

## Warwick Classics Network Teachers Day 1<sup>st</sup> July

### Greek Religion - Professor Michael Scott

#### 1. Belief in the Gods: Herodotus Histories 1.47-55:

And when he sent to test these shrines he gave the Lydians these instructions: they were to keep track of the time from the day they left Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was doing then; then they were to write down whatever the oracles answered and bring the reports back to him. Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were entrusted, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses:

“I know the number of the grains of sand and the extent of the sea,  
And understand the mute and hear the voiceless.  
The smell has come to my senses of a strong-shelled tortoise  
Boiling in a cauldron together with a lamb's flesh,  
Under which is bronze and over which is bronze.”

Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to various places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and examined all the writings. Some of them in no way satisfied him. But when he read the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering Delphi as the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he had thought up something which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day: namely, he had cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then boiled them in a cauldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

Such, then, was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, except that Croesus believed that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.

After this, he tried to win the favor of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from all the kinds fit for sacrifice, and on a great pyre burnt couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian sacrifice what he could. [2] When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made ingots of it, the longer sides of which were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. There were a hundred and seventeen of these. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. [3] He also had a figure of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base on which it stood; and now it is in the treasury of the

Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were instructed by Croesus to inquire of the oracles whether he was to send an army against the Persians and whether he was to add an army of allies. [2] When the Lydians came to the places where they were sent, they presented the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: "Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, believing that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom deserves. And now he asks you whether he is to send an army against the Persians, and whether he is to add an army of allies." Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same: namely, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they advised him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learned of them, he was very pleased with the oracles. So, altogether expecting that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians, whose number he had learned, with two gold staters apiece. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whoever should wish it.

After his gifts to the Delphians, Croesus made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he wanted to use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked was whether his sovereignty would be of long duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows: "When the Medes have a mule as king, Just then, tender-footed Lydian, by the stone-strewn Hermus Flee and do not stay, and do not be ashamed to be a coward."

## **2. Belief in the Gods: Xenophon *Anabasis* 7.8**

Eucleides congratulated Xenophon upon his safe return, and asked him how much gold he had got. He replied, swearing to the truth of the statement that he would not have even enough money to pay his travelling expenses on the way home unless he would sell his horse and what he had about his person.....

Then Eucleides said "Yes Zeus the Merciful (*Zeus meilichios*) is an obstacle in your way", and asked him whether he had yet sacrificed to him "just as at home", "where I was wont to offer the sacrifices for you and with whole victims." Xenophon replied that not since he left home had he sacrificed to that god. Eucleides, accordingly, advised him to sacrifice just as he used to do, and said that it would be to his advantage. And the next day, upon coming to Ophrynium, Xenophon proceeded to sacrifice, offering whole victims of swine after the custom of his fathers, and he obtained favourable omens. In fact, on that very day Bion and Nausicleides arrived with money to give to the army and were entertained by Xenophon, and they redeemed his horse, which he had sold at Lampsacus for 50 daries – for the suspected that he had sold it for want of money, since they heard he was fond of the horse – gave it back to him, and would not accept from him the price of it."

### 3. Belief in the Gods: Theophrastus' Characters (Section 16) 'The Superstitious Man'

'The superstitious man is the sort who washes his hands, sprinkles himself with water from a shrine, sprinkles himself with water from a shrine, puts a sprig of laurel in his mouth and walks around that way all day. If a weasel crosses his path, he goes no further until someone passes between them, or he throws three stones over the road. If he sees a snake in his house, he invokes Sabazios if it is a cheek snake, but if it is a holy one, he immediately founds a hero shrine on the spot.

When he passes the oiled stones at the crossroads, he drenches them with olive oil from his flask, kneels and prostrates himself before he departs. If a mouse eats a hole in a sack of barley, he visits the theologian and asks what he should do; if the answer is to give it to the tailor to be patched he pays no attention, but hurries off and performs an expiation. He is apt to purify his house frequently, claiming Hekate has bewitched it. If owls hoot as he passes by he becomes agitated, and says "Mighty Athena" before he goes on. He refuses to step on a gravestone, view a corpse or visit a woman in childbirth, and says it's the best policy for him not to incur pollution.

On the fourth and seventh of every month he order his household to boil some wine, then goes out and buys myrtle, frankincense, and cakes, comes back home and spends all day putting wreaths on the Hermaphrodites.

Whenever he has a dream, he visits the dream analysts or the prophets or the omen-readers to ask to which god or goddess he should pray. He goes to the Initiators of Orpheus every month to be inducted with his wife – if she has no time, he takes his children and their wet nurse. When people are sprinkling themselves carefully at the seaside, he would seem to be among them. If he ever notices someone at the crossroads wreathed in garlic, he goes away, takes a shower, summons priestesses and orders a deluxe purification by sea-onion or dog. If he sees a madman or epileptic he shudders, and spits down at his chest.

### 4. Belief in the Gods: Dodona consultation tablets:

SEG 43.323: "Whether it would be better for me if I go to Sybaris and if I do these things?"

SEG 43.325: "About possessions and a place to live; whether it would be better for him and his children and his wife in Kroton?"

SEG 15.396: "Would I do better if I took a wife?"

SGDI 1561a: "Herakleides asks Zeus and Dione for good fortune and asks the god about offspring. Will there be any from Aigle the wife he has now?"

SGDI 1559: "Kleouts asks Zeus and Dione if it will be better and more profitable for him if he keeps cattle?"

SGDI 1583: "God. To good fortune. Hippostratos asks Zeus Naios and Dione whether he would not do better if he became a ship owner?"

SEG 15.389: "What will happen to me if I leave? Shall I make it happen?" REVERSE SIDE (the response): "The woman remains!"

SGDI 1561b: "Nikokrateia asks by sacrificing to which of the gods would she do better and be relieved of her disease?"

SGDI 1589: "Shall I request citizenship this year or not"?

Ep. Chron. 1935.259, 32: "Did Thorpion steal the silver?"

## **Section 2: Extent to which religious practice was local, personal and /or panhellenic**

- 1. Sacred Law from Cyrene (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) – Rhodes and Osborne 2007. No. 97 (see attached text).**

## **Section 3: Personal Experience of the Divine**

- 1. Aesclepius Acts of Healing (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) – Rhodes and Osborne 2007. No. 102. (see attached text).**

## **Some Bibliography to Consider:**

E. Eidinow & J. Kindt Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion 2015

D. Ogden (ed) Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion 2007

R. Parker Polytheism and Society at Athens 2005

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S. Price Religions of the Ancient Greeks 1999

J. Gould "On making sense of Greek religion" in Easterling and Muir Greek Religion and Society 1985.

E. Kearns "Order, Interaction and Authority: ways of looking at Greek religion" in A Powell (ed.) The Greek World 1996 p. 511-29

A D Nock "Religious attitudes of the ancient Greeks" in A D Nock Essays on Religion and the Ancient World 1972 vol.2 535-50

E. R. Dodds "The Religion of the Ordinary Man in Classical Greece" in E R Dodd The Ancient Concept of Progress and other essays 1973 p.140-155

Rhodes & Osborne Greek Historical  
(2007)

Inscriptions ~~4/11/11~~

404-323 BC

No. 97.

A

Apollo issued an oracle: [the Cyrenaeans] shall inhabit Libya forever, observing purifications and abstinences and tithes.

- 4 (i) If sickness or famine or death visit the land or the city, sacrifice a red billy goat in front of the gate, opposite the Shrine of Aversion, to Apollo the Averter.
- 8 (ii) Wood growing in a sanctuary: provided that you pay the god the price, you may use the wood for sacred and for secular and for unclean purposes.
- 11 (iii) A man coming from a woman, having slept with her by night, may sacrifice whatever he wishes. If he has slept with her by day, once he has washed, he may go — wherever he wishes, except to — — —
- 16 (iv) The woman who gives birth pollutes the house. She pollutes anyone within the house, but she does not pollute anyone outside the house, unless he comes inside. Any person who is inside will be defiled for three days, but he will not pass on the pollution to another, no matter where this person goes.
- 21 (v) Right to participate is granted to anyone, either pure or profane, with regard to Akamanties. Except in the case of the man Battus the founder, and the Tritopateres and in the case of Onymastus the Delphian, in the case of any other man that has died there is no right to participate for a pure man; but in the case of the sacred ones, there is a right to participate for anyone.
- 26 (vi) If someone sacrifices at an altar a victim which it is not customary to sacrifice, he is to remove from the altar the fat that remains and wash it away, and remove from the sanctuary the rest of the filth, and take away the ash from the altar and the fire to a pure place, and

century

e Small Baths at Cyrene on  
nv. no. 51. Phot. Ferri, figs.

& Fraenkel 39; *SEG* ix 72:  
2\*. Trans. Parker, *Miasma*,  
mel. *RPh* lviii 1984. 35-44:

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then, when he has washed himself and purified the sanctuary and sacrificed as a penalty a full-grown animal, let him sacrifice according to custom.

(vii) A man is obliged as far as his brother's children.

(viii) If someone who is of adult age is subject to a tithe, once he has purified himself with blood he is to purify the sanctuary, and once he has been sold in the marketplace for the highest price he will fetch he is first to sacrifice, before the tithe, a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, and then when he comes to sacrifice the tithe he is to carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, the same measures will be needed. Everyone who sacrifices is to bring a vessel.

(ix) If a boy is accidentally polluted, it is sufficient for him to purify himself but no penalty is needed. But if he is polluted by his deliberate action, he is to purify the sanctuary and sacrifice a full-grown animal as a penalty.

(x) If property is subject to a tithe, the owner is to assess the value of the property and purify the sanctuary and the property separately, and then he is to sacrifice a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, and then he is to sacrifice the tithe, and carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, the same measures will be needed. No one is ever to make any funerary offerings from the property which is subject to tithe, and no one is to bring libations before he pays the tithe to the god. If he brings libations or makes funerary offerings, he is to purify the sanctuary of Apollo and then sacrifice a full-grown animal determined by the nature of the offence.

(xi) If a person who is subject to tithe dies, when they have buried the person, the heir is to place whatever he wants on the grave on the first day. But subsequently he is not to place a single thing before he pays the tithe to the god, and he is not even to sacrifice or to go to the grave. They are to assess him for the most he was worth, being a partner of the god. When he has purified the sanctuary of Apollo and the property separately, and has sacrificed a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, in front of the altar, he is to sacrifice the tithe before the altar and carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, he will have the same obligations.

(xii) If someone who is subject to a tithe dies and leaves children and some live and some die, he (the heir?) is to assess those who have died for the most that they were worth, purify the sanctuary of Apollo and the property separately, and sacrifice the penalty of an adult man before the altar and then sacrifice the tithe before the altar. But in the case of the living descendant, he is to purify himself with blood and then purify the sanctuary separately; once he has been sold in the market place he is to sacrifice a full-grown animal as the penalty of an adult man and then he is to sacrifice the tithe and carry it away to a

32 ζαμίαν θύσας βοτῶν τέλεον, κούριος το ἱερόν καὶ  
 (vii) δίκωχμος μέστα ἐς ἀεληφείων τέσσα.  
 (viii) αἶ κα δέκατος ἢ ἀνθρωπος ἡβητάς, καθάρας α-  
 [ύ]πὸς αὐτὸν αἵματι, καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ πωλη-  
 [θ]ῆς ἐν ταῖ ἀγοραῖ ὀπόσω κα πλείστω ἀξίος ἦ[ι],  
 33 προθυσεῖ πρὸ τῆς δεκάτης ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλ-  
 [ευ]ν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης, καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τῶν  
 [δ]εκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς καθαρόν αἶ δὲ μῆ, τῶν α[ύ]-  
 [τ]ῶν δησῆται· [σκ]οάκιον δὲ οἴσει πᾶς ὁ θύων.  
 40 (ix) [ἀ]νήβος, αἶ μὴ τί κα ἐκὼμ· μιᾶ, ἀποχρεῖ καθάρασ[θ]-  
 [α]ι αὐτὸν καὶ ζαμίας οὐ δεῖ· αἶ δὲ κα ἐκὼμ μιᾶ, κ[α]-  
 [θα]ρει τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ζαμίαν προθυσεῖ βοτῶν τέλευ[ν].  
 (x) [α]ἶ κα χρήματα δέκατα ἦι, ἐκτιμάσας τὰ χρήματ-  
 [α], καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα καὶ τόκα  
 45 [δ]ὴ προθυσεῖ ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλεον οὐ τῆς δεκάτ-  
 [ας], καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τῶν δεκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς  
 [κα]θαρόν· αἶ δὲ μῆ, τῶν αὐτῶν δησεῖ· τῶν δὲ χρημά-  
 [των], ἄς κα δέκατα ἦι, ἐντόφιον οὐκ ἐπιθυσεῖ οὐδ[έ]-  
 [πω] οἴδδ' ἔν, οὐδὲ χύτλα οἴσει πρί[ν] κα τῶι θεῶι ἀπο[θε]-  
 50 [κατε]ύσει· αἶ δὲ κα χύτλα ἐνίκει ἢ ἐντόφια ἐπιθῆ, κα-  
 [θά]ρας τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ζαμίαν προθυσεῖ κατὰ τὰν  
 [ἀμα]ρτίαν βοτῶν τέλεον.  
 (xi) [αἶ] κα δέκατος ἐὼν ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνη, κατακομι-  
 [ξά]ντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ταῖ μὲν πρατίσται ἀμέρα  
 55 [ἐπ]ὶ θησεῖ ὅ τι κα δήληται ἐπὶ τὸ σᾶμα, δεύτερον δ-  
 [ε] οἴδδ' ἔν, πρίν κα ἀποδεκατεύσει τῶι θεῶι, καὶ οἴ[ν]-  
 [δὲ] θυ]σεῖ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ σᾶμα εἶτι· ἐκτιμασέντι δὲ σπ[όσ]-  
 [σω] πλ[ε]ίστω ἀξίος ἦς, κοινὸς ἐὼν τῶι θεῶι· καθάρα[s]  
 [δὲ] τὸ] Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα, προθ[ύ]σα]-  
 60 [ς αὐτὸ]ς ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλεον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτ[ε]-  
 [ας προ]βώμιον, θυσεῖ τῶν δεκάταν προβώμιον [κα]-  
 [ι ἀπο]ύσει ἐς καθαρόν· αἶ δὲ μῆ, τῶν αὐτῶν δησεῖ.  
 (xii) [αἶ] κα ἀπ[ο]θάνη δέκατος ἐὼν καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατα[π]-  
 65 [η] ὦν κα τ[ῶ] μὲν ζῶι, τὰ δὲ ἀποθάνη, ἐκτιμάσας τὰ [ἀ]-  
 [παλαγ]μένα, ὀπόσω κα πλείστω ἀξία ἦι, καθάρα[s] τ]-  
 [ὸ Ἀπολλώ]νιον καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα, προθυσεῖ ζαμ[ί]α]-  
 [ν τῶν τῶ] ἡβητῶν προβώμιον· καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τῶν δε-  
 [κάταν προ]βώμιον· τὸν δὲ ζῶν καθάρας αὐτὸς αὐτ[ὸ]-  
 70 [ν αἵματι κ]αὶ τὸ ἱερόν δίχα, πωληθῆς ἐν ταῖ ἀγοραῖ θ-  
 [υσεῖ τῶν τ]ῶ ἡβητῶν ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλεον· καὶ τὸς[α δ]-  
 [ὴ θυσεῖ τῶ]ν δεκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς καθαρόν· αἶ [δὲ]

31 2 ἰσομέωχος Dobias-Labou (who regards the paragraohs between the two lines as inserted in error), νόμ(ος) | [δ]ικόχμος Franckel. 37 τόκα δὲ Dobias-Labou, τόκα δὴ SEG.

(xiii) [μή, τῶν αὐτῶν] ὄν δησεῖ.

(xiv) [ἐν] ν ἐπέει κα ἀρξεται, θύεν κατὰ νόμον. [ἐν] ν  
[ἐν] ν θη, τὸ λοιπὸν θυσεῖ ὀποκα κα δῆλη[ται]  
[ἐν] ν η, καθαρισμὸς ἀποχρεῖ, ὅπ[...]. τις [ἐν] ν  
[ἐν] ν καθάσαι οὐ δεῖ, αἰ δέ κα δῆληται [ἐν] ν  
[ἐν] ν προσβώμιον, οἴσει ὅπ[...]. XA.AEE [ἐν] ν  
[ἐν] ν E [ἐν] ν

3. further lines cannot be read

### B

(xiv) [νύμφη] μ[ἐν, πρὶν ἵμεν τὸ κοιτατή] ριον, ζ[ἐν] ν  
[δεῖ] ἐς ἄρτ[αμν κατενθέν]. ἄρτα δὲ οὐχ ὄρω[ροφ]-

85 [ος] τῶι ἀνδρι τένται οὐδὲ μισσεῖ, μέστα κα  
[ἐς] ἄρταμν ἐνθη: ἄ δέ κα ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσα[ι]-

[σ] α μῖα ἕκαστα, καθάρισσα τὸ ἄρταμίτιον ἐπ[ι]-

[θ] υσεῖ ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλευν, καὶ τόκα δη εἶτ-

90 [ι] τὸ κοιτατήριον: αἰ δέ κα μὴ ἑκοῖσα μῖα, κα-

[θ] ιαρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν.

(xv) [ν] ἴμφαν δὲ τὸ νυμφίον ἐς ἄρταμν κατ[ἐν] ν-

[θ] ἐν δεῖ, ὀποκα κα δῆληται ἄρταμίτιος, [ὡς κα]

95 [τ] ἄχιστα δὲ λῶιον: ἄ δέ κα μὴ κατένθη, ἀ[ποθ]-

[ν] υσεῖ τῶι ἄρτάμνι ἄ κ[α δῆλητ] μ[ι: τοῖς [δ' ἄρταμίτ]-

[οι] s. μὴ κατεληλευ[θῆναι δὲ καθαρεῖ τὸ ἄρταμίτ]-

[ο] ν καὶ ἐπιθυσεῖ ζ[αμίαν βοτῶν τέλευν].

(xvi) [γυνὰ] κούισα πρὶν τεκέν[ατε] τι τὸ νυμφή[ο]ν

100 ἐς ἄρταμ[ν: γ...]. γὰ ἄρκωι δισσεῖ πόδας καὶ

τὰν κεφαλὰν καὶ τὸ δέρμα: αἰ δέ κα μὴ κατ[ἐν] ν-

θη πρὶν τεκέν, κάτειτι σὺμ βοτῶν τελέωι: ἄ δ[ἐ]

κατίασσα ἀγνευσεῖ ἐβδέμαν καὶ ὄγδοαν

καὶ ἡνάταν, καὶ ἄ μὴ κατεληλευθῆναι ἀγ-

105 ευσεῖ ταύτας τὰς ἀμέρας: αἰ δέ κα μῖα, καθα-

ραμένη αὐτὰ καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἐπιθυσεῖ [εἶ]

ζαμίαν βοτῶν τέλευν.

(xvii) αἰ κα γυνὰ ἐγβάλη, αἰ μέγ κα διάδηλον ἦι, μ[ι]-

110 αίνονται ὡσπερ ἀπὸ θανόντος, αἰ δέ κα μὴ

διάδηλον ἦι, μιάινεται αὐτὰ ἄ οικία καθάπε[ρ]

ἀπὸ λεχός.

115 Ἰκεσίων.

(xviii) ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός: αἰ κα ἐπιπεμφθῆι ἐπὶ τὰν

οἰκίαν, αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι ἀφ' ὅτινός οἱ ἐπήθη, ὁ-

120 νυμαζεῖ αὐτὸν προσειπὼν τρὶς ἀμέρας: αἰ δ[ε]

κα τεθνάκη ἐγγαιος ἢ ἄλλη πη ἀπολώλη[ι],

αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι τὸ ὄνυμα, ὄνυμαστί προερεῖ, αἰ

pure spot. But if he does not, he will have the same obligations.

73 (xiii) Whenever s/he begins to ..., sacrifice is to be made according to the law. ... for the future s/he is to sacrifice, whenever s/he wishes ... purification is sufficient, wherever anyone ... there is no need of purification, but if s/he wants ... an offering before the altar, s/he shall bring ...

### B

83 (xiv) A bride before she goes to the bed-chamber must go down to Artemis, but she herself will not be under the same roof as her husband and will not be impure until she comes to Artemis. But whoever has not done these things and deliberately incurs pollution, when she has purified the sanctuary of Artemis she is to sacrifice as a penalty a full-grown animal, and then go to the sleeping chamber. But if she incurs pollution accidentally, she is to purify the sanctuary.

91 (xv) It is necessary that a bride should go down to the bride room to Artemis, whenever she wants at the Artemisia, and the sooner the better. Any bride who fails to go down is to make an additional sacrifice to Artemis as ordained at the Artemisia. And because she has not gone down she is to purify the Artemision and additionally sacrifice as a penalty a full-grown animal.

97 (xvi) A pregnant woman is to go down to the bride room to Artemis before she gives birth and she is also herself to give to the bear the feet and the head and the skin. If she does not go down before giving birth, she is to go down with a full-grown animal. She who goes down is to be pure on the seventh and eighth and ninth, and she who does not go down is to be pure on those days. But if she incurs impurity she is first to purify herself and then purify the shrine and sacrifice additionally as a penalty a full-grown animal.

106 (xvii) If a woman miscarries, if it is distinguishable, they are polluted just as from someone having died; but if it is not distinguishable, the house itself is polluted as from childbirth.

110 Of Suppliants/Visitors.

111 (xviii) Suppliants/Visitors sent by spells. If a suppliant/visitor is sent to the house, if (the householder) knows from whom he came, he shall make a proclamation and name him for three days. And if he has died in the land or has perished somewhere else, if he knows his name, he is to call out by name, but if he does not know (he is to pro-

- δέ κα μὴ ἴσαι, ὡ ἀνθρωπε, αἶτε ἀνὴρ αἶτε γυνὰ  
 ἑσσί, κολοσὸς ποιήσαντα ἔρσena καὶ θήλεια[γ]  
 ἢ καλῶς ἢ γαῖνος ὑποδεξάμενον παρτιθ[ε]-  
 120 μεν τὸ μέρος πάντων· ἐπεὶ δέ κα ποιήσες τὰ  
 νομίζόμενα, φέροντα ἐς ὕλαν ἀεργὸν ἔρε-  
 [τ]σαι τὰς κολοσὸς καὶ τὰ μέρη.  
 (xix) ἰκέσιος ἄτερος, τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής, ἰσ-  
 σάμενος ἐπὶ τῶι δαμοσίω ἰαρώι· αἰ μέγ κα προ[φ]ε-  
 125 ρηται, ὀπόσσω κα προφέρηται, οὕτως τελεσκ[ε]-  
 σθαι· αἰ δέ κα μὴ προφέρηται, γὰς καρπὸν θ[ε]-  
 εν καὶ σπονδῶν καθ' ἑῶτος αἰεί· αἰ δέ κα παρῆι, εἰ[κ]  
 νέω δις πόσσα· αἰ δέ κα διαλίπῃ τέκνον ἐπι[λα]-  
 θόμενον καὶ οἰ προφέρηται, ὅ τι κά οἰ μαντε[υ]-  
 ομένω ἀναμρήῃ, τοῦτο ἀποτεισεί τῶι θεῶι κ[αὶ]  
 130 θυσεί, αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι ἐπὶ τῶμ πατρώϊων· αἰ δέ μὴ, [χρη]-  
 σασθαι.  
 (xx) ἰκέσιος τρίτος, αὐτοφόνος· ἀφικετεύεν ἐς [·3·]-  
 πολίαν καὶ τριφυλίαν· ὡς δέ κα καταγγήλ[ε] [·ικέ]-  
 σθαι, ἴσαντα ἐπὶ τῶι ὠδῶι ἐπὶ νάκει λευκῶ [·νί]-  
 135 ζεν καὶ χρίσαι καὶ ἐξέμεν ἐς τὰν δαμοσί[αν]  
 ὀδὸν καὶ αἰγὸν πάντας ἢ κα ἐξοἰ ἔωντ[ι τὸ]-  
 [ς] ὑποδεκομένος· τὸν προαγγελτῆ[ρα] ...]  
 [·...]ων καὶ τὸς ἐπομένους [·.....]  
 140 [·...]υσεί θῆη· καὶ ἀλλ[α] [·.....]  
 [·..... δ]ε μὴ [·.....]

32 3 [ἀρχε]πολίαν SEG, [τρι]πολίαν Frankele, [ἀλλο]πολίαν Burkert. 137 8 ἐπὶ ἰαρώ]ν παρήμεν τὸν  
 φικετευ[όμενον] τὸν δαμοσίω]ων SEG, μέγρη θ[ε]ρῶ]ν παρήμεν Burkert. 139 41 [βορθη]ν τὰ δίκαια· ὁδὲ  
 ]υσεί θῆη καὶ ἀλλ[α] [α] διορτελεσεῖ τῶι ἀρχηγέῃ θεῶι, αἰ] δὲ μὴ SEG, Dobias-Lalout's text is corrupt at this  
 point.

This important sacred law gives us a glimpse of the daily concerns and anxieties of a classical Greek community and reminds us of how much of the religious practice of Greek cities we have limited understanding. The combination of common sense and ritual elaboration is particularly striking. Although the letter forms suggest that it may be a little later in date than 96, which is inscribed on the same block, its provisions seem unlikely to contain much that is new and we do not know why it was written up at this time. Some peculiarities may be a result of local Cyrenaean practice, but the parallels that can be found in very different parts of the Greek world suggest that this actor should not be over-emphasized. Rather we need to acknowledge the extent of our ignorance of Greek beliefs and practices with regard to purification.

The structure and organization of the law are not easy to understand. On Side A the *aver part* consists of a series of clauses about people subject to a tithe, but the topics

claim): ‘O person, whether you are a man or a woman’. He is to make figurines, a male and a female, either from wood or from clay, and give them hospitality, offering them a portion of everything. When you have performed the customary rites, carry the figurines and the portions to an unworked wood and deposit them.

122 (xix) Second suppliant/visitor, initiated or uninitiated, who has sat down at the public sanctuary. If there is a pronouncement, for however much is pronounced, let the ritual be performed. If there is no pronouncement, let there be a sacrifice of the fruit of the earth and a libation annually for ever. But if he omits it, then twice as much. If a child forgets and omits and there is a pronouncement to him, whatever is told him when he consults the oracle, he is to pay this to the god and make sacrifice at his ancestral tomb, if he knows where this is, and if not to ask the oracle.

132 (xx) Third suppliant/visitor, murderer. He is to present the suppliant/visitor to the magistrate and the three tribes. When he announces that he has come, having set him down on the threshold on a white fleece, wash and anoint him and go out to the public road, and all to be silent while they are outside, obeying the announcer. The one presented as a suppliant is to go ... and those who follow

... sacrifices

of the early clauses are very diverse. Side B has clauses about women's reproductive lives, and about 'suppliants', clearly separated by a heading, but the three categories of suppliant seem quite different (see below). The lack of clear structure, along with the variations in phrasing and dialect, might suggest that this inscription simply copied an earlier text in which different clauses had been recorded at different times, but the absence of clearly archaic words and the conflation of two alternative ways of saying the same thing at B. 93–5 imply at least a degree of fourth-century editing and the recurrent pattern of ten-line sections in A. 42–82 seems unlikely to be coincidental.

Delphic Apollo, whose name begins the text, had a special place at Cyrene because the establishment of the settlement by a group led by Battos from Thera was held to have been ordered by his oracle (compare M&L 5, which also dates to the fourth century). Apollo and Artemis also had a particular connection with purification.



to be enclosed (see further R. Osborne, in Hunt (ed.), *Garden History*, 373–91). The careful specification here that only one garden may be claimed and that a plot may be claimed as a garden only if it is next to or very close to the house seems designed to prevent returning exiles from classifying fields as gardens so as to reclaim the whole rather than just half of the land involved. It suggests that gardens distant from residences were too unusual to merit consideration.

A *plethron* was 100 Greek feet; according to the standard being used, c.29.5–33.3 m. (32–36 yds.). ‘The Goddess’ in l. 38 etc. is Athena Alca, the patron goddess of Tegea. The four tribes at Tegea, in what appears from inscriptions to have been a standard order, were: Athanacatis, Apolloniatis, Kratiotis (named after Zeus Kratiotis)

Acts of healing, Asclepicium, Epidaurus, c.320

One of 4 *stela* recording cures surviving from the Asclepicium at Epidaurus. Phot. P. Kavvadias, τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, between pp. 256 and 257.

Angelic Doric with some Atticisms. l. 119 generally more or less *stichedon* but ending line at syllable division: 120–6 smaller letters, less regularly spaced. *StG* 1168; *JGIV* 2. 1121\*; Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus*, 8–16; Buck 90; Edelstein & Edelstein, *Asclepius*, no. 423; LiDomiici, Trans. Edelstein & Edelstein, 229–33; LiDomiici, 85–99; Luck, *Abrama Maná*, 140–5. See also H.C. Kee in Meyer and Saunders (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, iii, 118–36; M. P. J. Dillon, *ZPE* c1 1994, 230–60; King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*, 90–113.

θεὸς παρὰ τύχα [ἀγ]λαθὰ.

[ἀ]ματὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

(i) [ΚΑ]εὺ πένθ' ἔτη ἐκύθησ'· αὐτὰ πέντ' ἐνιαυτοὺς ἦδη κυῶσα ποί τὸν

[βε]ρὸν ἰκέτις ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐνεκάθειδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτωι· ὡς δὲ τάχιστα

5 [τα] ἐξήλαθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐγένετο, κόρον ἔτεκε. ὃς εὖ-

[θ]υς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κράνας ἐλοῖτο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ματρὶ

[πι]ερήρηπε. τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· οὐ μὲγε-

[θω]ς πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύθησε ἐγ γασ-

τρι Κλειὸ βάρος, ἔστε ἐγκατεκοιμάθη καὶ μιν ἔθρηκε ὑγιῆ". (ii) Τριέτης

10 [φο]ρά· Ἰθμονίκα Πελλανίς ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ γενεᾶς. ἐγ[κατα]-

[κοι]μαθεῖσα δὲ ὄψην εἶδε· ἐδόκει αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν κυήσαι κό-

[ραν], τὸν δ' Ἀσκληπιὸν φάμεν ἐγκνον εἰσεῖσθαι νιν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο

αι[τε]ροῖτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ ἐπιτελεῖν, αὐτὰ δ' οὐθενὸς φάμεν εἶτι ποι-

δε[ί]σθαι. ἐγκυος δὲ γενομένη ἐγ γαστρὶ ἐφόρει τρίᾳ ἔτη, ἔστε πα-

15 ρέβαλε ποί τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόκου· ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα

δέ ὄψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτᾶ

πάντα ὅσα αἰτήσατο καὶ ἐγκυος εἴη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιέμεν

νιν οὐθέν. καὶ τὰτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τιμος καὶ ἄλλου δέ-

and Hippothoitis (Jones, *Thematic Organisations*, 139–41). It may postulate a cult of Poseidon in Hippothoitis the gods by whom the oath is sworn will be the eponymous gods of the four tribes at Tegea (Plassart, 161–2). ‘Not to bear grudges’ is a standard expression for an amnesty: cf. *Ath. Pol.* 39, vi, 40, ii, and other texts cited by Rhodes *ad* 39, vi.

Among the Arcadian features of the language are *πᾶμα* for *κρήμα* (6 etc.); the demonstrative forms *ταυὶ* etc. (9 etc.); *ἐπὲς* = ‘with reference to’ (9–10 etc.); *ἐξάουτία* = ‘nearby’ (12–13); but the true Arcadian form should be *ἐσαουτία*: Buck *ad loc.*); *ἀπιδολῶσαι* equivalent to *ἀποδολᾶναι* (20; Buck §162. 10); *εἶκ ἄν*, where the *κ* is a survival from *κε* equivalent to *ἄν* (34; Buck §134. 2. *α*).

Rhodes & Osborne Greek Historical Inscriptions  
(2007) 404–323 BC

No. 102.

God. Good Fortune.

2 Acts of healing of Apollo and Asclepius.

3 (i) Cleo was pregnant for five years. When she had already been pregnant for five years she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the Abaton. As soon as she went out from the Abaton and was clear of the sanctuary she bore a son who, immediately he was born, washed himself in the fountain and crawled around beside his mother. In return for this good fortune she wrote on her dedication: ‘It is not the size of the tablet that should cause wonder, but the divinity, since Cleo was pregnant with the burden in her womb for five years until she slept in the sanctuary and the god made her healthy.’

9 (ii) A three-year carrying of a child. Ithmonica of Pellene arrived at the sanctuary seeking offspring. She lay down to sleep and saw a dream. It seemed to her that she begged the god that she might be pregnant with a daughter, and Asclepius seemed to say that she would be pregnant, and that if she were to ask for anything else, he would bring that about for her too, but she said that she had no further needs. She became pregnant and carried a child in her womb for three years until she came to the god as a suppliant about giving birth. She lay down to sleep and saw a dream. It seemed to her that the god asked her whether all that she had begged for had not come to pass and

οἰτο λέγειν, ὡς ποησούντος καὶ τούτου. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου  
 20 παρέιη ποτ' αὐτὸν ἰκέτας, καὶ τούτῳ οἱ φάμεν ἐπιτελεῖν. μετὰ δὲ  
 τούτο σπουδαί ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελευσάσα, ὡς ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦς, ἔτε-  
 κε κόραν." (iii) ἀνὴρ τοῦς τᾶς χηρὰς δακτύλους ἀκρατεῖς ἔχων πλὰν  
 ἐνὸς ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτας· θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 πύνακας ἀπίστευε τοὺς ἰάμασιν καὶ ὑποδιέσσυρε τὰ ἐπιγράμμα-

25 [τ]α. ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ ἀστραγαλιζο-  
 [τ]ος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος βάλαντον τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ, ἐπιφανέντα  
 [τ]ὸν θεὸν ἐφάλασθαι ἐπὶ τῆν χῆρα καὶ ἐκτενάει οὗ τοὺς δακτύ-  
 λους· ὡς δ' ἀποβαίη, δοκεῖν συγκαμήσας τὰν χῆρα καθ' εἷνα ἐκτείνεω  
 τῶν δακτύλων· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ἐξευθύναι, ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν,

30 εἰ ἔτι ἀπίστοι τοὶς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶμ πινάκων τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν· ὅτι τοῖνυν ἐπιπροσθεν ἀπίστεις  
 αὐτο[τ]ις οὐκ εὐδυν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι", φάμεν, ἄπιστος  
 ὄν[ομα]· ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἡγίης ἐξῆλλθε. (iv) Ἀμβροσία ἐξ Ἀθανᾶν  
 [ἀτερό]π[τ]ι[τ]λλος. αὐτὰ ἰκέτις ἦλλθε ποὶ τὸν θεόν· περιέρπουσα δὲ

35 [κατὰ τ]ὸ ἱερόν τῶν ἰαμάτων τινὰ διεγέλα ὡς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδύνα-  
 [τα εἶν]α, χολοῖς καὶ τυφλοῖς[ς] ἡγίεις γίνεσθαι ἐνύπνιου ἰδόν-  
 [τας μό]νον. ἐγκαθειδουσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστᾶς  
 [εἶπε]ν, ὅτι ἡγίη μὲν νιν ποιησοί, μισθοῖμ μάντοι νιν δεησοί ἂν-  
 [θέρμεν]ε[ι]ς τὸ ἱερόν ἢν ἀργύρου ἐπόμισμα τὰς ἀμαθίας· εἶπαν-

40 [τα δὲ ταῦτ]α ἀσχίσασαι οὐ τὸν ὀπτύλλον τὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ φάρμ[α]-  
 [κόν τι ἐγ]χ[ε]αι· ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἡγίης ἐξῆλλθε. (v) παῖς ἄφρονος.  
 [οὗτος ἀφ]κετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ φωνᾶς· ὡς δὲ προσέβαστο καὶ

[ἐπῆ]σε τὰ νομίζόμενα, μετὰ τούτῳ ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ πυροφορῶν  
 [ἐκέλετο, π]οι τὸμ πατέρα τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς ποτιβλέψας, ὑποδέκεσ-  
 45 [βαι αὐτὸν ἐ]μιαυτοῦ, τυχόντα ἐφ' ἃ πάρεστι ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἱατρα.  
 [ὁ παῖς ἐξ]σπίνας "ὑποδέκομαι", εἶπα· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐκπλαγείς πάλιν  
 [ἐκέλετο αὐ]τὸν εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ' ἔλεγε πάλιν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἡγίης ἐγέ-  
 [νετο. (vi) Π]άνδαρος Θεσσαλὸς στῆματα ἔχων ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ. οὗτος

[ἐγκαθεύδων ὄ]ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτοῦ τα[τ]ινὰ καταδῆσαι τὰ στῆ-  
 50 [μάματα ὁ θεὸς κα]ὶ κέλεσθαι νιν, ἐπεὶ [κα ἔξω] γένηται τοῦ ἀβάτου,  
 [ἀφελόμενον τᾶ]ν ταινῶν ἀνθέμε[ν] ἐ[ί]ς τὸν ναόν· ἡμέρας δὲ γενο-  
 [μένης ξη]ανέστα] καὶ ἀφῆλετο τ[ᾶ]ν τα[τ]ινῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσσωπον  
 [κενὸν εἶδε τῶ]ν στηγμάτων[ν, τ]ᾶν δ[έ] τ[ᾶ]ν ἰανίων ἀνέθηκε εἰς τὸν να-  
 [όν, ἔχουσαν τὰ γρ]άμματα[α] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. (vii) Ἐχέδωρος τὰ Πανδά-

55 [ρου στῆματα ἐ]λαβη ποὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. οὗτος λαβὼν παρ [Παν]-  
 [δάρου χρήματα], ὥστ' ἀνθέρμεν τῷ θεῷ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ],  
 [οὐκ] ἀπέδιδου ταῦτα· ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θε[ὸς]  
 ἐπιστᾶς ἐπερωτῆν νιν, εἰ ἔχοι τινὰ χρήματα παρ Πανδάρου [ἐξ] Ἐν[θ]-  
 60 θηρῶν ἀνθέρμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν λελαβήκεν οὐθε[ί]ν  
 τοιοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' αἶ κα ἡγίη νιν ποῆσαι, ἀνθέρμεν οἱ εἰκό-

she was not pregnant? About the birth of the child she had added nothing, although  
 he had asked her whether she needed anything else and said that he would do this too.  
 But since now she had come to him as a suppliant about this, he said that he would  
 manage this for her too. After this she left the Abaton hurriedly and when she was  
 outside the sanctuary gave birth to a daughter.

22 (iii) A man who had no strength in any of the fingers of his hand except one came as  
 a suppliant to the god. Contemplating the tablets in the sanctuary he did not believe  
 the cures and gently mocked the inscriptions. When he slept in the sanctuary he saw a  
 dream. It seemed to him that as he was playing knucklebones close by the temple and  
 was about to throw the knucklebone, the god appeared to him, seized his hand and  
 stretched out his fingers. When the god moved away, he seemed to bend his hand and  
 then stretch out his fingers one by one. When he had straightened them all out the god  
 asked him if he still did not believe the inscriptions on the memorials in the sanctuary,  
 and he said that he no longer disbelieved. 'Well, because you once disbelieved things  
 that are not incredible,' he said 'in future let your name be Disbeliever (*Ἀπίστος*)'. When  
 day came he departed healthy.

33 (iv) Ambrosia from Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god.  
 As she walked around the temple she laughed at some of the records of healing on  
 the grounds that they were unbelievable and impossible, that lame and blind people  
 should become healthy simply having seen a dream. She went to sleep and saw a  
 dream. The god seemed to her to stand by her and say that he would make her  
 healthy, but that as payment he would require her to dedicate in the sanctuary a silver  
 pig as a memorial of her ignorance. Having said this he cut open her sick eye and  
 poured in some drug. When day came she departed healthy.

41 (v) A dumb boy. This boy came to the sanctuary for a voice. When he had made the  
 preliminary sacrifice and performed the accustomed rites, after this the acolyte who  
 carried fire for the god gave orders, looking at the boy's father, to promise to sacrifice  
 in a year in commemoration of healing if he obtained what he had come for. The boy  
 suddenly said 'I promise.' The father, shocked, told him to speak again, and he spoke  
 again. From this time on he was healthy.

48 (vi) Pandarus the Thessalian had marks on his forehead. He slept in the sanctuary  
 and saw a dream. The god seemed to bind his marks with a bandage and to order him,  
 when he left the Abaton, to take off the bandage and dedicate it in the temple. When  
 day came he stood up and took off the bandage and saw his forehead free of marks.  
 He dedicated the ribbon in the temple, having on it the marks from his forehead.

54 (vii) Echedorus took the scars of Pandarus in addition to those he had. This man  
 took money from Pandarus to make a dedication to the god at Epidaurus on his  
 behalf, but did not pay the money over. As he slept he saw a dream. The god  
 seemed to stand by him and ask him if he had some money from Pandarus from  
 Euthenai for a dedication in the sanctuary. He denied that he had taken any such  
 money from him, but said that if he were to make him healthy he would dedicate

- να γραμμάμενος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὰν τοῦ Πανδάρου παιῶ-  
 αν περιδῆσαι περὶ τὰ στήγματο' οὐ καὶ κέλευσθαί νιν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξ-  
 ἔλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἄβατον, ἀφελόμενον τὰν ταινίαν ἀποιψίμασθαι τὸ  
 65 μέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐξέλλθων ἐκ τοῦ ἄβατον τὰν ταινίαν ἀφήλετο,  
 τὰ γραμίματα οὐκ ἔχουσαν· ἐγκαθιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐώρη τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 πρόσωπον ποὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις στίγμασιν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πανδ(α)ρου γράμ[μ]-  
 ματα λελαβηκόσ· (viii) Εὐφάνης Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς. οὗτος λιθίων ἐνε[κἀ]-  
 θειδε· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστᾶς εἰπεῖν· “τί μοι δοσεῖς, αἱ τῦ  
 70 κα ὑγιή ποιήσω;” αὐτὸς δὲ φάμεν “δέκ' ἀστραγάλους.” τὸν δὲ θεὸν γελά-  
 σαντα φάμεν νιν παυσεῖν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὑγιῆς ἐξήλθε.  
 (ix) ἀνήρ ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτας ἀτερόπτελλος οὗτος, ὥστε τὰ  
 βλέφαρα μόνον ἔχειν, ἐνέμεν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μῆθεν, ἀλλὰ κενὰ εἶ[-  
 μιν ὄλωσ. ἐ(γ)έ(λ)ων δὴ τινες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερωί τὰν εὐρήαν αὐτοῦ, τὸ  
 75 νομίξεν βλεψέσθαι ὄλωσ μῆθεμίαν ὑπαρχὸν ἔχοντος ὀπτι-  
 λου ἀλλ' ἡ χῶραμ μόνον. ἐγκαθ[εἰδο]ντι οὖν αὐτοῖς ὄψις ἐφάρη· ἔδο-  
 κει τὸν θεὸν εἰρησαί τι φά[ρ]μακον, ἔπει[τα] διαγαγόντα τὰ βλέφα-  
 ρα ἔχχει εἰς αὐτὰ· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένη[ς] βλέπων ἀμφοῖν ἐξήλθε.  
 80 κώθων. (x) σκεσφόρος εἶ[ς] τῶ[ν] ἱερῶν ἔρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε-  
 πει τὰ συντετριμμένα σκε[ε]ψή· ὡς δ' εἶδε τὸν κώθωνα κατ[α]γ[ό]στα,  
 ἐξ οὗ ὁ δεσπότης εἴθιστο [π]ίνειν, ἐλυπέτο καὶ συνετίθει [τὰ] ὀ-  
 στρακα καθιζόμενος. ὁδο[ι] πόρος οὖν τις ἰδὼν αὐτόν· “τί, ὦ ἀθλιε,” [ε]-  
 85 ροὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς ὑγ-ῆ ποιῆσαι δύνατο.” ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ παῖς σιν-  
 θεὶς τὰ ὀστρακα εἰς τὸν γυλιὸν ἤρπε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκε-  
 το, ἀνωῖξε τὸν γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγιή τὸν κώθωνα γενηνημέ-  
 νον καὶ τῶι δεσπότηι ἠρμάνευσε τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ λεχθέντα· ὡ-  
 90 σ δὲ ἄκουσ', ἀνέθηκε τῶι θεῶι τὸν κώθωνα. *υπαὶ*  
 95 (xi) Λίσχνας ἐγκεκομισμένον ἦδη τῶν ἰκετῶν ἐπὶ δένδροσ τὶ ἀμ-  
 βάσ ὑπερέκυντε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον. καταπετῶν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρουσ  
 περὶ σκόλοπας τινας τοὺς ὀπτιλλοὺς ἀμφέπεισε· κακῶς δὲ δια-  
 κειμένησ καὶ τυφλὸς γενηνημένος καθικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἐνε-  
 κάθευδε καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο. *υπαὶ*  
 95 (xii) Εὐῖππος λόγχαν ἔτη ἐφόρησε ἐξ ἐν τῶι γνάθω. ἐγκοιτασθέντος  
 δ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέλων τὰν λόγχαν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὰς χηράς οἱ ἔδωκε· ἀμέρας  
 δὲ γενομένης ὑγιῆς ἐξήρπε τὰν λόγχαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων.  
 (xiii) ἀνήρ Τοροναῖος δεμμελέας, οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐνύπτιον εἶδε·  
 100 ἔδοξε οἱ τὸν θεὸν τὰ στέρνα μαχαίραι ἀνοσχίσαντα τὰς δεμε-  
 λέας ἐξελεῖν καὶ δόμεν οἱ ἐς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συνράψαι τὰ στή-  
 θη· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐξήλθε τὰ θηρία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων  
 καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο· κατέπει δ' αὐτὰ δολωθεῖς ὑπὸ ματριῦας ἐγ κ'  
 κᾶν ἐμβεβλημένος ἐκτίων.

an inscribed statue. After this the god bound Pandarus' bandage round the scars and ordered him to leave the Abaton, take off the bandage, wash his face in the fountain and look at himself mirrored in the water. When day came he left the Abaton and took off the bandage, which did not have the marks on it. Looking into the water he saw that his own face had received Pandarus' marks in addition to his own scars.

68 (viii) Euphances, a boy from Epidaurus. This boy slept in the sanctuary suffering from stone. The god appeared to stand beside him and say 'What will you give me if I make you healthy?' And he said 'Ten knucklebones.' The god laughed and said that he would cure him. When day came he departed healthy.

72 (ix) A man came to the god as a suppliant so deficient in one eye that he had only eyelids and there was nothing between them but just a quite empty hole. Some of those in the sanctuary mocked the naivety of the man, that he should think that he would see when he had none of the makings of an eye but only the place. A dream appeared to him as he slept in the sanctuary. It seemed to him that the god prepared some drug and then, pulling the eyelids apart, poured it into them. When day came he departed seeing with both eyes.

79 (x) Cup. A porter, on his way to the sanctuary, fell over when he was ten stades away. When he got up he opened his bag and looked at the broken vessels. When he saw the cup from which his master was accustomed to drink broken he was troubled and sat down and put the sherds together. A traveller who saw him said 'Poor man. Why are you wasting your time putting the cup together? Even Asclepius at Epidaurus could not make it whole'. When he heard this, the slave put the sherds into the bag and went to the sanctuary. When he arrived he opened the bag, took out the cup which had been made whole, and told his master what had been said and done. When he heard this he dedicated the cup to the god.

90 (xi) Aeschines, when the suppliants were already asleep, climbed up a tree and tried to peer into the Abaton. He fell from the tree among some stakes and injured both eyes. In a sorry state and gone blind, he became a suppliant of the god, slept in the sanctuary and became healthy.

95 (xii) Euippos had a spearhead in his jaw for six years. When he slept in the sanctuary the god removed the spear and put it into his hands. When day came he departed healthy with the spear in his hands.

98 (xiii) A man from Torone with leeches. He slept in the sanctuary and saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god cut his chest with a knife, removed the leeches and put them in his hands, and stitched up his breast. When day came he departed with the creatures in his hands and was made healthy. He had swallowed the leeches after being tricked by his step-mother who had dropped them into a cocktail he was drinking.

ισααί

(xiv) ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰδοίοιο λίθων. οὗτος ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει παιδί καλοῖ συγγίνεσθαι, ἐξονειρώσασιν δὲ τὸν λίθον ἐγβάλῃ καὶ ἀνελόμηνος ἐξήθη ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων. *ισααί*

(xv) Ἐρμόδικος Λαμφιακρὸς ἀκρατῆς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτον ἐγκατέδουτα ἰάσατο καὶ ἐκελεύσατο ἐξελεθῆντα λίθον ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ὁπότε δὴ δύναιτο μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἀβάτου κείμενον ἦκε. *ισααί*

(xvi) Νικάνωρ χολός· τούτου καθημένου παῖς τις ὑπάρ τὸν σκίπωνα ἀρπάξας ἔφηνε· ὁ δὲ ἀσπὺς ἐδίωκε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο.

(xvii) ἀνὴρ δάκτυλον ἰάθη ὑπὸ ὄφτος· οὗτος τὸν τοῦ ποδὸς δάκτυλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγρίου ἔλκεος δεινῶς διακέκίμενος μεθήμερα ὑπὸ τῶν θεοῦ ἀπαύτων ἐξενειχθεὶς ἐπὶ ἐδράματός τινος κατῆξε· ὑπνοῦ δὲ νυλαβόντος ἐν τούτοις δράκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελεθῶν τὸν δάκτυλον ἰάσατο τὰ γλώσσῃ καὶ τούτο ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἀβατον ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν. ἐξεγερεθείς δὲ ὡς ἦς ὑγιῆς, ἔφα ὄψιν ἰδεῖν, δοκεῖν νεανίαν ἐν πρεπῆ τῆμ μορφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον.

(xviii) Ἀλέκτας Ἄλικός· οὗτος τυφλὸς ἔων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποτελθὼν τοῖς δακτύλοις δαίγειν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ δένδρη πρᾶτον τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

(xix) Ἡρακλῆς Μυτιληναῖος· οὗτος οὐκ εἶχε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἰατρικὴν ἐξήθη.

(xx) Ἡρακλῆς Μυτιληναῖος· οὗτος οὐκ εἶχε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἰατρικὴν ἐξήθη.

(xxi) Ἡρακλῆς Μυτιληναῖος· οὗτος οὐκ εἶχε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἰατρικὴν ἐξήθη.

Asclepius appears as a son of Apollo who is a 'blameless physician' in the *Iliad* and multiple variant stories about him seem to have been current already by the sixth century B.C. But the growth of sanctuaries of Asclepius as centres of healing cults seems to have been a feature of the fifth and fourth centuries. Epidaurus and Cos were the most important of these centres, and it was from Epidaurus that the cult of Asclepius was introduced into Athens in 420/19 (Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 175–85, K. Clinton in Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice*, 17–34).

The Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus lay just below the older sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas some 7 km. inland from the town of Epidaurus itself. During the fourth century the sanctuary was massively developed with the construction of a temple with elaborate sculptural decoration, a theatre, a highly decorated circular building, and the *abaton*, a place in which the sick slept (compare the provision at the Amphiarqueum at Oropus, 27, and the discussion of incubation in the commentary to that inscription). We are exceptionally well informed about the fourth century build-

104 (xiv) A man with a stone in his penis. He had a dream. He seemed to be having sexual intercourse with a beautiful boy, and having a wet dream he cast out the stone, took it up and departed with the stone in his hands.

107 (xv) Hermodicus of Lampsacus, whose body was crippled. The god healed this man as he slept and told him to go out and carry into the sanctuary the biggest stone that he could. He brought the stone lying in front of the Abaton.

111 (xvi) Nicanor, a lame man. As this man was sitting some youth in broad daylight snatched his stick and ran away. He stood up, ran after him, and from that time was made healthy.

113 (xvii) A man whose toe was healed by a snake. This man was in a terribly bad way from a malignant wound in his toe. During the day he was carried out by the temple servants and sat upon a seat. Sleep took him during which a snake came out from the Abaton and cured his toe with its tongue and then retreated back into the Abaton again. When he woke up and was healthy he said that he had seen a dream in which a handsome young man seemed to put a drug on his toe.

120 (xviii) Alcetas of Halicis. This blind man saw a dream. The god seemed to him to come and open his eyes with his fingers and he saw first the trees in the sanctuary. When day came he departed healthy.

122 (xix) Heraclius of Mytilene. This man had no hair on his head, but a great deal on his chin. He was ashamed of this because he was mocked by others, and slept in the sanctuary. The god anointed his head with a drug and made him have hair.

125 (xx) Lyson of Hermione a blind boy. He during the day had his eyes cured by one of the dogs in the sanctuary and departed healthy.

ing programme because of the survival of inscribed records: see Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidaurus*.

Individual inscribed memorials of cures are common at healing sanctuaries, and were indeed a feature of the Epidaurus sanctuary (see Strabo 374. viii. vi. 15 and ll. 7–9, 23–5, 30–1, 60–1 above), but extensive listing of healing stories at the initiative of the sanctuary itself is a phenomenon restricted to sanctuaries of Asclepius. It is known from Lebena near Gortyn in Crete (*J Cret. l. xvii. 8–12*), and from the Asclepius sanctuary on Tiber island at Rome, to which Asclepius had been brought in 291 B.C. (*IGUR* 148). The Epidaurus records of acts of healing, of which this *stèle*, dated to the 320s on the basis of letter forms, is one of four surviving (*IG iv<sup>2</sup>. i. 121–4*), attracted the attention of Pausanias, who writes: '*Stelai* stood inside the enclosure; there used to be more of them but in my time there were six. On these are written the names of men and women cured by Asclepius, along with the sickness which each suffered and how each was healed. They are written in the Dorian dialect' (ii. 27. iii). Later in his account