18] ὑγιῆ ποιήσω;' αὐτὸς δὲ φάμεν 'δέκ' ἀστραγάλους.' τὸν δὲ θεὸν γελά- *70*
σαντα φάμεν νιν παυσεῖν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. --*vac.*--
Ἀνὴρ[19] ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτας ἀτερόπτιλλος οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ
βλέφαρα μόνον ἔχειν, ἐνεῖμεν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μηθέν, ἀλλὰ κενεὰ ε[ἶ]-
μεν ὅλως. ἐ(γ)έ(λω)ν[20] δή τινες τῶν ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶι τὰν εὐηθίαν αὐτοῦ, τὸ
νομίζειν βλεψεῖσθαι ὅλως μηδεμίαν ὑπαρχὰν ἔχοντος ὀπτίλ- *75*
λου ἀλλ' ἢ χώραμ μόνον. ἐγκαθ[εύδο]ντι οὖν αὐτῶι ὄψις ἐφάνη· ἐδό-
κει τὸν θεὸν ἐψῆσαί τι φά[ρμακον, ἔπε]ιτα διαγαγόντα τὰ βλέφα-
ρα ἐγχέαι εἰς αὐτά· ἀμέρ[ας δὲ γενομέν]ας βλέπων ἀμφοῖν ἐξῆλθε.
κώθων, *vac.* σκευοφόρος εἰ[ς τὸ] ἰαρ[ὸν] ἕρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε-
καστάδιον, κατέπετε· [ὡς δὲ] ἀνέστα, ἀνῶιξε τὸγ γυλιὸν κα[ὶ ἐ]πεσκό- *80*
πει τὰ συντετριμμένα σκ[ε]ύη· ὡς δ' εἶδε τὸγ κώθωνα κατε[αγ]ότα,
ἐξ οὗ ὁ δεσπότας εἴθιστο [π]ίνειν, ἐλυπεῖτο καί συνετίθει [τὰ] ὄ-
στρακα καθιζόμενος. ὁδο[ι]πόρος οὖν τις ἰδὼν αὐτόν· 'τί, ὦ ἄθλιε,' [ἔ]-
φα, 'συντίθησι τὸγ κώθωνα [μά]ταν; τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύ-
ρωι Ἀσκλαπιὸς ὑγιῆ ποῆσαι δύναιτο.' ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ παῖς συν- *85*
θεὶς τὰ ὄστρακα εἰς τὸγ γυλιὸν ἦρπε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκε-
το, ἀνῶιξε τὸγ γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγιῆ τὸγ κώθωνα γεγενημέ-
νον καὶ τῶι δεσπόται ἡρμάνευσε τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ λεχθέ[[ε]]ντα· ὡ-
ς δὲ ἄκουσ', ἀνέθηκε τῶι θεῶι τὸγ κώθωνα. ---------- *vac.* ----------

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[18]Edelstein and Kavvadias appear to read ΤΥΚΑ in their texts, without the spaces which elsewhere they use to show both word and line division. Both, however, do translate it as τύ κα, Doric for σύ κε, which is how it appears in Hiller's edition and in R. Nehrbass, *Sprache und Stil der Iamata von Epidauros*, *Philologus* suppl. vol. 27 (1935) part 4, 39.

[19]At the beginning and ending of this tale, small horizontal lines appear in the left "margin" of the stele; see *Introduction*, above.

[20]The stone reads ἔλεγον.

[A 8] 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.[21] When day came he left well.

[A 9] Once a man came as a suppliant to the god who was so blind in one eye that, while he still had the eyelids of that eye, there was nothing within them and they were completely empty. Some of the people in the sanctuary were laughing at his simple-mindedness in thinking that he could be made to see, having absolutely nothing, not even the beginnings of an eye, but only the socket. Then in his sleep, a vision appeared to him.[22] It seemed that the god boiled[23] some drug, and then drew apart his eyelids and poured it in. When day came he departed with both eyes.

[A 10] The cup. A baggage carrier was walking into the sanctuary, but he fell down near the ten stadia stone.[24] Getting up, he opened his bag and looked at the shattered things. When he saw that the cup from which his master was accustomed to drink was broken into pieces, he grieved and sitting down, tried putting the pieces together. Some passerby saw him. "Why, fool," he said, "are you fruitlessly putting that cup together? For not even Asklepios in Epidauros would be able to make that cup whole." Hearing this the boy, having put the pieces into his bag, walked into the sanctuary. When he arrived he opened the bag and took out the cup, which had become whole. He explained to his master what had happened and what had been said. When he heard it, he dedicated the cup to the god.

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[21]If this means "cure," and νιν refers to the pain or the stone, then this tale is the only one in this corpus to use this terminology. It also appears in a dedication to Artemis cited by H.S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith, Hope and Worship*, ed. H.S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 8; n. 19.

[22]Here the vision *appears* to the patient - usually the patient *sees* the vision. A possible reason for this choice of wording may be the man's blindness. However, in both A 18 and B12, blind men "see" visions with the usual phrasing.

[23]If the god pours the drug in while it is still boiling or near boiling, this becomes one of the more radical, superhuman cures such as decapitation, etc. This problem of an unusual word that can work both ways, though in a totally different manner, reappears in tale B 20.

[24]This stone is clearly outside the sanctuary; Herzog takes it as a road marker. In 1976 an inscription was discovered on the road from Ligurio, at about 150 meters from the sanctuary, which may have been a boundary stone or road marker. It reads: ὅπλα [μ]-/ὴ ἐπιφέρ[ειν]/ ἐπὶ πολέμ[ωι], "Do not carry arms to war." The probable date is the first half of the third century. Other than this there is no preserved road marker at 10 stades from the sanctuary. Since the Epidaurian stade was 1.8 meters, this stone is a little short of 10 stades, if the same standard was used on the road. M. Mitsos, *AE* 1976, 83-91 and pl. 27b; = *SEG* xxvi.48.

'Αισχίνας[25] ἐγκεκοιμισμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱκετᾶν ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἀμ- *90*
βὰς ὑπερέκυπτε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον. καταπετὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρεος
περὶ σκόλοπάς τινας τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ἀμφέπαισε· κακῶς δὲ δια-
κείμενος καὶ τυφλὸς γεγενημένος καθικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἐνε-
κάθευδε καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. ---------- *vac.* ----------
Εὔιππος λὸγχαν ἔτη ἐφόρησε ἕξ ἐν ταῖ γνάθωι· ἐγκοιτασθέντος *95*
δ' αὐτοῦ ἐξελὼν τὰν λόγχαν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὰς χῆράς οἱ ἔδωκε· ἀμέρας
δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆρπε τὰν λόγχαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων,
ἀνὴρ Τορωναῖος δεμελέας. οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε·
ἔδοξέ οἱ τὸν θεὸν τὰ στέρνα μαχαίραι ἀνσχίσσαντα τὰς δεμε-
λέας ἐξελεῖν καὶ δόμεν οἱ ἐς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συνράψαι τὰ στή- *100*
θη· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ἐξῆλθε τὰ θηρία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων
καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο· κατέπιε δ' αὐτὰ δολωθεὶς ὑπὸ ματρυιᾶς ἐγ κυ-
κᾶνι ἐμβεβλημένας ἐκπιών. ---------- *vac.* ----------
ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰδοίωι λίθον. οὗτος ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει παιδὶ καλῶι
συγγίνεσθαι, ἐξονειρώσσων δὲ τὸλ λίθον ἐγβάλλει καὶ ἀνελόμε- *105*
νος ἐξῆλθε ἐν ταῖς χερσῖ ἔχων. ---------- *vac.* ----------

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[25]*IG* IV^2 I 255, found at Epidauros and first noticed by J. Baunack, "Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros," *Philologus* LIV (1895), 61, has been identified by Herzog (*Wunderheilungen*, 39-41; and W. Peek, "Griechische Weihgedichte aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros," *Wiss. Zeitschr. Halle* 11 (1962) pp. 1002/3, as containing a dedicatory epigram by the orator Aischines, which is known from the *Palatine Anthology*, VI, 330. Because this epigram appears in other collections, it is thought to have actually been collected from its inscribed origin; C. Forbes, "An Episode in the Life of Aeschines," *AJPh* 88 (1967), 443-8. The orator lived in the early fourth century BCE. His epigram states that he was cured of a cancerous sore on his head, from which he had suffered for a year, after spending three months in an Asklepios sanctuary; probably (though not necessarily) Epidauros since the inscription was found there. The details of that epigram and this tale are totally different, making it unlikely that they refer to the same individual.

[A 11] Aischines, when the suppliants were already sleeping, went up a tree and peered over into the Abaton. Then he fell out of the tree and impaled his eyes on some fencing.[26] In a dreadful state, having been blinded, he earnestly prayed to the god, slept here, and became well.

[A 12] Euhippos bore a spear head in his jaw for six years. While he was sleeping here, the god drew the spearhead from him and gave it to him in his hands. When day came, he walked out well, having the spearhead in his hands.

[A 13] A man from Torone, leeches.[27] When he was sleeping, he saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god ripped open his chest with a knife, took out the leeches and gave them to him in his hands, and sewed his breast together. When day came he left having the animals in his hands, and had become well. He had drunk them down, after being tricked by his stepmother who had thrown them into a potion[28] that he drank.

[A 14] A man had a stone in his penis. He saw a dream. It seemed that he was having sex with a beautiful boy and as he had an orgasm in his sleep, he ejected the stone and picking it up he departed with it in his hands.[29]

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[26]Either fencing or thorns, depending on geographical issues; see *Archaeological Context.*

[27]This is a very odd word whose nominative singular is unknown and which appears only in this inscription. Herzog suggests that it is a dialect form of βδέλλας (*Wunderheilungen* 14, n.l. 98), as does Buck, who also cites the word δεμβλεῖς (*Greek Dialects*, 293).

[28]κύκεων - a magical or medicinal drink. The man may have already been ill when his stepmother attempted to seize the moment. I have used *chest* and *breast* to reflect the language of the inscription, which uses both στέρνα and στήθη. Similarly, the beings in the man's chest are described as both δεμελέας and later, θηρία. While this results in a clumsier English translation, I have thought it important to preserve these textual features wherever possible.

[29]For discussion of the clustering and background of tales A 12, 13 and 14, see *Compositional Background,* above.

Ἑρμόδικος Λαμψακηνὸς[30] ἀκρατὴς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτον ἐγκαθεύδοντα ἰάσατο καὶ ἐκελήσατο ἐξελθόντα λίθον ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱαρὸν ὁπόσσον δύναιτο μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ τὸμ πρὸ τοῦ ἀβάτου κείμενον ἤνικε.----------*vac.*---------- *110*

Νικάνωρ χωλός. τούτου καθημένου παῖς τις ὕπαρ τὸν σκίπωνα ἁρπάξας ἔφευγε. ὁ δὲ ἀστὰς ἐδίωκε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. --- ἀνὴρ δάκτυλον ἰάθη ὑπὸ ὄφιος, οὗτος τὸν τοῦ ποδὸς δάκτυλον ὑπό του ἀγρίου ἕλκεος δεινῶς διακείμενος μεθάμερα ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐξενειχθεὶς ἐπὶ ἑδράματός τινος καθῖζε· ὕπνου δέ νιν *115* λαβόντος ἐν τούτωι δράκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθὼν τὸν δάκτυλον ἰάσατο τᾶι γλώσσαι καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἄβατον ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν. ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἦς ὑγιής, ἔφα ὄψιν ἰδεῖν, δοκεῖν νεανίσκον εὐπρεπῆ τὰμ μορφὰν ἐπὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον.

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[30]Hermodikos' dedication: *IG* IV^2 1, no. 125 (Edelstein, T.431): Ἑρμόδικ[ος Λαμψακ]ηνός./ σῆς ἀρετῆς [παράδειγμ'], Ἀσκληπιέ,/ τόνδε ἀνέ[θηκα π]έτρον ἀειρά-/μενος, πᾶσι[ν ὁρᾶν] φανερόν,/ ὄψιν σῆς τέχνης· πρὶν γὰρ// σὰς εἰς ξέρας ἐλθεῖν/ σῶν τε τέκνων κεῖμαι/ νούσου ὕπο στυγερᾶς/ ἔνπυος ὢν στῆθος ξει-/ρῶν τε ἀκρατής· σὺ δέ,// Παιάν, παῖσας με ἄρασθαι/ τόνδε, ἄνοσον διάγειν. *"Hermodikos of Lampsacus. As an example of your power, Asklepios, I have put up this rock which I had lifted up, manifest for all to see, as evidence of your art. For before coming under your hands and those of your children I was stricken by a wretched illness, having an abscess in my chest, and being paralyzed in my hands. But you, Paian, by ordering me to lift up this rock, made me live free from disease."* (Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, 246-7). This inscription is on a stele, h.1.24 m., w.0.37, d.0.28. The tale, however, apparently calls for an unshaped stone. Fränkel (*IG* IV^1, 954, p. 232-33) assigns this inscription 3rd or early 2nd c. BCE, despite an inconsistent effort to use older style letter-forms. He thinks that this inscription is a renovation of an earlier one. The differences in detail between the iamaton and the inscription support Fränkel's contention; Herzog is of two minds on the question (*Wunderheilungen* 100-2). These issues are discussed further in *Compositional Background,* above.

[A 15] Hermodikos of Lampsacus, paralyzed of body. When he was sleeping here, he was healed[31] and ordered, when he went out, to carry into the sanctuary the biggest stone that he could. He brought the one which lies in front of the Abaton.

[A 16] Nicanor, lame. When he was sitting down, being awake, some boy grabbed his crutch and ran away.[32] Getting up he ran after him and from this he became well.

[A 17] A man's toe was healed by a snake.[33] He was in a terrible condition from a malignant ulceration on his toe. During the day he was carried out of the Abaton by the servants and was sitting on a seat.[34] He fell asleep there, and then a snake came out of the Abaton and healed the toe with its tongue; and when it had done this it went back into the Abaton again. When the man woke up, he was well and he said he had seen a vision: it seemed to him that a good-looking young man had sprinkled a drug over his toe.

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[31]H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. G. Messing, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 221, #813 C, lists ἰάομαι as a middle deponent with the option for passive meaning in the aorist middle, which appears here.

[32]It is hard to see this as an epiphany of the god. Herzog considers the tale a simple affective healing of an hysterical complaint (*Wunderheilungen*, 105). Its inclusion in the corpus shows, however, that both the man, for dedicating the votive, and the authorities, for transferring it, considered it important. As in A 5, the formulaic language leaves the actual agency of cure obscure.

[33]ὄφιος and δράκων are both used here. It is usually assumed that the snakes live in the Abaton, though the inscription may be remarking on the *strange* event of a snake coming from there.

[34]The sanctuary contains many semi-circular benches, chiefly grouped along the northern way down into the sanctuary, and around the Temple and Building E. Some of the benches are votive objects themselves and are inscribed, though not with narrative. It is possible that the votive from which this tale was drawn was originally on or near one of these benches; however, tales without names are less likely to come from votives, especially if, as is the case here, they are closely associated with thematically similar tales that do come from votives; see *Compositional Background*, above.

Ἀλκέτας Ἁλικός.[35] οὗτος τυφλὸς ἐὼν ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποτελθὼν τοῖς δακτύλοις διάγειν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ δένδρη πρᾶτον τὰ ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶι. ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. *vac.* Ἡραιεὺς Μυτιληναῖος. οὗτος οὐκ εἶχε ἐν ταῖι κεφαλᾶι τρίχας, ἐν δὲ τωῖ γενείωι παμπόλλας. αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ [ὡς] καταγελάμενος ὑπ[ὸ] τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκάθευδε. τὸν δὲ ὁ θεὸς χρίσας φαρμάκωι τὰν κεφαλὰν ἐπόησε τρίχας ἔχειν. --- Λύσον Ἑρμιονεὺς παῖς ἀϊδής. οὗ[τος] ὕπαρ ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἰαρὸν θε[ραπ]ευόμενος τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ὑγ[ιὴ]ς ἀπῆλθε. 125

[35]At this point, the lettering on the stele is compressed and line length longer, apparently to retain the grouping of these last three tales.

[A 18] Alketas of Halieis. This man, being blind, saw a dream.[36] It seemed to him that the god came towards him and drew open his eyes with his fingers, and he first saw the trees in the sanctuary.[37] When day came he left well.

[A 19] Heraieos of Mytilene. This man had no hair on his head, but plenty on his chin. Ashamed because he was laughed at by the others, he slept here. The god anointed his head with a drug and made it have hair.

[A 20] Lyson of Hermione, a blind[38] boy. The boy, while awake, had his eyes treated[39] by one of the dogs about the sanctuary, and went away well.

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[36]Not only does Alketas' dream have very visual content, the inscription uses the terminology ἐνύπνιον εἶδε, which is often avoided in the case of blind patients, cf. A 9; C 22 (though not in A 4 or B 12).

[37]The trees are seen within the dream and not in actuality; this is indicated grammatically.

[38]This is the only time this inscription uses this word for blindness. It usually means "unseen" but can mean "blind" in active usage.

[39]When the word appears again, in tale B 6, it also refers to a cure by a dog; however, the substantive form θεραπεύμασιν in B 16 seems, despite extensive breakage, to refer to acts by Asklepios.

STELE B[1]

’Αράτα [Λά]καινα ὕδρωπ[α. ὑπ]ὲρ ταύτας ἀ μάτηρ ἐνεκάθευδεν ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι ἔσσα[ς] καὶ ἐνύπνιον [ὁ]ρῆι· ἐδόκει τᾶς θυγατρός οὐ τὸν θεὸν ἀποταμόντα τὰν κ[ε]φαλὰν τὸ σῶμα κραμάσαι κάτω τὸν τράχαλον ἔχον· ὡς δ' ἐξερρύα συχνὸν ὑγρ[ό]ν, καταλύσαντα τὸ σῶμα τὰν κεφαλὰν πάλιν ἐπιθέμεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα· ἰδο[ῦ]σα δὲ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο ἀγχωρήσασα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καταλαμβάνε[ι τ]ὰν θυγατέρα ὑγιαίνουσαν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον ὡρακυῖαν. 5
Ἕρμων Θ[άσιος τοῦτο]ν τυφλὸν ἐόντα ἰάσατο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ ἴατρα οὐκ ἀπάγοντ[α ὁ θεός νιν] ἐπόησε τυφλὸν αὖθις· ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν ἐγκαθε[ύδοντα ὑγι]ῆ κατέστασε. ---------- *vac.* ----------

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[1]The text of B is composed of 24 pieces and even so is not complete; see above, *Introduction.* The version presented here is that of Hiller. The text presented by Herzog is for the most part the same, except for his inclusion of large blocks of material based on his own restorations of the text. While these restorations are less problematic for Stele B than they will become for Stele C, Herzog's restorations are skewed thematically, and consistenlty present the themes of scoffing, anger on the part of the god, treatment by medical substances, and payment. While these motifs do occasionally appear in the unambiguous tales, the use of Herzog's restorations, prodigious feats of erudition though they are, may obscure the actual proportions of these types of understandings of Asklepios in the corpus. Because of this, I have preferred to reproduce the smaller and more conservative emendations proposed by Hiller, noting places where Herzog presents an alternative reading.

B 1 (21).[2] Arata of Lacedaimon, dropsy. For her sake, her mother slept here, while she remained in Lacedaimon, and she[3] sees[4] a dream. It seemed to her the god cut off the head of her daughter and hung the body neck downwards. After much fluid had run out, he untied the body and put the head back on the neck. Having seen this dream she returned to Lacedaimon and found on her arrival that her daughter was well and that she had seen the same dream.

B 2 (22). Hermon of Thasos. He came as a blind man, and he was healed. But afterwards when he didn't bring the offering,[5] the god made him blind again. Then he came back[6] and slept here, and he restored him to health.

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[2]Since it is important to view each tale in the context of its place on its own stele, I am numbering the tales on each stele from 1. However, since important works such as Emma and Ludwig Edelstein's *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1945), number the tales consecutively, I am including those numbers for the readers' convenience in parentheses.

[3]The ambiguity in the pronouns is deliberately maintained, since both characters have the same dream. The motifs of cure at long distance and one person's incubating on another's behalf do not appear on stele A, but they are prominent stele B, as are mentions of other Asklepieia.

[4]The appearence of the present tense here and in B 8 (also in B 3 in a different context) is retained in the translation, though awkward, on the assumption that it represents a stylistic flag - either a particular craftsperson; or a particular linguistic "fad."

[5]τὰ ἰατρα can also mean "doctor's fee."

[6]Two of Edelstein's interpretations of the cures are that 1) in many cases the illness was due to nervous disorders and could be healed by mental effort, and 2) in many cases actual illnesses coincidentally happened to abate while the patient was in the sanctuary. In the latter case, the cure was likely to be temporary (*Asclepius* II, 168-70). In Hermon's case, when his blindness recurs, two points of interest emerge: His faith in Asklepios apparently is not diminished, since he returns to the sanctuary; and an explanation for the recurrence is given that places the blame on Hermon's own faulty execution of his part of the ritual contract. This may be an example of the "infelicity" explanation of the failure of magic or divination; see J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), and S.J. Tambiah, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in *Modes of Thought*, ed. R. Horton and R. Finnegan (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 199-229.

'Αριστα[γόρα Τροζ]ανία. αὔτα ἔλμιθα ἔχουσα ἐν τâι κοιλίαι ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν Τροζ[âνι ἐν τῶι] τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ τεμένει καὶ ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οὐ τοὺς υἱ[οὺς τοῦ θ]εοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιδαμοῦντος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐπιδαύρωι ἐόντος, τὰγ κεφα[λὰν ἀπο]ταμεῖν, οὐ δυναμένους δ' ἐπιθέμεν πάλιν πέμψαι τινὰ πο[ὶ] τὸν 'Ασκλ[απιόν, ὅ]πως μόλητι· μεταξὺ δὲ ἁμέρα ἐπικαταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ἰαρ- ρεὺς ὁρῆι [σάφα[7] τ]ὰν κεφαλὰν ἀφαιρημέναν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος· τâς ἐφερπού- σας δὲ νυκτ[ὸς 'Αρ]ισταγόρα ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἵκων ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου ἐπιθεὶς τ[ὰν κε]φαλὰν ἐπὶ [τὸ]ν τράχαλον, μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνσχίσσας τὰγ κοιλ[ί]- [α]ν τὰν αὐτ[âς ἐξ]ελεῖν τὰν ἔ[λμ]ιθα καὶ συρράψαι πάλιν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγ[ι]- [ὴ]ς ἐγένετο. ---------- ὑ]π[ὸ π]έτραι παῖς 'Αριστόκριτος 'Αλικός. οὗτος ἀποκολυμ[βάσ]ας εἰς τὰν θά[λασ]σαν ἔπειτα δενδρύων εἰς τόπον ἀφίκετο ξηρόν, κύκ[λωι] πέτραις περ[ιεχό]μενον, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἔξοδον οὐδεμί- αν εὑρεῖν. [με]τὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ πατ[ὴρ α]ὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐθαμεὶ περιετύγχανε μασ- τεύων, παρ' ['Α]σκλαπιῶι ἐν τῶι ἀ[βάτ]ωι ἐνεκάθευδε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐ- νύπνιον ε[ἶ]δε· ἐδόκει αὐτὸν ὁ θ[εὸς] ἄγειν εἴς τινα χώραν καὶ δεῖξαί οἱ, δ[ι]- ότι τουτ[ε]ῖ ἐστι ὁ ὑὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐξε[λθὼ]ν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου καὶ λατομήσας τὰ[ν] πέτραν ἀ[ν]ηῦρε τὸμ παῖδα ἑβδεμα[ῖο]ν. ---------- *Σωστράτα Φεραί[α παρ]-*

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[7]Hiller restores σάφα, Kavvadias and Herzog restore ὕπαρ, "while awake." This probably refers to the priest, but the dreadful possibility exists that it is Aristagora. ὕπαρ occurs regularly in tales without incubation.

B 3 (23). Aristagora of Troezen.[8] Since she had a worm in her belly, she slept in the temenos of Asklepios in Troezen and she saw a dream. It seemed to her that the sons of the god,[9] while he was not there[10] but was in Epidauros, cut off her head, but they couldn't put it back again so they sent someone to the Asklepieion, so that he would return. Meanwhile the day overtakes them and the priest clearly sees[11] the head removed from the body. When the night finally came again, Aristagora saw a vision. It seemed to her that the god had returned from Epidauros and put the head on her neck, and after that cut open her belly, took out the worm and sewed it together again, and from this she became well.

B 4 (24). Under a rock, a boy Aristokritos of Halieis. He had dived and swum away into the sea and then remaining under water he came upon a dry place completely surrounded by rocks, and he couldn't find any way out. Later his father, after he found nothing by searching, slept here before Asklepios[12] in the Abaton concerning his son and saw a dream. It seemed that the god led him to a certain place and there showed him where his son was. When he left the Abaton and cut through the stone he found his son on the seventh day.[13]

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[8]A passage from the historian Hippys of Rhegium is often compared with this tale; see *Introduction*, pp. 72-76.

[9]The sons may be either secular doctors associated with the temenos, ("Asklepiades") or Asklepios' mythological sons, Machaon and Podalirios, though their clear incompetence here makes this unlikely.

[10]ἐπιδημέω can mean either "to be at home," or "to come to visit," *LSJ* 630. The former meaning may imply that Troezen is home for Asklepios and he is visiting at Epidauros, or that both places, presumably all sanctuaries are his home; this might indicate a Troezenian source for this tale. However, in the second meaning, "to come to visit," the implication is that Asklepios only visits at the rival Troezenian sanctuary, and that its level of care is second-rate; this idea occurs in tale C 5 as well. This probably indicates an Epidaurian source, reflecting a rivalry between the two sanctuaries.

[11]See above, n. 42.

[12]This is the only place where the inscription uses this terminology. It might possibly indicate that the man slept at the side of an image or statue.

[13]This might mean either "on the seventh day;" or τὸ Ἑβδομαῖον, a monthly festival of Apollo, *IG* II^2.1357 (iv c. BCE).

πέτραν ἀ[ν]ηῦρε τὸμ παῖδα ἐβδεμα[ῖο]ν. - vac.- Σωστράτα Φεραί[α παρ]-
εκύησε.[14] α[ὔ]τα ἐμ παντὶ ἐοῦσα φοράδαν εἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ἀφικομένα ἐνε[κά]-
θευδε. ὡς δὲ οὐθὲν ἐνύπνιον ἐναργ[ὲ]ς ἐώρη, πάλιν οἴκαδε ἀπεκομιζ[ε]-
το. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο συμβολῆσαί τις περὶ Κόρνους αὐτᾶι καὶ τοῖς ἑ[πομέ]-
νοις ἔδοξε τὰν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς ἀνήρ, ὃς πυθόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν τ[ὰς δυσπρα]- *30*
ξίας τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκελήσατο θέμεν τὰν κλίναν, ἐφ' ἃς τὰν Σωστρ[άταν ἔφε]-
ρον. ἔπειτα τὰγ κοιλίαν αὐτᾶς ἀνσχίσας ἐξαιρεῖ πλῆθος ζ[ωϋφίων πάμ]-
πολυ, [δύ]ε ποδανιπτῆρας· συνράψας δὲ τὰ[ν γ]αστέρα καὶ ποήσας ὑ[γιῆ]
τὰν γυναῖκα τάν τε παρουσίαν τὰν αὐτο[ῦ π]αρενεφάνιξε ὁ Ἀσκλαπιὸς
καὶ ἴατρα ἐκέλετο ἀπ[ο]πέμπειν εἰς Ἐπί[δα]υρ[ον.] ---*vac.*---- κύων ἰά- *35*
σατο παῖδα Αἰ[γιν]άταν. οὗτος φῦμα ἐν τῶ[ι τρα]χάλωι εἶχε· ἀφικόμενο[ν]
δ' αὐτὸν ποὶ τ[ὸν] θε[ὸ]ν κύων τῶν ἰαρῶν ὕ[παρ τ]αῖ γλώσσαι ἐθεράπευσε
καὶ ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σ]ε. ------*vac.*------ *ανὴρ ἐ[ντὸ]ς τᾶς κοιλίας ἕλκος ἔχων. ὃν-*

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[14]Herzog restores ΘΗΡΙ(Α) - "she was pregnant with creatures;" Hiller restores [παρ]-εκύησε, "false pregnancy." The later word for the what was in her stomach begins with a zeta, which is of little help in determining what the first word should be; however both Hiller (ζωϋφίων) and Herzog (ζώιων) restore words which *mean* "creature." This is possible in both cases, since even if Hiller's [παρ]-εκύησε is correct, the presence of the "creatures" explains the false pregnancy.

B 5 (25). Sostrata of Pherai, false pregnancy. This woman, borne entirely[15] on a litter, arrived at the sanctuary and slept here. But since she saw no clear dream she was carried homeward again. Later, around Kornoi,[16] she and her attendants met up with someone, in appearance a handsome man, who, when he heard from them their bad luck, told them to set down the couch on which Sostrata was borne. Then he cut open her belly and took out lots and lots of creatures - two footbasins full. When he had sewn up her stomach and made the woman well, Asklepios revealed his presence to her and ordered her to send offerings to Epidauros.[17]

B 6 (26). A dog cured a boy from Aigina. He had a growth on his neck. When he had come to the god, a dog from the sanctuary took care of him[18] with its tongue while he was awake,[19] and made him well.[20]

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[15]ἐμ παντὶ ἐοῦσα is an intensifier, adding the sense of "utterly" or "to the limit" to accompanying conditions (Nehrbass, *Sprache*, p. 74; *LSJ* s.v. πᾶς, D 4, 1345). It lacks sense unless we associate it with φοράδαν, intensifying the fact that she cannot walk.

[16]Herzog takes this Kornoi as referring to a mountain peak or ridge, Κορνιάτα, which is mentioned in a third century territorial arbitration between the Epidaurians and the Corinthians, *IG* IV^2 I, 71 (=Kavvadias, *Fouilles* I, 234). Following presumably from the direction, Herzog suggests that Pherai, Sostrata's home town, is probably a polis in Achaia (*Wunderheilungen*, p. 18, nn. 26 & 29). This site is unknown; however there is a Pherai in Thessaly. A more likely possibility is that Kornoi in this tale refers to *Koroni*, which Mitsos gives as the name of the region between the sanctuary and Ligurio, which is where the boundary stone discussed in chapter 2, part 1, n. 17, above, was found (M. Mitsos, "Ἐπιγράφαι ἐξ Ασκλήπειου Επιδαύριου III," *AE* 1976, p. 86).

[17]As in B 1, 2, 3 and 4, which deal with "action at a distance," emphasis is placed on the ultimate connection with the Epidaurian sanctuary.

[18]ἐθεράπευσε, it "treated" him - again this term with an animal (dog) cure.

[19]ὕπαρ is restored, though the upsilon is clear. This word can have the sense of "really" or "in truth," as opposed to a dream or vision.

[20]The presence of a brief, daytime animal cure, after five detailed cases of incubation, inclines me to suggest that B 6 may have formed the ending of a previous, smaller stele bearing only these six tales. Stele A ends with a brief, daytime animal cure; also the end of Stele B itself, see below, a healing by a goose.

καὶ ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σ]ε. ------*vac.*------ ἀνὴρ ἐ[ντὸ]ς τᾶς κοιλίας ἕλκος ἔχων. οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐν[ύπνιο]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκ[ε]ι αὐτῶι ὁ θεὸς ποιτάξαι τοῖς ἑπομένοις ὑπηρέτα[ις συλ]λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἴσχειν, ὅπως τάμηι οὐ τὰν κοιλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ φεύ[γει]ν, τοὺς δὲ συλλαβόντας νιν ποιδῆσαι ποὶ ῥόπτον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν [Ἀσ]κλαπιὸν ἀνσχίσσαντα τὰγ κοιλίαν ἐκταμεῖν τὸ ἕλκος καὶ συρρά[ψαι] πάλιν, καὶ λυθῆμεν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐξῆ[λθ]ε, τὸ δὲ δάπεδον ἐν τῶι ἀβάτωι αἵματος κατάπλεον ἦς. *-vac.-* Κλεινάτας Θηβαῖος ὁ τοὺς φθεῖρας· οὗτος π[λῆ]θός τι πάμπολυ φθε[ιρ]ῶν ἐν τῶι σώματι [ἔ]χων ἀφικόμενος ἐνεκά[θεύ]δε καὶ ὀρῆι ὄψιν· ἐδόκει αὐτόν νιν ὁ θεὸς ἐγδύσας καὶ γυμνὸν καταστάσας ὀρθὸν σάρ[ω]ι τινὶ τοὺς φθεῖρας ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀποκαθαίρειν· ἁμέρας δὲ γ[ε]νομένας ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. *-vac.-* Ἀγέστρατος κεφαλᾶς [ἄ]λγος· οὗτος ἀγρυπνίαις συνεχόμενος διὰ τὸμ πόνον τᾶς κεφαλᾶ[ς], ὡς ἐν τῶι ἀβάτωι ἐγένετο, καθύπνωσε καὶ ἐν[ύ]πνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἰασάμενος τὸ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς ἄλγος ὀρθὸν ἀστάσας γυμνὸν παγκρατίου προβολὰν διδάξαι· ἁμέρας δὲ γενηθείσας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺγ χρόνον τὰ Νέμεα ἐνίκασε παγκράτιον. *-vac.-* *Γοργίας Ἡρακλειώτας πύος. οὗτος ἐμ μάχαι*

B 7 (27). A man with a festering sore inside his belly. Sleeping here, he saw a dream. It seemed to him the god ordered his accompanying servants to seize and restrain him, so he could cut his belly. He fled, but they seized him and bound him to an operating table.[21] After that Asklepios cut open his belly, cut out the sore, and sewed him up again, and he was released from his bonds. From this he left well, but the floor in the Abaton was covered in blood.

B 8 (28). Kleinatas of Thebes, who had lice. This man, having a great multitude of lice on his body, came and slept here, and he sees[22] a vision. It seemed to him the god stripped him and, standing him up straight, naked, cleared the lice from his body with a broom. When day came he left the Abaton well.

B 9 (29). Hagestratos, headache. This man was afflicted with sleeplessness on account of the distress in his head, but when he came into the Abaton, he fell fast asleep and saw a dream. It seemed to him the god had cured the pain in his head and then stood him up straight, naked, and taught him the pankration thrust. When day came he left well, and not a long time after won the pankration at Nemea.[23]

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[21]ῥόπτον. This is a mysterious word. *LSJ* define it as "operating table," to accord with this passage. Edelstein and Herzog take the word as a scribe's error for ῥόπτρον, "door-knocker," which can also mean tambourine or part of a mousetrap. "Door-knocker" is so unsatisfactory here that even the tendentious "operating table" is better; but this element should not be assumed in any analysis.

[22]See above, n. 3.

[23]The Nemean games occurred in the off two years of the circuit, alternating with the Isthmiae. Since the Epidaurian games were tied to the Isthmiae, if this man came at festival time and his dream was influenced by the pervasive athletic atmosphere, then "not a long time" must mean at least a year until the Nemeans came around again. The name Hagestratos is not preserved in the fragmentary victor lists from Nemea; see R. Knab, *Die Periodoniken* (Chicago: Ares Press, 1980 [orig. 1934]).

παγκράτιον. ----vac. --- Γοργίας Ἡρακλειώτας πύος. οὗτος ἐμ μάχαι τινὶ τρωθεὶς εἰς τὸμ πλεύμονα τοξε[ύ]μ[α]τι ἐνιαυτὸγ καὶ ἑξάμηνον ἔμπυος ἦς οὕτω σφοδρῶς, ὥστε ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα λεκάνας ἐνέπλησε πύους· ὡς δ' ἐνεκάθευδε, ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς τὰν ἀκίδα ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλεύμονος· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε τὰν ἀκίδα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ φέρων. ---vac.--- Ἀνδρομάχα ἐξ Ἀπείρο[υ] περὶ παίδων. αὕτα ἐγκαθεύδουσα ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτᾶι π[α]ῖς τις ὡραῖος ἀγκαλύψαι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν ἁψασθαί οὐ τᾶι [χη]ρί· ἐκ δὲ τούτου τᾶι Ἀνδρομάχαι υ[ἱ]ὸς ἐξ Ἀρύββα ἐγένετο.- *vac.*- Ἀ[...κ]ράτης[24] Κνίδιος ὀφθαλμούς. οὗτος ἔν τινι μάχαι ὑπὸ δό[ρα]τος πλα[γεὶ]ς δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τυφλὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὰν λόγχαν [παρ]οῦσαν[25] ἐν τῶι προσώπωι περιέφερε· ἐγκαθεύδων [δ]ὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδ[όκε]ι οὐ τὸν θεὸν ἐξελκύσαντα τὸ βέλος εἰς τὰ β[λέ]φαρα τὰς καλουμ[έν]ας κόρας πάλιν ἐναρμόξαι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθ[ε]. ------- *vac.* -------

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[24]Herzog: Ἀ[ντικ]ράτης.
[25]Herzog: [ἐνε]οῦσαν.

B 10 (30). Gorgias of Herakleia, pus . This man was wounded in the lung by an arrow in some battle, and for a year and six months it was festering so badly, that he filled sixty-seven bowls with pus. When he was sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed to him the god drew out the barb from his lung. When day came he left well, carrying the barb in his hands.[26]

B 11 (31). Andromache from[27] Epirus, concerning children. When she was sleeping here she saw a dream. It seemed to her that a handsome young boy uncovered her, and after that the god touched her with his hand. From this a son was born to Andromache by Arybbas.[28]

B 12 (32). Antikrates of Knidos,[29] eyes . This man had been stuck with a spear through both his eyes in some battle, and he became blind and carried around the spearhead with him, inside his face. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed to him the god pulled out the dart and fitted the so-called girls[30] back into his eyelids. When day came he left well.

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[26]This tale shows a great similarity, though with interesting differences, to tales A 12-14; see *Introduction*, above.

[27]Another example of the preposition ἐκ used with a woman's name and state.

[28]Herzog identifies this tale with an historical figure. Arybbas was a king of the Molossians, a tribe of Epirus. He had a brother Neoptolemos, who died in 357 BCE. After his brother's death he married his niece Troas and was absolute dicator until 343/2, when he fled to Athens. There is no mention of a wife Andromache for him. In myth, Andromache is connected with Epirus by her son, Molossus, the eponym of the Molossian tribe, whom she had by Neoptolemus. As we see from the name of Arybbas' brother, Neoptolemos at least became a name used in the Molossian royal family; probably Andromache also was a popular name for girls. This iamaton may represent a votive for a birth from another wife, otherwise unknown, perhaps before 357 when Arybbas married Troas. The mention made of the father's name and the stress on his paternity, eliminating any possibility that Asklepios is the father, also suggests that the inscription was set up by the father and that he was an important man for whom questions of paternity (i.e., succession) were paramount-- therefore still in power, i.e. before his flight to Athens in 342/3. Herzog identifies Andromache with Troas, and suggests that this tale represents the birth in 360-350 of Alketas (*Wunderheilungen*, 73-4). However, identification of the iamaton with this figure is, though tempting, not necessary or required - many Epirotes may have used these names.

[29]Herzog identifies this tale with an inscription from Knidos in the British Museum, *SGDI* 3525 (= C.T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae* (London: Day & Son, 1863) II, pt. 2, #35, p. 752, pl. xci) a base with two holes for the feet of a statue, which is a dedication by an Antikrates beloved of Asklepios.

[30]According to *LSJ* (s.v. κόρη III, p. 981), the pupils of the eyes are called girls because a little image appears in them. "So-called," according to Lloyd, *Science* 154-5, appears in medical writers when a new anatomical term is being introduced or when a familiar word, such as "girls," is used in a technical sense.

[Θ]έρσανδρος Ἁλικὸς φθίσιν. οὗτος, ὡς ἐγκαθεύδων [οὐ]δεμίαν ὄψιν
[ἐ]ώρη, ἐφ' ἁμάξας [ἄμπαλ]ιν ἀπεκομίζετο εἰς Ἁλιεῖς, δράκων δέ τις
[τ]ῶν ἱαρῶν ἐπὶ τ[ᾶς ἁμ]άξας καθιδρυμένος ἦς, τὸ πο[λ]ὺ τᾶς ὁδοῦ περιη-
[λι]γμένος περ[ὶ τ]ὸν ἄξονα διετέλεσε. μολόντων δ' [α]ὖ[τ]ῶν εἰς Ἁλιεῖς
[κα]ὶ τοῦ Θερσ[ά]νδρου κατακλιθέντος οἴ[κο]ι, ὁ δράκων ἀπὸ τᾶς ἁμά-
[ξα]ς καταβὰ[ς τ]ὸν Θέρσανδρον ἰάσατο. [τᾶς δ]ὲ πόλιος τῶν Ἁλικῶν
[ἀγγε]λ[λ]ούσας[31] τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ διαπορ[ουμένας] περὶ τοῦ ὄφι-
[ος, πό]τερον εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἀποκομίζωντι [ἢ αὐτὸν[32] κα]τὰ χώραν ἐών-
[τι, ἔ]δοξε τᾶι πόλι εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλα[ι χρησομέ]νους, πότερα
[π]οιῶντι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησε τὸν ὄφιν ἐῆν αὐ[τεῖ καὶ ἱ]δρυσαμένου[ς
Ἀ]σκλαπιοῦ τέμενος καὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ πο[ιησαμέ]νους ἀνθέμεν [εἰς]
τὸ ἱαρόν. ἀγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ χρησ[μοῦ ἁ πόλι]ς ἁ τῶν Ἁλικῶν
ἱδρύσατο[33] τέμενος Ἀσκλαπιοῦ [αὐτεῖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ το]ῦ θεοῦ[34] μαντ[ευ]-
σθέντα ἐπετέλεσε. -------*vac.* -------- [....]νία[35] ὑπὲρ τ[έ]-
κνων. αὔτα ἐγκαθεύδου[σα] ἐν[ύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ φᾶσαι ὁ [θεὸς]
ἐσσεῖσθαι γενεὰγ καὶ ἐ[π]ερ[ωτᾶσαι εἰ ἐπιθυμέοι ἄ]ρσεν[α ἢ θηλυ]-
τέραν,[36] αὐτὰ δὲ φάμεν ἐπι[θυμεῖν ἄρσενα.[37] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ]το ἐ[ντὸς ἐνι]-
αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο αὐτᾶι υἱ[ός] ---*vac.*--- [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ἐπιδαύριος χωλός. οὗτος [χωλὸς ἐὼν φοράδαν εἰς τὸ ἱαρὸν ἀφίκετο]
ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· [ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς[38] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
ποιτάσσειν αὐτῶι κλίμα[κα ποιφέρειν - - - - - - - - - - καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐ]-
πὶ τὸν ναόν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ με[- -]
. . . αλὲν καὶ ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ θ[ριγκοῦ -]
[κ]αὶ τὰγ κλίμακα μικρὸν κα[τέβα -]
πρᾶτον ἀγανακτῶν τ[ᾶ]ι πρά[ξι - χω]-

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[31]Herzog: ἐξετ]α[ζ]ούσας.
[32]Herzog: αὐτεῖ
[33]Herzog: [ἀφ]ιδρύσατο
[34]Herzog: [καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ ὑπὸ το]ῦ θεοῦ
[35]Herzog: [ἁ δεῖνα Τροζα]νία.
[36]Herzog: ἐ[π]ερ[ωτῆν πότερ' ἐπιθυμοῖ ἔ]ρσεν[α ἢ θηλυ]τέραν
[37]Herzog: ἔρσενα
[38]For the broken tales, B 14 ff, I am providing minimal restorations of partial words, based on the readings of Hiller and Herzog. Herzog's version of the text contains *extensive* restorations of entire tales, but these are rather tendentious; they do resemble the Lebena materials but they are not in harmony with this collection.

B 13 (33). Thersandros of Halieis, consumption. This man, since he didn't see any vision while sleeping here, was carried on a wagon back to Halieis. But one of the snakes from the sanctuary had settled down[39] in the wagon and rode for most of the way twined around the axle. When they arrived in Halieis and Thersandros was lying in bed in his house, the snake came down from the wagon and cured Thersandros. The city of Halieis reported what had happened, and the people didn't know what do do about the snake, whether they should carry it back to Epidauros or keep it in their own country. It seemed good to the polis to send to Delphi asking which thing they should do. The god proclaimed that the serpent should be right there and that they should dedicate a temenos of Asklepios, and make an image of him and dedicate it in the sanctuary.[40] When the oracle was announced, the polis of Halieis dedicated a temenos of Asklepios there, and carried out the things divined by the god.

B 14 (34). *A woman from Troizen*,[41] concerning children. This woman, sleeping here, saw a dream. *It seemed* to her *the god* said that she would have a family and *he asked whether her wish was for* a male or a female, and she said *she wished for a male. After this , within a year* a son was born to her.

B 15 (35). *Someone* from Epidauros, lame. This man *came to the sanctuary carried on a litter*. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. *It seemed to him the god . . .* and ordered him *to bring out* a ladder[42] *and climb* up on the naos. He *tried it at first, but later his courage* fell and up on the (*cornice?) he stopped and said he was finished, and came* a little *down* the ladder. Asklepios at first was angry at these doings - - - - - - - - - (although) being *lame* he boldly tried it when day *came, and from this* he left *well*.

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[39]This may be an intentional use of wording to suggest that the snake "founds" the new cult by "settling down" in the cart.

[40]It is likely that the people of Halieis would have made a dedication at Epidauros when setting up their own sanctuary. Here the wording leaves unclear whether this image is to be dedicated in Epidauros, or in their own new temenos. The length, repeated mentions of the acts of the polis and relatively more formal linguistic style of this tale suggest that it comes from an official monument set up by Halieis.

[41]Italicized words represent translation of restored text.

[42]κλίμακα can also mean a medical device, the surgical machine used for reduction of dislocations (Orib.47.4.15).

λῶι ἐόντι· ἀποτολμ[ῆι] δὲ ἀμ[έρας γενομένας καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐ]-
ξῆλθε. --- *vac.*--- Καφισί[ας[43] - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -τοῖς Ἀσ]- *95*
κλαπιοῦ θεραπεύμασιν ἐπ[ιγελ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - οὐ φεί]-
δεται λέγων ὡς, εἰ δύναμιν ἔ[χοι,- -]
τᾶς ὕβριος ποινὰς λαμβάνω[ν -]
τοῦ βουκεφάλα ἐν τᾶι ἕδραι [καθίζοντά νιν καταπατοῦντος τρωθῆ]-
μεν τὸμ πόδα παραχρῆμα καὶ [ἔτι δεινοτέρως (?) διακεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ πρίν] *100*
ὕ[σ]τερον δὲ πολλὰ καθικετεύ[σας τὸν θεὸν ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.] *vac.*
Κλειμένης Ἀργεῖος ἀκρατὴς [τοῦ σώματος· οὗτος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ ἄβα]-
τον ἐνεκάθευδε καὶ ὄψιν εἶδ[ε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς μέγαν δράκοντα πε]-
ριελίξαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ μικ[ρὸν - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ἄγειν]
νιν ἐπί τινα λίμναν. ἂς τὸ ὕδωρ [ἐκελήσατό νιν πιεῖν - - - - - - - - -] *105*
δ᾽αὐτοῦ ἔθεν διακειμένου τὸν α[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - πολ]-
λοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ταῦτα φά[μεν - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -ά]-
φικνῶνται εἰς τὸ τέμενος ἐόντ[- -]
τοιοῦτον ποιησοῖ, ἀλλ' ὑγιῆ ἀποπ[εμψοῖ. ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ἀσ]-
κηθὴς ἐξῆλθε. -*vac.* - Δίαιτος Κύρν[ιος·[44] οὗτος ἀκρατὴς ἐὼν ἐτύγχα]- *110*
νε τῶγ γονάτων· ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ἐνύ[πνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς]
τοὺς ὑπηρέτας κέλεσθαι ἀειραμέν[ους νιν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἀ]-
δύτου καὶ καταθέμεν πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ· ἐ[πεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν οὗτοι ἔξω ἤνεγ]-
καν, ἅρμα ζεύξαντα τὸν θεὸν ἵππων πε[ριελαύνειν τρὶς περί νιν κύ]
κλωι καὶ καταπατεῖν (ν)ιν τοῖς ἵπποις, [καὶ οὐ τὰ γόνατα ἰσχυρὰ γε]- *115*
νέσθαι[45] εὐθύς· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ὑγ[ιὴς ἐξῆλθε. --*vac.*- [- - - - - -]-
δα[46] ἐκ[47] Κέου. αὕτα περὶ παίδων ἐγκαθεύδ[ουσα ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδό]-
κει οἱ ἐν τῶι ὕπνωι δράκων ἐπὶ τᾶς γαστ[ρὸς κεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐκ τούτου]
παῖδές οἱ ἐγένοντο πέντε. --- *vac.* --- *Τίμω[ν - - - - - - - λόγχαι τρω]-

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[43]A Kaphisias is named in the Epidaurian building inscriptions as a joiner, working on the door of the temple (*IG* IV^2 I, 102, ll. 66-8; inscr. dated to approximately 370 BCE). Burford thinks the man was an itinerant worker since he did not supply his own glue, and adds that Corinth was the center for this kind of work; *Temple Builders*, 154.

[44]Herzog: Κυρρ[αῖος.

[45]Herzog: [καὶ ἐγκρατῆ τῶγ γονάτων γε]νέσθαι, etc.

[46]Herzog: [Ἀγαμή]δα.

[47]Preposition ἐκ with a woman's tale.

B 16 (36). Kaphisias - - - - - - - - he *laughed* at the treatments of Asklepios - - - - - - - - - - he paid no heed, saying that if he had the power, - - - - - - - - - -. he suffered punishment for this outrage, - - - - - - - - - - *while sitting* on the back of his bull-headed horse[48] *it trampled him underfoot and wounded him* in the foot immediately and was *in an even worse condition than before.*[49] Much later, after he had earnestly prayed to the god (?), he became well.

B 17 (37). Kleimenes of Argos , paralyzed *in the body. This man, coming in to the Abaton* slept here and saw a vision. *It seemed to him the god* wound *a big snake* around his body and a little - - - - - *he led* him to some pond, whose water *he ordered him to drink* - - - - - - - but his own condition (?) - - - - - - - - - - - - - many of the men into these things - - - - - - - - - - - those who should come into the temenos being - - - - - - he should do such a thing, but would *send away* well. *When day came* he left unharmed.

B 18 (38). Diaitos of Kyrna. *This man happened to be paralyzed* in the knees. Sleeping here, he saw a dream. *It seemed to him the god ordered his servants to lift up and carry him out of the* adyton[50] and set him down in front of the temple. *After they carried him outside*, the god yoked up some horses to a cart *and went around him three times* in a circle and trampled him with the horses, *and his knees* immediately became *strong*. When day came *he left* well.

B 19 (39). ----da from Keos. This woman, sleeping here concerning children, *saw a dream*. It seemed to her that in her sleep a snake *lay down* upon her stomach. *And from this* five children were born to her.[51]

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[48]βουκεφάλα is an epithet for Thessalian horses.

[49]Hiller's restoration at least makes a hint here that Kaphisias came to the sanctuary because of some illness or problem. Herzog's version, with no illness for the man, leaves the possibility open that he came as a spectator or competitor in the horse races of the festival.There was a hippodrome on the site (Kavvadias, *τὸ ἱερόν*, 118-9).

[50]-ΔΥΤΟΝ is not restored. The inscriptions everywhere else use *abaton*; the words are related but the appearence of "adyton" here requires explanation, if that is in fact the original word.

[51]Lack of emphasis makes it less likely that this tale represents a multiple birth. If it is not, we see a case where the votive was dedicated some years after the event, perhaps when the woman reached the end of her childbearing years.

παῖδές οἱ ἐγένοντο πέντε. --- *vac.* --- Τίμω[ν - - - - - - - λόγχαι τρω]-
θεὶς ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδ[ων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδό]- *120*
κει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποίαν τρίψας ἐγχεῖν εἰς τ[ὸν ὀφθαλμόν οὐ· καὶ ὑγι]-
ὴς ἐγένετο. --- *vac.* --- Ἐρασίππα ἐκ[52] Καφυιᾶν ἰ[- - - αὗτα[53] - - - - -]
εἶχε τὰγ γαστέρα καὶ ἐπέπρητο ὅλα καὶ ο[[54] - - - - - - - - - - ἐγκα]-
θεύδουσα δὲ ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸ[ς τὰγ γαστέρα ἀντρί]-
βων φιλῆσαί νιν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο φιάλαν οἱ δό[μεν, ἐν ᾗι φάρμακον], *125*
καὶ κέλεσθαι ἐκπιεῖν, ἔπειτα ἐμεῖν κέλεσ[θαί νιν, ἐξεμέσασας][55]
δὲ ἐμπλῆσαι τὸ λώπιον τὸ αὐτᾶς· ἁμέρας δὲ γ[ενομένας ἑώρη πᾶν]
τὸ λώπιον μεστὸν ὧν ἐξήμεσε κακῶν, καὶ ἐκ το[ύτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένε]-
το. --- *vac.* --- Νικασιβούλα Μεσσανία περὶ παίδω[ν ἐγκαθεύδουσα]
ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς δράκοντα μεθ[- - - - - - - - - - - -][56]
φέρων παρ' αὐτάν, τούτωι δὲ συγγενέσθαι αὐτά· [καὶ ἐκ τούτου] *130*
παῖδές οἱ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρσενες δύ[ε.] --*vac.*-- [- - - - -]
Κιανὸς ποδάγραν. τούτου ὕπαρ χὰν ποτιπορευο[μένου δάκνων]
αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἐξαιμάσσων ὑγιῆ ἐπόη[σε].

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[52]Preposition ἐκ in a woman's tale.
[53]Herzog: ἰ[ούλους. αὗτα ὠγκωμέναν εἶχε etc.
[54]Herzog: καὶ ο[ὐ κατεῖχε οὐθέν·
[55]Herzog: [ἐξεμέσας]
[56]Herzog: μεθ[έρποντα ἵκειν]

B 20 (40). Timon, *wounded by a spear* below his eye. This man, sleeping here, *saw a dream*. It seemed to him the god ground up an herb[57] and poured it into *his eye, and* he became well.

B 21 (41). Erasippa from Kaphyiai, (problem).[58] *This woman* had [pain?] in her stomach and was burning up with fever,[59] and *she couldn't keep anything down*. Sleeping here, she saw a dream. It seemed to her the god *rubbed her stomach and* kissed her, and after that gave her a phiale *in which was a drug* and told her to drink it and then to throw up. *When she had thrown up,* her little robe was filled with it. When day *came she saw the whole* little robe full of horrible stuff which she had thrown up, and from this she *became well*.

B 22 (42). Nikasiboula of Messene, concerning children. *Sleeping here* she saw a dream. It seemed to her the god *came* bringing a snake *creeping beside him* and she had sex with it. *And from this* children were born to her within a year, twin boys .[60]

B 23 (43). (A man) from Kios, gout. This man, while he was awake, was walking over to a goose, which *bit* him in the feet and by making them bleed, made him well.[61]

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[57]ποίαν, Doric for πόα, grass, herb; especially medicinal herb. In the LXX the word is twice used for lye or soap; both times in the context of perhaps radical purification (Jer. 2.22; Mal. 3.2), though the exact sense is not certain in those passages either. As in the case of A 9, another medicinal cure of blindness, the ambiguity makes it impossible to tell whether Asklepios is acting against reason or not.

[58]Edelstein and Herzog both restore ἰούλους, "worms," though only the first letter is legible. I doubt that worms are the problem here, because worms are usually cut out in these inscriptions, and they are referred to, when out, as animals, not "horrible stuff."

[59]ἐπέπρητο is probably the pluperfect indicative middle of either πίμπρωμι, "to burn up or be inflamed"; or πρήθω, "to blow up or distend." Edelstein, Herzog and *LSJ* all assign this passage to πρήθω, and both translators give the phrase as "she was completely swollen;" with question marks. The pluperfect middle form does not make a lot of sense with swelling, unless it is meant to refer to a long-standing condition. However, the form πέπρησο is attested, meaning to burn with fever. Since I disagree with the restoration of "worms" as the problem here, I have opted for fever rather than swelling as the translation of this word.

[60]In this case the multiple birth can be assumed from the phrase "within a year."

[61]As in A 20, note the conclusion of a stele with a brief, daytime animal cure.

STELE C[1]

κόρα ἄφονος· α[ὖτ]α [τ]ὸ ἰε[ρ]ὸν [εἰσελθοῦσα.....][2] εἶ[δε δ]ράκο[ν]τα ἀπὸ δενδρέου τινὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄ[λσ]ος[3] ἔ[ρποντα· φ]ό[β]ο[υ πλέα][4] δ' εὐθὺς βοῆι τὰμ ματέρα καὶ τὸμ πατέρα κα[ὶ] ε[.....] ἀ[πῆλ]θε.[5] --------- *vac.* ----------

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[1]Due to the extremely worn condition of stele C, very few characters per line are preserved from the central portion, ll. 33-123. The tales at the beginning and end of the stele, though somewhat more complete, also contain large missing areas. I continue to use Hiller's edition, except in the case of tales C 1-5, for which I am using W. Peek, *Fünf Wundergeschichten aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*, *Abh.Sachs.Akad.* bd. 56, hft. 3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963). This text is to be preferred, as it was prepared from a direct reading of the stone, as opposed to the copy used by Herzog. For the most part, Peek's corrections of the earlier texts are not major, though they are important. However, in the case of C 4, Peek totally rejects most earlier restorations and even readings of characters on the stone. Peek's version of C 4 shows many more letters extant than the versions of other editors. This version of C 4 has itself been criticized (Jeanne and Louis Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique*, vol. 5 (Paris: Société d'Édition Belles-Lettres, 1964), # 180 (pp. 162-5), and is omitted by G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 2 (New South Wales: Macquarie University Press, 1982), pp. 21-3, who translates Peek's versions of 1-3 and 5, but goes back to Hiller for C 4. I use Peek for C 4, but because of the level of dispute I provide Hiller's and Herzog's full versions in footnotes. For the other tales, I simply note differences. After the first 33 lines , the condition of the text deteriorates rapidly. In many places, Herzog has restored large areas and has made connected narrative, and tales, which are occasionally cited by interpreters as evidence for one thing or another. The fact that these restored tales do not resemble the rest of the corpus in several key areas, together with Peek's criticism of Herzog's restoration technique, should warn us against using these restored tales as evidence for interpretation. The last three tales, roughly fifteen lines, are somewhat more complete, due to the semicircular wear pattern on the inscription. Again, differences will be noted.

[2]Herzog: α[ὖτ]α [κατὰ τὸ ἱαρὸν περιέρπουσα; Hiller: α[ὖτ]α. [ἐγκαθεύδουσα ὡς εἶδε ἐρχόμενον δρ]άκο[ν]τα...

[3]Hiller: τὸ ἄ[βατον(?)ἐόντων [sic.]

[4]Hiller: ἐξεγερθεῖσα ε]ὐθὺς βόῃι

[5]Hiller: πατέρα κα[λ]έ[ουσα, ἀπῆλ]θε [δὲ ὑγιής]. -vac.-; Herzog: κα[ὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπῆλ]θε.-vac.-

C 1 (44). A mute girl. This girl, *walking into* the sanctuary, saw a snake moving away from one of the trees of the grove.[6] She was filled with fear,[7] and right away she yelled for her mother and father, ... and left ...[8]

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[6]Peek and Herzog here agree; both read ἄλσος, "grove." Pausanias uses this word to describe the temenos itself, rather than a particular place within it. When the Iamata mention trees, they usually are around the *sanctuary*, ἱαρόν, as in A 18. ἄλσος is a form of the same word as ἄλτις, which is Elean dialect. Primarily it means grove, but is *extended* to sacred grove and then to any hallowed precinct whether it has trees or not, for instance, Marathon. However, this tale has already used the word ἱερόν, so the indication of a separate "grove" cannot be ruled out by this. For discussion of sacred groves, see Darice Birge, *Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World*, Diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1982.

[7]In all three reconstructions, the girl is afraid of the snake. In the other tales with snakes, A 17, B 13, 19, and 22, the people are not afraid. The snake was a familiar creature, friendly and protective. Peek postulates an adjective of some kind modifying "snake," such as "ugly" or "enormous."

[8]Both Hiller and Herzog supply a formulaic ending, Hiller after and Herzog before ἀ[πῆλ]θε. Herzog and Peek both see uninscribed stone after this verb; but in the interests of having a closing formula, I suggest the tempting reading ἐ[ξῆλθε] ἀ[σκῆ]θε‹ς›. vac. Though this formula would be more unusual, it does occur at B 109/110. According to Peek, Herzog's more simple ending is not possible.

Μέλισσα ὑπὸ ἔχιος φῦμα. αὕτα ἐν ταῖ δ[εξι]ᾶι[9] φῦμα ἔχο[υ]σα ἀφίκετο·
τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων ἐκ τοῦ ὀρέος [. ....ὀ]ρεξάντων[....]λ[.]α[10] ταῖ γυναι-
κὶ ἔχις ἐν τῶι φορτίωι ἐγκοιταθεὶς φ[.....τ]ῶν ε[ὐ]νᾶν τὰν ὕλαν,[11] ὡς
εἰς αὐτὰν κατεκλίθη ἁ Μέλισσα, πα[ρ]ελ[θὼν] ἀνοίγει[12] τὸ ἐν ταῖ χειρὶ
φῦμα, καὶ ἐκ τούτου[13] ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο. --- *vac.* --- Καλλικράτεια θησαυ-
ρόν. αὕτα τελευτάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἀνδρός, αἰσθημένα δὲ ὅτι εἴ[η π]ει[14] τῶι
ἀνδρὶ χρυσίον κατορωρυγμένον,[15] ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο μαστεύου[σα] εὑ-
ρεῖν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ [ἐγκαθ]εύ[δου]σα ὄ-
ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτᾶι ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν, 'Θα[ργηλιῶν]ο[ς μην]ὸς
ἐμ μεσημβρίαι[16] ἐν τῆι λέοντος κεῖ[σθ]αι[17] τὸ χρυσί[ον.' ἀμέρα]ς [δὲ γε]νο-
μένας ἐξῆλθε καὶ οἴκαδε ἀφικομένα τὸ μὲν πρᾶτ[ον ἐν ταῖ] κ[εφαλ]ᾶι[18]
τοῦ λέοντος τοῦ λιθίνου ἐμάστευε· ἧς δὲ πλατίο[ν ἀρχαῖό]ν [τι μν]ᾶμα[19]
ἐπίθεμα ἔχον λίθινον λέοντα. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ ηὕρισκε[ν, ἐξειπ]ό[ντος] αὐ-
τᾶι[20] μάντιος διότι οὐ λέγοι ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖ λιθίναι [κεφαλᾶ]ι [τὸν θ]η-
σαυρὸν εἶμεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖ σκιᾶι ταῖ γινομέναι ἀπὸ [τοῦ λέ]οντ[ος] ἐν τῶ[ι]
Θαργηλιῶνι μηνὶ περὶ μέσσον ἁμέρας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ[ο πο]ιουμένα [ἔρευ]-
ναν ἄλλαν τοῦ χρυσίου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἀνηῦρε τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ
ἔθυσε τῶι θεῶι τὰ νομιζόμενα. ---------- *vac.* ---------- *ἰχθυοφο-*

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[9]Hiller, Herzog: ἐν [ταῖ χειρὶ φ]ῦμα.

[10]Hiller: ἔκτοτ' ὁ[ρε]όντων ἔτι συνελυθυίας; Herzog: [ἐκφορτιζό]ντων [τὰγ κοίταν].

[11]Hiller: [κλίναν αἴτησε· ἥκουσα δ' εἰς Μαν]τ[ί]ν[ει]αν; Herzog: [καθιδρύ]θ[η καὶ ἐνδὺς τᾶς τύλας].

[12]Hiller: ταὶ ἔχιες ἔλειξαν]; Herzog: δάγματι] ἄνοίγει.

[13]Hiller, Herzog: ἐκ τούτων.

[14]Hiller: οὗ κεκ[εύθ]ει τῶι (l. 9)

[15]Herzog: [ἀποκεκρυμ]/μένον (l. 10-11)

[16]Hiller, Herzog: Μεσαμβρίαι (l. 13)

[17]Herzog: κε[ίσεται]; Hiller: ἐ[ν]τὸ[ς] λέοντος κε[ῖσθαι] (l. 13).

[18]Hiller, Herzog: τὰγ κεφαλ]ὰ[ν] (l. 14)

[19]Hiller, Herzog: πλατίο[ν τᾶς οἰκίας σ[ᾶμα (l. 15).

[20]Hiller, Herzog: ηὕρισκε, [φαμέν]ο[υ δὲ] αὐ/-ταῖ (l. 16/17).

C 2 (45). Melissa,[21] by a viper, a tumor. She came having a tumor on her right hand. When the servants were ... from the mule ... were stretching out for the woman, a viper which had been asleep among the baggage ... within the timber of the bed, so that when Melissa lay down, *the snake* came beside *her* and opened the tumor on her hand and from this she became well.

C 3 (46). Kallikrateia, treasure. This woman, after her husband had died, learned that gold had been buried somewhere[22] by her husband; but since she couldn't find it by searching, she came into the sanctuary concerning the treasure and sleeping here she saw a vision. It seemed to her the god came to her and said, *"In the month Thargelion in the noontime, within the lion[23] lies the gold."* When day came she left and when she arrived at home, she first searched the head of the stone lion, because nearby[24] there was an ancient monument set up which had a stone lion. But when she didn't find it, a seer declared to her that the god had not meant the treasure would be inside the stone head but in the shadow that would come from the lion in the month Thargelion at around midday. After this, making another search for the gold in that way she found the treasure, and she sacrificed the customary things to the god.

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[21]*IG* IV^2 264 of the 4th century B.C.E. mentions a Melissa of Paros, who was apparently dedicated by her parents to Asklepios at the sanctuary at Epidauros. (Herzog, *Wunderheilungen* 87 n. 42). The iamaton, however, seems to concern a grown woman.

[22]Horsley takes πει with χρυσίον, "some gold." πει may also be adverbial; "she learned somehow..."

[23]Horsley: "in the (something feminine) *of* the lion," emphasizing the disunity of the noun and article; Herzog: simply "in the Lion."

[24]Horsley takes the Doric form of πλησίος for the diminutive of πλάτας, "little tomb platform;" *New Documents* 2, 22.

ἔθυσε τῶι θεῶι τὰ νομιζόμενα. ---------- *vac.* ---------- ἰχθυοφό-
ρος[25] Ἀμφίμναστος. οὗτος ἰχθυοφορῶν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν εὐξάμενος τὰν δε-
κάταν ἀνθησεῖν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τᾶς ἐμπολᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων οὐκ ἐπετέ-
[λει ταύταν ὡ]ς ἔοικ· ἐν τᾶι ἀγορᾶι οὖν ἐν Τεγέαι ἐξαπίνας οἱ ἰχθύες
κε[ραυ]νῶ[ι πλα]γέντε[ς] περιπλέκοντο τὸ σῶμα· ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ περι- *25*
στάντος ε[ἰς] τὰν θεωρίαν ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος δηλοῖ τὰν ἐξαπάταν ἁπασα[ν]-
τ[ὰ]μ περ[ὶ] τὸν Ἀσκλαπιὸν γεγενημέναν· ἐξικετεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν
θεὸν βιοτ[ε]ύοντες πάλ[ι]ν ἰχθύες ἔφανεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος ἀνέθηκ[ε]
[τ]ὰν [δεκάτα]ν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι.[26] --- *vac.* --- *Ἐρατοκλῆς Τροζάνιος ἔμπυ-*

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[25]The letters ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤ, partially erased, appear before ἰχθυφόρος. The mason has mistakenly repeated that word from the previous tale, possibly indicating that his model already combined both tales in some earlier format, which is also indicated by the thematic similarity of tales C 1-4.

[26]Hiller's full text: ἰχθυοφό-/[ρος Ἀμφί]ναστος. οὗτος ἰχθυοφορῶν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν, εὐξάμενος τὰν / [δεκάταν δωσεῖ]ν τῶι Ἀσκλ[απ]ιῶι τᾶς ἐμπολᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων οὐκ ἐπ[ετ]έ-/[λει τάν εὐχάν· πωλέο]ντ[ι δὲ τὸν ἰχ]θὺν ἐν Τεγέαι ἐξαπίνας [κωνώπια]/ [πάντοθεν ἐπιφα]νέντα [οἱ] ἐ[τίτρω]σκον τὸ [[τὸ]] σῶμα· ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ π[ε]ρι-/[στά]ντος ε[ἰς] τὰν θεωρίαν, ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος δηλοῖ τὰν ἐξαπάταν ἁπασα[ν]/ [τὰν .....] πρό[σθε γενο]μέναν· ἐξικετεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν/ [θεὸν οὗτος αὐτῶι πολλοὺς] ἰχθύ[α] ἔφανεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος ἀνέθηκε [τὰν δεκάταν τῶι] Ἀσκλαπιῶι. **Herzog's full text**: ἰχθυοφό-/[ρος Ἀμφί]μν[ασ]τος. οὗτο[ς ἰ]χθυοφορῶν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν, εὐξάμενος τὰν / [δεκάταν δωσεῖ]ν τῶι Ἀσκλ[απ]ιῶι τᾶς ἐμπολᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων, οὐκ ἐπετέ-/[λει· βόλον οὖν πωλοῦ]ντ' [αὐτὸν ἁ]θρο̣ὺν ἐν Τεγέαι ἐξαπίνας οἱ ἰχθύες/ [δάκοντες ἐγκλι]νέντα [ἀπ]ε[βιβρώ]σκοντο τὸ σῶμα· ὄχλου δὲ πολλοῦ π[ε]ρι-/[στά]ντος ε[ἰς] τὰν θεωρίαν. ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος δηλοῖ τὰν ἐξαπάταν ἁπασα[ν/ τὰν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι] πρό[σθε γενὸ]μέναν· ἐξικετεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν/ [θεὸν ἀφέμενοί οὐ εὐθὺς οἱ] ἰχθύ[ε]ς ἔφανεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀμφίμναστος ἀνέθηκε [τὰν δεκάταν τῶι] Ἀσκλαπιῶι.

C 4 (47). The fishmonger Amphimnastos. While bringing fish into Arcadia, this man swore that he would give a tenth of the profit from the fish to Asklepios, but he didn't do it, as he should. When he was in the agora in Tegea, suddenly the fish were struck by lightning, and their bodies were burning up.[27] With a big crowd standing around this spectacle, Amphimnastos confessed the whole deception that he had done connected with Asklepios, and when he had earnestly prayed to the god, the fish appeared to live again, and Amphimnastos dedicated the tenth part to Asklepios.[28]

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[27]Peek reads περιπλέκοντο, but understands the meaning as a form of περιεφλέγοντο; *Fünf Wundergeschichten*, p. 8. Robert disputes this, while taking issue with Peek's entire interpretation. Peek's general idea is of fish being brought into Arcadia alive, an occurrence of thunder or lightning, and the burning up of the fish, which are later returned to life after Amphimnastos' confession and prayer. Robert disagrees with this, saying that fish are sold fresh but not alive; that at the thunder and lightning they are suddenly cooked; and after prayer, are returned to the fresh state appropriate for sale (*BE* V (1964) 180, p. 164-5). This does make a "better" story. However, the idea of bringing live seafood into Arcadia is attractive. Arcadia is a long, mountainous journey from the sea, and transporting the fish live would be a good, if cumbersome, way of solving the problem of spoilage.

[28]Translation of Hiller's text from from Horsley, New Documents II, 23: *Amphimnestos the fish carrier. This man, while carrying fish to Arkadia, vowed to give the tenth of his sale of fish to Asklepios , but he did not fulfil his vow. But while selling fish in Tegea, suddenly gnats, appearing from everywhere, started stinging him on the body. Since a large crowd stood around at the spectacle, Amphimnestos reveals his deceit completely . . . which had occurred previously. And when he entreated the god the latter caused many fish to appear for him, and Amphimnestos dedicated the tenth to Asklepios.* Translation of Herzog's restoration: *The fish carrier Amphimnastos. This man, bringing fish into Arcadia, made the boast that he would give to Asklepios a tenth of the profit from the fish, but didn't complete it. When he was selling his catch in Tegea, he was leaning over and suddenly the fish were biting him and they were eating up his body. With a big crowd standing around this spectacle, Amphimnastos confessed the whole deception that he had done before Asklepios. When he had earnestly prayed to the god, it appeared to him immediately that the fish left him, and Amphimnastos dedicated the tenth to Asklepios.*

[τ]ὰν [δεκάτα]ν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι. --- vac. --- Ἐρατοκλῆς Τροζάνιος[29] ἔμπυ-
[ος. τούτωι] ἐν Τροζᾶνι μέλλοντι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν καίεσθαι[30] καθεύδον-*30*
[τι ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς τὰμ μὲν][31] καῦσιν ἐκέλετο μὴ ποιεῖσθαι,[32] [ἐγ]καθεύδειν
[δ' ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶι τῶν Ἐπιδαυρί]ων· τοῦ δὲ χρό[ν]ου π[α]ρελθόντος, ὅμ ποτε[τέ]-
[τακτο,[33] ἐρράγη τὸ πύος, καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπῆλθε]. ----------
[νε----------Ἐ]πιδαυρία ὕδρω-
[πα· αὖτα----------]α τὸν σύμβολον
[----------π]όμα τί λαμβ[ά]- *35*
[ν----------]ου τῶι- -3-5- -
----------παρθ - - 4-6- - -
----------εν . σ - - -8 - - -

(39-43 deleti)

----------τος ....
----------φιάλα ... *45*
[----------ἐκ τοῦ] ἀβάτου ἐ[ξῆλθε.]
----------]ον ἄ[φων]ος
----------ὁ δὲ θεὸς
[----------ἐφθέ]γξατο κα[ὶ]
[ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.] [----------] ὑποφ[θ]ὰ[ς.] *50*
[----------τ]ῶι ἰαρῶ[ι]
----------ε ἀγγελ ...
----------ἀντ' αὐτ ..
----------ημα ε ....
----------α .. μεν .. *55*
----------θεὸς ε[.]
----------αλα ... α[.]
[----------κ]ατὰ [τ]ὸ στ[ῆ]-
[θος----------ἐγ]καθεύδο[ν]-
[τος δ αὐτοῦ----------]άλατίω[ι] *60*
----------δὲ αὐτ ..
[----------ἀ]πὸ ποταμο[ῦ]

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[29]In this case, Herzog's text is reprinted and generally supported by Peek.
[30]Hiller: ἰᾶ[[..]]σθαι
[31]Hiller: [θεὸς πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι]
[32]Hiller: μήρω ἰ[ᾶ]σ[θ]α[ι]
[33]Hiller: ὃμ ποτέ[μει]/[νε...

C 5 (48). Eratokles of Troezen, suffering from pus. When he was sleeping in the sanctuary in Troezen,[34] waiting be cauterized by the doctors, *the god came to* him, and ordered him not to have the cauterization, but to sleep *in the sanctuary of the Epidaurians.*[35] When the time had passed, which had been *commanded, the pus burst forth, and he left well.*

C 6 (49). An Epidaurian girl, dropsy...
her symptom ...
to take in a drink ...
the maiden ...
C 7 (50) ... this (man?) ...
a phiale ...
went out from the Abaton ...
C 8 (51) ... (mute) ...
but the god ...
he/she spoke and (*was well*)...
C 9 (52). ??muttering??..
in the sanctuary ...
it was announced ...
opposite ...
the god ...
C 10 (53). along the (chest) ...
sleeping here ...
(by) a little salt ...
(he or she) ...
from a river ...

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[34]It is not specifically stated whether the man slept in the Asklepios sanctuary at Troizen or in his own house there. The tale uses καθεύδοντι, without the prefix ἐγ- which is used for incubation. This is the only time in the Iamata that the verb appears in this form.

[35]Due to the break here, we cannot be sure whether Asklepios orders Eratokles to sleep in the sanctuary at Troezen or to travel to the Epidaurian one. Peek feels that there is not enough room for Epidauros to be specifically named, but reasons that the presence of this tale on an Epidaurian inscription makes it obvious that that is where the god told Eratokles to go. Space for the word Epidauros is only one character short, however, and Hiller supports it. The restored previous words contain iota twice, which can provide more room by joining with another letter in one space. In this tale as in B 3 (Aristagora), the message about Troezen is somewhat disparaging, making it more likely that these are Epidaurian tales, composed in response to the "competitor" sanctuary. If a sub-collection of originally Troizenian tales was worked into the Iamata corpus, disparaging elements may have been added by the authorities at Epidauros before display. The questions of derivation of tales from other sites and pre-collecxted groupings are dealt with in the *Introduction,* above.

----------εἰς τὸ ἰα-
[ρὸν----------ἀνίσχοντος] τοῦ ἁλίου
[----------ἐγκαθεύδον]τος δ' αὐ[τοῦ] *65*
----------τῶν Ἀργε[ίων]
[----------ὡ]μολόγη[σε]
[----------δρ]αχμὰν το[ῖς]
[θεράπουσι----------]ιου λαμ[βα]-
[ν----------]ελέσθ[αι] *70*
[----------ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ [ἱ]-
[αρὸν----------]ἀπεδίδου αὐτῶι
----------γόνοις οὐκ ἐδί-
[δου ----------τ]ὸ ξύλον εἰς χρ[.]-
[----------τοῦ] θεοῦ ὅλαν τὰν *75*
[----------ἀ]νέθηκε τῶι θεῶι
[----------ἀφικομέν]ου εἰς Ἐπίδαυ-
[ρον----------κατὰ καὶ]ρὸν χειμῶνος
----------τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἀφι-
[----------] ...7.... *80*
----------το τοῦ πλοίου
----------ον δὲ [ἐκ]πλέον-
[τα----------] νιν καὶ [ἀν]έ[μ]ωι
----------[----------ὁ δεῖνα] ἀ[κρα]τὴς τοῦ σ[ώ]μ[α]-
[τος----------ἐνύπν]ιον [εἶ]δε· ἐδό- *85*
----------ὁ] θεὸς ποὶ τὰν
----------πῦρ· ἁλίου [δὲ]
οντος----------]ὑγιὴς ἐγένε-
---------] ----------ἀκο]ντ[ι]σμένος
----------ἁ λόγχα με- *90*
----------ὡμολόγησε
----------του ἀφικο-
[μένου----------]εἰσῆλθε κα[ὶ]
[----------ἁμέ]ρας ὁ δράκων

C 11 (54) ... into the sanctuary ...
(emerging) from the sea ...
(with the rising of the sun)
(*sleeping here?*)... of the Argives ...
(he) agreed ...
drachma to the
(servants) ...taking ...
(he) took ... to be (?ordered?)[36]
C 12 (55) ... came into the (sanctuary) ...
he/she gave back to him ...
did not give them ...
wooden (underneath) as gold ...
of the god the whole ...
he/she dedicated to the god...
C 13 (56) ... into Epidauros ...
in the winter ...
but the god ...
.....
on a boat ...
later he sailed out ...
him and (by) a wind ...
C 14 (57) ... paralyzed in body ...
he/she saw a dream. It seemed ...
the god somewhere the ...
fire - the sun (arising)...
he/she became well.
C 15 (58) ... wounded ...
the spear-head ...
he agreed ...
coming ...
he went in and ...
the snake ...

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[36]As in C 9, Herzog does not attempt full restoration. His German translation shows that he takes τοῦ ἁλίου as "the Sun," proper Doric for ἥλιος. However, in view of Hiller's ἁλατίωι in the previous "tale," (l. 60) [which Herzog cannot take into account since he reads that word as γάλατι ὠ/-[μῶι]; and the apparent "seafaring" tale, which may be next or separated by one tale, I suggest rather that τοῦ ἁλίου be taken as the adjective ἅλιος, "of the sea." ἁλίου appears again in l. 88. There Herzog and Hiller, as Hiller here, restore ἀνίσχοντος, creating the new formula "with the rising of the sun." This idea is expressed everywhere in the Iamata by the standard formula α(μέρα· δὲ γενομένας etc.

----------π]α[ι]ς Ἐμπεδο-
----------ενης αὐτῶι .λο
----------λαν δὴ φορῶν πεν-
[----------αὐ]τὸν ὁ θεὸς κε-
[λεύει ----------έ]ν τᾶι καλουμέ-
[ναι----------τὰ ποι]ταχθέντα ὑ[πὸ]
[τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτέλέσας ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.] ----------'Αναξαγόρα
----------αντος τοῦ Λάκω-
[νος----------]πριάμενος ἰα-
[τήρια----------]κα ... ν
[----------κ]ρεανομ ...
----------ἀπεδώρησε πρότε-
[ρον ----------]ἀ[φ]ήλετο τὸ τριώβο-
[λον----------δένδ]ρον [ἀ]νέθαλε. *vac.*
[---------- τος ἀφικόμενος ἐς] τὸ ἰαρὸν ὡς οὐκ ἐ-
[νύπνιον ἐναργὲς ἐώρη,.....26.....] ἄξο[ν]α...τὸν ἐν τῶι
----------ου ἀπῆλθε οἴκαδε. ἐ-
[----------ἐγ]χειριδίωι διεχρῆτο αὐ-
[τὸν----------ἀγ]καλίζεταί νιν ἁ θυγάτηρ
[----------ἐκρυέν]τος δὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ
[---------- ['Αρ]γεῖος ἐπίλαμπτος · οὗτος ἐγ-
[κοιμαθεὶς ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει παραστὰς] ὁ θεὸς τῶι δακτυλίωι πιέξαι
[τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγ]ένετο. *vac.* 'Ηράκλειτος Χῖος· οὗ-
[τος.....27.....δ]ιαπλέων ἐκ Πειραέος εἰς
[Λευκάδα εἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐν]εκάθευδε καὶ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδό-
[κει οἱ ----------φάμ]εν ὅτι οὗτος εἴη ὁ πρεσβύτας
----------ὅτι αἴ κ' ἔλθηι εἰς Λευ-
[κάδα.....17.....] τὸ χρυσίον· ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Λευκάδ[α]
[.....19.....π]αρὼν ἐκομίσατο ἅπαν. --- *vac.*--- *Δαμοσθένης*

C 16 (59). The boy, Empedo- ...
with/to him ...
bearing five ...
the god (ordered) him ...
in the so-called ...
(carrying out) the things which had been prescribed by the god, he became well.

C 17 (60). Anaxagora--
... (com?)ing from Laco(nia) ...
buying -- (a mode of cure?) ... ---
--- he/she distributed the meat ...
at first he/she gave away ...
the triobol fell/glanced off ...
the tree (?) sprouted again ...

C 18 (61) ...(into) the sanctuary, but since he (saw)
no (clear dream, ... --- the axle --- the in the ...
------- he departed for home ...
he was killing (himself) with a dagger ...
his daughter embraced him ... the blood flowing
out from the ...

C 19 (62) ----- (of Ar)gos , epilepsy. This man, (sleeping here saw a vision: it seemed the god stood beside (him and) squeezed (his) eye [?] with his fingers , and from this he became well.

C 20 (63). Herakleitos of Chios . This man ...
sailing through from Peiraios into Leukada coming to the sanctuary slept here and saw a vision. It seemed to him ..... said that this was the old man ..... that if he would go into Leukada ..... the gold. When he arrived in Leukada ... being present he recovered everything.

[.....19.....π]αρὼν ἐκομίσατο ἅπαν. --- vac.--- Δαμοσθένης
..... κ[η]λέων·[37] οὗτος ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἰαρὸν ἐπι
[κλίνας καὶ ἐπὶ[38] βακτηρίας] ἀπερειδόμενος περιεπορεύετο· ἐγκοι- *125*
[μαθεὶς δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε]· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποιτάξαι τετράμηνον ἐν τῶι
[ἰαρῶι παραμένειν,[39] ὅ]τι ἐν τῶι χρόνωι τούτωι ὑγιὴς ἐσσοῖτο· μετὰ
[τοῦτο ἐντος[40] τετρ]αμήνου ἐν ταῖς τελευταίαις ἀμέραις εἰσελθὼν
[εἰς τὸ ἄβατ]ον μετὰ δύο βακτηριᾶν ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. *vac.* ἀνὴρ τυφλός·
[οὗτος ἐν τῶι] βαλανείωι τὰλ λάκυθον ἀπέβαλε· ἐγκοιμιζομένωι δὲ *130*
[ἐδόκει οἱ φάμεν] ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖ κλισίαι ταῖ μεγάλαι μαστεύειν τὰν
[λάκυθον, ἐπὶ δεξι]ὰ[41] εἰσπορευομένωι. ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας ἄγε νιν
[ὁ θεράπων ποὶ][42] μάστευσιν· εἰσπορευθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰν κλισίαν εἶδε
[τὰλ λάκυθον[43] ἐ]ξαπίνας καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιὴς ἐγέ[νετο]. *vac.* Πα[μ]φάης
['Επι]δαύριος φαγέδαιναν ἔνδος τοῦ στόματος ἔ[χων.[44] οὗτ]ο[ς ἐγκ]οι- *135*
[μαθε]ῖ[ς] ὄ[ψ]ιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς διοίξας τὸ στ[όμα ταῖ χηρὶ τὸ ἕλ]-
[κος] ἀ[φε]λεῖν[45] καὶ ἐκκαθᾶραι τὰ στόμα, καὶ ἐκ τού[του ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο].

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[37]Herzog: Δαμοσθένες/ [ethnikon] (8) ἀκρατὴς τῶν σ]κελέων.
[38]Herzog: εἰς βακτηρίας
[39]Herzog: διατρίβειν
[40]Tod: ἐνδὸς
[41]Herzog: ἐπῖλ]αια; Tod: [τάχιστ]α
[42]Herzog: εἰς]
[43]Herzog: [λάκυ]θ[ον]
[44]Tod: εἶχε
[45]Herzog: διοίξας τὸ στ[όμα σφανὶ τὰς γνά/-θους]διάγε[ι]ν.

C 21 (64). Damosthenes of -----, paralyzed in the legs.[46] This man came into the sanctuary upon a couch and he walked about supporting himself on a cane. Sleeping here, he saw a vision. It seemed to him the god ordered him to remain in the sanctuary for four months , because in that time he would become well. After this, in the last days within the fourth month, he went into the Abaton with two canes, [but] he left well.[47]

C 22 (65). A blind man. This man lost the oil bottle in the bathing room. When he was sleeping here, it seemed to him the god said he should search for the bottle in the big inn, by entering on the right.[48] When day came the servant led him there to search. As soon as he was led into the inn, he immediately saw the bottle and from this became well.

C 23 (66). Pamphaes of Epidauros, having a cancerous sore[49] inside his mouth. This man, sleeping here, saw a vision. It seemed to him the god opened his mouth with his hand, took out the sore, and cleansed his mouth, and from this he became well.

---

[46]Herzog's restoration.

[47]The Iamata do not otherwise tell of cures which take this amount of time, though it is likely that this was often a prescription, especially as time progressed. Here, the tale is narrated in such a way as to make it seem that Damosthenes stayed in the sanctuary for four months, and *then* had an instantaneous cure.

[48]Herzog: left.

[49]φαγέδαιναν is interpreted by Herzog (*Wunderheilungen*, p. 92) not as cancer, with *LSJ* but as a dreadfully decayed tooth infection, surgically removed by Asklepios with the help of a wedge, σφανὶ, dative singular Doric for σφήν, listed in *LSJ* as "an instrument of torture." This is another example of Herzog's working with the text to reflect common ailments and mechanical means of cure.

"STELE" D

.....λ ι.....
[....9.....ἐγκατ]εκοι[μάθη - - - - - - - -]
.....9.....ιας ἐκέλετ[ο - - - - - - - - - - -]
.....9.....ως καὶ τὸν - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[...8....ὑ]γιὴς γενόμ[ενος - - - - - - - - -]
[. . . .αν]δρος Κρής· οὗτ[ος - - - - - - - - - - - - -] *5*
. . .5. .τὰ νομιζόμεν' ἔ[θυσε - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
. . . .ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο κ -
. .ἀργυρίου μνᾶν εἰσ[οισεῖν- - - - - -εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν]
[τ]οῦ ’Ασκλαπιοῦ. - *vac.* -[1] ’Αλκ[- - - - - - οὗτος τυφλὸς]
ἐὼν τὸν ἄτερον ὀφθα[λμὸν- - -, ὑπέσχετο δὲ πλεί]- *10*
ονα τῶι θεῶι θυσεῖ[ν - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - εις
τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐντ[ὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ - - - - - - - - - -]-
το. - *vac.* - Ὠφελίων ἐξ Υ - - - - - - - - - - - -
ταῖι κλίναι ἔκε[ιτο - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐν τ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -ἀφι]- *15*
κέσθαι ποτ- -
ὑγιὴς γεν[όμενος - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
θεις[2] -
εγ- -
ν- 2 *20*

---

[1]Line 6 may have read ἄνδρος Κρής, but most likely is the end of a proper name. The preserved beginnings of tales at lines 10 and 14 report the names.These tales also share other stylistic features which make it not unreasonable to expect this format detail to be similar as well. The mention of Crete is the only clear place name we can read here, and it is the only mention of a person from Crete in the Iamata. Each tale on D is rather short, about four lines. In two places, clear vacats are preserved: one character space in line 10 and two in line 14. These extremely small vacats, combined with the relative brevity of the tales, inclines me to the opinion that this fragment comes from the end part of its stele.

[2]As I have pointed out in relation to tales A 4, B 11, B19 and B 21, the use of the preposition ἐκ before a patient's home town otherwise occurs only in tales of women, though not

D 1 (67) slept here ...
came to and ordered ...
so that even the ...
became sound ...
D 2 (68) --------andros of Crete. This man ...
(sacrificed) the customary things ...
he became well and ...
(he brought) in a mina of silver ... (into the treasury)
of Asklepios .
D 3 (69) Alk------ ...
being in (one or the other) eye ...
to sacrifice to the god ...
within the treasury ...
beca(me well).
D 4 (70). Ophelion from U-- ...
lying on the couch ...
but the god in the ...
- - - - - - -
became well ...
- - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - -

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all women are referred to this way. Here, however, the name ends in -ων, which Herzog takes as masculine.

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